

## International Relations Class 01

### Syllabus of International Relations(IR) [01:05 PM]

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

### Sources for IR [01:40 pm]

- Newspaper
- Monthly Current Affairs Magazine
- Class notes

### India- Pakistan Relation [01:47 pm]

- Pakistan is the biggest foreign policy threat to India and a crucial actor in the politics of South Asia.
- **Nature of Pakistan**
- Pakistan is a **deep state**, oscillating between Authoritarianism and Democracy.
- A deep State is a type of Governance made of a potential secret and unauthorized network of powers operating independently of the state's political leadership.
- This creates a legitimization crisis both within the country and outside of it.
- It also leads to the shrinkage of the public stage.
- **The Geo-Political strategic significance of Pakistan**
- **1) Location-** Border Sharing
- **i) Security Concerns**
- **Internal**
- State Sponsored terrorism,
- The radicalization of youth,
- Separatist tendency
- Drug trafficking (Golden crescent)
- Fake Currency
- **External**
- Cross-border terrorism,
- War or External attack.
- **ii) Gateway to Central Asia**
- Pakistan is located in the region where South Asia converges with the Middle East and Central Asia.
- It is situated at the doorway to the oil-rich countries of the Middle East and Central Asia and has the potential of becoming a transit economy.
- **2) Interest of Great powers in Pakistan**
- **US interest in Pakistan-** Huge Consumer base due to the high population in Pakistan. It will provide a huge market for US-made products.
- **China's interest** - The growing affinity between China -Pakistan relations.
- China and Pakistan are called Iron brothers.
- India is viewed by the US and the West as a counterweight against this rising nexus in South Asia.
- If Pakistan was a friendly state with India then it would have acted both as a buffer as well a bridge between India and Central Asia and West Asia.
- However, a hostile Pakistan will act as a barrier in this regard.
- However, the **TAPI project (Gas Pipeline)** came as a golden opportunity but got obstructed due to Political instability in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

### Nature of India and Pakistan relations [02:50 pm]

- 1) Pakistan faces an **existential crisis** or threat from India. This influences its socioeconomic development.
- 2) According to Ambassador Sharad Sabharwal Pakistan has been defined as the **Antithesis of India**.
- 3) In this quest, Pakistan has turned itself into a **Rentier state**.
- 4) It is often argued that Pakistan Suffers from **Reductive nationalism**.
- This comes in the path of cordial Indo-Pak relations.
- 5) Relationship between India and Pakistan is **cyclical in nature**.
- It is a story of a fatal miscalculation and antagonism.
- 6) India-Pakistan relationship is a classic example of the **failure of democratic peace theory** which says that democracies are less likely to go to war with one another.

- In this case, it has moved beyond conventional warfare to sub-conventional warfare (Militancy, insurgency, terrorism, proxy war, etc)

#### Phases in India-Pakistan relation [03:21 pm]

- **1) The phase of Active aggression (1947-2001)**
- 1947- 1st Indo-Pak War
- 1965 - 2nd Indo-Pak war (Tashkent Agreement)
- 1971- 3rd Indo-Pak War (Shimla Agreement 1972)
- 1984- Operation Meghdoot
- **1980s and 1990s**
- Pakistan-sponsored insurgency in Kashmir.
- 1998- Both India and Pakistan entered the Nuclear club.
- 1999- Kargil war.
- 2001 - Attack on Indian Parliament.
- **2) The phase of Reconciliation (2001- 2008)**
- 1999- Lahore declaration - Delhi- Lahore Bus service.
- **Tracks of Diplomacy**
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- Track 1 Diplomacy      Official engagement between Govt officials of two or more nations through multilateral/International bodies.
- Track 2 Diplomacy (Back Channel diplomacy)      Diplomatic dealings through non-officials. **E.g.** NGOs, Businessman, Religious leaders
- Track 1.5 Diplomacy      This involves both officials and non-officials
- Track 3 Diplomacy      This is people-to-people contact. **E.g.** Aman ki Aasha initiative between India and Pakistan
- Track 4 diplomacy      Multi-track diplomacy involves multiple channels and stakeholders to achieve diplomatic goals. Most useful for long pending conflicts.
- Vajpayee's principle of Insaniyat (humanism), Jamhooriyat (democracy), Kashmiriyat (Kashmir's Legacy)
- 2008- TAPI gas pipeline project
- **3) Phase of Passive Bilateralism (2008-2015)**
- 2014- Neighbourhood 1st policy
- **4) Phase of Renewed Aggression (From 2015 onwards)**
- 2015- China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)
- 2015- Gurdaspur terror attack
- 2016- Pathankot attack, Uri attack
- 2017- Amarnath Yatra Attack
- 2019- Pulwama Attack, Balakot air strike
- Oct 2019- Abrogation of Article 370

#### The topic for the next class - The areas of Conflict between India and Pakistan. International Relations Class 02

#### Discussion on Student Doubts (01:07 PM)

#### Indian and Pakistan Continued (01:20 PM)

- **What makes peace elusive between India and Pakistan?**
- **Cross Border terrorism:**
- Pakistan-sponsored terrorism remains a core concern in bilateral relations.
- This is based on the military doctrine of "**bleeding India with a thousand cuts.**"
- India has been asking Pakistan to take **credible, verifiable, irreversible** actions against terrorist networks and proxies operating from its soil.
- **Trade and Commerce:**
- In 2019, after the **Pulwama terror attack**, India hiked customs duties on Pakistan imports to 200 percent and also revoked the **MFN status** given to Pakistan.
- In response, Pakistan suspended bilateral trade with India in August 2019.
- With Shehbaz Sharif coming into power talks are on for normalizing trade and commerce.
- In 2021, Pakistan allowed the import of cotton and sugar from India.
- Thus we can argue that bilateral trade is often stumped by domestic policies and revisionist policies.
- A state can be revisionist due to greed, fear, and insecurity.

- **Water Dispute:**
- India is seeking a review and modification of the Indus Water Treaty under **Article 12** of the treaty.
- In 2015 Pakistan asked for a neutral expert to analyze Hydel Power Projects by India.

#### Indus Water Treaty (01:49 PM)

- The three western rivers **Indus, Jhelum, and Chenab** went to Pakistan and India got three eastern rivers **Sutlej, Ravi, and Beas**, etc.
- Constitution of **Permanent Indus water commission**.
- India's rights over western rivers are limited, but India can use the western rivers for agricultural purposes and for making **run-off river** projects.

#### Analysis of IWT

- Internationally, the treaty is seen as one of the most successful cases of conflict resolution, between the two countries.
- In response to Pakistan's objection to India's hydroelectric projects, India has argued that firstly all projects are under the provisions of IWT and are run-off river projects (**non-consumptive use**).
- As a responsible upper riparian state, India has been providing information on the extraordinary discharge of water from reservoirs and flood flow as mandated by the treaty.
- Another issue is treaty is highly technical leading to divergences between the two countries in terms of interpretation.
- The **geopolitical tension** between India and Pakistan has affected this treaty.
- After the Uri attack in 2016, PM Modi said 'blood and water cannot flow together'. Soon after, the Permanent Indus Commission was suspended.
- IWT does **not have a unilateral exit provision** and is supposed to remain in force unless both countries rectify another mutually agreed pact.
- There is a need to update certain technical specifications and also increase the scope of the treaty to address climate change.

**Question: Indus Water Treaty is often considered "uninterrupted and uninteruptible". Discuss the Indus Water treaty in terms of recent events.**

**Notes:** The treaty has remained uninterrupted since India respects its provisions and values transboundary rivers as an important connector in the region, in terms of both diplomacy and economic prosperity. It is uninteruptible because there is no option for unilateral exit.

#### Conclusion

- IWT is often cited as an example of possibilities of **peaceful co-existence** that exists despite troubled relationships.
- The present crisis can only be resolved through dialogue and diplomacy, thereby making IWT a precedent to follow.

#### Kashmir Issue (02:40 PM)

- On **August 5th, 2019**, the government of India made a certain modification in Article 370, and as per the J&K reorganization act state of Jand K got divided into two UTs, J and K and Ladakh.
- **Effect of abrogation of Article 370:**
- J&K will **no** longer have its **separate constitution, flag, or anthem**.
- Citizens of J and K will not have dual citizenship.
- Applicability of Indian laws for example **RTI and RTE**.
- IPC will replace the **Ranbir Penal Code** of J&K.
- **Article 35A** stands null and void.
- This abrogation has the long-term effect of outmaneuvering Pakistan, it reaffirms strongly India's claim on Jammu and Kashmir, thereby avoiding Pakistan to use article 370 to wage a proxy war sponsoring terrorism and internationalizing Kashmir Issue.

#### Siachen Issue (02:59 AM)

- **Why it is important?**
- Siachen acts as a **geo-political** act as a geopolitical and geostrategic frontier for India.
- The glacier demarcates, Central Asia from the Indian sub-continent and separates Pakistan and China in the region.
- It provides India, with a location advantage, and serves as a watchtower for India to keep watch on the **Gilgit-Baltistan area of PoK**.
- It also serves as a divide that prevents the **direct linking of PoK** with China stopping them to develop geographical military linkage in the region.
- It is close to the **Karakoram pass** through which the Karakoram highway passes, connecting Gilgit Baltistan to Xinjiang province of China.

- Siachen also helps India to keep a close watch on China's activities in the region.
- If Pakistan gets the location advantage in Siachen, it would become a big threat to India from the west in Ladakh in addition to the Chinese threat from the Aksai Chin area in the east.
- It **guards the roads leading to Leh**, the capital of Ladakh.

**Question: Bring out the strategic importance of Siachen Glacier for India, Pakistan, and China. Though demilitarisation is not a bad idea if the intentions of the party involved are not bad. Analyse.**

**Answer:**

**Argument in favor of Demilitarisation:**

- Militarisation involves High Human costs.
- Huge economic and logistics cost.
- This could be a step toward International goodwill.
- Environmental Concern: In 2013, more than 150 tonnes of waste was cleared from Siachen.

**The argument against Demilitarisation by India:**

- Siachen is part of pre-1948 Jammu and Kashmir and we consider the entire Jammu and Kashmir as an integral part of our territory.
- Money cost is involved elsewhere as well.
- Casualty has also come down. The average annual casualty has come down to 10 from 28. Thanks to technical and infrastructural improvements.
- International goodwill gestures by India have never been appreciated by Pakistan.
- With the Siachen sector facing threats from the east and west, there is perhaps no question of disengagement from Siachen as of now.
- Holding height is always a better option.
- It is also argued that disengagement at this point would be an insult to our Martyrs.

**Sir Creek (03:37 PM)**

- It is a 96 km long creek in **Rann of Kutch** Marshland.
- **Importance:**
- **Huge fishing resource:** One of the largest fishing grounds in Asia.
- The possible presence of **oil and gas reserves**.
- If one country agrees to another position the former will lose a vast EEZ rich with energy and mineral deposits.
- **Pak Claims** the entire creek on basis of the Bombay govt. resolution in 1914 which has sir creek as part of Sindh.
- **India claims** that the boundary lies mid-channel as depicted in another map drawn in 1925. India also supports its argument by citing Thalweg Doctrine which states that the river boundaries between two states may be divided by mid-channel if the water body is navigable.
- Siachen glacier and sir creek are not low-hanging fruits. India has acquired them through immense sacrifice. Therefore, as of now, India should continue to hold its position.

**Next Class: India-Pakistan Continued, India-Bangladesh.**

**International Relations Class 03**

**Chinese Angle (01:05 PM)**

- China has taken this **zero-sum dynamics** between India and Pakistan to achieve its strategic goal.
- The US has tried to avoid the previous zero-sum character of US policy towards India and Pakistan by adopting a **de-hyphenated approach**.
- In 2004, the US established a strategic relationship with India in the hope to balance China in South Asia.

**Why China is interested in Pakistan?**

- Mutual interest in **undercutting India**.
- Prevention of Radical Islam forces entering Xinjiang province of China dominated by **Uyghur Muslims**.
- Pakistan is the gateway for China to central Asia and the Middle East.
- It will also increase Chinese presence in the **Indian Ocean Region**.

**Why China is important for Pakistan?**

- China fits into the concept of **borrowed power** from China to undercut India.
- For constraining India both regionally and globally: Blocking India's membership in NSG and UNSC.

- China has provided Pakistan with **Nuclear Weapon Support, Ballistic missiles, and Conventional Weapons.**

#### What is CPEC? (01:36 PM)

- It is a 3,000 km long route of an infrastructural project connecting China's northwest **Xinjiang** Autonomous Province and **Gwadar** Port in the Baluchistan area of Pakistan.
- It intends to promote connectivity across Pakistan with a network of Highways, Railways, and Pipelines.
- **Purposes of CPEC:**
- Access to the Middle East and Africa through Gwadar Port.
- Enable its presence in the Gilgit Baltistan region of PoK (under **China's String of Pearl Diplomacy**).

#### India-China-Pakistan Triangle

- China's OBOR initiative got manifested in the CPEC project, which passes through the Gilgit-Baltistan area of PoK.
- Recently, Pakistan and China decided to welcome any third country joining the CPEC project.

#### What is CPEC's implication for India?

- It is an attack on India's **territorial sovereignty** since it passes through the PoK region.
- If CPEC materializes, it will further consolidate the region's perception as an internationally recognized Pakistani territory **diminishing India's claims** over it.
- China through this project can enjoy shorter and more economical trade routes with the rest of the world.
- It is a manifestation of China's **String of Pearl Diplomacy** thereby encircling India.
- It will enable Pakistan to stand in **competition with India** mainly in the textile and construction industry in Central Asia and the middle east.
- CPEC can emerge as a game changer and there is a possibility that Pakistan may soon end up being a **new colony of China.**
- Citing these strategic concerns, to CPEC, India decided to opt out of the OBOR initiative.

#### Way Forward (02:17 PM)

- Greater engagement with our neighbors under the '**Neighbourhood First**' policy.
- Improving relations with extended neighbors via Act East Policy, Connect Central Asia Policy, and Look West Policy.
- Multi-alignment and Strategic Autonomy.
- Improving **Indo-Pacific Strategy** and partnership in IOR.

#### Major Achievements between India and Pakistan

##### Military CBMs

- Exchange of data on nuclear installations
- Advance notification on military exercises
- Contact between Indian Coast Guard and Pakistan Maritime Security Agency

##### Non-Military CBMs

- Cricket Diplomacy
- Mango Diplomacy
- Entertainment Industry
- Delhi-Lahore Bus Service
- Samjhauta Express

#### The fallout of limited engagements between India and Pakistan (02:45 PM)

- **1. Limited Economic Engagements:**
- Due to the failure of military and non-military CBMs.
- Non-transparent tariff and non-tariff barriers.
- Cross-border terrorism
- **2. Stalled Regional Integration:** South Asia Free Trade Agreement has failed to materialize.
- 3. Costly Arms Race
- 4. Internationalization of Disputes e.g. Kashmir Issue, IWT Issue
- 5. This leads to Issues like the Capture of fishermen, drug smuggling from the golden crescent, FICN, etc.

#### India's Present Stand towards Pakistan (03:06 PM)

- Post-2014 we had mango diplomacy, CBMs were getting signed, religious diplomacy, etc.
- Cross-border terrorism hijacked all efforts toward diplomacy.
- In 2016, strategic Shift in India's policy after the **Uri attack.**
- We adopted a hard policy towards Pakistan and conducted surgical strikes.
- We had defensive mode and offensive modes earlier. The defensive-offensive is **Doval Doctrine.**
- Defensive-offensive mode means to defend ourselves we go to the place where the offense is coming

- Targeting economically vulnerable points in Pakistan through FATF etc.
- Isolating Pakistan on international forums.
- Using intelligence and strategic moves to achieve our ends.
- All and all it means response in the language your adversary understands.

**Questions: "Diplomacy and Dialogue have a place in a most difficult relationship". Analyze**

**Notes:**

- Successful states need **both hard and soft power** to maintain difficult relationships as far as Pakistan is concerned India has gone forward with both soft diplomacy as well as hard diplomacy.
- It is often said that Indo-Pakistan relation is an example of **Yo-Yo diplomacy**.
- Also, Pakistan is a **zipper state** connecting different parts of Eurasia.
- Therefore, the approach has always been a combination of both Pakistan's coercive diplomacy might not always be successful.
- Since it has a huge capacity to bear coercion, therefore, India needs to show **strategic patience**.

**Way Forward**

- **Promoting Soft Diplomacy:** Cricket, Saree-shawl diplomacy; Use of Indus water treaty to promote hydro-diplomacy, both countries can come together to construct a water grid.
- Facilitating **trade**.
- Peace and talk should go along with a **show of strength**.
- India should maintain **deterrence by denial** (It refers to state A building up requisite military capabilities to deny territorial objectives by state B).
- Deepening existing regional frameworks.
- Overall there could be two options and both have a price attached to them: first is a **war** which is not a rational choice other is **peace** which is the only rational choice.
- But this requires strategic caution by India.
- However, peace and dialogue should not be called off since the former option of war will be utterly disastrous.

**Pakistan's Economic Crisis (03:42 PM)**

- **Reasons:**
- High Inflation
- High Debt
- Food crisis
- Rising Terrorism
- Political Instability
- Low foreign exchange reserves
- **Impact of Pakistan's Economic crisis on India:**
- Increased Chinese influence in Pakistan
- Increasing terrorist activities
- The volatile situation in the neighborhood
- Influx of refugees
- Impact on India's export to Pakistan
- The ripple effect in South Asia

**Next Class: India-Bangladesh  
International Relations Class 04**

**India - Bangladesh relations**

- **Why in news [01:22 pm]**
- **January 2023**
- India, which holds the G20 Presidency this year, is following the convention of inviting non-member countries and international organisations to the summit.
- Bangladesh is the only South Asian country to have a place on India's guest list.
- **13th January 2023** - Prime Minister of India flagged off the world's longest river cruise, MV Ganga Vilas in Varanasi.

- The cruise was scheduled to travel through 27 rivers in five Indian states and Bangladesh.
- This has put India and Bangladesh on the global river cruise map, opening up a new horizon and vertical for tourism and freight carriage in the Indian subcontinent.
- **September 2022**- Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Sheikh Hasina visited India.
- **February 2022**
- New Delhi and Dhaka met for the 7th India-Bangladesh Joint Consultative Commission (JCC).
- **3 Feb 2022**- Tripura Chief Minister Biplab Kumar Deb laid the foundation stone for the Kamalpur-Kurmaghat border haat between India and Bangladesh.
- **December 15-17 2021**- President Ramnath Kovind paid a State visit to attend Bangladesh's 50th Vijay Dibos.
- **The year 2021**- 50 years of the establishment of Indo-Bangladesh diplomatic ties.
- **26 to 27 March 2021**: PM Modi, paid a State visit to Bangladesh to join the celebrations of the Golden Jubilee of the Independence of Bangladesh, the Birth Centenary of the Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and 50 years of establishment of diplomatic relations between India and Bangladesh. (Triveni of events)

#### **Decoding Bangladesh's socio-political fabric [01:55 pm]**

- **Duality of heritage**
- There are two streams of nationhood in Bangladesh
- 1) Bengaliness
- 2) Muslimness
- Bangladesh has witnessed three participation
- 1st Partition of Bengal happened in 1905.
- 2nd partition happened in 1947 when East Pakistan was established.
- 3rd partition happened in 1971 which resulted in the establishment of Bangladesh.
- **Coherent country** - Bengali-speaking Muslims in Bangladesh
- Two major political parties are there in Bangladesh:
- The **Awami League** led by Sheikh Hasina and
- The **Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)**

#### **The trajectory of India-Bangladesh relations [02:07 pm]**

- **1971- 74: Friendly relations between India and Bangladesh**
- **M.B. Rehman** was a secular leader and maintained good relations with India.
- **1974- 2009: Relationship became challenging**
- In 1975, M.B. Rehman was assassinated which reflected Islamic ideology.
- in 1977, the word secular was removed from the Constitution of Bangladesh.
- Islam became the State religion of Bangladesh.
- **2009 onwards - Now Bonhomie**
- **Sheikh Hasina** adopted Developmental politics which boosted India - Bangladesh relations.

#### **Why is Bangladesh important for India [02:18 pm]**

- **1) Location**
- India and Bangladesh share a 4,096 km land boundary covering West Bengal, Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya and Mizoram.
- **2) Strategic importance**
- Proximity to Siliguri corridor.
- Bangladesh is important in India's neighbourhood first policy.
- 3) Bangladesh is one of the most essential factors in India's **Act East Asia policy**.
- **4) Important role in sub-regional connectivity**
- **Rail connectivity** between Agartala and Akhaura Junction.
- Bangladesh, Bhutan, India and Nepal (BBIN) Motor Vehicle Agreement.
- **BCIN project** - Bangladesh, China, India, and Nepal
- **5) Grid development** of sub-region
- Development of the overall region- Bhutan, Bangladesh, and India. E.g. Hydro Power
- **6) Security issues**
- Border intelligence.
- Preventing Human and drug trafficking.
- Stopping illegal migration from and to Bangladesh.
- 7) Partners in Various multilateral forums such as BIMSTEC, SAARC etc

- 8) Bangladesh is one of the fastest-growing economies. Therefore there is a prospect for **trade and investment**.
- **9) Water sharing**
- India and Bangladesh share 54 small and big rivers.
- **10) Socio-cultural connections** between people of both countries.
- 11) Tourism cooperation

#### **Areas of Cooperation [03:05 pm]**

##### **1) Border management**

- **i) Land Boundary agreement**
- India and Bangladesh share 4096.7 km. of the border, which is the longest land boundary that India shares with any of its neighbours.
- Envisages a transfer of 111 Indian enclaves to Bangladesh in return for 51 enclaves to India.
- **Implications of land boundary agreement [03:21 pm]**
- It will secure the long boundary.
- It will help settle the boundary between India and Bangladesh
- It will help settle boundary disputes, in Meghalaya, Tripura, Assam and W. Bengal.
- it will enable to curb of illegal migration, smuggling and criminal activity across the border.
- It will provide stateless people with their respective citizenship.
- It will improve the access to northeast states.
- It will help in increasing connectivity with Bangladesh and Southeast Asia under Act East Policy.

##### **2) Connectivity [03:39 pm]**

- Connectivity is a hallmark of defining Indo-Bangladesh relations.
- **(i) Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal (BBIN) Motor Vehicles Agreement (MVA)**
- Why in News (March 2021)
- World Bank report named **“Connecting to Thrive: Challenges and Opportunities of Transport Integration in Eastern South Asia”** stated that seamless transport connectivity between India and Bangladesh has the potential to increase national income by as much as 17% in Bangladesh and 8% in India.
- It includes signing agreements to connect roads, railways, and waterways.
- It Facilitates the unrestricted cross-border movement of cargo, passenger, and personal vehicles between BBIN countries.
- **Three trains are currently running between India and Bangladesh.**
- a) Mitali express between Dhaka and Siliguri.
- b) Maitri express between Dhaka and Kolkata.
- c) Bandhan Express between Kolkata and Khulna.
- There is a proposal to start another train between Dhaka and Kolkata.
- **Padma road-rail bridge**
- All these projects will be a win-win situation for both Bangladesh and India.
- From the Indian side, Tripura has emerged as a connectivity hub.
- Agartala- Akhuara rail line is underway.
- **Sabroom (Tripura's first-ever SEZ)** is on the border with Bangladesh and has the potential to become a North East commercial centre.
- **Air services along**
- i) Agartala -Dhaka
- ii) Agartala- Chittagong is likely to begin this year.
- **Advantages of better connectivity**
- **1) Economic**
- Better trade will result in an increase in the local economy (Border haat), a boost to the Jute industry, the tourism industry will get fillip, and better remittance for India.
- improve in security
- **2) Political**
- It will strengthen govt to govt engagement.
- It will improve people-to-people connectivity thereby improving the soft diplomacy of India.

##### **BBIN [03:54 pm]**

- **It is an umbrella project** among the countries of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India and Nepal.
- One of the major agreements in the Motor vehicle Agreement.



- **Why Bhutan opted out of BBIN MVA**
- i) Environmental concerns - pollution, environmental degradation.
- ii) Truckers in Bhutan opposed this MVA because of the fear of possible loss of business.
- **Advantages of BBIN**
- i) Enhanced economic integration
- ii) Faster and Cheaper access of goods from North East part of India to the sub-regional market.
- iii) It would reduce the trust deficit between these four countries.
- iv) Improve tourism

#### **Protocol on land water transit and trade [04:06 pm]**

- Why in News (May 2020)
- The second Addendum to the Protocol on Inland Water Transit and Trade was signed.
- First signed in 1972.
- Last renewed in 2015 for five years with a provision for its automatic renewal for five years.
- 50:50 cargo sharing by Indian and Bangladeshi vessels is permitted.

**The topic for the next class: Discussion on India- Bangladesh relations will continue.**

#### **International Relations Class 05**

#### **Indo-Bangladesh relations;(1:08:21 PM):(Continued from the previous class):**

- **BCIM project:(Bangladesh China India Myanmar corridor):**
- 2017 and 2019- India boycotted the Belt and Road forum.
- **Projects under BRF:**
- China Myanmar economic corridor.
- Nepal China Himalayan Multi-dimensional connectivity network.
- CPEC.
- Exclusion of BCIM under BRF.
- India opposes CPEC as it passes through PoK.
- BCIM aims to connect Kolkata with Kunming.
- **Importance of BCIM:**
- **For India:**
- Benefit India in terms of the development of Kolkata port.
- Economic development of NE India.
- Strengthening India's Act east policy.
- **For Bangladesh:**
- With natural gas reserves of about 200 trillion cu feet, the largest in the Asia Pacific, Bangladesh can become a major energy exporting country.
- Enable cross-border movement of goods, and services, and increase investments>> Development of infrastructure., reduction of the transaction cost.
- The volume of trade will increase.
- Development of energy and telecom network.
- Tourism>> peace and security in south Asia>. peace and stability in south Asia.
- Poverty alleviation.
- Overall there would be grid development in the region.

#### **Concerns:(1:39:45 PM):**

- China can't be trusted completely.
- Insurgency and drug trafficking.
- Economic concerns>>
- Dumping and dominance of cheap Chinese goods.
- Increase Chinese presence.
- Discussion of a question.
- **Way forward:**
- Upgradation of infrastructure.
- Work on IMT highway providing an alternative route for connecting NE states with mainland India.
- Priority to BBIN network.
- Emphasis on Act East policy.
- Step by step approach is desirable as far as BCIM is concerned.

- At the initial level, people s=centric projects in Education, healthcare, and skill development should be encouraged so as to create a sense of trust among countries.
- **Significance of this project:**
- Our over-dependence on the Siliguri corridor would get reduced thereby providing alternative paths to reach NE states.
- **Maitri setu:**
- connects Tripura and Bangladesh.
- Called a friendship bridge.
- Made on the Feni river.
- Bangladesh also showed interest in joining IMT trilateral highway.
- Temporary air bubble signed with Bangladesh.

#### **Defence cooperation:(2:13:39 PM):**

- Exercise sampriti>> Army exercise.
- Excerise Milan>> Naval ex.
- **Economic relations:**
- Bangladesh is India's biggest trade partner in South Asia.
- Bangladesh stands at the top 5th export destination for India.
- **Reasons:**
- India's diplomatic efforts.
- Logistic ease because of various connectivity projects.
- Demand for Indian farm products especially cereals.
- There have been duty-free and quota-free access given to Bangladeshi exports to India under SAFTA since 2011.
- However, SAFTA has turned dysfunctional in the recent past.
- in June 2022, at the 7th JCC meet, talks started for the proposed CEPA between India and Bangladesh.
- CEPA>> Trade in goods, trade in services, and investment are the 3 dimensions of CEPA.

#### **Hydro political relations:(2:37:09 PM):**

- **More than 50 years of hydro-political relations between India and Bangladesh can be best described as a mixed bag of sweet spots and bitter pills.**
- Some pills have transformed into sweet spots of success such as the Farrakka Barrage project.
- New sweet spots have been created:
- Ex>> Feni river to be used for drinking purposes in Tripura.
- Interim water sharing agreement on Kushiya river.
- Maitri Setu project.
- Padma multipurpose bridge.
- Reduce the distance between Dhaka and Kolkata to 3 and half hours.
- **Certain bitter pills:**
- Teesta river water controversy.
- Farrakka Barrage:
- 1951>> India initiated the project of the Ganga river.
- Aim>> to flush out the silt of the Bhagirathi Hoogly river to ensure smooth operation.
- Concerns:
- Bangladesh is a low-lying area.
- The flow of Padma river would get reduced.>> deplete fisheries>> reduce agricultural produce.
- Also the issue of mangrove damage in the Sundarbans area.
- 1972>> Joint river commission.
- 1977>> Issue to UN general assembly.
- 1977>> Indian delegation to Bangladesh>> Accord signed.
- 1996>>Ganga water treaty of 1996.
- **Teesta river water dispute:**
- India claims 55 percent of the river's water.
- **Bangladesh view:**
- Wants 50 percent of Teesta waters every year between Dec and May.
- Fishermen issue is also an important criterion.
- Teesta river is Bangladesh's fourth largest transboundary river.
- Almost 5 districts of Bangladesh will get affected if water is withdrawn from the Teesta river.

- **India's view:**
- India also needs water for irrigation in North Bengal.
- India is producing hydropower from the river.
- Almost 26 hydropower projects which are operating in Sikkim are dependent upon the flow of the Teesta river.
- **Analysis:**
- Negotiations on how to share water have been growing since 1983.
- An interim 2011 deal was opposed by West Bengal and it got shelved.
- While the Ganga water agreement appears to be an example of West Bengal playing an enabling role, for the Teesta agreement it was just the contrary.
- The Teesta water dispute is an example of conflictual federalism.
- The conflict is largely created since water is a state subject in the constitution.
- This inhibits the center from getting into an agreement with Bangladesh if West Bengal is unwilling.
- We can say that the future of Hydro-political relations will not only depend upon what India and Bangladesh think but is also dependent on center-state relations within India.
- Thus, this is a 2 level game as far as India is concerned.
- China has given a proposal to dredge and embark large portions of the Teesta river so that it forms a single manageable channel.
- However, India has opposed this project since this will bring China close to the Chicken neck corridor.

**Partnerships on multilateral forums:(3:23:21 PM):(refer to ppts):**

- UN.
- SAARC.
- BIMSTEC.
- IORA.
- **Challenges:**
- -Sharing of river water. Eg>> Teesta water.
- -Illegal migration.
- -NRC and CAA controversy.
- CAA>> Bangladesh says>>internal political matter and was not a necessary move.
- -Rising Chinese footprint in Bangladesh.>> Chequebook diplomacy or debt trap diplomacy.
- **How China is making deep inroads into Bangladesh:**
- Through a string of pearls diplomacy, China has made its presence in the Chittagong port of Bangladesh.
- China is its biggest trading partner of Bangladesh.
- Bangladesh is active partner of China's OBOR.
- China is the biggest arms supplier to Bangladesh.
- Bangladesh is discussing a 1bn dollar loan from China for a restoration project in the Teesta river.
- **Way forward:(3:39:31 PM):**
- Resolving pending issues like water sharing.>> Teesta agreement.
- Bringing down border incidents to 0.
- Focus on priority areas >> Investment, security, connectivity, Energy cooperation, Blue economy.

**Blue economy:**

- Fisheries, Deep sea explorations, ports, tourism, tidal energy, marine resource conservation, disaster management.
- Balancing trade.>>> decrease non-tariff barriers.
- Establishing border haats.
- Information>> Security, disasters including cyclones and floods, manmade threats like
- Fishermen issue.
- **Conclusion:**
- India and Bangladesh have reached a stage of maturity.
- It can be identified as a multi-dimensional fraternal relationship.
- Relationships between India and Bangladesh are both special and unique.
- Often said>>" India- Bangladesh relations are deeper than any other strategic partnerships and a role model for ties between 2 neighboring countries"
- **Role model:**
- Security perspective.
- Water dispute resolution.

- Conversion of bitter pill into sweet spots.
- Connectivity.
- Scope for India- Bangladesh ties to move to the next level based on 3 Cs>> cooperation, coordination, and consolidation.

**Next class-India- Srilanka.**

**International Relations Class 06**

#### **OVERVIEW OF THE PREVIOUS CLASS (01:09 PM)**

- **India's Bilateral relations.**

#### **INDO- SRILANKA REALTIONS (1:12 PM)**

- **Why Srilanka is Important for India**
- **1) Location-**
- Sri Lanka is situated in Indian Ocean Region.
- It is important as far as India's **Indian Ocean Strategy** is concerned as well as **Indian Ocean connectivity** is concerned.
- This region is important because of its economy and connectivity.
- The Strait of Malacca is important from the point of connectivity to sea routes.
- Sri Lanka is situated at the epicenter of the Indian Ocean Region.
- **2) Strategic importance:**
- a) Sri Lanka is extremely important strategically-
- Strategy also includes economics and security.
- Sri Lanka has two very important ports -
- **Columbo ports-** the 25th busiest port in the world.
- **Trincomalee harbor-** is the 5th largest natural harbor in the world.
- b) It lies across the major sea lanes of communication from Europe to East Asia.
- c) Sri Lanka lies in the epicenter of the arc connecting the Persian Gulf to the strait of Malacca.
- **d) Srilanka is Important for Indian Navy-**
- Sri Lanka is important as the switching of Naval Fleets from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian sea and vice-versa requires the fleets to go around the island.
- e) Sri Lanka is the center/crucial for China's Belt and Road Initiative.
- **3) Important actor in India's foreign policy**
- a) Neighbourhood first policy 2014.
- b) **SAGAR Initiative** - Security and Growth for All in the Region.
- Out of four -
- 1) Srilanka.
- 2) Maldives.
- 3) Mauritius.
- 4) Seychelles.
- Island Diplomacy.

#### **SRILANKAN CIVIL WAR (01:36 PM)**

- **Background:**
- 9 June 2020.
- **Origin Theory -**
- Tamil came from Srilanka under the Chola Empire.
- The Singhlesae and Tamilians were Culturally different and incompatible.
- Britishers started Tamilian Favouritism.
- Started English education in Tamil-dominated areas.
- Here, Sinhalese started feeling backward and isolated.
- Tamilians have good commercial networks because of their presence in South Africa etc.
- So, economically they were very good.
- There existed a power imbalance.
- **Post Independence**
- The Sinhalese-dominated government came up (70% of the population was Sinhalese).
- They started the disenfranchisement of Tamilians.
- **Two acts were passed-**
- **Sinhale-only Act 1956-** Singhla was made the only official language in Srilanka.

- **2) The policy of Standardization -**
- It means - more educational opportunities were being provided to Sinhalese students.
- Secondly, The cutoff for government posts and jobs/colleges was more for Tamilians.
- 1972 - The Sinhalese-dominated government changes the country's name from Ceylon to Sri Lanka.
- Buddhism was made the country's primary religion.
- **Tamil response:**
- 1976 - LTTE was formed - **Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.**
- This means an idea of a separate Tamil state.
- The conflict between the Sri Lankan government and LTTE started.
- 1976 - 2009 - The longest Civil War in history.
- Human rights violation has become an international issue.
- **Indian intervention (01:59 PM)**
- The idea of a separate Tamil state - Tamil population in Tamil Nadu.
- 1) This started threatening our territorial integrity.
- 2) Because of massive human rights violations.
- A huge number of Tamil Refugees started coming to India.
- 3) In 1987, India made an official entry into the situation by Rajeev Gandhi.
- An accord was signed- the India-Sri Lanka Peace accord 1987.
- **There are three important things in this accord**
- **Aim** - To resolve Sri Lankan civil war by enabling the 13th Amendment to the constitution.
- 13th Amendment included the devolution of powers to provinces or provincial councils.
- Surrendering of Tamil rebels.
- Sri Lankan Troops need to withdraw from all those areas where they have stationed themselves.
- **Way forward**
- 1) A unified citizenry - Citizens need to be unified.
- 2) Ethnic unity.

#### **INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION ISSUE (02:17 PM)**

- United Nations accused both sides of atrocities. (LTTE and Sri Lankan Army).
- Since 2012, every year UN resolution has been passed.
- The recent resolution was passed in October 2022.
- **UNHRC 2022 Draft Resolution**
- The only resolution includes the economic crisis and corruption.
- It calls for accountability for economic crimes.
- It would be a very strong warning to Sri Lanka.
- It calls for accountability for violations of human rights.
- By far the strongest resolution because of the many resolutions which have been passed.
- It has multiple effects - The image of Sri Lanka is getting exposed.
- Economic prospects are getting hampered in Sri Lanka.
- Sri Lanka's image is at stake.
- The Sri Lankan crisis can be taken as an opportunity for India.
- **Sri Lanka's reaction to the resolution:**
- Sri Lankan government rejected this approach.
- The Sri Lankan government rejected paragraph 8.
- Promotion of reconciliation, and accountability.
- Human rights issue in Sri Lanka.
- 20 nations voted in favor of the UNSC resolution.
- China and Pakistan were shown as if they are against this resolution.

#### **INDIA'S VOTE IN 2022 RESOLUTION (2:37 PM)**

- India abstained from a draft resolution in the UN Human Rights Council.
- India believes in the prosperity of all Sri Lankan.
- India believes that the Sri Lankan government will do meaningful devolution.
- India urged Sri Lanka to work meaningfully.
- **Reasons for India Abstained:**
- 1) Because of China's rising footprint.
- 2) Influence of Regional Tamils Politics.

- India abstained because the Tamilian community has great sympathy towards Sri Lankan Tamils. So India played safe.
- 3) India wants Sri Lanka to carry forward devolution, and accountability- because of the sympathy of the Tamil community in India.
- 4) India wants to give Sri Lanka a warning for its inclination towards China.
- 5) India never supports human rights violations in Sri Lanka.
- 6) India support to 13th Amendment act.
- **India's stand**
- 1) Safeguarding Human rights in Sri Lanka.
- 2) India wants the solution to be internal and not forced.
- 3) India emphasized meaningful decentralization to meet Tamil aspirations.
- 4) India demands unity and integrity from Sri Lanka.
- **India's approach to the question of human rights in Sri Lanka is guided by 2 fundamental considerations-**
- a) Support to Tamils of Sri Lanka for equality, Justice, dignity, and peace.
- b) Ensure unity, stability, and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka.
- Both two goals are mutually supportive not "either-or" choices.
- Keeping in mind the above factors India's decision of abstaining appears prudent and rational.

#### **IMPACT OF UNHRC RESOLUTION ON SRI LANKA ( 03:05 PM)**

- UNHRC resolution is not a legally binding resolution.
- **Still, it has a great moral significance -**
- 1) It could lead to sanctions and withdrawal of benefits (for instance withdrawal of GSPs/Generalised system of preferences).
- 2) Hampers the country's image in front of a global community.
- 3) It would hamper the economic as well as political growth of a country.
- 4) It signifies a change taken by UNHRC's approach towards Sri Lanka- This time it has taken a stronger stand.

#### **ECONOMIC CRISIS IN SRI LANKA (03:27 PM)**

- **Reasons: Primary 2cs-**
- **1) Impact of covid crisis-**
- Sharp economic contraction because of the following:
  - Loss in tourism.
  - Weak global demand for exports.
  - Depletion of forex reserve.
- Steep rise in poverty- A category of new poor emerged in Sri Lanka, Because of the loss of income as tourism has decreased, and a decrease in jobs.
- On the other hand, there was a rise in inflation, and prices of general commodities started increasing.
- Due to this labor-intensive sector/service sector, got mostly affected.
- **For example-** The garment sector, construction workers, and Tourism.
- Women's employment was adversely affected.
- Debt to GDP ratio increased.
- International credit rating agencies downgraded Sri Lanka, thereby shutting down access to the international capital market.
- **2) China Debt Trap Policy**
- American statesman **John Adams said, " There are two ways to conquer and enslaved a country, one by the sword and the other by debt".**
- China chose the second path and has emerged as the world's biggest official creditor. In this regard, **Brahma Chellaney** has given the term Debt trap diplomacy.
- It describes a creditor country extending debt to a borrowing nation to gain political and strategic leverage.
- This is even called China's predatory lending practice wherein poor countries are given unsustainable loans and forced to cede strategic leverage to China.
- According to **Brahma Chellaney, "It is a part of China's Geostrategic vision".**
- Many critics believe that China's debt trap policy and investment projects under BRI are the primary cause of Sri Lanka's crisis.
- **How does Debt Trap diplomacy Works?**
- **Examples-**

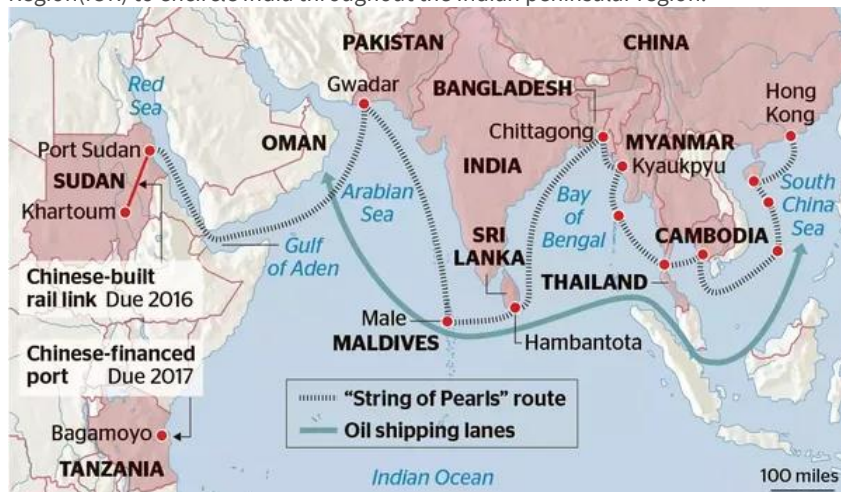
- 1) Taking over of Hambantota port on 99 years leaves by China.
- 2) East Container Terminal of Colombo port given to China in a contract.
- This could be considered a road to ruin.

**The topic for the next class: Continuation of India's assistance to Sri Lanka, the Political Crises in Sri Lanka, and Indo-Myanmar relations.**

**International Relations Class 07**

#### QUERIES RESOLUTION (1:05 PM)

- The Chinese **String of Pearl's** policy to take strategic positions in and around the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) to encircle India throughout the Indian peninsular region.



- **Debt Trap diplomacy** is a way /tool for the Chinese to get access to strategic points across the Indian maritime boundary in Indian ocean littoral states like Sri Lanka, Pakistan, etc through extending loans without much transparent risk assessment.
- **Belt & Road** initiative is a larger Chinese project regarding gaining seamless logistics across different geographies; it includes the goals including and beyond String of Pearl's policy.



- There are no objective water-tight differences between these policies and both the goals and objectives can overlap.
- After the underwhelming performances of the **Hambantota** and **Gwadar** projects, the nature of debt trap diplomacy got evident.
- Initially, these projects were touted as having very good growth potential.
- Once the countries get into the debt trap, they have already invested large funds through Chinese loans, so pulling back gets very loss-making.

#### CONTINUATION OF SRI LANKA'S ECONOMIC CRISIS (1:15 PM)

- **Dependence on Imports:**
- Apart from Covid and the Chinese debt trap, Sri Lankan over-dependence on imports, for even basic necessities proved disastrous.
- **Underperforming tourism industry:**

- Tourism contributed up to 10% of Sri Lankan GDP.
- Tourism got affected after the **2019 Easter Bombings**, and things got worse after the pandemic.
- More than two lakh people lost their jobs.
- There was also a loss of vital forex exchange in terms of dollars.
- **Currency depreciation:**
- Covid reduced Sri Lankan exports which also reduced dollars in Sri Lanka.
- Along with reduced tourism income, worker remittances, and dollar inflow in Sri Lanka were reduced.
- Forex reserves got depleted for continuing vital imports( sugar, dairy products, wheat, etc).
- As a result, Sri Lanka's currency depreciated, which made imports costlier.
- **Rising Inflation:**
- The printing of new currency increased liquidity, purchasing power, and demand, at a time when supply was not increasing.
- As a result, inflation increased which further devalued the currency.
- Sri Lanka was hence trapped in midst of many interrelated factors.
- **Food Shortage:**
- Sri Lanka went for an all-organic approach and chemical fertilizers were outrightly banned.
- Food production dropped and became insufficient for both exports and consumption.
- **High Debt: GDP ratio:**
- Sri Lanka had around 80% Debt: GDP ratio
- Sri Lanka had around \$ 51 billion in foreign debt out of which \$ 28 billion must be repaid by 2028.
- **Russia-Ukraine war:**
- Russia had been one of the largest markets for Sri Lanka tea and tourism.
- The all-organic approach also decreased tea production in Sri Lanka.

#### INDIA'S ASSISTANCE TO SRI LANKA

- In January 2022, India announced a \$900 million loan to Sri Lanka.
- **Why did India go for helping Sri Lanka?:**
- Timely Indian intervention will stop Chinese inroads in Sri Lanka.
- Increasing the Indian presence in the Indian Ocean Region.
- Soft power projection.
- Stopping the influx of Tamil refugees.
- India did not want another failing state in its neighborhood.
- **Four Pillar Initiative:**
- **I. Line of Credit:**
- Lines of credit for food, medicines and fuel purchases are granted by India.
- **II. Currency Swap:**
- India and Sri Lanka agreed to transact in terms of US dollars and Sri Lankan currency which will bolster Sri Lankan dollar reserves and Indian trade with Sri Lanka.
- India and Sri Lanka also agreed to trade in their respective currencies.
- **III. Modernization projects:**
- India offered modernization of the Sri Lankan **Trincomalee** harbor(5th largest natural harbor in the world).
- It will help India with the storage of petroleum there.
- It will give strategic gains as Trincomalee harbor lies not far from the Chinese-aided Hambantota port.
- **IV. Investments:**
- Infusion of private capital by the Indian private sector in Sri Lanka in designated sectors like the hospitality sector.

#### QUESTION DISCUSSION (2:00 PM)

- **The economic emergency in Sri Lanka is a challenge as well as an opportunity for India to improve bilateral relations with the island nation. Comment (250 words).**
- **Approach:**
- We can start the answer by mentioning some recent events like the approval of the IMF bailout for Sri Lanka.
- Then we need to mention the issues in Sri Lanka- Currency depreciation, rising inflation, food shortage, etc.
- Then we need to show how it was a **challenge for India**.
- We can start with economic challenges.



- Indian exports to Sri Lanka also decreased.
- We can substantiate our arguments by giving some statistics:
- 

Year	Indian Exports to Sri Lanka as a percentage of total Indian exports
2015	2.16
2022	1.3

- Indian automobile firms like Tata motors stopped exports of vehicle kits to Sri Lanka.
- Then we can take the social challenges:
- Fear of the Sri Lankan Tamil refugee influx in India.
- Sri Lanka might go into a tighter Chinese embrace.
- we must then mention how it gave give India **opportunities**.
- **Political - Strategic opportunities:**
- This could be an opportunity to manifest India's **neighborhood-first** policy.
- India can use this opportunity to balance its diplomatic ties with Sri Lanka which has been distinct owing to Sri Lanka's proximity with China.
- Helping Sri Lanka in this hour of crisis would help India to keep Sri Lanka out of the Chinese string of pearls strategy, especially in the IOR and Indo-Pacific.
- **Social opportunities:**
- Appeasing domestic Tamilian audience.
- **Economic opportunities:**
- The developmental partnership would increase the presence of Indian private players in Sri Lanka.
- India can plug the supply gaps owing to the sudden halt in Sri Lankan exports in the global tea market.
- Plug the supply gaps even in the textiles-apparel markets.
- Many supply orders from the UK, EU, Latin America, etc are now diverted to India.
- We must then mention that after consideration of strategic, social, and economic considerations and by the virtue of being the net security provider of the region, India offered timely help both for the short and long term.
- We must then conclude by briefly mentioning the four-pillar initiatives.

#### WAY FORWARD (2:22 PM):

- Implementing the **13th Amendment**( more political space for Tamils) in letter and spirit
- Implementing democracy in true spirit.
- The militarization of administration should be stopped.
- Increase agricultural productivity.
- Job opportunities should be increased in the non-farming sector.
- Revival of the tourism sector.
- India can help build supply chains both in goods and services.
- India must offer policy advice as far as accommodating minorities are concerned.
- A \$2.9 billion IMF bailout has been approved, after a written assurance by India, China, and Japan.
- Prospects for **circular economy**-regenerative/restorative economy which implies a shift toward renewable energy resources, creation of local jobs, decreasing dependence on imports, etc.
- **Areas of Cooperation:**
- **Economic cooperation:** India and Sri Lanka are member nations of several multilateral organizations like SAARC, the South Asia Co-Operative Environment Program, the South Asian Economic Union, and BIMSTEC.
- India is Sri Lanka's third largest export destination, after USA and UK.
- India-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement (ISFTA) came into effect in March 2000.
- Sri Lanka is one of India's largest trading partners among SAARC and India in turn is Sri Lanka's largest trade partner globally.
- The agreement CEPA is yet to be signed between the countries.

#### CHALLENGES IN INDIA-SRI LANKA RELATIONS (2:40 PM)

- **I.** Ties began to worsen in February 2021 when Sri Lanka backed out from the tripartite agreement involving India-Sri Lanka- Japan for its **East Container Terminal** project at **Colombo port**.
- This contact was later given to China.
- However, the west container terminal contact( of Colombo port) was given to India ( Adani group).
- **II. Growing Chinese footprint in Sri Lanka:**

- China has become the largest creditor in Sri Lanka.
- China has made massive investments in infrastructural projects in Sri Lanka.
- Sri Lanka has also decided to start Colombo port city project (Special Economic Zone) with Chinese funding.
- Leasing of Hambantota port to China to 99 years.
- Jaffna Hybrid energy project- A Chinese company has been awarded this contract for a hybrid renewable energy system about 50 km away from the Tamil Nadu coast.
- Therefore, India has raised objections over security concerns.
- **III. Trust deficit:**
- Switching sides from Sri Lanka to China.
- Not signing of Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA).
- Non-implementation of the **13th amendment**.
- Fishermen issue:
- (a) Straying of fishermen off the **Katchatheevu** coast and **Talaimannar coast**.



- The 1974 agreement allowed Indian fishermen to access Katchatheevu island for rest, drying of rest, and taking part in the St Anthony festival.
- (b) Indian fishermen using mechanized trawlers which deprives Sri Lankan fishermen of their catch and damages their fishing boats.
- The Sri Lankan government wants India to ban mechanized trawlers however India has argued for regulating these trawlers instead of banning them altogether.

#### WAY FORWARD (3:00 PM)

- Prioritizing our country's interest:
- India considers Sri Lanka as priority#1 in the defense sector.
- Leveraging the strength of economic relations counter China, after the revelation of debt-trap diplomacy.
- Leveraging India's soft power- education, tourism, etc.
- **Deepen people-to-people contact:**
- I. Initiation of schemes like the **Buddhist circuit** in 2021, Buddhism knowledge, and tourism corridor.
- II. A \$15 million grant has been given for the creation of the tourism corridor.
- Taking advantage of regional platforms like BIMSTEC, SAARC, and Indian Ocean Rim Association.
- CEPA must be signed to improve economic cooperation.
- Issues of fishermen should be resolved through bilateral engagements.
- History, cultural closeness, and geographical proximity make India and Sri Lanka natural and permanent partners.

#### INDIA- MYANMAR RELATIONS (3:24 PM)

- India-Myanmar relations and Indian response post the coup shows a realistic and practical shift in Indian foreign policy
- **Location:**
- Myanmar stands at the center of India and South East Asian geography.



- Myanmar is the only South East Asian country that shares land borders with our North East states.



- Myanmar can be very helpful for connectivity of the Indian mainland and North eastern states, bypassing the **Siliguri corridor (chicken's neck)**.
- The two countries share a 725 km long maritime boundary in the Bay of Bengal.
- **Myanmar is critical for Indian security states:**
- Northeast states in India are affected by left-wing extremism and narco-trade threats through **the golden triangle** (Myanmar, Laos, Thailand).



- 
- **Insurgent linkages:**
- Many insurgent groups in the northeast have linkages with the armed insurgent groups of North Western Myanmar.
- **For example-** the **Kachin Independence Army**.
- It is found that the Myanmar-China border is the epicenter of local armed insurgent groups such as **ULFA** in India.
- Myanmar has the confluence of two foreign policies of India- **Neighbourhood First & Act East**.
- Myanmar is the gateway to South East Asia.
- Myanmar is an essential element in India's practice of regional diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific and IOR.
- **Chinese angle ( Kyaukpyu port):**
- As a counter, India developed the **Sittwe port** under the **Diamond necklace & Iron Curtain policy**.



- Myanmar is at the crossroads of South Asia and South East Asia.
- It is a land bridge between South Asia and South East Asia.
- It has been an integral part of any strategy that **QUAD** adopts to balance the power in South Asia and South East Asia.
- **Rohingya refugees** have been among the most persecuted ethnicity in the world, mainly concentrated around the **Rakhine** province of Myanmar.
- Regarding the Rohingya refugee issue, India took a different stand from what it took regarding Tibetan refugees, East Pakistan refugees, and Tamil refugees.
- The reason behind this shift was the importance of Myanmar in the Indian foreign policy objectives.

**The topic for the next class - Continuation of India-Myanmar relations, in the backdrop of ASEAN.**

**International Relations Class 08**

#### **OVERVIEW OF TODAY'S CLASS (1:07 PM)**

- Indian stand on the Myanmar Coup and the reasons behind the stand.
- The Indian policy shift regarding the Myanmar Coup in 1987 and 2021.
- Rohingya issue: Indian stand and the reasons behind Indian stand
- Mohammad Salimullah case.
- Indian policy framework for refugee management.

#### **Background of the Rohingya issue:**

- Myanmar citizenship laws do not treat Rohingyas as citizens.

- Myanmar's public perception believes them to be migrants from Bangladesh, a claim that Bangladesh denies.
- Bangladesh faces diplomatic, and economical pressures in accommodating the Rohingya refugees.

#### **Events preceding the Myanmar 2021 coup:**

- After facing internal strife for a long time after the general elections in 2010 things appeared stable.
- The military-backed Union Solidarity and Development Party got a majority.
- The National League of Democracy(NLD)- the party of **Aung San Suu Kyi** performed well in the 2012 by-elections and got a majority in the 2015 general elections.
- She was constitutionally barred from holding any constitutional post.
- In February 2021, Myanmar Military (Tatmadaw) seized power citing election irregularities in the 2020 general elections in which NLD had secured a majority.

#### **REACTION OVER MILITARY RULE (1:25 PM):**

- **Condemned by:**
- UN General Secretary, USA, western European leaders, South East Asian democracies.
- They also demanded the release of captive leaders and the restoration of democracy.
- USA threatened economic sanctions and freezing of Tatmadaw's assets in the USA.
- **Not condemned by:**
- India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, China, Russia, Vietnam, Thailand, and the Philippines.
- Russian and Chinese representatives held meeting with Tatmadaw days before the coup.

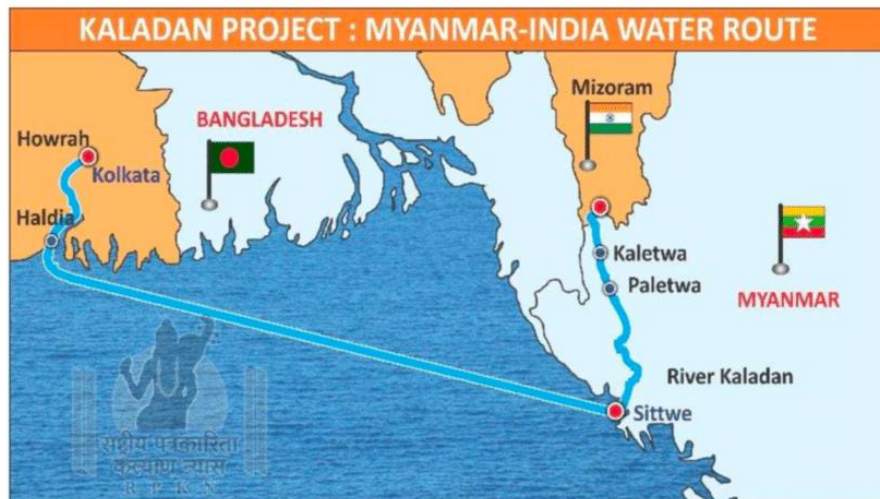
#### **ASEAN's stand:**

- ASEAN held a high-level summit to discuss the Myanmar crisis on 24th April 2021.
- A **5-point consensus** was agreed upon at the summit:
- I. Immediate cessation of violence in Myanmar.
- II. Constructive dialogue among all the parties.
- III. Appointment of a special ASEAN envoy to facilitate dialogue.
- IV. Provision of humanitarian assistance.
- V. A visit by the envoy to Myanmar.
- ASEAN is cautious due to its geographical proximity to Myanmar.

#### **Indian stand on the military coup:**

- **Note to students:** Including comparative analysis from Indian and abroad examples would make the answer better.
- **Indian policy shift:**
- **Indian stand** on a similar Myanmar situation in 1987:
- India publicly criticized the situation immediately.
- Indian PM Rajiv Gandhi went to Myanmar and called for a quick restoration of democracy.
- In 1989, Indian Minister of External Affairs PV Narasimha Rao expressed that India will give monetary assistance to pro-democracy forces in Myanmar.
- Indian **present stand** after the February 2021 coup:
- India did not immediately criticize the coup and took its time to gauge the situation.
- At the 4th QUAD Foreign Minister's summit, India expressed that it did not favor economic sanctions.
- India told that it was concerned about the crisis as Myanmar shares a land border and has infrastructural interests- (484 million in the **Kaladan project**).





- India said that with Myanmar it has some specific concerns, hence it cannot support national sanctions over Myanmar.
- **Indian-specific concerns in Myanmar:**
- **Security-** North East insurgency, Drug trafficking( Myanmar is part of the **golden triangle** and the world's second-largest opium producer).
- **Connectivity-** Myanmar acts as a land border between South Asia and South East Asia.
- **Social-** Economic sanctions might push more people towards anti-social activities.
- At the QUAD summit, India highlighted **three concerns**:
- I. Security concerns.
- II. Preferential treatment of the global north regarding military rule- Pakistan has the status of a **major non-NATO ally**, despite being under military control for most of its existence.
- III. India supported the ASEAN five-point consensus.
- Supporting the ASEAN consensus helped to portray that India does not wish to interfere in Myanmar's internal relations.

#### CRITICIZATION OF INDIAN POLICY SHIFT (2:00 PM):

- Some people criticized the change in Indian responses to the coups in 1987 and 2021 as legitimizing the coup.
- We need to look at the issue from a practical point of view.
- The terms used by MEA releases- Chairman, administrative council, etc. also invited such criticisms.
- The Indian decision to provide Myanmar with RADAR technology and Remote Controlled weapon systems through PSU Bharat Electronics Limited (BEL) also invited criticism.
- The step was prudent as India had intelligence briefings regarding collusion between some Myanmar-based insurgent groups and Pakistan's ISI.
- India also attended the ASEAN Defence Minister's meeting on counter-terrorism which was criticized because even representatives from Tatmadaw attended the meeting.
- India also set up an India center at Yangon for further economic cooperation.
- India announced to provide Myanmar with 1 million India-made covid vaccination doses and 10,000 tonnes of rice and wheat.

#### Response to such criticism:

- India expressed that it will follow a twin-track approach with Myanmar.
- Under this approach, India will carry on diplomatic engagements with the military junta and simultaneously try for democratic restoration in Myanmar.
- The **explicit goal** was to address the specific concerns regarding North East India (security, drugs trafficking).
- The **implicit goal** was to counter-weight Chinese influence in Myanmar and South East Asia.
- The sub-goals under pushing for democratization include- federalism and proportional representation.
- Tatmadaw told to conduct elections in 2023.
- India advised Tatmadaw to come up with a political system that will be accepted by all, with immediate cessation of violence, and release of political leaders.

#### REASONS FOR INVERTED INDIA'S APPROACH/POLICY SPIN/TWIN-TRACK APPROACH TO MYANMAR(2:27 PM):

- **Countering Chinese influence/ Rising Chinese footprint in Myanmar:**

- Initially, after the coup, China distanced itself from the Junta, mostly to ward off the backlash from Myanmar's citizens and international criticisms.
- Recently, China has started to warm up with the military Junta.
- China gave a second-hand Ming-class submarine to Myanmar.
- Myanmar navy has been getting submarine training from China.
- China has also given C-802 anti-ship missiles and home-built aircraft to Myanmar.
- China has been developing China-Myanmar economic corridor under Belt & Road Initiative(BRI).
- BRI is a tool for **infrastructural diplomacy**- diplomacy through making infrastructure in another country.
- **Security apprehensions across the border:**
- Insurgency, drugs, and human trafficking.
- **Act East Policy:**
- Myanmar is the land bridge connecting South Asia and South East Asia.
- **Neighborhood first policy.**
- **Kaladan Multimodal project:**
- To reduce the pressure on the Siliguri corridor (chicken's neck).

#### **Analysis of Indian policy spin:**

- The litmus test for India-Bangladesh relations is because India is continuing relations with Myanmar which has issues with Bangladesh over the **Rohingya issue**.
- Given that more than 1 million Rohingya refugees languish in Bangladesh, bilateral outreach to Myanmar by any country automatically brings Bangladesh's stakes into relational calculus.
- India walks a tightrope in Myanmar as India seeks stability in Myanmar and the region, but without pushing the Junta too hard.
- Pragmatic approach.
- Test case for India-USA relationship in the Indo-Pacific as none of them want greater Chinese influence in the region, and the USA was willing to apply economic sanctions.
- Twin geostrategic goals (implicit and explicit).
- Need for a cautious approach- we do not want our relations with Bangladesh to go wrong.
- India must engage with regional actors(like ASEAN) so that Indian steps do not look intrusive into some other nations' sovereignty.
- China seeks to use Myanmar as a bridge to the Bay of Bengal.

#### **ROHINGYA ISSUE(3:09 PM):**

- Rohingya is a Muslim ethnic group based in the North Eastern Myanmar province of **Rakhine**.
- Under the Myanmar Nationality Law 1982, citizenship is provided only to those groups that settled in Myanmar before 1823.
- Most of the population has been stripped out of citizenship.
- Many later censuses excluded Rohingyas from data collection.
- The crisis started in 2012 when after clashes with the majority Buddhist population, Rohingyas started fleeing to bordering countries.
- The ethnic cleansing got accelerated in 2016-2017, and the issue got international attention.
- **Global response to the issue:**
- **UN:**
- As per the UN, Rohingyas are the most persecuted minority, a textbook example of ethnic cleansing in the world.
- **China:**
- Chose to ignore the issue to not strain its relations with Myanmar which can jeopardize its Bay of Bengal and Indo-Pacific strategy.
- **ASEAN:**
- There was no coordinated response regarding Rohingyas, unlike the stand taken after the 2021 military coup.
- **Bangladesh, India, and Indonesia:**
- They took their respective stands as and when they faced problems.
- In December 2020, Bangladesh sent around 1500 refugees to an isolated **Bhasan Char (floating) Island & Cox Bazaar** in the Bay of Bengal under the **Ashrayan project**.
- This action was condemned as the Bhasan Char island was ecologically unstable and the refugees were not given an informed option.
- **Indian response towards Rohingya refugees:**



- In August 2022, the Union Home Ministry said that the Rohingya refugees in New Delhi will be held at a detention center, before being deported.
- A private member bill was brought for a refugee and asylum policy, which could not pass.
- **India abstained from a UN General Assembly resolution on the issue in 2021.**
- India argued that its views are not reflected in the draft.
- India argued that a consultative and constructive approach involving regional countries is important in resolving the issue.
- **April 2021- Mohamamd Salimullah v/s Union of India:**
- The Supreme Court(SC) did not order the release of Rohingyas reportedly detained in Jammu.
- The right not to be deported is associated with the right to reside or settle in any part of the country under article 19(1)(e), which was a fundamental right available only to Indian citizens.
- The refugees argued on the basis of the **non-refoulement policy** as they were given refugee cards by the UN, but India is not a signatory policy as of now.
- SC held that the detained Rohingya refugees will not be set free and will be deported but under proper procedures.
- The refugees also put the argument that their deportation would be in violation of article 51 (C) as it would violate the Refugee Convention.
- SC replied that India is not a party to the convention, hence no question of violation arrived.

#### **REASONS FOR THE INDIAN STAND (3:35 PM):**

- India held that the issue was an internal issue of Myanmar and that India respects the sovereignty of all states.
- India also held that the issue could also be taken as a regional issue of ASEAN, over which India has no mandate.
- Avoiding conflict of interest with Myanmar which is a very important component of the Act East Policy.
- India is already reeling under a high poverty rate.
- It might set a precedent for future illegal migrants.
- Internal security issues such as there were reports of Islamic radicalism and collusion with Pakistan among the refugees.
- SC also held that Article 19 must be dissociated from Articles 14 and 21.
- **Note: Difference between refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants:**
- **Refugee:**
- A refugee is a person who has fled their own country because they are at risk of serious human rights violations and persecution there.
- **Asylum-seeker:**
- An asylum-seeker is someone who has left his/her country and is seeking protection from persecution and serious human rights violations.
- However, he/she has not yet been legally recognized as a refugee.
- **Migrant:**
- Someone who is staying outside the native his/her native country for any reason, but he/she is neither a refugee nor an asylum-seeker.
- **Indian policy framework for refugees:**
- India lacks a specific policy for refugees.
- However, there is a **Foreigners Act of 1946** under which the central government has unbridled powers to deport foreigners.
- The burden of proof lies on the people.
- The **Citizenship Amendment Act 2019** has no scope for Rohingyas as the act is for the religious prosecution of religious minorities only from Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan.
- India is not a signatory of the **Refugee convention 1951**, nor its **1967 protocol**.
- Refugees and Asylum seekers are entitled to the rights under articles 14, 20, and 21.
- **Non-refoulement:**
  - It is the principle under international law which states that a person fleeing persecution from his/her own country should not be forced to return to his native country

#### **WHY INDIA HAS NOT FRAMED A LAW ON REFUGEE TILL NOW?**

- **Geostrategic reasons:**
- We have a conflict-ridden neighborhood and so we have a customized approach towards refugees.
- **Security concerns:**

- It is difficult to differentiate between refugees and non-state violent actors( terrorists).
- There is a danger of illegal migration from the neighborhood.
- **Pessimism:**
- We do not know the repercussions of a well-formulated refugee policy.
- **Economic cost:**
- Our already scarce resources will be put under greater strain.
- **Open scope of maneuver:**
- We can always be flexible according to our choice.

#### **WHY HASN'T INDIA SIGNED THE 1951 REFUGEE CONVENTION (4:00 PM)**

- **Eurocentric:**
- The convention only deals with the issues in Europe post World War II, and not for other regions.
- **Lop-sided definition of refugees and asylum seekers that favors the west:**
- No category for the violation of economic rights, an issue more prevalent in the global south.
- Poor track record of developed countries in assimilating refugees.
- The convention has become redundant.

**The topic for the next class - India-Nepal relations.**

#### **International Relations Class 09**

#### **CHALLENGES ASSOCIATED WITH INDIA'S APPROACH TOWARDS REFUGEES (1:06 PM)**

- Lack of differentiation between refugees and illegal migrants.
- **Ambiguity in the framework**
- In the Foreigner's act, of 1946 both categories of people i.e. illegal immigrants and refugees are viewed as one and are covered likewise.
- **Ad-hocism**
- The absence of such a legal framework leads to ambiguity, therefore, India's refugee approach is guided by Adhocism.
- This enables the govt to pick and choose what kind of refugees it wants to admit for whatever political and security concerns.
- This even sometimes leads to the politicization of refugee protection.
- **The issue concerning CAA, 2019**
- Critiques argue that since the CAA act excludes certain religious sections from its purview, it leads to discrimination.
- **Open border policy**
- India's open border policy with countries like Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and earlier the influx of Tibetan refugees does create a challenge as far as the refugee approach is concerned.
- **Way forward for legislation on refugees by India:**
- Revision of Model laws by the Expert committee.
- Temporary shelter and work permit for refugees
- Make a distinction between temporary migrants workers, illegal immigrants and refugees
- Taking care of refugees in India is a moral duty for the state.
- **Way forward for Rohingya issue:**
- Creative diplomacy- Persuade Myanmar to look into the Rohingya issue
- Planning needs to be short-term- Rehabilitation by providing education, health service and work permit
- Rolling back counterproductive measures
- Collaboration and discourse with neighbours- Myanmar, Bangladesh and ASEAN countries

#### **INDO- NEPAL RELATIONS (1:40 PM)**

- **Importance of Nepal for India**
- **1) Location**
- Nepal is a landlocked country.
- Nepal shares border with 5 Indian states(U.P., Uttarakhand, Bihar, West Bengal, and Sikkim)
- **2) Strategic Importance**
- Nepal acts as a **buffer** state for India.
- **Security** concerns E.g. Fake currency, Illegal migrations etc
- Chinese angle
- **3) Manifestation of Neighbourhood First Policy**
- 4) Nepal's Hydroelectric potential.
- 5) Experimental place for Global **Climate change**.

- 6) Potential for **Mountain economy**- Tourism, Tea, Minerals, Hydroelectricity, Medicinal plants etc
- **Historical background:**
- The root lies the ancient times i.e. Sakya Clan and Buddhism,
- **Early 1700-** The dynastic rule for the Prime Minister, known as '**Rana**' started and continued till 1951
- **Period of Civil unrest:**
- In 2005, the Maoist movement fully manifested.
- In 2007, the Interim constitution was prepared.
- In 2008, The Monarchy got abolished.
- In 2025, Nepal accepted a new constitution.
- **Why in news?**
- In March 2023, newly elected President **Ram Chandra Poudel** took the oath of office.
- On June 17, 2022, India and Nepal marked **75 years of diplomatic relations.**
- **26th May 2022-** PM Modi visited Nepal and met his counterpart Sher Bahadur Deuba.
- Key highlights
- Launch of the **India international centre of Buddhist culture and heritage** in Lumbini.
- **Hydropower projects-**
- a) Arun-4 hydropower project
- b) West Seti hydropower project in Nepal
- Setting up of a Satellite Campus of the Indian institute of technology in Rupandehi.
- **Pancheswar Multipurpose project**

#### AREAS OF COOPERATION (02:23 PM)

- **1) Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950**
- Permits close relationships and collaboration on matters of defence and foreign affairs.
- The two countries agreed to grant reciprocal basis, the same privileges in matters of residence, ownership of property, trade and business, and movement.
- As per the treaty, Nepal would consult India whenever they undertake any Arms import from any nation other than India.
- **Critical Issues in Indo Nepal treaty, 1950**
- It was only after this treaty that a well-identified open border was formally accepted between the two countries.
- The treaty favours Nepal more than India but Nepal still has certain issues with it.
- i) Nepal wants to revisit the 1950 treaty in order to reflect new realities of contemporary bilateral ties.
- ii) Nepal argues that the treaty was signed on India's behalf by someone of lesser designation than the PM of Nepal and therefore, is seen by Kathmandu as an insult or disrespect.
- iii) Nepal also have reservations with **Article 2, 6 and 7 of the Treaty.**
- **Article 2** states that govt should inform each other of any serious friction with any neighbouring state likely to cause a breach in relations between India and Nepal.
- **Article 6 and 7** stipulates India and Nepal will give the same privilege of economic activity, employment, residence and property, to each other's citizens.
- iv) Treaty obliges Nepal to inform India and seek its consent for military hardware purchases from a third country.
- **India's Arguments**
- Whenever Nepal has asked for a change in the treaty, India has accepted the request but the absence of consensus in Nepal or issues that need revision prevents any meaningful engagements.
- The matter worsened during an economic blockade due to agitation by the Madeshi population in 2015 over the newly promulgated constitution.

#### WAY FORWARD (02:46 PM)

- 1) India guided by **Gujarat doctrine** must ensure that it would not interfere in the internal matters of Nepal.
- Also in the 2014 visit of the Indian PM to Nepal, it was assured that this matter would be taken up.
- **2) Trade and Economy**
- India is Nepal's largest trade partner.
- India is the largest source of foreign investments.
- Nepal is an important export market for India.
- hydropower potential.
- Nepal is the largest borrower of Indian Currency in South Asia.

- **3) Power sector**
- The Hydroelectric power projects will go a long way in mending the bilateral relationship.
- From a geo-strategic analysis, this will also help to firmly establish India as Nepal's key partner in the energy sector.
- The power sector is also a flashpoint for the race of influence in South Asia between India and China especially now that the US looks at India as a counterweight to China in Indo Pacific region.
- It could be argued that this is key to unlocking Nepal's aspiration of Hydro led prosperity.
- **4) Connectivity**
- 1950 treaty of Peace and Friendship.
- An MOU has been signed between both Govts for laying an **electric rail track linking Kathmandu with Raxaul in India.**
- Develop the **Inland waterways linking Sagarmatha (Mt. Everest) with Sagar (Indian Ocean).**
- In Jan 2022, the Union Cabinet cleared a plan to build a new bridge connecting India and Nepal over the Mahakali river and link Dharchula in Uttarakhand with Nepal's Dharchula.
- **5) Development Assistance**
- The areas of assistance include infrastructure, health, water resources and educational and rural & community development.
- **6) Defence cooperation**
- Capacity building.
- Military exercise- **Suryakiran**
- Modernization of the Nepal Army.
- Gurkha regiment in Indian Military.
- **7) Cultural Collaboration**
- India has signed three **Sister city agreements** for the twinning of-
  - i) Kathmandu- Varanasi
  - ii) Lumbini- Bodhgaya
  - iii) Janakpur- Ayodhya
- **8) Humanitarian Assistance**
- 2015- **Operation Maitri** is the rescue and relief operation in Nepal by the Indian Govt and Indian Armed forces in the aftermath of the Nepal Earthquake.
- **9) Multilateral partnership**
- SAARC
- BIMSTEC
- Non-Alignment Movement
- BBIN corridor

#### **CHALLENGES IN INDO-NEPAL RELATIONS (03:22 PM)**

- **1) Territorial disputes**
- Kalapani dispute
- Kalapani is a strategically important tri-junction between India, China and Nepal in the Pithoragarh district of Uttarakhand.
- Both India and Nepal claim Kalapani as an integral part of their territory.
- **Refer to the handout**
- **Susta Issue**
- Susta lies on the banks of River Gandak.
- Importance of **Lipulekh**
- Lipulekh has a security implication as far as China is concerned.
- The link road via Lipulekh- Himalayan pass is considered one of the shortest trade routes between India and China.
- It is also a pilgrim route for Kailash Mansarovar.
- **2) Nepal's new constitution and Madhesi's issue**
- The new constitution in Nepal gave political privileges to the ruling hill tribes and discriminated against people living in the plains including Madhesi.
- It also made it difficult for Madhesi to obtain citizenship in Nepal.
- India issued an unofficial blockade in 2015 regarding the Madhesi issue.
- Nepal then sought help from China which immediately obliged since then India and Nepal's relationship has been under stress.

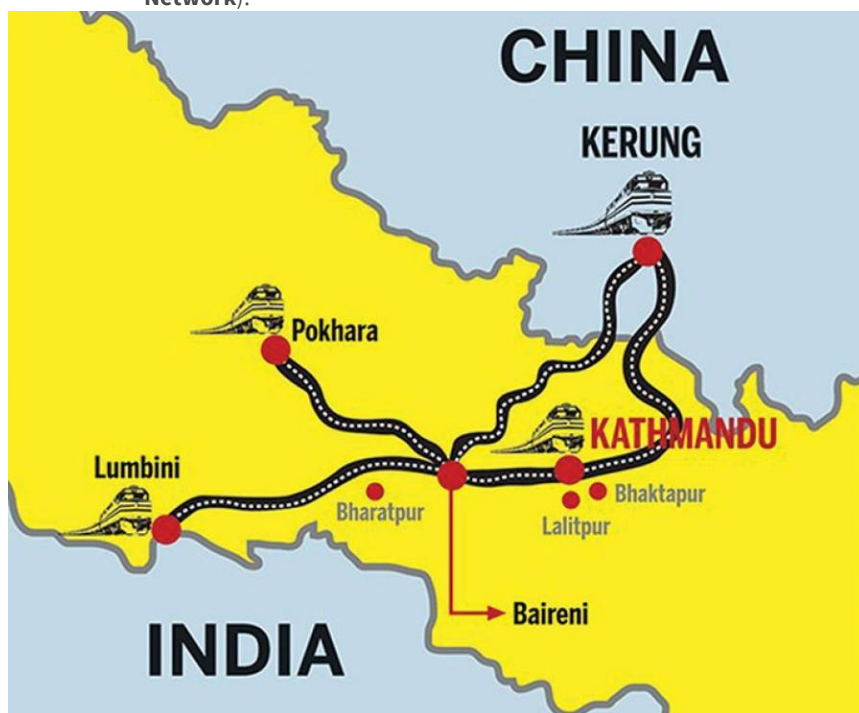
- It is often said 'Whenever India has overplayed its hand, the bilateral relationship suffers'.
- **3) Nepali nationalism and anti-Indian sentiments in Nepal**
- **4) Pancheswar multi-purpose project**
- The **issues** in this project
- The Nepali parliament, at that time, had a strong anti-Mahakali treaty lobby apart from civil society which questioned the ecological, economic, and political implications of the treaty.
- Ecological issues- geological issues as the area is seismically active.
- Economic- Loss of livelihood and the land of people living adjoining this area. Also, demands were made for compensation.
- **5) Deeply divided internal politics and unstable democracy**

**The Topic for the next class- Discussion on Indo-Nepal relations will continue and the new topic of India-Bhutan relations will start.**

**International Relations Class 10**

#### **INDIA-NEPAL RELATIONS (CONTINUED) (01:05 PM)**

- India imposed an economic blockade on Nepal in 2016 as Nepal tried to revive a trade and transit agreement with China.
- **Why does India consider China a Challenge in Nepal?**
- China is seen by India as a challenge to the settlement of its **boundary dispute**.
- China is opening Naval Facilities for Nepal and providing access to **Trans-Himalayan Railways**.
- This will again decrease Nepal's dependency on India and will also reduce the leverage which India has with Nepal to settle the boundary dispute.
- Nepal is a key partner in China's BRI (**Under Trans-Himalayan Multi-Dimensional Connectivity Network**).



- **China's soft policy :**
- China has opened up many **Mandarin Language Training Schools** in Nepal. Especially in Terai Region.
- This means mandarin training to Madheshis so that they emerge as a potential laborer to work in the ever-expanding Chinese Economy.
- **Development of Infrastructure:**
- China and Nepal have signed agreements for **road connectivity**, especially between Kathmandu and Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR).
- **Economic Policy:**
- Opening up of **Chinese Bank** and other Financial Services in Nepal.
- Both sides have agreed to finalize China-Nepal FTA.
- **Administrative and Security Cooperation:**

- A treaty has been signed on **mutual legal assistance** in criminal matters, which will allow China to investigate cases of crimes that might target Nepal.
- Nepal has acknowledged **Taiwan** as an inalienable part of China.
- China has also offered training opportunities to Nepalese Law Enforcement Officers.
- **Madan Bhandari University** for Science and Technology is supposed to be built in Nepal with Chinese assistance.
- **Reasons for Nepal's growing proximity with China:**
- Nepal wants to increase its **strategic leverage** with India.
- China wants to avoid the formation of any **anti-China stance by Tibetans** living in Nepal.
- Misunderstanding between India and Nepal over issues like Constitution Making, border disputes, and river treaties.
- India's **delay in implementation of various Projects** in Nepal vis-a-vis China. E.g. Pancheshwar Multipurpose project. This has widened the trust deficit.
- The potential benefit from China-Nepal collaboration. E.g. Chinese Railways will give an opportunity for Chinese Tourists to Visit Lumbini.

#### **WAY FORWARD IN INDIA-NEPAL RELATIONS (01:52 PM)**

- India should stop looking at Nepal purely through a **security prism** and at the level of bilateral relations only as transactional and part of the Zero-Sum game with China.
- India should focus on working towards a **multi-faceted relationship** to the advantage of both nations.
- **Dialogues** should be made regarding the territorial disputes on a priority basis and India should show its sensitivity in this regard.
- Resolutions regarding disputes should not be on an ad-hoc basis and in this sense, the boundary dispute resolution between India and Bangladesh could act as a role model.
- India should maintain a policy of keeping away from the **internal affairs** of Nepal and should only guide the country wherever asked.
- Strengthening **economic ties**- Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement between India and Nepal should be given immediate importance.
- Use of **soft diplomacy** (greater P2P contacts and engagement of civil society).

#### **INDIAN & BHUTAN (02:26 PM)**



- **Importance of Bhutan:**
- **Location:** The shared boundary with Sikkim, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, and West Bengal.
- **Trade issues:** Bhutan is dependent on India for trade.
- **Economic significance:** it is a very good market for Indian products.
- Hydro-power collaboration
- **Strategic importance:** To counter anti-Indian activities.
- Access to North East via Siliguri Corridor (Chicken Neck).
- Buffer to China
- Security in Northeast
- Chinese inroads in Bhutan.
- Confluence of Neighbourhood first and Act East Policy.

#### HISTORY OF TIES IN BRIEF (02:53 PM)

- **1910-** Bhutan became a protectorate of British India.
- **1947-** India recognized Bhutan as an independent country
- **1949-** Indo-Bhutan Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1949
- Article 2 of the treaty gave India a role in guiding Bhutan's foreign policy.
- **2007-** Revised Indo-Bhutan Treaty of Peace and Friendship 2007.
- **After 2014:** The first visit by PM Modi to Bhutan, India sent free COVID-19 vaccines and special trade concessions on the export of wheat and sugar in 2022.

**Questions: Why is Indo- Bhutan relations called special in nature?**

**Approach:**

- 1. Neither government shall allow the use of its territory for activities harmful to the national interest and the interest of others.
- 2. Equal Justice for their subjects in each other territories (National Treatment).
- 3. Free trade and commerce between India and Bhutan.

- 4. Bhutan shall be free to import from India whatever arms and ammunition, machinery may be required.
- 5. India give loan for hydroelectric projects and purchases power from Bhutan.
- 6. India Provides budgetary support to Bhutan's development and backs it against Chinese Expansionism
- **Area of Cooperation:**
- **Trade:** Indo-Bhutan Trade and Transit agreement: Free trade regime between India and Butan
- Startup ecosystem through National Knowledge Network and Druk-REN connection.
- **Hydro-power collaboration:** In Chukha HEP, Kurichhu HEP, and Tala HEP.
- India is helping Bhutan in the development of a power plant on the Mangdechhu River through the 2006 Agreement on Cooperation in Hydropower.

**Question: India-Bhutan hydropower relation has never been a zero-sum relation?**

**Approach:**

- It will be a win-win situation for both.
- **Benefits for India:** Most of west Bengal relies on electricity imported from Bhutan.
- The border infrastructure and management near Siliguri Corridor also becomes easier due to electricity import.
- Electricity from Bhutan can be diverted to our seven northeast sisters.
- **Benefits for Bhutan:** The hydropower collaboration provides electricity to Bhutan for its own domestic uses.
- Bhutan will get revenue from surplus electricity exported to India
- **Military Cooperation:**
- 2000-strong Indian Military Training Team is permanently based in western Bhutan.
- India cooperates with Royal Bhutan Army in matters of anti-insurgency and counter-terrorism.
- **Multilateral Partnership:**
- SAARC, BIMSTEC, BBIN
- **Tourism:** No Visa Required.
- **Other Cooperation:** Maitri Initiative, Indo-Bhutan Satellite.

**Question: Why Bhutan is India's Achilles heel?**

**Approach:**

- **1. Location:** It is a buffer between India and China. Bhutan is close to our North-Eastern State.
- **2. Chinese activities in Chumbi Valley:** US Annual Defence Report for 2021 suggests that there is the rising intrusive activity of China in Chumbi Valley.
- **3. Doklam Issue:** A small plateau at the trijunction between India, Bhutan, and China.

#### **CHALLENGES IN INDO-BHUTAN (03:45 PM)**

- Instances of Indian interference.
- **Politics behind hydropower collaboration:**
- There is a growing feeling in Bhutan that India's assisted development of Bhutan's hydropower production is driven by self-interest as India is getting Bhutan's surplus power at relatively cheaper rates.
- Bhutan is concerned regarding the profitability of its hydropower projects in wake of India's shift to new renewable sources of energy like wind, solar or geothermal energy.
- **Security Concern:** Because of location.
- China's Angle
- **Way Forward**
- India Bhutan relationship is one of tremendous potential and opportunities. India needs to step up efforts to **publicize the benefits** that accrue to Bhutan from Indian projects.
- India should explore new areas like **space, pharma**, and areas within the **mountain economy**.
- India should try to remain as much as possible out of Bhutan's internal matters. Though, it can act as a mentor.
- Safety from China is a concern for both nations. Therefore, both sides need to work on it.
- Greater and more frequent **G2G engagement**.



- The delay in hydro-power construction by Indian companies needs to be resolved.
- Both countries need to enhance connectivity. Since this is a central pillar of India's **Neighborhood First and the Act East Policy**.

**The Topic for Next Class: India-Afghanistan Relations.**  
**International Relations Class 11**

**HISTORY OF POWER STRUGGLE IN AFGHANISTAN (01:08 PM)**

- Afghanistan is a landlocked country located at the crossroads of Central Asia and South Asia.
- It is also referred to as the **Heart of Asia**.
- Refer to the handout.
- **1823**- The history of Afghanistan as a State began in 1823. The land served as a center of the ancient Silk Road.
- **1921**- The British got defeated in the Third British-Afghan War (1919-21), and Afghanistan becomes an independent nation.
- **1926**- Amir Amanullah Khan declares Afghanistan a monarchy, by 1929, the king abdicates and leaves the country.
- Refer to the handout.

**WHY AFGHANISTAN BECAME THE CENTRE OF GREAT GAMES? (01:41 PM)**

- **The interest of the USA in Afghanistan**
- The proximity of Afghanistan to China and Pakistan.
- Curb Iran from being a regional hegemon.
- Exploiting Afghanistan's natural resources such as Lithium.
- Seek revenue from the Opium trade.
- **The interest of Russia in Afghanistan**
- Afghanistan lies close to central Asia and is the soft belly of Russia.
- There could be a possible spillover of violence from Afghanistan to Central Asia thereby threatening Russia's Caucasus region.
- **Baku-Tbilisi-Cehyan (BTC) pipeline**
- Russia has a monopoly on the trade of gas and oil from Central Asia to Europe and South Asia.
- The USA plans to create an alternative pipeline to reduce Russia's monopoly. E.g. the BTC pipeline.
- USA involvement in BTC would solve two purposes-
  - i) Creating an alternative pipeline outside Russian influence.
  - ii) Greater involvement of the USA in the affairs of three countries in Russia's backyard.
- Hence, Russia wants its stakes in Afghanistan so that its hegemony over oil and gas remains in South Asia.
- There are threats to Russia from Afghanistan as far as drug trafficking is concerned.
- **Interest in China**
- i) A proxy war is going on between USA and China.
- The USA had tried to contain China from the Eastern side with Japan's assistance.
- The USA wants to block China from the western gateway that is through Afghanistan as well. Therefore, Afghanistan is important for China.
- ii) Due to the proximity of Afghanistan to the Xinjiang province of China, China does not want Afghanistan to be a support base for Uyghurs.
- **Interest in Iran**
- i) Iran does not want any government tilted towards Saudi Arabia in Afghanistan.
- ii) Iran also does not favor the presence of the USA in Afghanistan.
- **Interest in Pakistan**
- i) The rising Pashtun ambitions in the northwest frontier of Pakistan.
- ii) The uncertain status of the **Durand line**.
- **Analysis**
- Pakistan wants a strategic depth in Afghanistan but it is not able to create one.
- Pakistan does not want an Indian-friendly govt in Afghanistan.
- In case of war with Pakistan, India can open a second front in the Northwestern part to release pressure from Kashmir.

**THE INTEREST OF INDIA IN AFGHANISTAN (02:33 PM)**

- For other international actors, Afghanistan could be a variable-sum game, but for India and Pakistan, it would be a zero-sum game.
- **1) Geo-Strategic significance**

- Afghanistan is critical in terms of outreach to the Central Asian Republics (CAR).
- it also shares a border with India's POK.
- Counterbalance to Pakistan.
- Refer to the handout.
- **2) Economic significance**
- Gateway to Central Asia.
- **a) TAPI project**
- Refer to the handout.
- **b) Chabahar port**
- Refer to the handout.
- **Why Iran's Chabahar port is important for India?**
- i) The Chabahar project is seen as a game changer for physical connectivity between India and CAR (Central Asian Republics)
- This port would serve as a link to **Delaram Zaranj Highway** in Afghanistan.
- This would establish access to the **Garland highway** in Afghanistan.
- This would open the Indian market to Afghan products and other exports.
- This would also help combat illicit drug production.
- ii) Iran is India's gateway to the middle east and Chabahar port will open up commercial opportunities for India in the middle east.
- iii) The port is just 72 km away from Gwadar port.
- Therefore, it can help India to monitor Pakistani and Chinese activities.
- Refer to the handout.
- **c) North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC project)**
- **March 2021**- India expressed its intent to include Chabahar port in 13 nations' INSTC project and to expand its membership to include Afghanistan and Uzbekistan.
- The land route via Kabul and Tashkent would form INSTSC's Eastern Corridor.
- This would establish our greater presence in Afghanistan in terms of trade opportunities.
- **3) Security Concerns**
- Refer to the handout.
- **India's Afghan policy**
- **1) Till the end of the Cold war**
- Since Afghanistan was under the influence of the USSR and India was also on good terms with USSR, we were on good terms with Afghanistan as well.
- **2) After the end of the Cold war**
- 1996- Emergence of Taliban
- **Isolation**- Non-engagement with the Taliban was detrimental to us.
- **2001- USA war on Afghanistan- GWOT**
- **December 2001- Bonn Agreement:** Conference for reconstruction in Afghanistan.
- India became a major donor to Afghanistan.
- **3) India's Afghanistan policy between 2001-2021**
- Rebuildings of hospitals, schools, roads, and other infrastructure.
- India constructed the **Parliament building**
- India helped in the construction of the **Salma dam**.
- **Ousting of Taliban**
- **4) India's Afghanistan Policy after Taliban takeover (Taliban 2.0- post-2021)**
- **Why should India engage with the Taliban?**
- Refer to the handout.
- Changing dynamics between Pakistan and Taliban (TTP).
- The increasing influence of China - Afghanistan borders POK, CPEC, etc.
- **Is there a policy shift towards Taliban 2.0?**
- Refer to the handout.
- Engage, Isolate, or oppose
- As far as the US and the West is concerned, they are focused on the first two options, and the third option is out of the table.
- India has so far focused only on the isolation option (including Taliban 1.0).

- However, beyond a point, this option will yield diminishing returns especially when many countries have started engaging with the Taliban.
- Therefore we have opted for the engagement.
- **Engaging** men- holding a dialogue, providing humanitarian aid, and pushing the Taliban to live up to some of the commitments to Human rights.
- **Isolation** means holding back formal diplomatic recognition and restricting access to international financial systems and other multi-lateral arrangements.
- **Oppose**- This could be the last prong of India's approach.
- This means opposing the Taliban not just diplomatically and politically but also covertly supporting anti-Taliban forces. This can be India's Carrot and Stick approach toward the Taliban.
- **Downsides of India's engagements with the Taliban**
- No change in the ideology of the Taliban.
- Dealing with Pro-China Neighbours of Taliban.

**The topic of the next class:- India-Maldives relation**

**International Relations Class 12**

**INDIA-MALDIVES RELATIONSHIP:(01:05:00 PM)**

**Importance of Maldives for India:**

- India and Maldives share ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious, and commercial links and enjoy close, cordial, and multi-dimensional relations.
- Maldives is one of the most diverse regions geographically.

**1. Geo-Political & Strategic Importance of Maldives:**

- Maldives holds great importance for India's security in Indian Ocean Region(IOR).
- Maldives is extremely important for India's Indo-Pacific Strategy(IPS), which is also important for the USA.
- Maritime Security: To control piracy.

**2. Economic Importance:**

- It is crucial for India's commerce and investments in Bab-el-Mandeb.
- It is a toll gate between Strait of Mallaca and the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb.
- Crucial for India's goal of a Blue economy and its growth.

**3. Diaspora:**

- Maldives has around 25000 Indian citizens.
- It is a source of huge remittances.
- Soft power can be used for creating a positive impact on bilateral relations.
- For cultural exchanges and promotion of Indian business, hospitality, services, Bollywood movies, foods, etc.

**POLITICAL HISTORY OF MALDIVES:(01:38:00 PM)**

- In 1965, Maldives got independence from British authority.
- In 1968, Monarchy ended and Ibrahim Nadir became the President.
- Operation Cactus was an Indian military operation carried out during the 1988 Maldives coup attempt.
- During this operation, the Indian Army thwarted an attempt by a group of Maldivians led by businessman Abdullah Luthufi to depose the government of Maumoon Abdul Gayoom.
- In 2008, A new constitution was approved and Nasheed became the President.
- In 2012, Nasheed resigned and Mohammed Waheed Hassan became the President.
- In 2013, the election took place Abdulla Yameen became the president.
- In 2018, Ibrahim M. Solih became the president.

**CAUSES FOR THE STRESS IN INDIA-MALDIVES RELATIONS:(01:48:00 PM)**

**1. Growing Radicalisation:**

- Because of political and economic instability, and poverty.
- It became the launching pad for the nonstate actors from Pakistan and other hostile countries to India due to geographical proximities and fertile conditions.

**2. Political Turbulence:** It led to the creation of a political vacuum in the Maldives and thus created diplomatic distance.

**3. China's Threat:** China's policy of strings of pearls and growing interest in the Indian Ocean region and increasing closeness with Maldives became important concerns for India.

**RECENT INITIATIVES TO STRENGTHEN THE INDIA-MALDIVES RELATIONS:(01:58:00 PM)**

- The Maldivian president visited India - He reaffirmed India-First Policy.
- India reemphasized on importance of the Maldives in the "Neighborhood First Policy".

**1. Security:**

- The two sides reiterated that they would not allow their territory to be used against the other.

- This partnership is a force for stability in the Indian Ocean Region.
- To counter the threat of transnational crime, terrorism, and drug trafficking in the Indian Ocean region

## **2. Great Male Connectivity Project:**

- It is a USD 500 million project funded by New Delhi.
- It will consist of a 6.74 km-long bridge and going to be the largest civilian infrastructure project in Maldives, connecting Male with three neighboring islands( Villingli, Gulhifalhu, and Thilafushi).
- It will use renewable energy.
- It is not only the biggest project India is doing in the Maldives but also the biggest infrastructure project in the Maldives overall.

### **Significance of the Greate Male Project:**

- a. It can be an economic lifeline for Male people- It will help in connectivity.
- b. It can promote tourism, which will have a multiplier effect.
- c. Better infrastructure development.
- d. It will help the overall prosperity of the Maldives boost employment and growth.
- e. This will match China's Sina-Male bridge and will give strategic benefits to India.

## **3. Agreements:**

- Both countries agreed to cooperate in various areas like Cybersecurity, Capacity Building, Housing, Disaster Management, Infrastructure Development
- India announced USD100 million in financial aid to help the island nation complete certain infrastructure projects.

## **INDIA -MALDIVES AREAS OF COOPERATION:(02:15:00 PM)**

### **1. Security Partnership:**

- Recently, the National College for Policing and Law Enforcement (NCPL) was inaugurated by India's External Affairs Minister during his two-day visit to Maldives in 2022.

### **2. Development Partnership:**

- Operation Neer: India supplied drinking water to the Maldives to deal with the drinking water crisis.
- The signing of an USD80-million contract for the Addu reclamation and shore protection project.
- A drug detoxification and rehabilitation center in Addu was built with Indian assistance.
- Economic recovery package – India offered the Maldives an economic recovery package of \$1.4 billion during the Prime Minister's visit in 2018.
- Infrastructure development projects
- Covid-19 support, etc.

### **3. Anti-Terror Operations:**

- The Joint Working Group on Counterterrorism, Countering Violent Extremism, and Deradicalization was convened with participation from both sides.

### **4. Economic Cooperation & Connectivity Projects:**

- Launch of the Great Male Connectivity Project.
- Currency Swap agreements.

### **5. Global Support:**

- Both countries are supporting each other on various international forums for mutual benefit.
- India as a leader in Gloab South is playing an important role in various international negotiations to safeguard the interests of counties like the Maldives.

## **CHALLENGES IN INDIA-MALDIVES RELATIONS:(02:27:00 PM)**

### **Political turmoil in the Maldives:**

- It causes pauses in the development of bilateral relations and is challenging as there are frequent changes in leadership.

### **Radicalization:**

- Turning a hub of terrorists, and became the launching pad for the nonstate actors from Pakistan and other hostile countries to India due to geographical proximities and fertile conditions.

### **Growth of Anti-India sentiments -'India Out' campaign-**

- It was more prominent under the Pro-China Ex-President Abdullah Yameen.

### **China's Angle:**

- Maldives follows an India-first policy since 2018 before this it was considered lost to China.
- China is still investing heavily in Maldives and owns Finalu island.
- Maldives has signed its first FTA with China.
- China's string of pearl diplomacy is effectively demonstrated in the Maldives as an extension of the Maritime Silk Route.
- It was due to Chinese pressure that India's GMR Contract for building the Male Airport was canceled.

- Maldives has also started using the "China Card" to bargain with India.
- "India out campaign" also came under the Pro-China Ex-President Abdullah Yameen.
- Before 2018, the Maldives treated India as "First among equals" especially when it comes to China, however, post-2018, President Solih announced that the "India First policy" is the Maldivian foreign policy for the region.

#### **Way Forward:**

- India needs to be attentive to the developments in the Maldives and must not grow complacent over its position.
- India needs to keep Indo-Pacific strategic space as its top priority and therefore the Maldives should be treated as a special nation.
- India has to work on perception management and earn the Goodwill of the people to counter the "India out campaign".
- India needs to be cautious to avoid a Nepa-like situation.
- India's vision of SAGAR has tremendous possibilities in this regard.

#### **INDIA-CHINA RELATION:(02:59:00 PM)**

- The two emerging and enduring powers representing two modes of civilization signify a complex and dynamic relationship in world politics.
- India was the first non-communist country to establish an embassy in the People's Republic of China (PRC).
- The People's Republic of China was established on 1st October 1949 and on 1st April 1950, India and China established diplomatic relations.
- Both India and China jointly proposed the Panchsheel in 1954 which is the 5 principles of peaceful coexistence: Mutual respect's territorial integrity and sovereignty; Mutual non-aggression; Mutual non-interference; Equality and mutual benefit; and, Peaceful co-existence.

#### **Areas of interest for both India and China:**

- a. Climate change and its impacts - As both are vulnerable and are the representatives of emerging economies and the global South.
- b. Security- Countering terrorism, which is a threat to the growth and development of both countries.
- c. Regional stability.

#### **Zone of Conflicts:(03:20:00 PM)**

- The Line of Actual Control (LAC) is the demarcation that separates Indian-controlled territory from Chinese-controlled territory.
- LAC is divided into three regions: Ladakh's western sector, Uttarakhand's middle sector, and Himachal Pradesh, and Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim's eastern sector.
- The LAC, is only a concept – it is not agreed upon by the two countries, neither delineated on a map nor demarcated on the ground.
- The Line of Control (LoC) emerged from the 1948 ceasefire line negotiated by the United Nations after the Kashmir War. It was designated as the LoC in 1972, following the Shimla Agreement between the two countries.

#### **India-China Border Dispute:**

- India and China share the second largest after Bangladesh.
- The Sino-Indian border is generally divided into three sectors: the western, middle, and eastern sectors.

#### **Western Sector:**

- It is located between the Indian states of Jammu and Kashmir and the Chinese province of Xinjiang.

#### **Dispute over Aksai Chin**

- In 1962, both countries went to war over the disputed territory of Aksai Chin. It is claimed by India as a part of Kashmir, while China claims it to be part of Xinjiang.
- During British rule in India, two proposed borders between India and China were Johnson's Line and McDonald's Line.
- The Johnson Line proposed in 1865 places Aksai Chin in Jammu and Kashmir, under Indian control.
- India considers the Johnson Line to be correct.
- The McDonald Line proposed in 1893 places it under Chinese control.
- China considers the McDonald Line to be the correct border with India.
- At the moment, the Line of Actual Control (LAC) separates Indian areas of Jammu and Kashmir from Aksai Chin. It runs parallel to the Chinese Aksai Chin claim line.

#### **Middle Sector:**

- In this sector, the border runs from Ladakh to Nepal.
- In this sector, the states of Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand touch the border with Tibet (China).

- In this area, there is little disagreement between the two sides.

#### **Eastern Sector:**

- It stretches from Bhutan's eastern border to a point near the Talu Pass, which connects Tibet, India, and Myanmar. This boundary line is known as the McMahon Line.
- 1914- A conference was held in Shimla at the behest of Britain, and the boundary between India and Tibet was formalized. Consequently, the McMahon line was delineated.
- Currently, India recognizes the McMahon line.
- China considers the McMahon Line to be illegal and unacceptable.

#### **India - China War of 1962:**

- Series of Events:
- Dispute especially on the McMahon line and Johnson line because of no mutually agreed border.
- 1950 when China invaded Tibet.
- Occupation of Aksai Chin
- Asylum to Dalai Lama.

#### **Recent India- China border Stand-Offs:**

- Chumar, 2014
- Burtse, 2015
- Doklam, 2017

#### **Standoff at Galwan Valley 2020:**

- The Galwan valley refers to the land that sits between steep mountains that buffet the Galwan River.
- The River has its source in Aksai Chin, on China's side of the LAC, and it flows from the east to Ladakh, where it meets the Shyok River on India's side of the LAC.
- The valley is strategically located between Ladakh in the west and Aksai Chin in the east, which is currently controlled by China as part of its Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.
- Mid-June 2020 Chinese and Indian troops faced each other armed only with sticks and rocks.
- This was the fiercest border conflict with China to have occurred after the 1962 war.

#### **India's Response:**

- Military deployment along the LAC and infrastructure development in the border areas.
- Banned many Chinese Mobile Apps for security reasons.
- FDI from China is being reviewed and scrutinized.

**TOPIC FOR THE NEXT CLASS:** Continuation of India-China relations.

#### **International Relations Class 13**

#### **INDIA-CHINA (01:06 PM)**

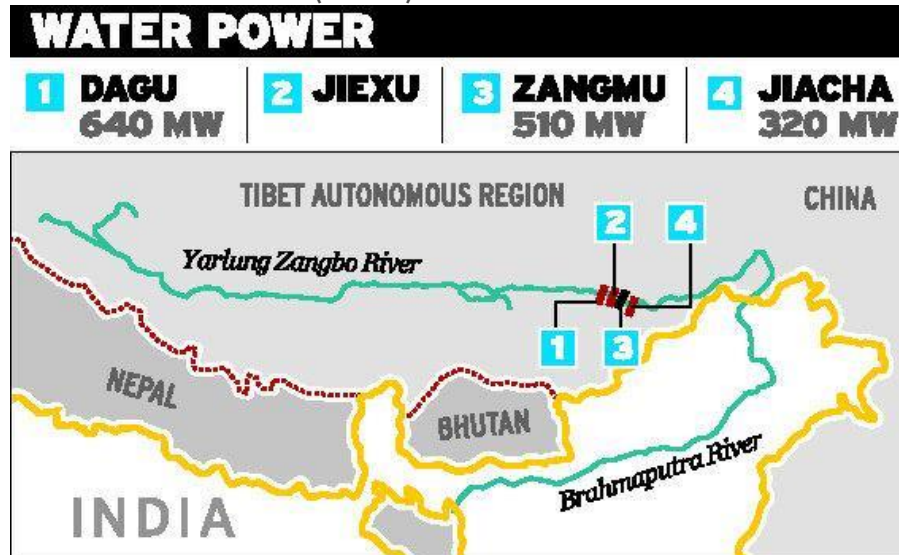
- **Question: It is imperative that India and China start an effective disengagement process and resolve the issue of border conflict in order to bring about an 'Asian Century'.**
- Answer: Why it is necessary to start an effective disengagement process and resolve the issue of border conflict.
- Possibility of War
- Impacting Trade
- Constraints Economy
- Affects regional development
- Can affect South-South Cooperation

#### **WAY FORWARD FOR SOLVING BORDER DISPUTE (1:11 PM)**

- Continue Dialogue
- Abide by all the existing agreements and protocols on China-India boundary affairs
- Continuing communications through the Special Representatives mechanism
- Should take guidance from Wuhan (2018) and Mamallapuram summits (2019).
- Disengagement of rival troops and de-escalation of the border conflict.
- Also, ongoing talks for a peaceful resolution of the standoff would continue even as Indian troops stood firm on the ground.
- **Three important friction points on the western sector of LAC- Galwan, Pangong Tso, and Gogra hot springs:**
- **Disengagement-** the action or the process of withdrawing troops from involvement in a particular activity, situation.
- **De-escalation-** reduction of the intensity of a conflict or potentially violent situation.
- **De-induction-** The subsequent de-induction (demilitarization) would require troops on both sides to return to their pre-April 2020 positions or back to their respective garrisons.

- The next two steps called de-escalation and de-induction – which means pulling back troops and war equipment to the pre-April 2020 home bases have not yet begun in the area.
- However, military observers believe there is still a long way to go before India and China achieve de-escalation, and eventually de-induction, from the LAC.
- Delineation and proper demarcation along the border are off course important.
- Modernization through indigenization.
- **Kindly refer to the PPT**

#### BRAHMAPUTRA RIVER ISSUE (1:33 PM)



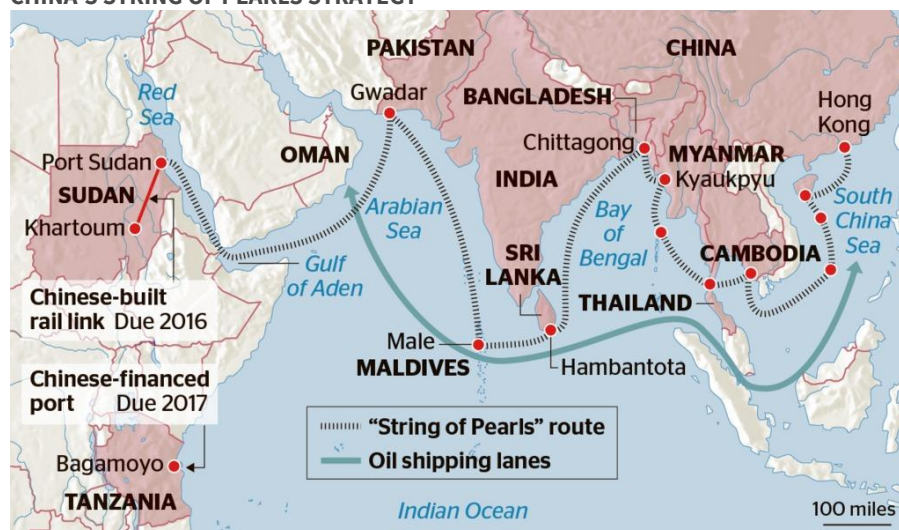
- **Refer to the PPT**
- **Way forward:**
- Any forward movement would require a long-term understanding between the two countries.
- However, Hydro diplomacy gets sabotaged due to border conflict between the two countries
- Also, there is a fear that China might use water as a political weapon against India, being an upper-riparian country.
- There is a need to engage in sustained dialogue and secure a water-sharing treaty that serves the interest of both countries.

#### CHINA'S GROWING ASSERTIVENESS (02:05 PM)

- **China's Salami Slicing Strategy:**
- This is a divide-and-conquer strategy used to dominate opposition territory piece by piece.
- Such military operations or advancements are too small to result in war.
- These small military actions or advancements also help avoid international diplomatic attention.
- It could be considered a bridge that links China's soft power with its harder variants.
- **Means adopted in Salami Slicing strategy-**
- **1) Coercive diplomacy**
- **2) Cartographic aggression:**
- India has struggled against cartographic aggression since its Independence from Multiple fronts. This includes not only China and Pakistan but also Nepal.
- Here, the countries continue to misinterpret their boundaries with India on Maps to legitimize their territorial claims.
- **Example,**
- a) China- 2022 New land law.
- b) China has issued e-passports in the past depicting Arunachal Pradesh and Aksai Chin as part of their territory.
- c) Pakistan issued a map that showed the Indian territory of J&K, Ladakh, and parts of Gujarat as the territory of Pakistan.
- **Concerns:**
- It creates a misinterpretation, influences the audience in the disputed area, and tries to gain public support even at the International level.
- This strategy can be seen as a part of Psychological warfare during Peacetime.

- **3) Saber-rattling (Continuous Military exercise)**
- **4) Gunboat diplomacy**
  - (Use of naval power to create a threat perception)
- It is not only China that resorts to this diplomacy. The US has also employed this diplomacy within the big stick diplomacy. Today, the US continued to employ this diplomacy through the presence of the US Navy in 450 naval bases around the world.
- **5) Debt trap diplomacy loans, and project funding leading to debt traps**
- **6) Educational programs and incentives**
- **Kindly refer to PPT**
- **"Patience is power. With time and patience, the mulberry leaf becomes a silk gown."**
- **Conclusion:**
  - China's over reliance on Coercive diplomacy and muscle power was not working to its advantage for quite long.
  - Therefore, it has now resorted to Salami Slicing Strategy, which involves both time and patience.
  - Post Covid-19 pandemic image of China has suffered a serious dent. The One Belt One Road is no longer viewed as a road to prosperity.
  - The real intentions of China through salami slicing strategy needs to be explored to make the region free from such dangerous moves.

#### CHINA'S STRING OF PEARLS STRATEGY



- It is a strategy of China by building a Network of Commercial and Military basis and Ports in IOR.
- Each Pearl represents a form of permanent Chinese military installation in a series of locations along a strain.
- The strategy has been deployed to protect Chinese trade interests as its major chunk of trade passes through IOR.
- In its aggressive push to capture strategic posts, it has taken forward the debt trap diplomacy.
- **Impact of Strings of Pearls policy on India:**
  - It endangers India's maritime security.
  - It will impact Indian Trade.
- **Impact on Indian Economy-**
  - Indian resources would be diverted more towards defense and security.
- **Strategic-** Danger to India's strategic clout in IOR
  - Danger of two front threats from Pakistan and China especially in Gilgit Baltistan and POK area due to Chinese overseas and naval base in Gwadar.

#### NECKLACE OF DIAMOND POLICY/ IRON CURTAIN STRATEGY (3:24 PM)





- Offense is the best defense.
- Concerning the Chinese aggressive posture, India has adopted a counter-encirclement strategy in the form of Necklace of Diamond strategy.
- Thereby, **checkmating China's string of Pearls Policy.**
- **Kindly refer to PPT**

#### INDIA'S ONE-CHINA POLICY (3:49 PM)

- One China principle insists that both Taiwan (i.e. the Republic of China) and Mainland China (i.e. the People's Republic of China) are an inalienable part of Single China.
- One China Policy refers to the view that there is only one state called China, it means countries seeking diplomatic relations with PRC must break official relations with Taiwan (ROC) and Vice-versa.
- **India's Stand on One-China Policy-**
- India's current refusal to reaffirm the One China policy is an Evaluation of India's position.
- India, with the aim to build peace and friendship with China, embraced the One-China policy post-1950.
- However, India took the stand that if it agrees to the One-China policy China should also affirm to One-India Policy (means acknowledgment of China that Arunachal Pradesh and Kashmir are an integral part of India)
- Though India establishes its relation with Taiwan around 1995, it restricted its political ties with Taiwan.
- Late 2004 witnessed an Indo-Sino border and consequently, there was a shift in India's well-known position over the One-China policy.
- The last time India affirmed the One-china policy was in 2008. In 2014, India demanded that China must reciprocate with the One India Policy.
- Military crisis continued.
- China also harshly reacted on India's act of abrogation of Article 370.
- **As per Defense strategist, Harsh Pant- "There is a growing need in India to have a relook in its One-China Policy".**
- In 2013, we also refrained from including Tibet in a joint statement showing our ambiguous position on the One-China policy.
- India's recognition of China's sovereignty over Tibet was contingent upon China's acceptance of Tibetan Autonomy, which China has completely ignored.
- **India has neither formally discarded One-China Policy nor is willing to reaffirm it in the context of growing territorial dispute.**
- It is a time to acknowledge that India needs to recalibrate its One-China policy and its position over Tibet and Taiwan.

**TOPIC FOR THE NEXT CLASS: WILL CONTINUE WITH THE TIBET**

**International Relations Class 14**

#### WHY TAIWAN IS IMPORTANT TO CHINA? (01:06 PM)

- China is Taiwan's biggest exporter and the Second is the US.
- Taiwan is closer to mainland China.
- Taiwan is strategically important to China, and the Russia-Ukraine war could be a potential catalyst for China-Taiwan Conflict.
- **Why Taiwan is important for the US?**
- **US "One China Policy"** is a long-standing policy that forms the basis of the US relationship with China
- Under this policy, the US snapped diplomatic relations with Taiwan and establish diplomatic relations with China in 1979.
- The US acknowledges the Chinese position that there is but One China and Taiwan is Part of it.
- In operational terms, **the One China policy is a balancing act wherein the USA maintains its official relations with China and Unofficial relations with Taiwan.**
- The US does not have official diplomatic ties with Taiwan but is bound by the US law's **Taiwan Relations Act 1979** to provide the Island with the means to defend itself.
- Taiwan anchors a chain of islands (US friendly) for countering China's expansionist plan.
- The US is by far the largest arms dealer for Taiwan.
- Taiwan has a crucial position in **the Island chain strategy.**
- **India's Stand on Taiwan Issue:**
- Since 1949, India has accepted the One China policy, thereby accepting Taiwan and Tibet as part of China.
- As part of India's Act East Policy, India has tried to cultivate ties with Taiwan in trade and investment; development of technology; Environment issues, and people-to-people contact. Like, Association like the **India-Taipei Association (ITA)**
- India and Taiwan do not have any formal diplomatic relations, but since 1995 both sides have maintained representative offices in each other's capital. It will function as the de-facto embassy.
- Even though India has stopped mentioning its adherence to the "One China Policy" in joint statements since 2008, its engagement with Taiwan is still restricted due to the framework of Ties with China.

#### TIBET ISSUE (1:53 PM)

- Kindly refer to the PPT
- **The Shift in India's Tibet Policy**
- In the event of increasing tensions between India and China, there has been a shift in India's Tibet policy.
- This shift in the policy earmarks or includes the Indian government actively managing with Dalai Lama in Public forums.
- For example, in 2014, the PM invited the head of the Tibetan government in exile to head its swearing ceremony.
- However, in 2019 the Tibetan leader was not invited to the swearing ceremony.
- In order to ensure the smooth passage for the second informal summit between India and China.
- The shift in India's Tibet Policy is majorly focused on Symbolic aspects but still reflects India's recent stern attitude towards China.
- **Challenges associated with India's Tibet Policy:**
- Changes in Tibetan Demography.
- As India-China tensions grow and turn violent after the Galwan Valley clash, China has begun to raise Tibetan Militia groups. Further, the Indian Army trains the Tibetan Special Frontier Force, which could lead to Tibetans fighting each other in the future.
- Issue of citizenship: The Indian government doesn't give citizenship to Tibetans born in India after the cut-off year of 1987. This creates dissatisfaction among Tibetan groups.
- Further, in the past few years, the US had started accepting more Tibetan refugees. This will impact India's role as a sole entity arguing about the future of Tibetan refugees.
- Question of Dalai-lama succession: India currently has an executive policy (not a law) on Tibetans in India.
- India must **avoid a situation where it has a young and restive Tibetan population that resides here but looks outside of India for its leadership and command structure** after the Dalai Lama has passed.
- **Recently, China rejected the 'Middle Way Path' advocated by Dalai Lama to resolve the Tibet issue. Examine what the 'Middle Way' path advocates, and how does India view this path?**
- As Tibetans don't accept the current status of Tibet under China. But they also do not seek independence from Tibet. Thus, Dalai Lama's Middle Path advocates peacefully resolving the issue of Tibet and bringing about stability and co-existence between peoples based on equality and mutual cooperation.
- The Middle Path called for democratic rule of administration.

- Middle Path advocates the policy & means to achieve genuine autonomy for all Tibetans living in the three provinces of Tibet within the framework of the People's Republic of China.
- It is a Win-Win-Win strategy both for Tibet and as well as India.

#### **SOUTH-ASIAN ASSOCIATION OF REGIONAL COOPERATION (02:42 PM)**

- **Kindly refer to the PPT.**
- **Reasons Behind Objection of the SAARC Summit by SAARC Members:**
  - Non-recognition of Taliban as a legitimate government.
  - Several Taliban Leaders are blacklisted as a terrorist.
  - Non-inclusive government in Afghanistan.
  - The threat of spillover terrorism under the Taliban regime.
  - The threat of drug trafficking, human trafficking, and illegal weapons under the Taliban regime.
- **Key challenges to SAARC:**
  - Cross border terrorism
  - Obstruction of trade
  - Blocking connectivity
- **Significance of SAARC for India:**
  - SAARC constitutes 21% of the world's population and most of its population is young.
  - SAARC comprises 3.8% (US\$2.9 trillion) of the global economy.
  - Common solutions
  - Furthers Neighbourhood's first policy
  - Game changer for India's Act East Policy
  - Geostrategic significance
  - Enabler of Regional stability
  - Offer global leadership role to India
- **What are its achievements (3:29 PM)**
  - Free Trade Agreement
  - SAPTA
  - SAFTA
  - SATIS
  - SAARC University in India
- **The potential of SAARC to emerge as a successful model of cooperation among nations in a region:**
  - Demography: SAARC constitutes 21% of the world's population and most of its population is young.
  - Economy: SAARC comprises 3.8% (US\$2.9 trillion) of the global economy.
  - Security
  - International cooperation
  - Environmental cooperation- India has established International Solar Alliance
- **Discuss the associated challenges in the working of SAARC:**
  - a) Low Frequency of meetings
  - b) Poor economic integration
    - As per World Bank reports, Intra-regional trade is less than 5% of international trade.
    - South Asia is the least integrated region in the world.
    - Intra-regional investment is <1% of the region's overall global investment.
  - c) Escalated tension and conflict between India and Pakistan
    - In recent times, Pakistan's non-cooperation has stalled some major initiatives under SAARC.
    - For example, despite India's keen interest in cooperating and strengthening intra-regional connectivity by backing the SAARC-MVA during the 18th summit of SAARC, the agreement was stalled following Pakistan's reluctance.
    - Similarly, The SAARC Satellite Project that India propose was abandoned due to Pakistan's Objection in 2016.
    - SAARC-Motor Vehicles Agreement (MVA) and SAARC satellite project were replaced with BBIN-MVA and South Asia satellite respectively (without Pakistan).
  - d) Limitation in SAFTA
    - e) Asymmetry between India and other member countries (India-centric nature of the region)
    - f) Lack of proper implementation
  - SAFTA which agreed to reduce the customs duty to zero failed since Pakistan blatantly flouted the provisions of SAFTA by limiting the list of items to be imported from India.

- How implementation has lacking behind?-
- SAARC strive to be a body like the EU by 2020, but this remained a pipe dreamed.
- During COVID-19, SAARC establishes a COVID-19 emergency fund. However, SAARC Secretariat has no knowledge of any progress in this regard.
- Given SAARC's failures, member countries have turned to bilateralism which in turn affects the regional basis of this organization.
- g) Asymmetry between India and other member countries.
- h) Unstable financial positions
- i) Exclusion of Contentious Issues from the SAARC Charter.
- j) Importance is given to BIMSTEC instead of SAARC.
- **Need for the revival of SAARC (03:58 PM)**
- Regional disconnect
- Impact of COVID-19
- Dealing with China
- SAARC could be important to demand sustainable alternatives for development and better term for South Asian Labour around the world.
- BIMSTEC cannot replace SAARC.
- SAARC has had 18 summits in the 36 years of its existence, and it has an extensive network of mechanisms, regional centers, and conventions as well as a permanent Secretariat. On the other hand, the BIMSTEC has recently got momentum and is yet to find its role.

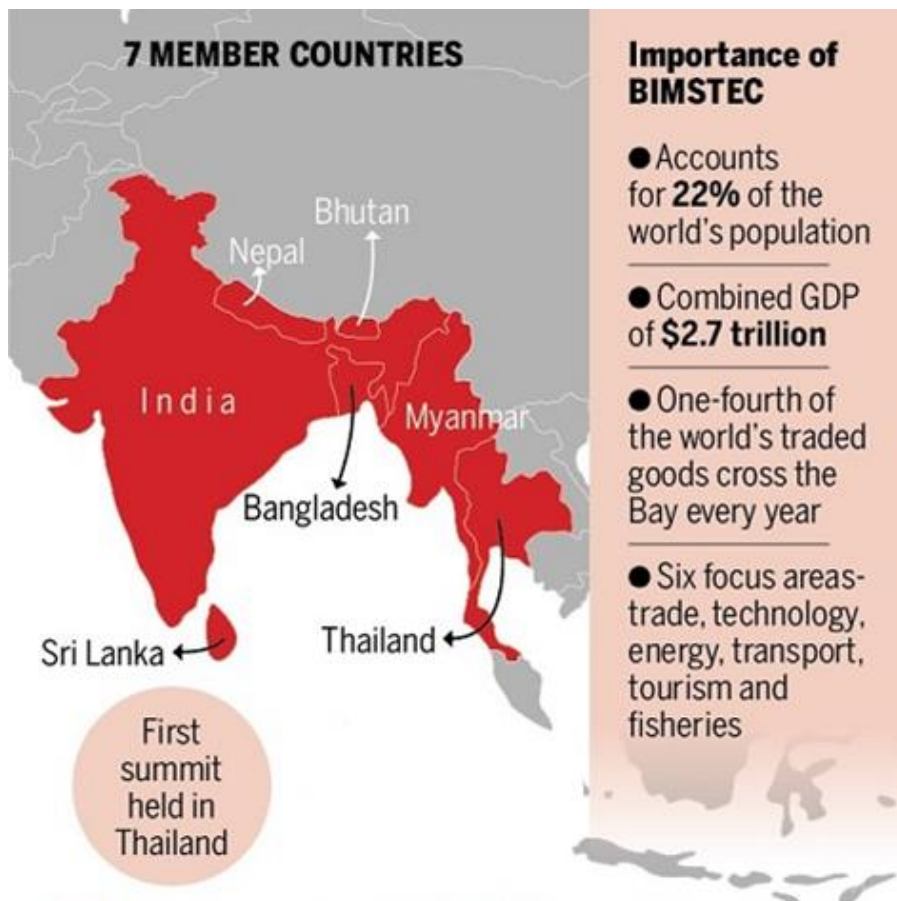
**TOPIC FOR THE NEXT CLASS: WILL COMPLETE THE SAARC AND START WITH THE BIMSTEC**  
**International Relations Class 15**

**BRIEF REVIEW OF THE PREVIOUS CLASS (01:05 PM)**

**How can SAARC be rejuvenated or revived/ What could be the way forward? (01:07 PM)**

- SAARC should be allowed to progress naturally and people of South Asia should be offered more **people-to-people contact**.
- SAARC could adopt the "**ASEAN minus X**" formulae, where members who are unwilling to join the consensus can be allowed to join at a future date. While the rest of the members can continue with the project.
- SAARC needs to allow for **greater diplomacy and engagements** despite political tensions.
- In the present context, **India should apply the Gujaral doctrine**, especially keeping in mind the Swing State Nature of SAARC countries like Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Maldives.
- Formation of **a Conflict Conciliation Group** within SAARC which will either investigate the problem or conduct a fact-finding study.
- Regional development needs to be encouraged. India can carry forward developmental and infrastructural projects in this regard.
- If the geopolitical dynamic following World War II could allow die-hard enemies, France and Germany to interface effectively and be part of the EU, there is no reason why India and Pakistan cannot work together to create an effective regional body like SAARC.
- SAARC has the capacity to bring nations together. As **Nelson Mandela said, "If you want to make peace with your enemy, you have to work with your enemy. Then he becomes your partner"**.

**BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation) (01:28 PM)**



- **Kindly refer to the handout**
- In the reference to BIMSTEC, it is said that it could transform the Bay of Bengal into a bridge of connectivity, prosperity, and Security.

#### Potential of BIMSTEC-

- **1) Bridge between South and South East Asia.**
- **2) Platform for intra-regional cooperation between SAARC and ASEAN members.**
- **3) High Growth Potential:** Home to around 1.5 billion people that constitute around 22% of the global population and a combined Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of USD 3.8 trillion.
- **4) Huge Market:** BIMSTEC grouping is home to around 1.5 billion people that constitute around 22% of the global population
- **5) Major Shipping route:** A fourth of the world's traded goods cross the Bay of Bengal every year.
- **6) Important Connectivity Projects:**
  - **Kaladan Multimodal Project** – links India and Myanmar.
  - **Asian Trilateral Highway** - connecting India and Thailand through Myanmar.
  - **Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal (BBIN) Motor Vehicles Agreement** - for seamless flow of passenger and cargo traffic.

#### What is the significance of BIMSTEC from the maritime perspective? (01:51 PM)

- Ecological Importance
- Fish Resources
- Support to Livelihood
- **What is the Significance of BIMSTEC for India?**
  - 1. Manifestation of three important components of foreign policy
  - 2. Strategic advantage due to proximity with the Strait of Malacca
  - 3. Materialising Sagarmala Project
  - 4. Development of North-East
  - 5. Counter China
  - 6. Alternative to SAARC
  - 7. Showcases India's leadership in the region.
- **BIMSTEC is a big Opportunity:**

- Due to setbacks to SAARC, BIMSTEC has emerged as a preferred platform for regional cooperation in South Asia.
- It can help small countries such as Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Nepal in developing **connectivity with ASEAN Countries**.
- BIMSTEC will offer greater Connectivity: Physical Connectivity; Digital Connectivity; People to People; Economic Connectivity
- Small nations would gain higher economic dividends from this regional bloc rather than from fragmented multilateralism promoted by WTO.
- The region has countries with one of the fastest-growing economies.
- Trade among BIMSTEC member countries reached 6% in just a decade, while in SAARC it remained around 5% since its inception.
- This is the regional body where countries do not have a major border dispute.
- The body has grown in strategic significance, especially due to the contest between India and China in the region.
- **Kindly refer to the handouts**

#### **Major Challenges and Issues (2:33 PM)**

- Inconsistency in meeting
- Neglect by Member states (Not the first choice of Members)
- The focus of BIMSTEC is very wide, including 14 areas of cooperation like connectivity, public health, agriculture, etc. It is suggested that BIMSTEC should remain committed to small focus areas and cooperate in them efficiently.
- Bilateral Issues between Member Nations.
- The formation of BCIM created doubts over the exclusive potential of BIMSTEC.
- Inadequate Focus on Economic Cooperation
- Despite signing FTA in 2004 it stands far away from its goal.
- Low level of implementation: Six legal instruments are still awaiting finalization.
- The difference among member countries
- A military coup in Myanmar
- The issues affecting the fishing industry in the Bay are-
- Declining availability of fish;
- Illegal and destructive fishing;
- Changes in species composition and loss of vulnerable & endangered species.
- Inadequate cold storage facilities lead to huge wastage of fish caught
- Countries providing excessive fishing subsidies and unable to adopt an ecosystem approach to fisheries.
- Climate change
- Marine pollution

#### **Solutions (02:46 PM)**

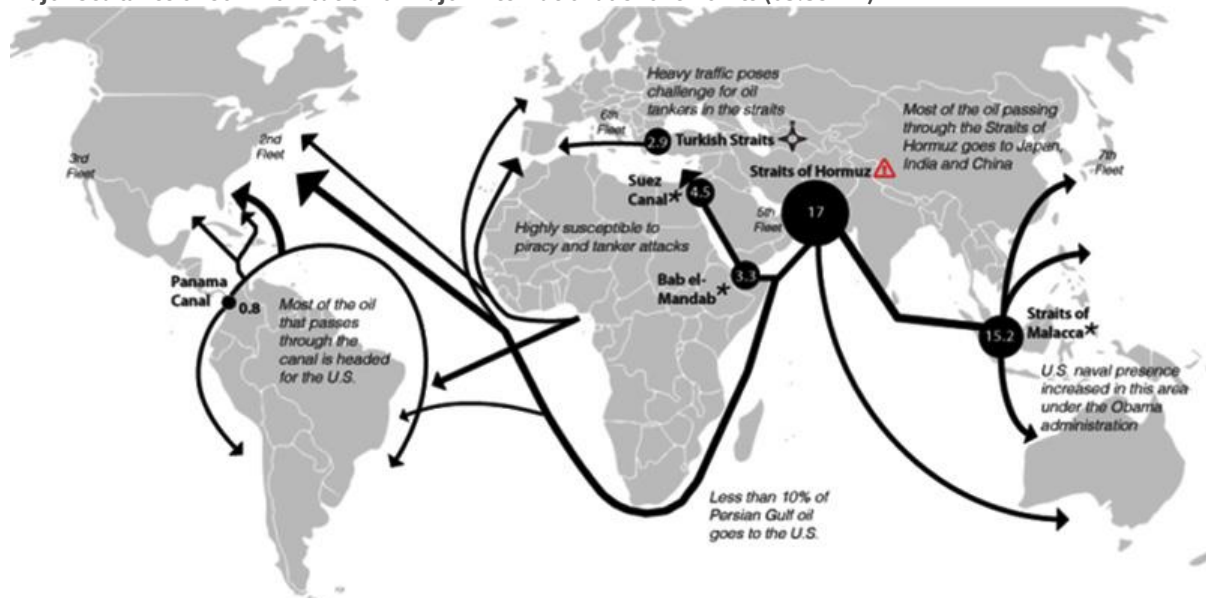
- Empowering BIMSTEC to be a platform for dispute resolution among member countries.
- There is a need for setting up of research task force on various climate change and environmental risks.
- There is a need for a comprehensive Free Trade Agreement. It can become a real game changer.
- Creating regional supply chains.
- **As SAARC becomes functionally defunct, can BIMSTEC play the role of a better alternative for technological and economic cooperation among South Asian countries in its stead? Comment**
- The two organizations—SAARC and BIMSTEC—focus on geographically overlapping regions. However, this does not make them equal alternatives.
- SAARC is a purely regional organization, whereas BIMSTEC is interregional and connects both South Asia and ASEAN.
- BIMSTEC in itself or principally also does not prefer to substitute existing bilateral or multilateral groupings.
- Both complement each other in terms of functions and goals.
- In fact, BIMSTEC provides SAARC countries with an opportunity to connect with ASEAN.
- Since the SAARC summit has only been postponed not cancelled the possibility of revival still remains.
- The success of BIMSTEC does not render SAARC pointless; it only adds a new chapter to regional cooperation in South Asia.

#### **IOR (03:05 PM)**

- Kindly refer to the Handouts
- What is IOR?

- The IOR broadly defines areas consisting of littoral states of the Indian Ocean.
- IOR comprises a number of sub-regions, such as Australia, South East Asia, South Asia, the Horn of Africa and Southern and Eastern Africa.
- **How Indian Ocean Region (IOR) is important for Indian security?**
- 1) Long Maritime Boundary
- 2) Home to 51 percent of India's proven oil reserves and 66 percent of natural gas reserves.
- 3) Energy security
- 4) Securing Sea lanes of Communication or major international choke points: In the Indian Ocean, three major **Sea Lanes Of Communication (SLOCs)** play a crucial role
- in the energy security and economic prosperity:
- SLOC connecting the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean through the Bab-al-Mandab
- SLOC connecting the Persian Gulf to the Indian Ocean through the Strait of Hormuz
- SLOC connects the Indian and Pacific Oceans through the Straits of Malacca
- 5) Trade security
- 6) The abundance of Natural resources
- 7) Security Threats
- 8) Non Traditional Threats
- **Kindly Refer to the handouts**

#### Major Sea lanes of Communication or Major International Choke Points (03:35 PM)



#### India's key initiatives in IOR (03:38 PM)

- India's 5 point framework for maritime security
- Security and Growth For All in the Region (SAGAR) programme.
- Mission Sagar
- **Kindly refer to the Handouts**
- **Discuss key challenges to India's Maritime Doctrine**
- **SILOS Approach-**
- Traditionally India draws a line with Mauritius and Seychelles as its areas of strategic collaboration in the Indian Ocean.
- In terms of sub-regions, the priority is in the northern (Arabian Sea and Bay of Bengal), and eastern Indian Ocean (the Andaman Sea and Straits of Malacca).
- Due to this, the western Indian Ocean and the eastern coast of Africa still continue to be in the maritime periphery in India's foreign policy.
- **Lesser Hold on Strategic Chokepoint**
- Russia too recently acquired a base in Sudan, on the Red Sea coast, between the Suez Canal and Bab-el-Mandeb- a strategic choke point in the Indian Ocean.
- **Increasing Chinese Assertiveness**
- **Continental Bias**
- **Conclusion (04:01 PM)**

- **Establishing SAGAR Panchayat-** India should collaborate with Indian Ocean Rim countries and put the Sherpa (Guide) cluster of IORA nations into a SAGAR Panchayat and uphold rule of law at sea.
- **Strategic alignment-** QUAD is important- can be expanded with ASEAN and BIMSTEC
- India is soon to get Zircon Missile technology from Russia and may develop Brahmos II. Brahmos II could be used as a ship-based hypersonic cruise missile to increase offensive capabilities in IOR.
- **Developing Blue-water Naval Capabilities:** One each in the western, southern, and Eastern regions of IOR.
- **Exploiting China's Maritime Vulnerability (China's Malacca Dilemma):** This could be through enhancing our Sea denial Capability.

**TOPIC FOR THE NEXT CLASS: WILL CONTINUE WITH INDO-PACIFIC**

**International Relations Class 16**

**INDO-PACIFIC REGION (1:07 PM)**

- **Kindly refer to the handouts**
- **What is the significance of the Indo-Pacific region?**
- Demographic significance
- Economic significance
- Strategic significance
- Mineral Resources
- **What are the Recent Geopolitical developments in the Indo-Pacific region?**
- **1) US Indo-Pacific Strategy:**
- The US focuses on building collective capacity to deal with challenges in the region.
- These include a focus on **challenges from China**
- Advancing the US relationship, a **'Major Defence Partnership' with India.**
- **2) EU's Indo-Pacific Strategy:**
- The EU already sees itself and the Indo-Pacific as "natural partner regions"
- **3) Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP)**
- **Pillars of cooperation under the new FOIP:**
- Principles for peace and rules for prosperity: Japan wants to engage in economic development programmes, such as promoting the implementation of the G-20 Principles for "Quality Infrastructure Investment" in Vulnerable Countries.
- Addressing challenges in an Indo-Pacific way: Climate change, food security, global health and cybersecurity.
- Multi-layered connectivity: Introducing connectivity projects in Southeast Asia, South Asia and the South Pacific/Pacific Island countries.
- Extending efforts for security and safe use of the "sea" to the "air."
- **4) QUAD (01:54 PM)**
- **Aims:** to promote a free, open, rules-based and democratic order in Indo-Pacific.
- Unlike NATO, the Quad does not include provisions for collective defence, instead choosing to conduct joint military exercises as a show of unity and diplomatic cohesion.
- **Need/Objectives of QUAD (02:15 PM)**
- Kindly refer to the handouts.
- **Positive Impact (02:39 PM)**
- In line with India's regional power ambitions and the vision of being the Net Security Provider in the region
- Building India's manufacturing capacity
- Support during a potential bilateral dispute with China
- Garnering support on global issues
- **Negative Impact (2:45 PM)**
- Escalation of border issues
- Direct impact on the economic relationship
- Cannot get military support from QUAD
- **Way Forward (02:48 PM)**
- Indian PM once said, "**Quad has come of age, and it will now remain an important pillar of stability in the region.**"
- However, this pillar should exist alongside other pillars like SCO, BRICS, Etc.
- **Solution for India:**
- India should go for multi-alignment.



- India should focus on agenda-specific engagements.
- India should maintain strategic autonomy.
- Balance its global relationships, taking forward the time-tested idea of multi-alignment.
- **Challenges in the functioning of QUAD:**
- Assertiveness of China-ASEAN; RCEP
- The challenge from China as the most important trading partner in the region
- Diverse Approach of Member Countries
- **Conclusion:**
- India has to keep in mind its own peculiar position within QUAD and act accordingly.
- **QUAD is transforming into a trade block from a military alliance in the present time. Discuss. (Mains 2020)**
- Need for QUAD for geoeconomics prism rather than a military bloc. Why?
- 1. Complex interdependence (especially in China)
- 2. It could be a threat to regional and global peace.
- 3. Need for Inclusive Indo-Pacific Region and providing a common solution to a common problem
- 4. Promoting initiatives like the Blue dot network, which could directly counter China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).
- In this context, the transformation of QUAD into a trade bloc could help tackle global challenges more effectively.
- In this regard, the connectivity projects of Quad member countries (the US' Indo-Pacific economic corridor, Japan's Asia-Africa Economic Corridor, India's Project Mausam)

#### **AUKUS (3:16 PM)**

- **The new trilateral partnership AUKUS is aimed at countering China's ambitions in the Indo-Pacific region. Is it going to supersede the existing partnerships in the region? Discuss the strength and impact of AUKUS in the present scenario.**
- **Ans:** The trilateral security pact aims to provide technology to build nuclear-powered submarines in Australia.
- The pact can be seen as a deterrence to China's aggression in Indo-Pacific.
- AUKUS has huge strength and impact on its side:
- The Pact includes cooperation on advanced cyber, AI, Quantum technologies, Under sea capabilities, Hypersonic and Counter hypersonic electronic warfare, innovation and information sharing.
- It aims to ensure that there will be freedom and openness in the Indo-Pacific region.
- Though it does not explicitly mention, the group challenges the regional hegemonic ambitions of China.
- It could lead to closer cooperation amongst the nations in terms of joint military exercises, etc
- **Impact on India:**
- India's fear of being encircled by China may be partially mitigated by AUKUS.
- India may derive secondary benefits from having 3 advanced countries with the most sophisticated weaponry very close to its border.
- Arrangements like AUKUS will not supersede but will complement the pre-existing similar arrangement in the region like **Five Eyes Intelligence Cooperation; ASEAN; QUAD.**
- **Challenges:**
- China has condemned this alliance as an extremely irresponsible act.
- China accuses it shall re-invent "A Cold War mentality in the region"
- Australia's domestic challenge- As per Australia's 1984 nuclear-free zone policy, nuclear-powered submarines cannot be allowed into its territory.
- Upset France-Australia France deal got cancelled which affected the France-Australia relationship.
- Upset New Zealand-Since Newland was not part of AUKUS
- It could lead to a new geopolitical battleground in the Indo-Pacific.

#### **IPEF (03:46 PM)**

- **India's position in IPEF**
- India did not declare a definitive position for some time because it was watching what benefits other member countries will derive and whether any conditionalities like environment may discriminate against developing countries.
- Some areas proposed in IPEF do not appear to serve India's interest, such as digital governance, Labour laws, etc.
- **India decided to opt out because of the following reasons:**

- Data localisation: India strongly supports data localisation to protect personal data and uphold national security.
- Environment and labour standards: IPEF imposes stricter environmental and labour standards that are different from prevailing norms in India.
- IPEF formulations on digital governance contain certain issues that directly contradict India's stated position.
- India is not clear whether some conditions could discriminate against developing countries.
- **What are the major challenges:**
- **Kindly refer to the handouts**

**TOPIC FOR THE NEXT CLASS: WILL START WITH THE SOUTH-EAST ASIA**  
**International Relations Class 17**

**SOUTH-EAST ASIA (01:05 PM)**

- India's Act East Policy
- ASEAN
- INDO-JAPAN

**INDIA'S ACT EAST POLICY (01:10 PM)**



## India Acts East

With its Act East policy, India hopes to deepen its political, economic and security relationships with the countries of Southeast Asia and the wider Indo-Pacific. Balancing against the rise of China is a key driver.

**China:** India views the rise of its principal strategic rival as a serious challenge and is forging relations with countries along its periphery to maintain the balance between them

**ASEAN:** Boosting exports with the 10 members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations is a core plank of Modi's Act East policy Australia: China's rise has compelled India's outreach to Australia to forge a stronger defense partnership

**Australia:** China's rise has compelled Indian outreach to forge a stronger defense partnership

- India's Act East Policy focuses on the **extended neighbourhood in the Asia-Pacific Region.**
- **Evolution of Act East Policy:**
- 

**Japan:** The key regional power shares India's concerns over China's expansion

**Northeast India:** New Delhi wishes for its remote northeastern wing to serve as a trading hub that connects to Southeast Asia through Myanmar

**South Korea:** India wants to deepen trade, investment and security ties with this regional economic power

Look East Policy

Act East Policy

- The domestic and international scenario in the early 1990s
- Look East Policy was officially launched by the government of India in the year **1991 under the Prime Ministership of Narasimha Rao.**
- **Focus Area: ASEAN Countries + Economic integration**
- 1996: India became a dialogue partner of ASEAN in 1996
- 2002: India became the summit-level partner
- 2010: India's FTA with ASEAN
- 2012: The relationship got upgraded into a strategic partnership.

- **In 2014, India launched the Act East Policy**
- India's situation: (different from the past)
- **Focus: ASEAN Countries+ Economic integration**
- **Countries+ Security cooperation**
- 4C's of Act East Policy:
- Culture, Commerce, Connectivity, and Cooperation

- **Objectives:**
- Promoting economic cooperation, and cultural ties, and developing a strategic relationship with countries in the Asia-Pacific region through continuous engagements at a regional, bilateral and multilateral level.
- To enhance the connectivity of the North-Eastern states and Other neighbouring countries
- To contain the growing footprints of China in the ASEAN region
- To help establish-SAGAR initiative
- **Kindly refer to the handouts**

#### **India's initiatives to strengthen the Act East Policy (02:00 PM)**

- **Initiatives to enhance connectivity :**
- Kaladan Multimodal Transit Transport Project
- The Trilateral Highway Project connecting the North East with Myanmar and Thailand
- Agartala and Akhaura Rail link between India and Bangladesh
- India-Japan Act east forum
- **Other Initiatives:**
- National Bamboo Mission
- Digital North East Vision 2022
- Dhubri Phulbari bridge
- Mahabahu-Brahmaputra inland waterway project

#### **ASEAN (2:08 PM)**

- **Kindly refer to the handouts**
- **Strengths of ASEAN (02:15 PM)**
- **Economic strength:**
- 1. ASEAN region remains one of the fastest-growing regions of the world in 2023.
- 2. As per WEF Report 2022, ASEAN is the fifth-largest economy in the world and would become 4th largest by 2030 (The reason apart from others is people embracing digital technologies in their daily activities)
- 3. ASEAN has generated 10.2 trillion dollars, constituting 6.5% of the global GDP.
- 4. It has turned into a global hub of manufacturing and trade.

- 5. It has emerged as the fastest-growing consumer market and is high in service sectors.
- 6. It has emerged as the third-largest labour force in the world
- 7. It has signed FTA with China, Japan, New Zealand, and Hong Kong and is a part of RCEP.
- **Demographic Strength:**
- It is contributing to 8.5% of the world population-high demographic dividend (highly trained labour)
- **Political and Strategic Strength**
- ASEAN has followed a policy of negotiations and conflict resolutions. For example, during the Cambodian crisis; the Rohingya Crisis.
- This means it has emerged as a powerful political and strategic anchor of the region.
- ASEAN is central to the Indo-Pacific strategy and Indian Ocean strategy, wherein it is considered a crucial actor by US, China and India.

#### **QUAD AND ASEAN (02:33 PM)**

<b>QUAD</b>	<b>ASEAN</b>
1. Indo-Pacific	1. South-East Asia
2. Geostrategic (initially)	2. A more holistic organisation

#### **Challenges within ASEAN (02:37 PM)**

- Unstable Political environment
- Skewed distribution of economic resource
- China's rising Footprint, especially in the South China Sea
- Natural Threat: Climate change+ Natural Calamities
- Lack of essential mechanism for dispute settlement and lack of proper dispute redressal mechanisms

#### **INDIA AND ASEAN (02:48 PM)**

- **Importance of ASEAN for India.**
- **1. Political and Strategic Significance:**
- Gives manifestation of India's Act East Policy: to create a free, open, inclusive and democratic rule-based order.
- **2. Economic Significance (All ASEAN economic strengths will come here)**
- It will enhance the connectivity of India in this region
- Improve trade ties with ASEAN will help counter Chinese presence in this region
- **3. Social Significance:**
- Cultural synergy
- Tourism
- The base for India's Exhibition of Soft Power
- Can be a possibility that India can surpass China **(In the cultural sphere)**
- **Cooperation between India and ASEAN: (03:03 PM)**
- **Kindly refer to the handouts**

#### **RCEP (03:26 PM)**

- **Kindly refer to the handouts**
- **Why Did India Opt Out of RCEP?**
- 1. India does not have an FTA with China (with the rest of the RCEP members, India has signed an FTA)
- Keeping in mind the reduction of trade barriers within RCEP, India's trade deficit with China might increase
- There is a danger of flooding of Chinese-made cheap products in the Indian market (danger of dumping)
- Fear of RCEP being China led
- 2. Apprehension of India regarding domestic industry especially manufacturing, Agriculture, and Dairy (India suffers competition from Australia and New Zealand in the dairy industry)
- 3. India has proposed an auto-trigger mechanism within RCEP, which will allow India to raise its tariffs the moment imports crosses a certain threshold. However, this mechanism has not got acceptance by other countries.
- 4. RCEP failed to create mechanisms for Environment and Labour rights which according to India is central to the demand of the developing countries and the greater ideas of sustainable development
- **Why India should rethink its decision?**
- Post COVID-19 world has witnessed massive economic uncertainty and RCEP can act as a bull work (agent) in restrictive the free fall of the global economy and rejuvenating economic activity.
- Since it has the potential of strengthening the regional supply chain and creating job opportunities, it could add to India's economic recovery.
- India should reframe from viewing RCEP from a Chinese perspective

- We should adopt economic realism at this time, keeping in mind that RCEP accounts for 30% of the global GDP.
- Opting out of RCEP may result in suboptimal economic growth, especially catering for India and ASEAN.
- Analysts believe It is our strategic need, since only within RCEP can India shape its rules as per its demand. Staying inside RCEP is not only important for India's economic growth but also for safeguarding the interest of smaller nations which could be swayed away under Chinese Influence.
- Staying out from RCEP can affect India's Act East Policy.
- **Solution:**
- It could be argued that India can draw inspiration from Japan and Australia, who are still at loggerheads with China on various geopolitical fronts but chose to bury their differences. India can also review its decisions, keeping its economic and national priorities at the top.
- **Challenges of RCEP (04:03 PM)**
- 1. Absence of labour laws
- 2. Pre-dominance of China due to the absence of US
- 3. Inequitable access to all countries as far as benefits of RCEP are concerned, since small states might be at a disadvantage position.
- 4. Inter-ASEAN trade might get affected.

**TOPIC FOR THE NEXT CLASS: WILL CONTINUE WITH INDIA AND JAPAN**  
**International Relations Class 18**

**INDIA AND ASEAN (01:08 PM)**

- **WAY FORWARD**
- Collaboration between India and ASEAN to materialize India's dream of being a manufacturing hub.
- Reinventing regional supply chains.
- Leveraging India's soft diplomacy, keeping into mind cultural and civilisational ties.
- Buddhist and Hindu links between India and ASEAN could be a future area of collaboration.
- India should foster a close partnership with other multilateral organisations, including the ASEAN Regional Forum; East Asia Summit; BIMSTEC; IORA; etc.
- The idea of a free rule-based and inclusive Indo-Pacific is common to both India and ASEAN.
- India can take this as an opportunity to be a close security partner of ASEAN in this region.

**INDIA AND JAPAN (01:27 PM)**

- **Kindly refer to the handouts**
- There is a larger question underlining the Indo-Japan relationship, with the differing position of India and its QUAD partners (with the US and Australia on Ukraine). Is Japan still putting importance on the INDO-JAPAN arch?
- Apart from these developments, South Asia and South-East Asia are witnessing Beijing's experience of building "a great wall of steel". This includes China's modernisation of National defence, its aggressive postures in safeguarding strategic locations and its attempt to maintain domestic stability.
- Japan has taken this narrative very seriously that **"Ukraine today may be East-Asia tomorrow"**
- **Significance of 2+2 Ministerial Dialogue:**
- This meeting reaffirmed the idea of creating an open, rule-based, inclusive Indo-Pacific.
- The importance of stability in the Asia Pacific region was also upheld.
- The two sides also focused on enhancing information and security establishments (through joint exercises) in the concerned region.
- **How can India and Japan collaborate in the defence sector to cope with the China challenge? Discuss.**
- Reinforcing and boosting National capabilities to jointly oppose or deter China's aggression.
- Japan has actually raised its share of the defence by approximately 2% of its GDP.
- Both India and Japan are working on creating Counter Strike weapons to prevent Chinese aggression.
- Defence capabilities involve acquiring long-range missiles, which Japan is developing so that it can target critical military bases of China and even North Korea.
- Increasing Defence partnership between India and Japan in IOR and Indo-Pacific.
- In this regard, both countries can seek collaboration not only from their QUAD partners but also from France and UK.
- Upgrade the traditional military exercises between both countries.
- **Though India and Japan share a similar interest in keeping the Indo-Pacific open and free, their bilateral cooperation is still lacking.” Comment**
- **Key Challenges in the Path of India-JAPAN Relation:**

- 1. Domestic debate in Japan over the increase of Defence expenditure (thereby compromising the budget on the social sector)
- 2. Issues regarding Chinese aggression and China's attempt in blocking India and Japan.
- 3. The rising US and China trade war
- 4. Confusion attached with the feasibility of the Asia-Africa growth corridor.
- 5. Strange relationships between Japan and Russia can put the Indo-Japan relationship to test.
- 6. On various global issues such as the tariff structure of WTO-The India and Japan are on divergent sides.
- **Way forward:**
- Indo-Pacific should be seen as a common podium for future security partnerships between India and Japan, and both countries should emerge as co-partners in the region.
- India needs to strengthen its Act East Policy so that its partnership with South East Asia and Japan can be improved.
- India's Indo-Pacific strategy should not eclipse the functionality of the Act East Policy.
- Both countries should work together for creating a multipolar Asia. This would also help in reducing the rising hegemony of China in the region.
- Differences on the Ukraine issue must not eclipse the trusted partnership between the two actors.
- The two countries should collaborate on skill development, especially regarding the capacity development of Indian IT professionals in Japan.

#### **INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA (02:53 PM)**

- **Significance of Central Asia for India**
- Geo-Strategic importance: Battle for strategic space
- Geo-economic Importance
- Security
- China's angle
- Connectivity
- **Areas of Cooperation**
- Trade and Investment cooperation
- Energy
- Security and Defence
- **Indian efforts to strengthen Cooperation with Central Asia**
- Connect Central Asia policy
- SCO
- INSTC
- Chabahar Port in Iran
- Ashgabat Agreement
- TAPI
- EEU
- India Central Asia Dialogue
- Defence Strategic Partnership Agreement
- **Kindly refer to the handouts**

#### **TOPIC FOR THE NEXT CLASS: WILL CONTINUE WITH THE CENTRAL ASIA International Relations Class 19**

#### **INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA (01:11 PM)**

##### **Challenges**

- Central Asian Republic is landlocked in nature creates obstacles as far as direct access to India is concerned.
- Increasing Chinese presence in Central Asia via OBOR initiative.
- Unstable political conditions in Afghanistan and Pakistan
- Failures of Central Asian republics to recognize themselves as collective regional block due to border disputes, conflict over natural resources, ethnic problems, etc.
- Therefore, India is not able to formulate a coherent foreign policy regarding Central Asia.
- Growing synergy between Russia and China might affect the dynamics of India's relations in the region.
- Growing radicalism within Central Asian republics.
- The danger of drug trafficking (due to the proximity of Golden Crescent).
- A serious challenge with China in terms of Trade and investment.
- Lack of operationalization of the TAPI project.

### **Suggestions (01:26 PM)**

- Due to its close relationship with Russia, India could act as a balancing force for Russia as far as American and Chinese presence is concerned.
- India should take forward the implication of the INSTC project more seriously so as to establish seamless connectivity in the region.
- India should explore developing new air routes for easy flight connectivity, something like the Air corridor developed in Afghanistan.
- India should make efforts in utilising the untapped potential of the region and create new markets (apart from conventional newer ones like agricultural, pharmaceuticals, information exchange, green energy, etc.)
- There is a need to formalize an FTA between India and EEU.

### **INDIA AND WEST ASIA (01:41 PM)**

- **Nature of India's Policy towards West Asia:**
- No definite approach
- India prefers to have bilateral relations rather than regional relations.
- **India's West Asia policy witnessed a change:**
- Thus, in the post-soviet world, the bidirectional approach expanded to Tridirectional foreign policy in order to accommodate three key pillars of West Asia: Saudi Arabia (energy); Iran (Energy+connectivity); Israel (defence)
- For decades, India viewed Gulf countries from an economic prism. However, this has changed as now they are seen as strategic pivots.
- **Reasons for the shift:**
- 1. Gulf countries have multifaceted significance now-Diaspora; Remittance; Maritime security; etc.
- 2. Adoption of modern ideas by Gulf countries
- 3. Rise of Khaleeji Capitalism
- 4. Dehyphanated approach regarding India-Pakistan by Gulf countries.

### **Political Equations in West Asia (02:21 PM)**

- **Kindly refer to the handout**
- **Reasons why China has emerged as an important partner in West Asia Politics:**
- 1. China is an attractive partner
- 2. It has substantial energy, trade, investment, and technological ties in West Asia.
- 3. China is a Major trade investment partner
- 4. Middle East is a point for the BRI project
- 5. Diminishing influence of the USA
- **Significance of the Saudi Arabia-Iran deal for China:**
- China was looking for greater political involvement in the region on the basis of **Quasi-mediation diplomacy.**
- Unlike the Palestinian conflict, Saudi-Iran is not an intractable conflict
- Beijing does consider it a low-risk, high-impact opportunity to establish its diplomatic and political credentials.
- This development has a deeper impact on the power equation across West Asia
- It has resulted in the dilution of the US sphere of influence in the region
- This is largely because of the increase in regional disenchantment with the US as a security provider.
- Alongside, the US lesser enthusiasm for being a regional security guarantor.
- Due to military failures in Iraq, Afghanistan
- This led to the emergence of China as a global player
- China has positioned itself as an alternative power, keeping a policy of cooperation, consultation and non-interventionism at the forefront.
- Discussions over the conflict in Yemen, Syria, and Lebanon are now underway. It is even argued that Can China deliver as a peacemaker in West Asia or not
- China's entry is a sign of its growing diplomatic clout to match its economic footprints in the region.
- **Impact of the deal on I2U2:**
- Israel claimed credit for the Abraham accord for 2020 and the Israeli PM projected himself as the only Israeli leader who could bring together the Arabi-Isreli coalition against Iran.
- However, this deal has somewhat diluted this attempt of isolating Iran.
- **Conclusion**



- Since China, big-ticket diplomacy is surely going to impact I2U2 grouping and dynamics within West Asia. It calls for India to work on ties in the region somewhat independently from the US.
- Have greater collaboration with a country like Iran and project its civilizational and cultural links and positive contributions to the Indian diaspora.
- Despite the diplomatic normalization, fundamental issues that divide Saudi Arabia between Iran are difficult to fade that easily (Mostly ideological and theological)
- If the agreement between the two leads to regional stability for example- Ending the conflict situation in Yemen and Syria. It could be considered a successful diplomatic move by China.
- However, jumping to a conclusion is premature. Things are still materializing, not completely stabilized. So, the perception of Chinese diplomacy being the new champion of peace conflict resolution should be rationalized.
- **Recent Context**
- **Israeli-Palestine issue (03:36 PM)**
- Historically India was the only Non-Arab, Non-Muslim nation to back the Palestinian cause
- In 1974, India recognise PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people
- The first PLO office was set up in New Delhi
- Palestinian embassy was set up
- In 1988 India became one of the first countries to recognise the newly established state of Palestine.
- India backed the right of Palestine to self-determination and even supported Palestine's inclusion as a non-member observer state in UN 2010.
- Through these years India sustained a Hyphenated approach between Israel and Palestine (a visit of the head of the state to Israel was accompanied by a visit of the same to Palestine)
- However, this stand changed over the first time when the Indian PM visited Israeli but escaped a customary visit to Palestine. This was described as a policy of dehyphenation adopted by India in regard to these two countries.
- This was because of the growing proximity of India to the US and due to the combined geopolitical challenge by the Iron brothers to India.
- The policy shift got manifested by India's changing voting pattern in the UN
- In 2019, we backed Israel at the Economic and social council to deny observer status to Palestine.
- India also abstains from the resolution demanding a probe into Israeli action in the Gaza Strip at UNHRC.
- The renewed perception of India has led Palestine's PM to urge India to play a stabilising role in West Asia on the sidelines of the COP26 In Glasgow last year.

#### **TOPIC FOR THE NEXT CLASS: WILL CONTINUE WITH THE WEST ASIA**

#### **International Relations Class 20**

#### **WEST ASIA: (CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS CLASS)(1:06:52 PM):**

- **Saudi- Israel relations:**
- Saudi Arabia and Israel came together against Iran.
- The US factor is also very important.
- Israeli-Iran issue.
- The Palestinian cause became important for the Arab world.
- Israel>> Nuclear missiles to Iran.
- Iran-- 1953 coup led to the installation of a pro-west leader in Iran.
- Shift in policy between Iran and Israel.
- 1979- brought down Shah's regime>> Revolution in Iran.
- Iran severed all ties with Israel.
- Also not recognised the state of Israel.
- Palestine was recognized.
- Iran and US relations were also suffering.
- Octopus Doctrine--Nuclear program of Iran.
- Israel carried out covert operations.
- Counter-operations by Iran also started.
- Iran felt betrayed.

#### **INDIA'S LOOK WEST POLICY: (1:27:05 PM):**

- India adopted this policy in 2005.
- It is a tri-directional policy-- Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Israel.
- Completely secular policy.

- Never looked into Shia, Sunni, and Jews in this regard.
- Primarily driven by economic concerns though strategic concerns regarding security and connectivity are also recognized.
- Security concerns like Piracy, and drug trafficking in areas like the Strait of Hormuz, and the Gulf of Aden.
- Thus importance is given to maritime diplomacy, economic security, and connectivity.
- **China's West Asia Policy:**
- Energy security.
- Investment-- BRI.
- Maritime security.
- Market accessibility, trade, market.
- China has along with Russia tried to veto resolutions passed by Western powers demanding. Ex- the ouster of Syrian President Assad.
- China has also recognized Palestine as a state and has offered support for it.
- China has good relations with Iran (the only major country in West Asia which is out of the US sphere of influence).
- Hence, China sees Iran as a vehicle entry into West Asia.

#### **CHALLENGES WITHIN WEST ASIA: (1:44:41 PM):**

- **Political challenges:**
- Domestic political instability.
- Existence of extraterritorial or regional actors.
- This has turned this area into a great game.
- The US, China, Russia, and India are the major actors.
- This has turned into a zone of cold war situation.
- **Security challenges:**
- Radicalism.
- Ex- ISIS.
- Piracy.
- Drug trafficking.
- Iran's Nuclear Ambition and subsequent political dynamics.
- **Recent issues:**
- **Abraham accords:**
- Israel, UAE, and Bahrain signed.
- It aimed to normalize the relations between the Arab world and Israel.
- To create a unified front against Iran.
- **Significance of the accord:**
- This signifies the agenda of Arab countries to decouple themselves from the Palestinian cause.
- UAE has earned a larger credit, especially from the USA.
- It will put Pakistan into a dilemma whether to give up the Palestinian cause and accommodate them in the Arab world.
- **Challenges to the accord:**
- Shia-Sunni conflict might revive.
- Not well accepted by Palestinians.
- Israel Palestine fight might increase.
- **Opportunities Abraham accord presented to India:**
- This accord would improve the safety scenario and the regional connectivity between Israel and Arab countries.
- This would be an advantage Indian diaspora to thrive.
- It would open new areas for India's engagement.
- Provide grounds for the formation of I2U2 in which India was one of the extra-regional actors influencing West Asian politics.

#### **I2U2: (2:15:55 PM):**

- Oct 2021--Foreign affairs meeting.
- To improve security, infrastructure, and transport development in the region.
- **Significance:**
- Was referred West Asian Quad because:

- 1) Indicated the emergence of a Quad-like body in the middle east with common members like India and the US.
- 2) Because it might affect West Asian Geopolitics just like the Quad affects Indo-Pacific Geopolitics.
- 3) Both the arrangements had maritime security as a prime agenda.
- 4) It offered areas of security cooperation between 4 partners.
- **Significance for India:**
- This would offer scope for analyzing the issue of food security.
- Example- July 2022 summit talks were made for the creation of the India- middle east food corridor.
- India will have a localized food supply chain.
- Minus Chinese domination.
- India's presence in the Middle East will increase.
- India's clout in South Asia will also increase.
- Also, benefit India's market in the Middle East.
- It would help India and offer deeper opportunities for engagement with West Asian countries.
- Added a new chapter for India's look west policy in a way that India can deepen its ties with Israel without compromising its relations with the Arab world.

#### JCPOA:

- Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action.
- The US imposed sanctions on a Mumbai-based company.
- March 2022- Iran diplomats met in Vienna to reconsider Iran nuclear deal.
- The US withdrew from JCPOA in 2018.
- CAATSA Act was passed.
- Launch of INSTEX.
- The US assassinated the top Iranian general.
- Iran boosted its Uranium enrichment.
- Iran also rejected IAEA inspections.
- **Challenges to Restoration of JCPOA:**
- The cold war between Iran and Saudi Arabia.
- The US has developed deeper ties with Saudi Arabia to counter Iran.
- However, the peace deal between Iran and Saudi Arabia brokered by China may evolve newer options for the restoration of the JCPOA or an alternative arrangement to resolve the issue.
- Traditional Shia-Sunni conflict makes it difficult for the deal to restore.
- Political equations between Us and Iran.
- **Significance of JCPOA for India:**
- It would help India revive its diplomatic connectivity and energy ties with Iran without compromising its position with the US.
- Help India neutralize Chinese presence both in the middle east in Gwadar port due to India's position in Iran Chabhar port.
- India's interest in INSTC may also get a boost.
- Also, it will secure energy security for India since earlier due to terms in the CAATSA act, India had to lower done imports from Iran.
- Suggestions:
- India should support JCPOA implementation keeping in mind its concerns regarding energy security and connectivity.
- Also, the US needs to realize that today is a world of multilateral cooperation rather than unilateral leadership.
- Unilateral action in this regard could further worsen the situation.
- **Way Forward:**
- India should keep maintaining its policy of multi-alignment and strategic autonomy as far as West Asia is concerned.
- India should start focusing on areas beyond energy security and connectivity like Food security, and medical tourism.
- India should start fast-tracking stalled projects in West Asia.
- Ex- INSTC project, TAPi Porject, etc.
- India should take advantage of rising khaleeji capitalism and try to diversify its economic engagements.

#### INDO-US RELATIONS: (3:32:35 PM):

- Issues of human rights, labor rights, etc.
- Multilateral reforms.
- Shared democratic values.
- Cooperation areas--Artificial intelligence, indo-pacific, etc.
- F-16 jets are being provided to Pakistan.
- India and US will shape the 21st century-- mentioned by Anthony Blinken.
- India and US had meetings on the sidelines of G7 and G20.
- Also earlier-- Hyphenated to unhyphenated approach by the USA towards India and Pakistan.
- **Probable reasons for the shift of the US's policy towards India:**
- Changes in the global geopolitics post Cold War.
- Post cold war-- Increasing importance of South Asia.
- South Asia -- saw India as an emerging power.
- Economic ascent of India--Post LPG.
- The US thought that India could be a balancing wheel for China.
- Presence of rich Indian diaspora in the US.
- Change of outlook of India also towards the US.
- Strategic Dialogue-->> strategic and commercial dialogue -->>2 plus 2 dialogue-->>Comprehensive global strategic partner.

**The topic for the next class- is Indo-US relations and Indo-Russia relations.**

### **International Relations Class 21**

#### **INDO-US RELATIONS (1:06 PM)**

- ***Shifting Nature***
- In 2010, countries entered into a strategic dialogue
- The relationship grew further to strategic and commercial dialogue in 2015 and in 2020 they entered into a comprehensive global strategic partnership
- A 2+2 dialogue was started in 2018 to further improve synergy
- ***Area of Cooperation***
- *Defense Cooperation*
- Defence Technology and Trade Initiative was started in 2012 to strengthen defense cooperation beyond a buyer-seller arrangement
- Three defense pacts i.e. LEMOA, COMCASA, and BECA agreements were signed to improve greater defense cooperation and improve interoperability of defense services
- Some of the defense assets bought by India are C17 and C130 transport aircraft, P-8I maritime reconnaissance aircraft, AH-64 Apache aircraft helicopters, Chinook transport helicopters, MH-60 Seahawk multi-role naval helicopters, Harpoon missiles, etc.
- The USA gave India a waiver from the CAATSA framework understanding India's security needs
- *India- US Cooperation against China*
- India's position in South Asia makes it a natural partner of the US
- QUAD was formed to develop greater synergy between like-minded countries to balance Chinese influence
- *Military Cooperation*
- Variety of military exercises between the two countries between different services
- For example, Malabar exercise of navies, Cope-India for Air Force, Yudh Abhyas for Army, and Vajra Prahar for Special Forces
- *Counter Terrorism and Internal Security*
- Counter-terrorism operations between the two countries are carried through the India-US Joint Working Group on Counterterrorism
- It involves sharing intelligence sharing, information exchange, sharing technology and equipment, and joint operations
- India and the US collaborate on establishing peace in Afghanistan
- *Energy and Climate Change*
- Joint Clean Energy Research and Development Center (JCERDC) was established to promote joint clean energy innovations under PACE (Partnership to Advance Clean Energy)
- *Civil Nuclear Cooperation*
- A bilateral civil nuclear cooperation agreement was signed in October 2008 which lifted global restrictions on India in the nuclear science
- *Science and Technology/Space*

- Indo-U.S. Science & Technology Forum (IUSSTF) was established in 2000
- NASA and ISRO are collaborating on developing an SUV-sized satellite called NISAR
- Indian Diaspora and Cultural Cooperation
- US support to India on permanent membership in the UN
- **Key Challenges (1:54 PM)**
- Economic Challenges
- A mini-trade war between India and US due to many underlying trade irritants
- The US refers to India as the "Tariff King"
- America First policy under Donald Trump is protectionist in nature and poses a challenge to India-US trade
- In 2020, the US withdrew the Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) for India
- Political Challenges
- US cap on H-1B visas
- Time and again, the US has supported Pakistan which is a major irritant for India
- India's relationship with Iran and Russia irritates the US
- Issues of IPR
- India falls in the Special 301 Report of the US, which is a watchlist of entities that do not effectively and adequately protect IPR
- India's reluctance to ban Chinese firm Huawei to participate in the upcoming 5G trials
- India's membership in BRICS and SCO is seen by the US with suspicion
- US' decision to exit from Afghanistan
- It poses threat to India's national security
- It put India's investment in Afghanistan in a jeopardy
- It supposedly will increase Chinese influence in Afghanistan
- **Way Forwards (2:46 PM)**
- Economic sphere
- Keeping in mind the common anti-China sentiments shared between both India and US, there could be deeper potential for boosting bilateral trade
- There is a need for a proper framework where negotiations could be made in order to improve market accessibility and dilute tariff and non-tariff barriers
- A framework regarding FTA between India and the US can be created, however with extreme caution and economic realism
- Political sphere
- In international politics, there are no permanent friends and no permanent enemies
- India in this regard must continue its foreign policy stands of strategic hedging
- For example, in September 2019, the Indian Prime Minister attended three summit-level meetings with France, US, and Russian counterparts within a time period of two weeks
- Further on October 2019, China's President Xi Jinping also visited India
- This simultaneous engagement reflects strategic hedging of India's foreign policy and is a substitute for India's Cold War narrative of strategic neutrality
- Both India and US should diversify their supply chain portfolios in order to reduce over-dependence on China
- QUAD can help in developing such alternate supply chains
- Both India and US could emerge as strategic partners in the true sense by not trying to achieve complete convergence on every issue (which is strategically also not possible every time) but should definitely try to manage differences by ensuring continuous dialogues and creating new opportunities

#### **INDIA-RUSSIA RELATIONS (3:10 PM)**

- During March Diplomacy, a peace deal was signed between Iran and Saudi Arabia
- Also, the Chinese President's visited Russia where both condemned the politicization of the multilateral platform e.g. QUAD, G20, etc.
- In February 2023, India and Russia celebrated the 30th anniversary of the Friendship Treaty signed between the two countries
- During Doval's visit to Russia, both countries discussed on implementing India-Russia Special and Privileged Strategic Partnership
- The commonality of interest with Afghanistan was evident in the meeting
- India's NSA chief made three points in this regard:
- 1. He emphasized the need to ensure that the territory of Afghanistan should not become a source of radicalization and terrorism

- 2. He underlined the need to intensify intelligence and security cooperation to deal with terror outfits, including those designated under UNSC Resolution 1267
- 3. India said, it has special and historical relations with Afghanistan and for India, the well-being of the Afghani people is foremost; natural resources of Afghanistan should be utilized first for the welfare of Afghanistan
- Special and Privileged Strategic Partnership is based on six pillars viz. politics, defense, trade, civil nuclear energy, space, and anti-terrorism.
- **Significance of Russia for India**
- 1. Can help in moderating Chinese aggression
- 2. It helps in deepening India's engagement in Russian Far East and in the Arctic region
- 3. Boost connectivity projects
- INSTC (International North-South Transport Corridor) and Chennai- Vladivostok Eastern Maritime Corridor will reduce the cargo travel time to 24 days in comparison to 40 days
- The proposed maritime route can be transformed into a corridor that could juxtapose with Indo-Japan Pacific to the Indian Ocean (2016) to counter China's maritime silk route
- 4. Boosting new areas of economic partnership apart from conventional areas
- A few promising sectors include new currency settlement, biotechnology, nanotechnology, agroindustries, etc.
- 5. Major sources of arms/military imports
- 6. Common concern on countering terrorism
- 7. Support base of India at multilateral forums
- India's relationship with Russia remained intact despite global tensions and uncertainty
- It could be said if India needs QUAD for peace in the Indo-Pacific region and to contain Chinese aggressiveness, it needs Russia not only for connectivity, economic development, and defense capabilities but also Russia's support in strategic issues remains invaluable for India

**Topics for the next class: Continuation of India-Russia relations, Indo-EU relation**  
**International Relations Class 22**

#### **INDIA-RUSSIA RELATIONS (CONTINUED) (01:04 PM)**

- **What is India's Position on Ukraine?**
- India has taken a subtle **pro-Moscow stance** in this regard.
- India abstained from the UNSC resolution, condemning Russia for taking forward its **deft diplomacy**.
- India is walking a tightrope in its relationship with Russia. **How?**
- a. **Geopolitical Necessity** of India of not only being a time-tested friend of Russia but also requiring both Russia and the US to solve the China Problem.
- b. Russia is important for us from a **defense perspective** as well as for connectivity.
- c. At the same time India wants to maintain its position of being a **key strategic partner of the US** in the region.
- d. West hopes that India could use its link with Russia to find a **peaceful solution** to this conflict.
- West argues that no country is as well positioned as India to mediate.
- Today is an era of **complex interdependence** in which every country is dependent on the other.
- **The Implication of War in India:**
- It could **embolden China** regarding its territorial ambitions. (danger for India's territorial security).
- **Sanctions** on Russia will impact India's defense cooperation.
- A new area (Central Asia) of global attention other than the **Indo-Pacific**.
- **Diplomatic tightrope** situation for India.
- Rising Russia-China axis and its effect.
- **Discuss the Global Implications of the China-Russia Alliance in the Present Scenario.**
- 1. It has **united the entire West** together under the US to create pressure on this axis.
- 2. Involvement of countries, otherwise neutral, against this conflict: **Japan and Germany**.
- 3. New **Arms Race** might lead to global instability.
- 4. US influence alliance in Asia against China and in Europe against Russia.
- 5. Reenergized **NATO**, many new nations wish to join NATO.
- 6. **Oil Crisis:** Increase in prices of oil.
- 7. **Food Insecurity:** Black Sea Grain initiative.
- **The Effect of the China-Russia Alliance on India**
- **Geopolitical Effect:** Entry of Russia this time as an alliance partner in the region.

- It can embolden China to have an aggressive stance against small nations.
- For example, the South China Sea in the region would affect regional stability thus India.
- **Economic Effect:** Economic cooperation between Russia and China will increase. This might affect our economic engagement with Russia.
- **Strategic Implementation:** Increasing military cooperation between Russia and China might impact India
- According to some analysts, this cooperation can help India get entry to various multilateral platforms, where China has been opposing us.
- However, some analysts differ keeping in mind the tough stance of China this might be a difficult task.
- India should pursue its policy of hedging and multi-alignment.
- India can strengthen its position in **Indo-Pacific** by continuing alliances with like-minded nations.
- Russia should continue getting priority in our foreign policy. Continuous efforts should be made to strengthen our **military capabilities**.
- India should continue **multi-sourcing its economic and defense engagements**.
- India should take advantage of its **soft power** in creating its strategic clout in the region.

#### AREAS OF COOPERATION (02:13 PM)

- **1. Defense cooperation:**
- Tri-Services Exercise- **INDRA**
- The joint military programs between India and Russia include:
- Brahmos Cruise Missile Programme
- KA-226T twin-engine utility helicopters
- Sukhoi Su-30MKI programme
- 5th generation fighter jet program, etc.
- Military hardware purchased/leased by India from Russia includes:
- S-400 Triumph
- INS Vikramaditya aircraft carrier program
- Kamov Ka-226T, etc.
- **2. Trade relations**
- The revised targets of increasing bilateral investment to US \$ 50 billion and bilateral trade to US \$ 30 billion by 2025.
- India is also contemplating an FTA/ CECA with the Eurasian Economic Union.
- 2023: India and Russia are discussing a free trade agreement (FTA).
- India's imports from Russia more than quadrupled to \$46.33 billion over the last fiscal year, mainly through oil.
- **3. Nuclear Relations:**
- Cooperation in the area of peaceful use of nuclear energy.
- Kudankulam Nuclear Power Plant is being built in India with Russian cooperation.
- Rooppur Nuclear Power Project in Bangladesh jointly by India and Russia.
- **4. Space Exploration:**
- GLONASS navigation System remote sensing and other societal applications of outer space.

#### KEY CHALLENGES (02:23 PM)

- 1. Challenges in terms of **connectivity projects:** Stalling of INSTC Project.
- 2. **China Angle:** Both China and Russia have criticized QUAD.
- 3. **US Factor:** India is in a tightrope situation between US and Russia,
- Russia tilts towards improving relations with Turkiye, China, Iran, and Pakistan.
- **Way forward:**
- Both countries should try to explore their relationship in multi-dimensional ways to strengthen their situation.
- Not providing timely maintenance and support regarding the supply of spare parts is one of the irritants in Indo-Russia Defence Cooperation.
- Russia needs to come up with an agreement and provide these supplies in a time-bound manner.
- Both India and Russia should position their relationship based on mutual acknowledgment of each other's importance.
- India needs to balance its strategic positions with Russia, and the US simultaneously.
- India can facilitate Russia for its proactive engagement in Indo-Pacific thereby adding another factor of convergence.
- Continuous engagement at several multi-lateral platforms should be encouraged.

## INDIA-UK RELATIONS (02:44 PM)

- The UK consists of **England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.**
- **The trajectory of India-UK relations:**
- India is a part of the Commonwealth.
- India-UK partnership became Strategic in **2004.**
- **2021:** Conclusion of India-UK Comprehensive Strategic Partnership.
- The agreement also established a **2030 Roadmap for the India-UK relationship.**
- Around 1.8 million Indians, or 2-3% of the Indian Diaspora, contribute six percent to United Kingdom's GDP.
- IRIS platform under CDRI which was launched by India and UK at COP26.
- **Proposed India UK-FTA:**
- They have set an ambitious target to double trade by 2030 from the current level of US\$31.4 Billion.
- The proposed FTA:
- Will give a major fillip to Indian Exports in labor-intensive sectors like Leather, Textile, etc.
- Aims to enhance sectoral cooperation by addressing market access issues.
- **Key Issues in FTA talks:**
- Digital Trade: Regulatory barriers to be cleared to facilitate trade through digital services and digitally enabled services.
- Investor Protection: They seek early arbitration in case of disputes
- Strategic Cooperation: Naval Exercise **Konkan**

## KEY CHALLENGES (03.31 PM)

- The bitter colonial past and memories associated with the UK.
- **Tariff and Non-Tariff Barrier:**
- A mini-trade war is underway between the two countries. In early 2022 UK imposed restrictions on 15 Indian steel products and in retaliation, India proposed a 15 percent duty on products from the UK.
- India UK-FTA and related challenges.
- **Social Sphere:** Issue of illegal immigration.
- The issue regarding **Totalisation Agreement.**
- The difference in stand on **Ukraine-Russia Issue.**
- **Rigidity in Extradition Treaty.**
- **Security Concern:** Attack on Indian High Commission and Rise of Khalistan Extremism.

## WAY FORWARD (03:48 PM)

- **FTA** arrangements need to be made as soon as possible
- Speedy implementation of **totalisation agreement.**
- Reducing **Extradition rigidities.**
- The UK values India not just based on its economic potential but also as a key strategic partner.
- In this regard, the UK should provide unconditional support to India in its quest for permanent membership in UNSC.
- India should leverage the potential of the Indian diaspora (a living bridge) in order to exhibit its soft power.

## INDIA-EUROPEAN UNION (03:52 PM)

- EU is a supranational political and economic union of **27 countries.**
- Its genesis lies in the Maastricht Treaty of 1992.
- Euro currency is used by **19 EU members.**
- **How India and the EU are natural partners?**
- 1. Common threat in form of **China.**
- 2. They require India to act as a balancing wheel in the region.
- 3. EU is India's **largest trading partner** and second-largest export destination.
- 4. Both emphasize the need for a sustainable medical supply chain in the region, especially post-COVID.
- This means a common concern regarding global health.
- 5. Convergence regarding the creation of the **Indo-Pacific** as a stable place or domain to function.
- 6. The **Green Deal of EU** with India- To reorient world economies to become carbon neutral by 2050.
- 7. Emphasis on increasing engagement at multilateral levels.
- 8. Convergence regarding radicalization and Islamic radicalization.
- These converging factors make India and the EU natural partners.

**The topic for Next Class: India -EU (Continued) & International Organisations**  
**International Relations Class 23**



#### **INDIA-EU RELATIONSHIP: (01:07:00 PM)**

- India's Opportunities in the EU:
- 1. Realisation of the EU about the economic importance of India in the wake of the new political-economic order of the world.
- For example, post-pandemic economic crisis and economic resilience of India, trade war between the USA and China.
- Issues within the WTO as far as tariffs and trade barriers are concerned.
- 2. Post-Brexit: India could be a new potential partner.
- 3. Common concern over Chinese Aggression.
- 4. Global terrorism.
- 5. Indo-Pacific Cooperation.
- 6. Global Health and India's role in this as a leader along with the EU.
- 7. India's Presidency in various multinational organizations like G20, SCO, etc an opportunity for India to play a leadership role.
- Issues in India-EU Relationship:
- a. Market Access to agricultural produce from India.
- b. Digital trade- Digital Capacity building, Digital infrastructure- the problem of accessibility, affordability, etc.
- c. Environmental Sustainability.
- d. Intellectual Property Rights- It is one of the major issues. The EU is not happy with our IPR provisions like Compulsory licensing.
- e. Investment protection which is related to long-drawn court cases and security of investments in India.

#### **ISSUES REGARDING INDIA-EU FREE TRADE AGREEMENT: (01:38:00 PM)**

- a. Market Access to agricultural produce from India.
- b. Digital trade & Digital transformation- Digital Capacity building, Digital infrastructure- the problem of accessibility, affordability, etc.
- c. Environmental Sustainability.
- d. Intellectual Property Rights- It is one of the major issues. The EU is not happy with our IPR provisions like Compulsory licensing.
- India has banned the evergreening of patents keeping in mind the importance of generic drugs and chemicals.
- However, the EU expects certain changes in this regard.
- e. Investment protection which is related to long-drawn court cases and security of investments in India.
- EU wants a comprehensive proposal regarding the investment state dispute settlement mechanism (ISDSM) this could be considered as an international Court system wherein individual companies can sue countries on grounds of discrimination.
- EU argues that this system would not only protect their investors but also avoids State to State conflicts.
- India along with Japan, Argentina, and Brazil has rejected this proposal.
- India argues that dispute redressal should be a part of a bilateral agreement and not be solved at a multilateral forum.
- f. Tariff and Non-Tariff barriers.
- g. Lack of Ease of Doing Business and procedural rigidities in India.
- h. Trade imbalance- In their list, China is very high and surpassing India.
- i. Issues Regarding trade in Service Sectors:
- India demands greater access to the EU market under Mode 1 and 4 Services.
- However, the EU wants greater accessibility in India in Mode 2 and 3 services.
- The World Trade Organization (WTO) recognizes four different modes of services trade, which are referred to as the "Four Modes of Supply." These modes are:
- Mode 1: Cross-border trade This mode involves the supply of a service from the territory of one country into the territory of another country.
- For example, a company in one country provides software services to clients in another country.
- Mode 2: Consumption abroad This mode involves a consumer traveling from their home country to another country to receive a service.
- For example, a tourist visiting another country and using the services of a hotel or a restaurant.
- Mode 3: Commercial presence This mode involves a foreign company establishing a presence in another country to provide services.
- For example, a foreign bank sets up a branch in another country to provide banking services.

- Mode 4: Presence of natural persons This mode involves the temporary movement of people from one country to another to provide services.
- For example, a consultant from one country travels to another country to provide consulting services to a client.
- EU had demanded lower tariff barriers on goods such as dairy, automobiles, wines, etc in the Indian markets.
- However, India is demanding the lowering of non-tariff barriers in form of sanitary and phytosanitary barriers, especially in Indian agriculture and dairy produce.
- h. China angle.
- i. Divergence views as far as the Russia-Ukraine war is concerned.
- Way Forward:
- Since both are considered natural partners, there is a possibility of a unique synergy.
- A common convergence point could off course be the geo-economic calculations along with security concerns.
- India-EU FTA should be finalized as soon as possible so that they not only become reliable economic partners but also robust strategic partners.

#### **G20: (02:08:00 PM)**

- Context:
- The 2022 G20 Bali summit is the seventeenth meeting of the Group of Twenty (G20), and it is slated to take place on November 15-16, 2022, in Nusa Dua, Bali, Indonesia.
- Theme: Recover Together, Recover Stronger.
- G20 Troika- Indonesai, India, and Brazil.
- Sherpas: These are the guides.
- Currently, India is the president of G20 and held 100 meetings including members across 111 nationalities.
- The theme of G20 in 2023 under India's presidency is "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam", which translates to "One Earth, One Family, One Future,"
- The G20 or Group of Twenty is an intergovernmental forum comprising 19 countries and the European Union (EU).
- Significance of G20:
- The G20 is composed of most of the world's largest economies, including both industrialized and developing nations, and accounts for around 80% of the world GDP, 75% of international trade, 60% of the global population, and roughly half the world's land area.
- Though its decisions have no legal impacts, they do influence State policies.
- It played a pivotal role in the financial crisis. For example, the 2007-2008 Financial Crisis.
- It has played roles in reforming international financial institutions, for example, it has recommended the Base Erosion and Profit Shifting (BEPS) Project, standards for increasing tax transparency, etc.
- It played an important role in the ratification of the Trade Facilitation Agreement in WTO.
- It is by far the most balanced represented and inclusive body.
- It can take prompt decisions due to its limited membership.
- It appears relevant on wide global issues like trade, climate change, health, energy security, terrorism, migration, and refugee issues.
- For example, in G20 Summit 2021, leaders committed to achieving Carbon Neutrality, also G20 released The G20 Climate Risk Atlas.
- It opens synergy between the developed and developing worlds. For example, in 2010, Toronto G20 was declared a premier forum for the Gloabla Economic Cooperation.
- It provides a platform for countries to have bilateral or trilateral engagements on the sidelines.
- It has come up as a humanitarian partner during crises like Covid-19 Pandemic. For example, in October 2021 G20 leaders pledged to vaccinate 70% of the World population by mid-2022.

#### **OUTCOMES OF 17TH G20 SUMMIT: (02:35:00 PM)**

- Condemnation of Russian Aggression
- Concerns regarding Global Economy ( currency fluctuations), global growth, and suggested a regulated rise in interest rate.
- Health:
- Took forward the goal of universal health care and improving global health governance.
- Appreciated the World Bank's "Pandemic Fund" (for pandemic prevention, preparedness, and response).
- The issue of food security got discussed in wake of the Russian-Ukraine crisis. In this regard appreciated the Black Sea grains project.

- Digital Transformation.
- Agreed for the joint efforts to address global challenges such as climate change.
- Terming climate change a “defining challenge” of the age, it was stated that a “climate solidarity pact” is conducive to achieving the goals outlined in the Paris Agreement.

#### **CHALLENGES WITH G20: (03:06:00 PM)**

- G20 is facing the following challenges:
  1. Russia-Ukraine Crisis.
  2. Increasing Prices, especially food prices.
  3. Energy Security.
  4. Issue of inflation.
  5. Stagflation= Inflation + Unemployment.
  6. Exclusive Representation: Under representation of the African continent.
  7. Absence of a formal charter leads to issues of non-transparency and low accountability.
  8. Absence of the permanent secretariate- Because of this agendas which are determined keeps on swinging each year by different chairs.
- Also, there is no formal mechanism for follow-ups.
- 9. Lack of proper enforcement mechanism- and hence declarations are therefore not binding.
- 10. Many a time it lacks effective implementation.
- 11. There is a trend among countries towards protectionism and it is argued that countries are choosing G0(which means every nation for itself) instead of the multilateral forums such as G20, UN, G7, etc.
- 12. G20 can influence the decision-making of small sovereign states which sometimes appears to be an intrusion into their sovereign space.
- For example, the G20 agreed to end international financing for Coal power plants this means it would now be difficult for small sovereign states to get finance from G20 for establishing new coal power plants. This would add to their economic woes.
- Way Forward:
  - No doubt G20 could be considered as a bridge between the global North and global South or East & West.
  - However, it needs to formalize, transform it to be a more representative platform, and try to focus more on domestic needs and commitments rather than broad global issues.

#### **SCO(SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION): (03:30:00 PM)**

- The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) is a permanent international intergovernmental organization.
- Members countries of SCO: There are 9 Member States- China, India, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Iran
- Main Goals of SCO:
  - 1) Strengthening confidence and good-neighborly relations among the member countries;
  - 2) Promoting effective cooperation in politics, trade, and economy, science, and technology, culture as well as education, energy, transportation, tourism, environmental protection, and other fields;
  - 3) Making joint efforts to maintain and ensure peace, security, and stability in the region,
  - 4) Moving towards the establishment of a new, democratic, just, and rational political and economic international order.
- Proceeding from the Spirit of Shanghai the SCO pursues its internal policy based on the principles of mutual trust, mutual benefit, equal rights, consultations, respect for the diversity of cultures, and aspiration towards common development, its external policy is conducted by the principles of non-alignment, non-targeting anyone and openness.

#### **IMPORTANCE & RELEVANCE OF SCO FOR INDIA: (03:49:00 PM)**

- 1. Keeping in mind the involvement of the Central Asian countries, SCO provides India with an opportunity for deeper connectivity and accessibility to our extended neighborhood in Central Asia.
- 2. It provides a forum for India to engage with other members on its sidelines.
- For example, in 2015 SCO meet in Ufa India and Pakistan's counterparts had a bilateral meeting on its sidelines.
- 3. It provides space for dialogue on various regional issues.
- For example, the Afghanistan crisis, Covid19, economic slowdown, terrorism, drug trafficking, etc.
- 4. It provides a platform for the exhibition of India's foreign policy stance of multi-alignment and strategic autonomy.
- 5. It provides a platform for the fulfillment of our energy security needs. For example, the TAPI project.

- 6. It will improve ties between India & central Asia in both connectivity and economic terms(banking, finance, and agriculture, etc.)
- 7. it could be a platform to keep a tag on rising Chinese footprints in Eurasia.
- 8. It can improve India's efforts in combatting terrorism through SCO RATs.

**TOPICS FOR THE NEXT CLASS: G7 & NATO.**

#### **International Relations Class 24**

#### **CHALLENGES FOR SCO (1:07 PM)**

- **Political strategic :**
- China & its aggressive stance could act as a hindrance to the smooth functioning of SCO.
- Keeping into mind China's equation with India, Russia, Iran & Saudi Arabia etc.
- India in this regard, needs to be extra cautious since China's new partners are already in forums.
- The presence of Pakistan along with China creates a challenge for India's position within the forum.
- However, the presence of Russia and Iran can supposedly balance out India's apprehension.
- Complex membership and Changing dynamics among them can offer India a situation of 'diplomatic tightrope'.
- **Security threat :**
- Terrorism, drug trafficking, radicalisation & militarisation
- Proximity to Afghanistan (spillover effect)
- Illegal migration & weapon sells.
- **Challenge for India:**
- India does not have direct land connectivity with the central Asian countries within SCO.
- Entry of Saudi Arabia as a dialogue partner and the presence of Iran as a full-fledged member along with Russia might increase China's Clout or influence within forums.
- SCO is alleged to be dominated by two founding members China and Russia, both of which are in close terms post-Russia-Ukraine crisis, this can act as a China to India.
- However, some analyst feels that Russia can act as a balancing factor between India and China within SCO.
- India might face an awkward situation since most of the member countries are part of China's OBOR initiatives.
- **Way forward:**
- SCO provides an opportunity to have an alternative engagement with central Asian Economies.
- The platform is extremely important in terms of territorial security and energy security threat.
- However, keeping in mind, the diverse geographical membership there is a need to create regional working groups in order to assess regional issues.
- Also, SCO RATS need to shed its prejudice or biased toward Eurasia and include the region of South Asia in its operations.
- Agreement on connectivity and transport corridors could give SCO holistic visions.
- The inclusion of Iran, last year and Saudi Arabia this year could definitely add new strategic dynamics and importance within the forums.

#### **NATO (1:51 PM)**

- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a military alliance established by the North Atlantic Treaty (also called the Washington Treaty) of April 1949, by the United States, Canada, and several Western European nations to provide collective security against the Soviet Union.
- There are currently 31 member states.
- Finland is the latest country to join NATO.
- Headquarters: Brussels, Belgium.
- **Objectives of NATO:**
- **Political objectives:**
- Promotion of democratic values.
- Enabling members to consult and cooperate on defence and security-related issues.
- Trust building and in the long run, preventing conflict.
- **Military Objectives:**
- Aims for peaceful resolution of disputes.
- Only if diplomatic efforts fail, does it takes recourse to military power for crisis-management operations.
- **Collective defence:**
- Members of NATO are committed to mutual defence in response to an attack by any external party.
- This is laid out in Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, the founding treaty of NATO.

## **WHY NATO WAS NOT DISSOLVED AFTER THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE USSR OR THE END OF THE COLD WAR? (2:20 PM)**

- The geopolitical influence which NATO exercises in the euro-Atlantic region.
- For e.g. the combined defence expenditure of NATO is almost close to 60 % of global defence expenditure.
- Also, NATO has exhibited its influence in global or regional geopolitical crises.
- For e.g. Afghan crisis, the West Asia crisis & Euro-Atlantic regions.
- NATO has emerged as one of the most important foreign policy tools of the USA which it uses to exhibit its hegemony in various parts of the region.
- New security challenges, faced by the NATO members.
- Apart from conventional security challenges like territorial aggression, militancy, terrorism etc, new non-conventional forms of security challenges also emerge especially post-1991.
- For e.g. nuclear threats, cyber threats, radicalisation & biological warfare etc
- Cyber security could be a ground for NATO to invoke Article 5 of collective security if Russia create a threat of cyber attack on Ukraine and & it creates a threat to a neighbouring country like Poland.
- **NATO Stance on Russia- Ukraine Conflict:**
- NATO has condemned Russia's aggression in the strongest terms calling it unjustified and unprovoked
- As per NATO, the Russian attack is a violation of international laws thereby threatening the regional peace of Euro-Atlanta.
- NATO calls for an immediate cessation of military action by Russia.
- NATO has reflected its proven Ukraine stances by calling it a legitimate and democratic-led country.
- Though Ukraine is not a member of NATO it cannot get militarily involved in the conflict.
- However, NATO has made it clear that it could invoke Article 5 concerning the collective security clause if Russia wages a cyber attack on Ukraine & it results in a spillover effect in nearby NATO allies e.g. Poland.
- Fearing this, NATO has stated that has the right to station its forces in the borders of Poland.
- So as to avoid the spillover of any such threat.
- **Should NATO be dissolved:**
- Cold war construct
- The precedent of aggravating global conflicts such as the Aghan crisis, Balkan crisis & Russia-Ukraine crisis etc.
- Mearsheimer has even argued that the eastward expansion of NATO was the reason behind Russian aggression.
- NATO's military involvement has led to a humanitarian crisis, in e.g. Iraq, and Kosovo.
- Divergence of National resources in terms of funds for defence-related activities reduces the attention and funds for social developments.

## **INDIA AND NATO (2:50 PM)**

- India held its first political dialogue with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Brussels on December 12, 2019, with the aim to assess cooperation on regional and global issues of mutual interest.
- The talk was primarily political in Character.
- **Significance:**
- Keeping in mind, NATO's engagement with both China and Pakistan India's outreach could be considered a strategic move.
- It could ass some new dimension (political and strategic) to engagements with the US and Europe.
- The instability in the AF-Pak area India's outreach in 2019 could be considered as a move guided by its security concerns.
- The convergence of NATO & India regarding maritime security, concerns in IOR and Indo-pacific outreach do suggest common ground.
- India's engagement with NATO could also help to balance out, NATO's military streak and perception regarding regional issues.
- Though India has always refuted military solutions to disputes this engagement should be seen through the prism of Geostrategic common concerns.
- However, the solution to these concerns should be through dialogue and diplomacy.

## **CHALLENGING ISSUES (3:16 PM)**

- In the new strategic concepts, it was argued how Nato members should view Chinese aggression and expansion.
- However, regarding China and the OBOR initiatives the member nation has diverse views.
- There have been issues between US and Turkey since Turkey bought Russian-made S400 missiles when the US refused to provide them with S35 stealth jet programs.

- The issue regarding the entry of Nordic countries like Finland and Sweden and their opposition by Turkey.
- This was because of the diverse Stand between the two sides regarding declaring Kurdish rebel groups as terrorists.
- NATO carries the challenge of painting credibility regarding its activities at the international level.
- Since most of them have led to regional conflict and decreased levels of development.

#### **G7 (3:35 PM)**

- The Group of Seven (G-7) is an intergovernmental organization made up of the world's largest developed economies: France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada.
- The G-7 was, for a while, known as the Group of Eight (G-8), until 2014 when former member Russia was removed after annexing the region of Crimea illegally from Ukraine.
- All the G7 countries and India are a part of the G20.
- The G-7 is not an official, formal entity and, therefore, has no legislative or authoritative power to enforce the recommended policies and plans it compiles.

#### **INDIA OPPOSES JUST ENERGY TRANSITION PLAN (3:47 PM)**

- Since out of all polluting fuels only coal cannot be singled out.
- Such a kind of energy transition would require greater investments and a longer time.
- India also raised its concern regarding the sudden closure of our running coal mines within this plan.
- Banned Russian goods will increase their cost.
- It can also affect our current account deficit.
- It can impact India's imports if Russia can isolate
- It can impact India on a diplomatic scale.
- It can bring G7 and India to a common point.

**The topic for the next class: UN  
International Relations Class 25**

#### **A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE LAST CLASS: (01:00:00 PM)**

- G7 and its relevance for India.

#### **CHALLENGES/ SHORTCOMINGS IN G7: (01:04:00 PM)**

- 1. It is considered an exclusive multilateral forum.
- Negligence of major issues like the Migration crisis of the Middle East, and the Very poor impact of the Plaza Accord (1975) of G7 on currencies of the poor and least developing countries.
- 2. Issues within the G7 Members:
  - a. Lack of internal consensus. For example, the differences between the USA and Germany.
  - b. Lack of consensus between G7 and other multilateral bodies/organizations - This creates an obstacle to a common solution to common problems.
- 3. Issues regarding the Washington Consensus - It prescribes a free market economy.
  - a. Monopolising tendencies of MNCs from developed countries.
  - b. It undermines the economic sovereignty of small states/LDCs.
  - c. It increases economic inequalities among countries.
  - d. It undermines the essence of environmental sustainability.
- 4. Failure to address global Issues like:
  - a. Terrorism. For example, terrorism from Pakistan.
  - b. Brazilian forest fires.
  - c. Migrant crisis from the Middle East region.
- 5. Member countries like Canada and Italy are less influential than China & India. Thus G7 is criticized to be an outdated group that does not reflect the current geo-political realities of the world.
- 6. Absence of a formal charter, permanent secretariate, and non-binding resolutions.

#### **SUGGESTIONS TO IMPROVE G7: (01:26:00 PM)**

- It is suggested that keeping in mind the geopolitical reality G7 can be converted into G11 including India, China, Russia, and Australia.
- Some analyst argues even about the inclusion of South Korea.
- Institutionalize the body with a proper Charter and a permanent secretariate.
- Tussles among the members should be avoided.
- G7 should realize that being the most powerful lot their policies should reflect a global outlook rather than a myopic perspective focusing on their interests.

#### **THE UNITED NATIONS(UN): (01:33:00 PM)**

- Need to reform UNSC:

- a. Power distribution is asymmetrical.
- For example, Oging to the exercise of the Veto power the US has more than 40 times used its veto power to save Isarail regarding the Israil-Palestine conflicts.
- As far as the issue of chemical attacks by the Syrian regime is concerned Russia has always vetoed it and China has sometimes vetoed or abstained.
- China has vetoed a resolution proposed by India to designate Masood Azhar as a terrorist. The US, the UK, and France passed this resolution.
- b. Representation is asymmetrical.
- Under-representation of the African continent, Latin America, and Asia.
- c. Exercise of veto power for self-interest, means powerplay and division within the P5.
- General Issues of the UN:
- a. The UN is facing a permanent financial crisis.
- Stalling various developmental projects taken by the UN.
- b. Greater domination of the US and other Western countries.
- c. The UN General Assembly can only make non-binding recommendations which is another reason for the ineffectiveness of the UN.

#### **INDIA'S QUEST FOR PERMANENT MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNSC: (02:00:00 PM)**

- a. As a founding member of the UN India has always supported the aims and objectives of the UN.
- India has always worked towards the UN goals of peace, security, and upholding human rights.
- b. India has been one of the largest contributors to the UN the Peasecekkeeping forces.
- As of 2021, India has contributed over 2 lakh peacekeepers to the UN.
- c. India has always upheld the essence of nuclear non-proliferation and arms trade.
- d. India has always played a leading role in the UN's efforts in addressing climate change so much that in 2015 India was the key player in the negotiations of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change.
- India has gone forward with the Indian cabinet approving 5 climate targets called the "Panchamitra Strategy":
- Looking at non-fossil capacity.
- Renewable energy use.
- Reducing carbon emissions.
- Reducing carbon intensity.
- Achieving net zero by 2070.
- e. India is one of the largest financial contributors to the UN. India gives over \$40 million every year for supporting UN activities.
- f. India has turned out to be one of the most stable democracies in the world.
- g. India has emerged as the voice of the voiceless and therefore a true representation of the global south.
- h. India has spearheaded many multilateral organizations coming up with powerful agendas like G20, SAARC, SCO, etc.
- All the P5 countries except China have always supported India's candidacy in the UNSC.
- Only through diplomacy and negotiation, India can maneuver China to accept its position.

#### **INDIA-AFRICA RELATIONSHIP: (02:17:00 PM)**

- Common Sentiments:
- a. Common colonial past.
- b. Gandhian leadership and Gandhian ideology.
- Common Values:
- Both witnessed the common evil of racism so we have a common value of anti-racism.
- Coomnality of culture, traditions, etc.
- Coomn area of Indain Ocaen region(IOR).
- In 2018 Kampala principles were also enunciated.
- These principles contain elements that are indicative of both the continuity and change in India's approach toward the African continent.
- Importance of Mozambique for India:
- Mozambique lies on the extensive Indian Ocean coastline and is of strategic importance to India.
- After Mauritius, Mozambique is India's second-largest destination for Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) into Africa.
- It is a vital partner for India to shore up its energy security by importing Liquified Natural Gas and diversifying its import sources.

- India has also exported many of its “Made in India” self-defense indigenous equipment like fast interceptor boats and armored vehicles to boost Mozambique’s defense preparedness and military capabilities.

#### **SIGNIFICANCE OF AFRICA FOR INDIA: (02:48:00 PM)**

- Huge natural resources that are untapped and Energy security.
- Strategic interests in IOR.
- Investment opportunity.
- Trade and promotion of exports.
- Huge Potential for Economic Growth- The African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA).
- Soft Power: Education, Science & Technology, medical tourism, Diaspora, climate and vaccine diplomacy, etc.

#### **CHALLENGES IN THE INDIA-AFRICA RELATIONSHIP: (03:18:00 PM)**

- 1. Since India was more focused on its periphery and in geopolitical tensions in South Asia and Indo-Pacific there was a lack of focus on the Indo-African relationship.
- 2. There was a lack of synchronization between different developmental instruments like grants, loans, and aids, by India to Africa.
- The projects were not completed, poor dispersal of funds and a lack of timely completion of projects.
- 3. There was an absence of a well-structured development strategy for Africa.
- 4. Heavy Chinese presence and competition from other international actors like the US, Russia, etc.
- 5. Terrorism and militarisation.
- 6. Political instability, infightings, and civil wars in the majority of countries.
- 7. Racial attacks on African people in India hampered our image sometimes.
- Suggestions:
  - a. A clear development strategy is required.
  - b. Avoiding incidences of racial attack, thereby providing good grounds for education and health collaboration.
  - c. Timely completion of projects.
  - d. India can act as a voice for the global south including Africa.
  - e. keeping into mind the geographical proximity and common security concerns India should act as a balancer and a net security provider in the region.
  - f. India should employ the Gujaral Doctrine and should cooperate based on generosity rather than reciprocity.
- All these would be instrumental in realizing India's call for "reformed multilateralism" and for a just and democratic global order.

#### **INDIAN DIASPORA: (03:34:00 PM)**

- The Indian diaspora around the world now stands at 31.2 million, of which PIOs were 17 million and NRIs were 13 million, spread across 146 countries in the world.
- The 17th edition of the Pravasi Bharatiya Diwas (PBD), or the day for Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) that is commemorated annually on January 9, was held in Indore, Madhya Pradesh.
- This year’s theme is “Diaspora: Reliable Partners for India’s Progress in Amrit Kaal.”
- Economic- According to a World Bank Report, India received approximately 87 billion dollars in remittances in 2021 with the USA being the biggest source, accounting for over 20% of these funds.
- Political Significance:
  - a. Holding political positions- For example, the UK PM Rishi Saunak.
  - They can go or lobby for pro-Indian policies. For example, the Indo-USA nuclear deal.
  - b. Helps in creating a fully transferable vote bank in India. For example, PM Modi's reception at Maddison Square played a part in his election campaign in India.
  - c. Strategic Significance: It represents the nation's pride.
- Exhibits India's value at the global level.
- A mechanism for exercising India's soft power or diaspora diplomacy.
- It serves as a living bridge in accessing markets, and resources, and enabling development in India.
- The role of Bollywood, Yoga, Ayurveda, etc. is also very important.
- Role in R&D and S&T.
- helps in removing disguised unemployment.
- Challenges of Indian Diaspora:
  - a. The presence of heterogeneous diaspora and diverse demands about them.



- For example, the demands of the diaspora from the Gulf region is concerning security and welfare issues, and demands of the diaspora from developed countries regarding rules on social security like Totalisation Agreements or better investment opportunities.
- b. Political disturbances in regions catering Indian diaspora, for example, West Asia.
- c. Protectionist approach or Anti-globalisation wave. For example, the H1-B Visa controversy.
- d. Hate Crimes(Racial discriminations).
- e. Fear of returning Indian diaspora and their future.
- f. Negative effects of diaspora especially concerning security. For example, Support to Khalistani movement outside India.
- Evolution of Indian Diaspora Policy:
  - a. Initially, India did not have a well-structured diaspora policy(due to the model of non-interference).
  - b. In the 1980s under Rajeev Gandhi change in diaspora policy happened and Indians abroad were invited and recognized.
  - c. After 2000, under Atal Bihari Vajpayee govt positive measures were taken:
- A separate Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs was created(In 2016 this was merged with the Ministry of External Affairs)
- PIO cards released.
- Pravasi Bhartiya Celebration and Pravasi Barti Sammna Started.
- 2015: e- Migrant system was launched.
- 2016: Know India Programme(KIP) was Launched.
- Suggestions:
  - a. India needs to formulate a definite diaspora policy keeping in mind their diverse demands and significance.
  - b. Proper evacuation policy needs to be formulated.
  - c. Ease of doing business needs to be improved.
  - d. Easier procedure for immigration services and customs clearances.
  - e. Addressing issues of Blue collared workers.
  - f. Welfare of Indian women married to NRIs or OCIs.
- Indian Diaspora being a living bridge can provide a strategic impulse that can help India not only exhibit its soft power but also unlock its untapped potential.

**THE SYLLABUS OF IR IS COMPLETED IN THIS BATCH.**