

UNIT- IV

RELATION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

India–Nepal Relations

As close neighbours, India and Nepal share a unique relationship of friendship and cooperation characterized by open borders and deep-rooted people-to-people contacts of kinship and culture. There has been a long tradition of free movement of people across the borders. Nepal has an area of 147,181 sq. kms. and a population of 29 million. It shares a border of over 1850 kms in the east, south and west with five Indian States – Sikkim, West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand – and in the north with the Tibet Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China.

The India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950 forms the bedrock of the special relations that exist between India and Nepal. Under the provisions of this Treaty, the Nepalese citizens have enjoyed unparalleled advantages in India, availing facilities and opportunities at par with Indian citizens. Nearly 6 million Nepali citizens live and work in India. 2. There are regular exchanges of high level visits and interactions between India and Nepal. Nepalese Prime Minister Shri Sushil Koirala visited India to attend the swearing-in ceremony of Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi on 26 May 2014.

In 2014, Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi visited Nepal twice – in August for a bilateral visit and in November for the SAARC Summit – during which several bilateral agreements were signed. India and Nepal have several bilateral institutional dialogue mechanisms, including the India-Nepal Joint Commission co-chaired by External Affairs Minister of India and Foreign Minister of Nepal.

When a devastating 7.8 magnitude earthquake struck Nepal on 25 April 2015 (followed by a powerful aftershock of 7.4 magnitude on 12 May 2015), the Government of India swiftly dispatched National Disaster Response Force (NDRF) teams and special aircrafts with rescue and relief materials to Nepal. India's assistance, which reached Nepal within six hours of the earthquake, included 16 NDRF teams, 39 IAF aircraft sorties with 571 tons of relief material including rescue equipment, medical supplies, food, water, tents, blankets and tarpaulin. Medical teams from India were deployed in various parts of Nepal. India helped in restoring 3 power sub-stations in Kathmandu valley.

The total Indian relief assistance to Nepal amounted to approx. US\$ 67 million. At an International Donors' Conference organized by the Government of Nepal in Kathmandu on 25 June 2015 towards post-earthquake reconstruction, External Affairs Minister Smt. Sushma Swaraj announced Indian assistance of US\$ 1 billion to Nepal, one-fourth of which would be as grant.

Political Beginning with the 12-Point understanding reached between the Seven Party Alliance and the Maoists at Delhi in November 2005, Government of India has welcomed the roadmap laid down by the historic Comprehensive Peace Agreement of November 2006 towards political stabilization in Nepal, through peaceful reconciliation and inclusive democratic processes.

India has consistently responded with a sense of urgency to the needs of the people and Government of Nepal in ensuring the success of the peace process and institutionalization of multi-party democracy through the framing of a new Constitution by a duly elected Constituent Assembly. India has always believed that only an inclusive Constitution with the widest possible consensus by taking on board all stakeholders would result in durable peace and stability in Nepal.

India's core interest in Nepal is a united Nepal's peace and stability which has a bearing on India as well because of the long and open border shared between India and Nepal. 5. Nepal's second Constituent Assembly promulgated a Constitution on 20 September 2015 amid protests by Madhes-based parties and other groups.

The Government of India has expressed grave concern regarding the ongoing protests and has urged the Government of Nepal to make efforts to resolve all issues through a credible political dialogue. Economic 6. Since 1996, Nepal's exports to India have grown more than eleven times and bilateral trade more than seven times; the bilateral trade that was 29.8% of Nepal's total external trade in 1995-96 reached 66% in 2013-14.

Exports from Nepal to India increased from INR 230 crore in 1995-96 to INR 3713.5 crore (US\$ 605 million) in 2013-14 and India's exports to Nepal increased from INR 1525 crore in 1995-96 to INR 29545.6 crore (US\$ 4.81 billion) in 2013-14. The main items of exports from India to Nepal are

petroleum products, motor vehicles and spare parts, m.s. billets, machinery and spares, medicines, hot rolled sheets, wires, coal, cement, threads and chemicals.

The main items of exports from Nepal to India are polyester yarn, textiles, jute goods, threads, zinc sheet, packaged juice, cardamom, G.I. pipe, copper wire, shoes and sandals, stones and sand. 7. Indian firms are the biggest investors in Nepal, accounting for about 38.3% of Nepal's total approved foreign direct investments.

Till 15 July 2013, the Government of Nepal had approved a total of 3004 foreign investment projects with proposed FDI of Rs. 7269.4 crore. There are about 150 operating Indian ventures in Nepal engaged in manufacturing, services (banking, insurance, dry port, education and telecom), power sector and tourism industries. Some large Indian investors include ITC, Dabur India, Hindustan Unilever, VSNL, TCIL, MTNL, State Bank of India, Punjab National Bank, Life Insurance Corporation of India, Asian Paints, CONCOR, GMR India, IL&FS, Manipal Group, MIT Group Holdings, Nupur International, Transworld Group, Patel Engineering, Bhilwara Energy, Bhushan Group, Feedback Ventures, RJ Corp, KSK Energy, Berger Paints, Essel Infra Project Ltd. and Tata Power etc. Water Resources .

A three-tier mechanism established in 2008 to discuss all bilateral issues relating to cooperation in water resources and hydropower has been working well. Regular meetings are being held on and off site. In the area of river training and embankment construction, Government of India has been providing assistance to Nepal for strengthening and extension of embankments along Lalbakeya, Bagmati and Kamla rivers.

It is proposed to extend this assistance for construction of embankments on other rivers as well. Started in 2008, with the present assistance, the total grant assistance already disbursed for embankments construction along these rivers stands at NRs. 3,670.66 million. 9. A Development Authority was set up in September 2014 to carry out the Pancheshwar Multipurpose project. India and Nepal signed an agreement on "Electric Power Trade, CrossBorder Transmission Interconnection and Grid Connectivity" popularly known as the Power Trade Agreement (PTA) in October 2014.

A Power Development Agreement (PDA) for the 900 MW Arun-III hydroelectric project between India's Satluj Jal Vidyut Nigam Limited and the Investment Board of Nepal (IBN) was concluded in November 2014. Also, a PDA for the 900 MW Upper Karnali hydroelectric project was concluded between IBN and M/s GMR in September 2014.

There are more than twenty 132 KV, 33 KV and 11KV transmission interconnections which are used both for power exchange in the bordering areas and power trade. A 400 KVA cross-border transmission line between Muzaffarpur-Dhalkebar and two 132 KVA lines between Kataiya-Kushaha and Raxaul-Parwanipur are under construction.

India's Development Assistance to Nepal 10. Government of India provides substantial financial and technical development assistance to Nepal, which is a broad-based programme focusing on creation of infrastructure at the grass-root level, under which various projects have been implemented in the areas of infrastructure, health, water resources, education and rural & community development.

In recent years, India has been assisting Nepal in development of border infrastructure through upgradation of roads in the Terai areas; development of cross-border rail links at Jogbani– Biratnagar, Jaynagar-Bardibas, Nepalgunj Road-Nepalgunj, Nautanwa-Bhairhawa, and New Jalpaigudi-Kakarbhitta; and establishment of Integrated Check Posts at Raxaul-Birgunj, Sunauli-Bhairhawa, Jogbani-Biratnagar, and Nepalgunj Road-Nepalgunj. The total economic assistance extended under 'Aid to Nepal' budget in FY 2014-15 was Rs. 300 crore

Currently, 36 intermediate and large projects such as construction of a National Police Academy at Panauti, Nepal Bharat Maitri Pashupati Dharmashala at Tilganga, a Polytechnic at Hetauda, and the National Trauma Centre at Kathmandu are at various stages of implementation. In addition, Government of India's Small Development Projects (SDPs) programme in Nepal extends assistance for the implementation of projects costing less than NRs 5 crore (approx.. INR 3.125 crore) in critical sectors such as health, education & community infrastructure development.

So far, 243 SDPs have been completed and 233 are under various stages of implementation in 75 districts of Nepal, with a total outlay of over Rs 550 crore. Till date, India has gifted 502 ambulances and 98 school buses to various institutions and health posts across Nepal's 75 districts.

Apart from our grant assistance, Government of India has also extended three Lines of Credit of USD 100 million, USD 250 million and USD 1 billion to Government of Nepal in 2006- 2007, 2011-12 and 2013-14, respectively, for undertaking infrastructure development projects. Education.

Over the years, India's contribution to the development of human resources in Nepal has been one of the major aspects of bilateral cooperation. GOI provides around 3000 scholarships/seats annually to Nepali nationals for various courses at the Ph.D/Masters, Bachelors and plus-two levels in India and in Nepal.

These scholarships cover a wide spectrum of subjects including engineering, medicine, agriculture, pharmacology, veterinary sciences, computer application, business administration, music, fine arts etc. Culture.

Government of India initiatives to promote people-to-people contacts in the area of art & culture, academics and media include cultural programmes, symposia and events organized in partnership with different local bodies of Nepal, as well as conferences and seminars in Hindi. Familiarization visits to India by Nepalese journalists/editors and short term training in India for Nepalese editors/journalists/experts/officials in the field of print & electronic media and archaeology are also arranged.

Assistance is also provided to several India-Nepal Friendship Organizations working to promote Indian culture and India-Nepal bilateral relations. An MoU between the Sahitya Kala Akademi (India) and the Nepal Academy is already in operation. Four more MoUs have been signed between Doordarshan and Nepal TV, Press Council of India and Press Council of Nepal, Lalit Kala Akademi, India and Nepal Academy of Fine Arts, and an MoU on Youth Exchange between the Governments of India and Nepal. MoUs between the Sangeet Natak Akademi, India and the Nepal Academy of Music & Drama, and between Akashwani (AIR) India and Radio Nepal are under consideration to promote cultural and information exchanges between the two countries.

The Governments of India and Nepal have signed three sister-city agreements for twinning of Kathmandu-Varanasi, Lumbini-Bodhgaya and Janakpur-Ayodhya. India is establishing an E-library system across Nepal. The setting up of a Light & Sound show at Lumbini with Indian assistance is under process. The Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) is involved in the renovation of the Pashupatinath Temple Complex in Kathmandu.

Two ASI teams have already visited Kathmandu to assess the work to be done for conservation/restoration of the Pashupatinath shrine, for which an MoU is under consideration. 15. An Indian Cultural Centre was set up in Nepal in August 2007 to showcase the best of Indian culture not only in the capital city but in the areas outside Kathmandu.

The Indian Cultural Centre in Kathmandu has generated considerable goodwill through the various cultural events it has undertaken in the past. The Nepal-Bharat Library was founded in 1951 in Kathmandu. It is regarded as the first foreign library in Nepal. Its objective is to enhance and strengthen cultural relations and information exchange between India and Nepal.

The B.P.Koirala India-Nepal Foundation was set up in 1991 through a MoU signed between the Governments of India and Nepal. The Foundation's objective is to foster educational, cultural, scientific and technical cooperation between India and Nepal and to promote mutual understanding and cooperation through sharing of knowledge and professional talents in academic pursuits and technical specialization.

Around 6,00,000 Indians are living/domiciled in Nepal. These include businessmen and traders who have been living in Nepal for a long time, professionals (doctors, engineers, IT personnel) and labourers (including seasonal/migratory in the construction sector). An Indian Citizens' Association (ICA) of Nepal was formed on 14 September 1990.

ICA is the only association of resident Indian citizens in Nepal with branches at Pokhara, Damak and Bhairahawa, and provides a platform for discussion on matters pertaining to the legitimate interest of resident Indians in Nepal and works for the protection of such interests.

India - China Relations

In On 1 April, 1950, India became the first non-socialist bloc country to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. Prime Minister Nehru visited China in October 1954. While, the India-China border conflict in 1962 was a serious setback to ties, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's landmark visit in 1988 began a phase of improvement in bilateral relations.

In 1993, the signing of an Agreement on the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) on the India-China Border Areas during Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's visit reflected the growing stability and substance in bilateral ties. Visits of Heads of States/Heads of Governments Cumulative outcomes of nine key visits in recent times have been transformational for our ties.

These were that of Prime Minister Vajpayee [2003], of Premier Wen Jiabao [2005 & 2010], of President Hu Jintao [2006], of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh [2008 and 2013], of Premier Li Keqiang [2013], of President Xi Jinping [2014] and of Prime Minister Narendra Modi [2015]. During Prime Minister Vajpayee's visit, the two sides signed a Declaration on Principles for Relations and Comprehensive Cooperation and also mutually decided to appoint Special Representatives (SRs) to explore the framework of a boundary settlement from the political perspective.

During the April 2005 visit of Premier Wen Jiabao, the two sides established a Strategic and Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Prosperity, while the signing of an agreement on Political Parameters and Guiding Principles, signaled the successful conclusion of the first phase of SR Talks. During Chinese President Hu Jintao's visit to India in November 2006, the two sides issued a Joint Declaration containing a ten-pronged strategy to intensify cooperation.

Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh visited China in January 2008. A joint document titled "A Shared Vision for the 21st Century" was issued during the visit. When Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visited India in December 2010, the

two sides agreed to establish the mechanism of annual exchange of visit between the two Foreign Ministers.

Mr. Li Keqiang, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China paid a State visit to India (Delhi-Mumbai) from 19-21 May 2013. During this visit, the two sides signed eight agreements and released a Joint Statement. Some of the significant proposals included in the Joint Statement were the decisions to designate 2014 as the Year of Friendly Exchanges between India and China and hold the first High Level Media Forum.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi met with Premier Li Keqiang in November 2015 (on the sidelines of the ASEAN Summit in Kuala Lumpur). Former Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh paid an official visit to China from 22-24 October 2013. Agreements relating to border, trans-border Rivers, establishing service centers for servicing power equipment in India, road transport and Nalanda University were signed.

Also signed were three agreements establishing sister-city partnership between Delhi-Beijing, Kolkata Kunming and Bangalore-Chengdu. Vice-President Hon'ble Shri Hamid Ansari paid a visit to China on 26-20 June 2014. During the visit the Vice President met with President Xi Jinping, held talks with Vice President Liu Yuanchao, attended events to mark the 60th anniversary of 'Panchsheel', and visited Xian in Shaanxi Province. Three agreements related to industrial parks, training of public officials, and exchange of flood season data on the YarlungZangbu River were signed.

The two Vice-Presidents also jointly released the English and Chinese versions of the Encyclopedia of India-China Cultural Contacts. Chinese President Mr. Xi Jinping paid a state visit to India from 17 to 19 September 2014. During the visit, President Xi Jinping met with President Pranab Mukherjee and held talks with Shri Narendra Modi, Prime Minister of India.

A total of 16 agreements were signed during the visit in various sectors including, commerce & trade, railways, space-cooperation, pharmaceuticals, audiovisual co-production, culture, establishment of industrial parks,sister-city

arrangements etc. The two sides also signed a MoU to open an additional route for Kailash Mansarovar Yatra through Nathu La.

The Chinese side agreed to establish two Chinese Industrial Parks in India and expressed their intention to enhance Chinese investment in India. Prime Minister's visit to China (May 2015) Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited China from May 14-16, the visit was rich in symbolism and substance and it opened up a new chapter in India-China relations.

For the first time, Chinese President Xi Jinping travelled outside Beijing to receive a foreign leader, in Xi'an in his home province of Shaanxi. President Xi also accompanied Prime Minister to the Big Wild Goose Pagoda and organized a grand welcome ceremony at the Xi'an city wall. Premier Li Keqiang joined Prime Minister at the Yoga-Taichi performance in Beijing on 15 May with the world heritage site of Temple of Heaven as the backdrop, the first ever such event, which highlighted the cultural connectivity between the two countries.

There were 24 agreements signed on the government-to-government side, 26 MoUs on the business-to-business side and two joint statements, including one on climate change. The fact that India and China could come up with over 50 outcome documents in just eight months reveals the huge potential that exists between our two countries, as well as the efforts that we have made to elevate our partnership.

The inter-governmental agreements covered, as Premier Li said, areas from the heaven to the earth! They included such diverse fields as space cooperation, earthquake engineering, ocean sciences, mining, railways, skill development, education, culture, Yoga, tourism and many more. The strength of our economic partnership could be gauged from the business events in Shanghai. Prime Minister interacted with 21 CEOs of leading Chinese companies and over 40 prominent Indian CEOs attended the Business Forum along with their counterparts from China.

The 26 business understandings worth over US\$ 22 billion signed at the Forum covered such varied sectors as industrial parks, renewable energy, thermal energy, telecommunication, steel, capital goods, IT and media. Besides, there

was a clear consensus among the leaders of the two countries on correcting the existing imbalance in the bilateral trade and injecting sustainability into it.

With this in mind, they agreed to establish a high-powered task force that will go into issues relating to the trade deficit as well as expansion of economic engagement. There was, moreover, an action-oriented accord on broad-basing the bilateral partnership, as could be seen from the range of agreements signed and in the establishment of new dialogue mechanisms, such as the one between the DRC and the NITI Aayog and the Think Tanks' Forum, besides a bilateral consultative mechanism on WTO negotiations.

Three new institutions were launched in partnership, the Centre for Gandhian and Indian Studies in Shanghai, Yoga College in Kunming, and National Institute for Skill Development and Entrepreneurship in Ahmedabad. Both sides decided to establish new Consulates in each other's country, in Chengdu and Chennai and to expand our interactions at the sub-national level.

Two agreements signed – one on cooperation between the Indian Ministry of External Affairs and the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPC and another on the establishment of a State/Provincial Leaders' Forum – reflect this understanding. Prime Minister Modi and Premier Li addressed the opening session of the new Forum in Beijing on 15 May, which is a significant initiative, considering that this is the first time that India has established such a dialogue mechanism with any country.

A number of sister-city and sister-state relations agreements between: Karnataka and Sichuan, Chennai and Chongqing, Hyderabad and Qingdao, Aurangabad and Dunhuang were also signed. Prime Minister also announced the extension of the e-visa facility to Chinese nationals wishing to travel to India. Prime Minister addressed university students at the Tsinghua University and also gave a speech at the reception hosted by the Indian community in Shanghai, the largest ever gathering of the community in the region.

The visit also went on to deliver a message to the international community on cooperation between India and China. There was agreement among the leaders that our relationship is poised to play a defining role in the 21st century in Asia and beyond, with the recognition that the simultaneous reemergence of India

and China as two major powers would have a profound impact on the course of this century.

The Joint Statement has a separate section on “shaping the regional and global agenda” where India and China, as two major poles in the global architecture, agree to cooperate on a host of issues ranging from WTO, climate change and terrorism to regional organizations. Other recent high level visits Hon’ble Home Minister of India Sh. Rajnath Singh visited China from 18-23 November, 2015 and met with Minister of Public Security of China.

Hon’ble External Affairs Minister, Smt. Sushma Swaraj met Foreign Minister Wang Yi in June 2015 (on the sidelines of the international donors’ conference in Kathmandu). External Affairs Minister, Smt. Sushma Swaraj paid an official visit to the People’s Republic of China from 1-3 February 2015 during which she met with Chinese President Xi Jinping, had formal talks with Foreign Minister Wang Yi and also had a meeting with Mr. Wang Jiarui, Minister of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

External Affairs Minister also inaugurated the 2nd India-China High-Level Media Forum and attended the launch of Visit India Year during her stay in Beijing. On 2 February, EAM also participated in the 13th Foreign Ministers’ Meeting of Russia-India-China Trilateral. Hon’ble Minister for Environment and Forest Sh. Paraksh Jaydekar visited China in October 2015 to attend the 21st BASIC Ministerial Meeting on Climate Change. Hon’ble Minister of State for External Affairs Gen. (Dr.) V.K.Singh (Retd.) visited China in September, 2015 and met with Foreign Minister Wang Yi and he also attended the SCO HOG Meeting in Zhengzhou on 14th December, 2015.

The 18th round of talks between the Special Representatives of India and China on the Boundary Question, Shri Ajit Doval, National Security Advisor and Mr. Yang Jiechi, State Councillor was held in New Delhi on 23 March, 2015. Both Sides agreed to take necessary steps to maintain peace and tranquility in the border areas which is a pre-requisite for continued growth of bilateral relations. The two sides agreed to build on the momentum provided by President Xi’s visit to further expand bilateral relations in areas such as railways, smart cities,

vocational education, skill development, clean and renewable energy and manufacturing sector.

Both sides agreed that growing linkages between Indian States and Chinese Provinces through sister-city and sisterprovince mechanism plays an important role in deepening bilateral ties. The two sides exchanged views on regional and global issues of mutual interest and agreed to enhance their consultations on counter-terrorism, maritime security, climate change, reform of United Nations and civil nuclear energy cooperation.

To facilitate high level exchanges of Party leaders from China and State Chief Ministers from India, a special arrangement has been entered into by the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA-ILD) since 2004. There are regular Party-to-Party exchanges between the Communist Party of China and political parties in India.

Commercial and Economic Relations Trade and economic relationship has seen rapid progress in the last few years. India-China bilateral trade which was as low as US\$ 2.92 billion in 2000 reached US\$ 41.85 billion in 2008, making China India's largest trading partner in goods. By 2015, as per DGC&IS provisional data India-China bilateral trade stood at US\$ 70.4 billion. India's exports to China touched US\$ 8.86 billion whereas China's exports were US\$ 61.54 billion.

However, India still faces a growing trade deficit vis-a-vis China. In 2015 trade deficit stood at US\$ 52.67 billion. Apart from trade, India is also one of the largest markets for project exports from China. Currently, projects under execution are estimated at over US\$ 63 billion. As per Chinese figures, cumulative Chinese investments into India till December 2014 stood at US\$ 2.763 billion while Indian investments into China were US\$ 0.564 billion.

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We do not know exactly when and how they started exchanging their cultural elements, but we do know that they grew in parallel and shared their cultural traits since the beginning of human history and this tradition of sharing has continued ever since. Even before the advent of Buddhism, the Shang-Zhou civilization and the ancient Vedic civilization in 1500-1000 B.C. showed some evidence of conceptual and linguistic exchanges. For instance, "wumingzhi" (nameless finger) in Chinese is called "anamika" (nameless) in Sanskrit and in Pali. Similarly, some ancient Indian literature mentions "chinas" referring to the Chinese people.

The Mahabharata of the fifth century B.C. contains reference to China. Chanakya of the Maurya dynasty (350-283 B.C.) refers to Chinese silk as "chinamsuka" (Chinese silk dress) and "chinapatta" (Chinese silk bundle) in his Arthashastra. Likewise, the Record of the Grand Historian of Zhang Qian and Sima Qian has references to "Shendu", may be referring to "Sindhu" in Sanskrit. In sixth century B.C., the birth of Confucius and Sakyamuni heralded a new period of exchanges between the two civilizations. Emperor Ashoka's propagation of Buddhism after his conversion in 256 B.C. brought both civilizations even closer.

Ashoka's bilingual (Kharoshti and Greek) edict points at extension of Buddhism in the direction of China and Central Asia. The trend continued in first century A.D. during emperor Kanishka's period. His empire, with its capital at Purushpura (now Peshawar in Pakistan), enabled Buddhist pilgrims and scholars to travel on the historic "silk route". KashyapaMatanga and Dharmaratna made the White Horse monastery at Luoyang their abode. Along the silk route, Khotan Turpan and Kucha became prominent centers of Buddhism and India-

China exchanges. The great scholar Kumarajiva initiated efforts to collect and translate important Buddhist texts at a great Buddhist conclave in Chang'an (present Xi'an) where he stayed until his death in 413 A.D. and managed to have 98 major Buddhist canonical works translated into Chinese. He is widely believed to be responsible for bringing in Mahayana Buddhism and Madhyamika doctrine into Chinese philosophy.

In the beginning of the fifth century A.D., Dharmakshema, an Indian Buddhist scholar came to China bringing with him the "Mahaparinirvana Sutra" which was translated into Chinese about the year 415 A.D. Meanwhile, the Chinese Pilgrim Fa Hein visited India along the Silk Route in 405 A.D. Batuo (464-495 A.D.) and Bodhidharma visited China; Xuan Zhang (604A.D.) and I Ching were students at the prestigious Nalanda University.

All along, there is ample evidence of India-China cultural, commercial and technological exchange. Both civilizations also shared scientific knowledge. In eighth century, Indian astronomer Aryabhata's astronomical signs were translated into Chinese in the book "KaiyuanZhanjing" compiled by Gautama Siddha, an astronomer in Chang'an of Indian descent. It is also believed that he translated the Nabagraha calendar into Chinese. During the Ming Dynasty, navigator General Zheng He's arrival at Calicut in early 15th century is also a testimony of China's ancient maritime linkage with India.

Exchanges between India and China continued during the days of India's struggle for selfgovernance. In early 20th century, Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore visited China twice, in 1924 and in 1929. Since 1911, Chinese scholars and intellectuals have been visiting and revisiting Tagore's life, works and philosophy. Dr. Dwarkanath Kotnis sacrificed his life in the service of the Chinese people during the Sino-Japanese war. His mortal remains rest in the North China Martyrs' Memorial Cemetery in Hebei Province. A part of a 1938 medical team comprising five Indian doctors, he stayed in China working in mobile clinics to treat wounded soldiers. He was eventually appointed as Director of the Doctor Bethune International Peace Hospital built by the Eighth Route Army. On 2nd July 2015, Dr. Manorama Kotnis, the sister of Dr. Kotnis, passed away. Both India and China began their journey of independent governance almost at the same time, India in 1947 and the People's Republic of China in 1949. In 1955, the first Indian cultural delegation headed by then

Deputy Minister of External Affairs Mr. A. K. Chanda visited China which was warmly received by the Chinese leaders and people during their tour.

In the 1960s and 1970s Bollywood movies such as Do Bigha Zameen, Awara and Sree 420 of Raj Kapoor and Noorie struck an emotional chord in the hearts and minds of the Chinese people. Even today, people on the street hum the tunes of the songs of these films. Movies like 'pk' , 3 Idiots and The Life of Pi have been well received in recent times.

Since 1988 both countries are bringing their people together through structured Cultural Exchange Programmes. The latest CEP signed in October 2013 during the visit of then Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's to China, provides for cooperation in a gamut of cultural fields including exchanges of visits of performing artists, officials, writers, archivists and archaeologists, organizing cultural festivals, film festivals and exchanges in the field of mass media, youth affairs and sports. In 2003, Prime Minister Vajpayee had committed to build an Indian style Buddhist temple in Luoyang, Henan province and President Pratibha Devisingh Patil inaugurated the temple during her visit to China in May 2010.

In February 2007, the Xuanzang memorial was inaugurated at Nalanda. In June 2008, joint stamps were released, one stamp depicting the Mahabodhi temple at Bodhgaya and the other depicting the White Horse temple at Luoyang. A Centre for Indian studies was set up in Peking University in 2003. Chairs of Indian Studies/Hindi have also been established in Shenzhen University, Jinan University, Fudan University, Guangdong University and in Shanghai International Studies University.

The 60th anniversary of the establishment of IndiaChina diplomatic relations was celebrated with much fanfare in both countries in 2010. Exchange of Youth delegation between Indian and China has been continuing since 2007. During the visit of Chinese President Hu Jintao to India in November 2006, the two sides had agreed to launch a five year programme for mutual exchange of youth delegation. In this context, the China had invited five hundred youth from India over the next five years. Later, during the visit Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao to India in December 2010, the two sides agreed to continue youth exchange

activities in next five years. Reciprocal visits were also paid by the Chinese side each year.

During the visit of President Xi to India in September 2014 the two sides recognizing the significance of youth exchanges in increasing mutual understanding, the two sides agreed to continue with the annual exchange of 200 youth from 2015 to 2019. During the visit of Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh and Premier Li Keqiang in 2013 the leaders designated 2014 as the Year of Friendly Exchanges between India and China.

To mark this special year, Glimpses of India Festival was organized across several cities of China through 2014 showcasing Indian performing arts, exhibitions of modern Indian arts, depictions of Buddhism links between the two countries, food and film festivals.

As part of the festival Kalashetra, Kathak Kendra Troupe, Sangeet Natak Akademi and a Bollywood Troupe from Indian Council for Cultural Relations visited China. SangeetNatakAkademi performed at the Reception Marking the 60th Anniversary of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence at the Great Hall of People. Food Festivals were also organised in cities like Beijing, Qingdao, Shanghai, Hong Kong to give the local people a taste of authentic Indian cuisine. Yoga Festivals were organized in the month of July, 2014 in Beijing, Shanghai and Dali in partnership with Department of AYUSH, Government of India.

Buddhist Art Exhibitions were organized in cities like Hong Kong, Shanghai and Chengdu. Indian Film Festivals were also organized in cities like Beijing, Hangzhou, Guangzhou, Qingdao, Hong Kong and Xi'an in partnership with Ministry of Information & Broadcasting. During the visit of Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao to India in December 2010, the leaders of India and China agreed on a project involving compilation of an Encyclopedia of India-China Cultural Contacts.

The Encyclopedia of India-China Cultural Contacts was released in both English and Chinese versions during Hon'ble Vice President of India's visit to China on June 30, 2014 in Beijing. The Encyclopedia features over 700 entries, encapsulating the rich history of contacts and exchanges between the two

countries in the trade, economic, literary, cultural and philosophical spheres. Prime Minister Narendra Modi paid a three day state visit to China from May 14th to 16th 2015. Prior to the visit, Prime Minister launched his own 'Weibo' handle to connect with the Chinese people.

The details of the visit were first shared with the public via this Weibo handle, and the handle has since become immensely popular among Chinese netizens. The Prime Minister's visit was rich in symbolism, reflecting the growing closeness between India and China. For the first time, President Xi Jinping travelled outside Beijing to receive a foreign leader in Xi'an, in his home province of Shaanxi.

President Xi also accompanied Prime Minister to the Big Wild Goose Pagoda – itself a symbol of the shared legacy of our two great civilizations – and organized a grand welcome ceremony at the Xi'an city wall. Premier Li Keqiang joined Prime Minister at the YogaTaichi performance with the world heritage site of Temple of Heaven as the backdrop, the first ever such event, which highlighted the cultural connectivity between the two countries.

The two leaders even clicked a 'selfie' which went viral with over 33 million hits on the Weibo. There were 24 agreements signed on the government-to-government side, 26 MoUs on the business-to-business side and two joint statements, including one on climate change. Expanding people-to-people exchanges and cultural contacts figured as a major theme of the visit. Prime Minister's visit to the Great Wild Goose Pagoda, joined by President Xi, and his attendance at the Yoga-Taichi event along with Premier Li exemplified the importance that our leaders attach to tapping the shared cultural heritage. Moreover, three new institutions: the Centre for Gandhian and Indian Studies in Shanghai, Yoga College in Kunming, and National Institute for Skill Development and Entrepreneurship in Ahmedabad were launched.

On December 11, 2014, the 193 member UNGA approved by consensus with a record 177 co-sponsoring countries including China a resolution to establish 21st June as "International Day of Yoga". In its resolution, the UNGA recognized that Yoga provides a holistic approach to health and well-being and wider dissemination of information about the benefits of practicing Yoga for the health of the world population. Embassy of India Beijing and Consulates at

Shanghai, Guangzhou and Hong Kong celebrated the First International Day of Yoga today on 21st June, 2015 in China.

The event was celebrated in more than 14 cities of China including Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Qingdao, Hong Kong, Macau, Guangzhou, Chengdu, Kunming, Xiamen, Wuxi, Hangzhou, Wenzhou and Changzhou in which thousands of people participated enthusiastically. Several Chinese celebrities including musician Ms. Siqin Gaoli, actors Mr. Wang Baoqiang, Mr. Du Yiheng, and snooker champion Mr. Ding Junhui gave personal video endorsement messages, congratulating on the occasion of International Day of Yoga and inviting people to participate in the event. On 23rd October 2015, an Indian modern art exhibition titled 'The Eye and the Mind' was inaugurated at Beijing Minsheng Art Museum.

This two month long exhibition has been curated by Mr. Rajeev Lochan, Director, National Gallery of Modern Art and comprises a number of exhibits by well-known artists in contemporary Indian art. 'India Culture Week' was organized from 4th November 2015 in Shanghai as part of the 'Shanghai International Arts Festival.'

This cultural fiesta comprised 'Bollywood Love Story' musical, 'Sari' Dance composition by Daksha Sheth Company, folk music by Rajasthan Josh and the exhibition 'Forms of Devotion.' India Culture Week provided glimpses of the multi-faceted cultural traditions of India and encouraged greater understanding of India among Chinese people. Both India and China have vibrant cultures and vibrant people. Buddhism, Xuan Zhang, Tagore, Dr. Kotnis, Nalanda, Yoga and Cinema are only symbols of our long tradition of exchanges. They are testimonies of our shared heritage. The momentum has been set and the pace can only increase in the 21st century.

The Indian community in the consular jurisdiction of the Mission is growing. Present estimates put the community strength within this Mission's jurisdiction to around 21,000. A major part of this comprises of students (around 7500), who are pursuing courses in various universities in China. A number of Indians and PIOs are also working as professionals with various multinational and Indian companies. The Mission maintains regular contact with the Indian community directly as well as through the "Indian Community in Beijing",

which is an association of Indians and PIOs based in Beijing. Since its formation in 1999, ICB has been acting as a platform for Indian nationals and PIOs for get-togethers and organizing events during Independence Day, Diwali as well as an annual Indian Bazaar.

The Mission regularly organizes annual community events to maintain contact with the community. The Mission has been encouraging Indian nationals in China to register online through the facility provided in the embassy website. As of now more than 1200 persons have registered with the Embassy. Education Relations India and China signed Education Exchange Programme (EEP) in 2006, which is an umbrella agreement for educational cooperation between the two countries.

Under this agreement, government scholarships are awarded to 25 students, by both sides, in recognized institutions of higher learning in each other's country. The 25 scholarships awarded by India are offered by Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR). A revised EEP was signed during the visit of Hon'ble Prime Minister Sh. Narendra Modi to China in May 2015.

The same provides for enhanced cooperation between institutions in the field of vocational education; collaboration between Institutes of higher learning, etc. Apart from this, Chinese students are also annually awarded scholarships to study Hindi at the Kendriya Hindi Sansthan, Agra to learn Hindi. For the year 2015-16, 8 Chinese students have been selected to study in Agra under this scheme. In 2010, it was decided to introduce Mandarin Chinese as a foreign language in the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) syllabus.

A Memorandum of Understanding was signed in August 2012, between Central CBSE and Confucius Institute, where both signatories agreed to exchange academic staff, teachers and trainees as well as exchange information on the system and structure of teaching Mandarin Chinese as a second language in schools in India. As a part of this MoU, the first batch of 22 Chinese teachers taught in select CBSE schools for two years, from January 2014 to January 2016.

The cooperation in the education sector between the two sides has resulted in an increase in the number of Indian students in China. As for academic year 2014-2015, there were 12998 Indian students studying in various Universities in

China in various disciplines. Similarly, around 2000 Chinese students are studying in various educational institutions in India.

India-Pakistan Relations

India desires peaceful, friendly and cooperative relations with Pakistan, which require an environment free from violence and terrorism. In April 2010, during the meeting between Prime Minister and then Pak PM Gilani on the margins of the SAARC Summit (Thimpu) PM spoke about India's willingness to resolve all outstanding issues through bilateral dialogue.

Follow up meetings were held by the two Foreign Ministers (Islamabad, July 2010), and the two Foreign Secretaries (Thimphu, February 2011). During the latter meeting it was formally agreed to resume dialogue on all issues:

- (i) Counter-terrorism (including progress on Mumbai trial) and Humanitarian issues at Home Secretary level;
- (ii) Peace & Security, including CBMs,
- (iii) Jammu & Kashmir, and
- (iv) promotion of friendly exchanges at the level of Foreign Secretaries;
- (v) Siachen at Defence Secretary-level;
- (vi) Economic issues at Commerce Secretary level;
- (vii) Tulbul Navigation Project/ Wullar Barrage at Water Resources Secretary-level; and
- (viii) Sir Creek (at the level of Surveyors General/ Additional Secretary).

Since then several efforts have been made by the two countries to enhance people-to-people contacts. Cross-LoC travel and trade across J&K, initiated in 2005 and 2008 respectively, is an important step in this direction. Further, India and Pakistan signed a new visa agreement in September 2012 during the visit of then External Affairs Minister to Pakistan.

This agreement has led to liberalization of bilateral visa regime. Two rounds of the resumed dialogue have been completed; the third round began in September 2012, when the Commerce Secretaries met in Islamabad. Talks on conventional and non-conventional CBMs were held in the third round in December 2012 in New Delhi. A meeting of the Working Group on Cross-LoC (Line of Control) trade and travel CBMs was held in New Delhi on March 4, 2014 in which issues including strengthening of standard operating procedures were discussed. Pakistan's PML (N) party received a strong

mandate in the elections held on 11 May 2013 which allowed its leader Mian Nawaz Sharif to form a new Government.

In his letter of congratulations (May 12), Prime Minister expressed desire to work with the new Pakistan government "to chart a new course" in bilateral ties. PM's Special Envoy Ambassador S.K. Lambah met Nawaz Sharif on 27 May 2013 in Lahore to personally convey PM's message even before the latter formally assumed office - a gesture that was appreciated by the new Pakistan PM. Ambassador Shahryar Khan also visited India (4-6 July) as PM Nawaz Sharif's Special Envoy and met PM (5 July); during the meeting he also handed over a personal letter from Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to PM.

Following the dastardly attack on 6 Aug 2013 in which five Indian jawans were killed along the LOC with the involvement of Pak army, India called upon Pakistan to maintain ceasefire and uphold the sanctity of LOC, which is the most important Confidence Building Measure between the two countries and, together with Pakistan's assurance not to allow territory under its control to be used for anti-India activities, which formed the basis of bilateral dialogue.

It was conveyed that such unprovoked incidents on LOC by the Pak Army would have consequences for our bilateral ties. In their meeting on the margins of the UN General Assembly on September 29, 2013 in New York, Prime Minister and PM Nawaz Sharif agreed that the precondition for a forward movement in the relationship, which they both desired, was an improvement of the situation on the LoC where there had been repeated ceasefire violations and incidents. They decided to task the Directors General of Military Operations (DGMOs) to suggest effective means to restore the ceasefire and a way forward to ensure that that remains in force and in place.

The meeting of the DGMOs took place at Wagah on December 24, 2013. Terrorism emanating from territory under Pakistan's control remains a core concern in bilateral relations. This is precisely why India has sought a firm and abiding commitment from Pakistan that it will not allow its territory and territory under its control to be used for the aiding and abetting of terrorist activity directed against India and for providing sanctuary to such terrorist groups. India has consistently stressed to its interlocutors the need for Pakistan to fulfill its oft-repeated assurances, given

to us at the highest level, that territory under its control would not be allowed to be used for antiIndia activities in any manner.

It is critical for the security of the region that Pakistan undertakes determined action to dismantle the terrorist networks, organizations and infrastructure within its own territory. However, internationally sanctioned entities such as Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT) continue to function in Pakistan under various aliases. LeT's leader Hafiz Saeed and his followers also continue to incite violence against India.

Moreover, in the recent months, key terrorists such as Masood Azhar and fugitives from Indian law have resurfaced in Pakistan. Progress in the ongoing Mumbai terror attack case in Pakistan is seen as an important marker of Pakistan's commitment to combat terrorism emanating from its soil. The trial of seven persons in an Anti Terrorism Court (ATC) for their involvement in the 2008 Mumbai terror attacks has however proceeded at a glacial pace.

The trial has been subject to repeated adjournments, non-appearances of lawyers, and frequent changes of prosecution lawyers and judges. A Pak Judicial Commission undertook its second visit to India in September 2013 and cross-examined key prosecution witnesses. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif told PM in New York on September 29, 2013 that effective action on bringing the perpetrators of the Mumbai attacks to book was indeed Pakistan's intention, and now that the Judicial Commission had returned to Pakistan after gathering depositions and evidence in India, there would be further progress.

Hearings in the case, however, continue to be disrupted for one reason or another. Economic Ties Formally accounted India-Pakistan bilateral trade in 2012-13 was US\$2.6 billion (Indian exports to Pakistan were US\$2.064 bn and imports from Pakistan US\$ 541 million). Pakistan exports to India crossed \$500 million mark for the first time during this period. [Trade through third countries is variously estimated at US\$ 3.5-4 billion]. Main items of export from India to Pakistan are: cotton, organic chemicals, food products including prepared animal fodder, vegetables, plastic articles, man-made filament, coffee, tea and spices, dyes, oil seeds and olea, etc. Main items of import by India from Pakistan are: copper and copper articles, fruits

and nuts, cotton, salt, sulphur and earths and stones, organic chemicals, mineral fuels, rubber plastic products, wool, etc.

MFN Status India had accorded MFN status to Pakistan in 1996. A cabinet decision of November 2011 by Pakistan to reciprocate remains unimplemented. Pakistan, however, substituted in March 2012 a 'positive list' of a little more than 1950 lines, permitted for import from India, by a 'Negative List' of 1209 lines which cannot be imported from India.

In August 2012, India announced reduction of 30% in its SAFTA Sensitive List for non-Least Developed Countries, bringing down tariff on 264 items to 5% within a period of three years. This measure benefited Pakistan's exports to India in sectors of key interest to Pakistan. During the Commerce Secretary-level talks September 20-21, 2012 in Islamabad, a roadmap was established to move forward for full normalization of bilateral trade.

However, in the absence of the first step of the road map, viz, Pakistan permitting all importable items through Wagah/ Attari land route (as against current only 137), the roadmap remained unimplemented. In their meeting in New Delhi on January 18, 2014, Commerce Ministers of India and Pakistan reaffirmed the commitment to expedite establishment of normal trading relations and in this context to provide Non-Discriminatory Market Access (NDMA), on a reciprocal basis.

They decided to intensify and accelerate the process of trade normalisation, liberalization and facilitation and to implement the agreed measures before the end of February 2014. Implementation of these steps, inter alia, removal of 'Negative List' and removal of restrictions on the number of importable items via Wagah land route by Government of Pakistan is awaited.

Trade Agreements With a view to build confidence of the business community on both sides, representatives of various trade regulatory bodies of India held meetings over 2011-12 with representatives of leading chambers of commerce and industry of Pakistan to discuss matters pertaining to trade regulations, standards, labeling and marking requirements.

Three agreements, viz., Customs Cooperation Agreement, Mutual Recognition Agreement and Redressal of Trade Grievances Agreement, were signed during the Commerce Secretaries' talks on September 21, 2012. Trade Infrastructure The then Home Minister of India, in the presence of,

among others, the Commerce Ministers of India and Pakistan, and the Chief Ministers of the states of Punjab of the two countries inaugurated the Integrated Check Post (ICP) at Attari on April 13, 2012.

The Attari ICP represents vastly improved infrastructure to facilitate trade and travel. Spread over 118 acres, it contains a passenger terminal measuring 9,600 sq mts, a dedicated cargo terminal measuring 4,700 sq mts, and separate import and export warehouses measuring over 10,000 sq mts, apart from over 50,000 sq mts of parking space for trucks, and equally large area for future expansion.

The two sides have discussed initiatives such as 24x7 operation at Attari-Wagah trade route, movement of containers between Amritsar and Lahore and meeting point for business persons at Attari/ Wagah. Various segments in Pakistan have spoken in favour of opening more land trade routes with India, including Munabao-Khokhrapar.

A Joint Working Group has been established to look into this. Other Economic Initiatives In response to a request made by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif for assistance to tackle power crisis in Pakistan, the possibility of supplying upto 5 million cubic meters gas per day (by extending the Dadri-Bawana-Nangal pipeline from Jalandhar via Amritsar to Lahore), and establishing a 500 MW HVDC link from Amritsar to Lahore to facilitate power trading were explored.

A composite Indian delegation comprising officials and public sector representatives from electricity and gas utilities visited Lahore and Islamabad on June 9-12, 2013 to hold discussions at technical level and made presentations to the Chief Minister of Punjab and Member of Prime Minister's Energy Committee Shehbaz Sharif, Minister for Water and Power Khawaja Asif and Minister for Petroleum and Natural Resources Shahid Khaqan Abbasi.

After a hiatus of a few months since July/ August 2013, when visit of a delegation from Pakistan to India for follow up was expected, further talks were held in Delhi on March 5, 2014 on trade in power, and on April 1, 2014 on cooperation in gas and petroleum sector. Pakistan welcomed India's decision to allow investment from Pakistan (notified by the Government of India on August 1, 2012). The decision to allow investment from Pakistan in shares and convertible debentures was notified by RBI on August 22, 2012.

In September 2012, RBI removed restriction on investment in Pakistan from India. Business Exchanges a strong tradition of exchange of trade delegations has also been built up over the last two years.

The first meeting of the newly created Joint Business Council (JBC)/ Forum, comprising 15 top level business representatives from each country was, held in Islamabad on 29 June 2013. The JBC decided to form ten task forces to examine the priority areas of economic cooperation in agriculture, pharmaceuticals, automobiles and healthcare.

Its second and third meetings were held in New Delhi and Lahore, respectively in October 2013 and February 2014. Among business-to-business exchanges since April 2012 are participation of a CII-organised high level business delegation in the 2nd Indo-Pak Aman ki Asha Economic Conference 'Dividends: Profits on Peace' in Lahore on 7-8 May 2012, Bombay Chamber of Commerce and Industry in 'My Karachi' exhibition in Karachi from 13-15 July 2012, 'India Expo' in Karachi in 2013, the second edition of 'India Show' in Lahore (February 14-16, 2014) - which was inaugurated by Federal Minister for Commerce of Pakistan Khurram Dastgir Khan, 'Made in Pakistan' Exhibition mounted by the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Mumbai from August 31-September 4, 2012, and again from April 3-7, 2014, participation of Pakistan in Indian International Trade Fair in November 2012 and 2013, and in a number of other trade exhibitions and events, including those arranged by the PHD Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Chandigarh, Ludhiana, Delhi, etc.

The next edition of 'Lifestyle Pakistan' is being planned. Humanitarian Issues A joint 'Judicial Committee on Prisoners' comprising retired Judges from the higher judiciary of both countries looks into humanitarian issues related to prisoners and fishermen in each other's jails, which it visits alternately twice a year. Its last visit to India was in October 2013.

The Committee's recommendations on better consular access, expeditious trial, provision of legal aid, humanitarian treatment, early repatriation after completion of sentences, and repatriation of fishermen along with their boats, are examined for implementation by the government on both sides. As a result of constant efforts by the Government, release of close to 2,000 Indian fishermen and 100 prisoners has been secured from Pakistani prisons since 2008. At present, there are over 300 fishermen and estimated over 200

prisoners believed to be Indian in Pakistani jails. Some of them have completed their sentences and await release. Since 2008, deaths of eight Indian fishermen and 3 prisoners while in custody of Pakistani authorities have been reported, with a few of these known or believed to have resulted from unnatural causes. The matter of reported auctions of confiscated boats of apprehended Indian fishermen has been taken up with concerned Pakistani authorities.

India - Sri Lanka Relations

The relationship between India and Sri Lanka is more than 2,500 years old. Both countries have a legacy of intellectual, cultural, religious and linguistic interaction. In recent years, the relationship has been marked by close contacts at all levels. Trade and investment have grown and there is cooperation in the fields of development, education, culture and defence. Both countries share a broad understanding on major issues of international interest.

In recent years, significant progress in implementation of developmental assistance projects for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and disadvantaged sections of the population in Sri Lanka has helped further cement the bonds of friendship between the two countries. The nearly three-decade long armed conflict between Sri Lankan forces and the LTTE came to an end in May 2009.

During the course of the conflict, India supported the right of the Government of Sri Lanka to act against terrorist forces. At the same time, it conveyed its deep concern at the plight of the mostly Tamil civilian population, emphasizing that their rights and welfare should not get enmeshed in hostilities against the LTTE. The need for national reconciliation through a political settlement of the ethnic issue has been reiterated by India at the highest levels.

India's consistent position is in favour of a negotiated political settlement, which is acceptable to all communities within the framework of a united Sri Lanka and which is consistent with democracy, pluralism and respect for human rights. Political Relations President Maithripala Sirisena was elected as the new President of Sri Lanka in the presidential election held on 8 January, 2015. He succeeded former President Mahinda Rajapaksa. Following parliamentary elections on 17 August 2015, Mr. Ranil

Wickremesinghe was reappointed as the Prime Minister by President Sirisena on 21 August 2015. Political relations between the two countries have been marked by high-level exchanges of visits at regular intervals.

From Sri Lanka, President Sirisena visited India on a four-day starting 15 February 2015. Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe visited India in September 2015, his first overseas visit after being appointed as Prime Minister. President Sirisena and Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi also met on the margins of 70th session of UNGA in New York in September 2015 and at the COP21 meeting in Paris in November 2015. Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Mangala Samaraweera visited New Delhi in January 2015 on his first overseas official visit. Former Sri Lankan President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga visited New Delhi in September 2015 to attend the “Samvad-Global Hindu Buddhist Initiative on Conflict Avoidance and Environment Consciousness” organized by Vivekananda International Foundation.

The Sri Lankan Air Force Commander visited India from 27-31 July 2015. Earlier, the Sri Lankan Navy Commander visited Goa in May 2015 to participate in the keel laying ceremony of the 2nd Offshore Patrol Vessel being constructed for Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan Defence Secretary Mr. Karunasena Hettiarachchi led a delegation to India for the 3rd Annual Defence Dialogue which was held in New Delhi in September 2015 at the Defence Secretary level.

From India, Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi visited Sri Lanka on 13-14 March, 2015. He also travelled to Anuradhapura, Talaimannar, and Jaffna. External Affairs Minister Smt. Sushma Swaraj was in Colombo on 6-7 March to prepare for Prime Minister’s visit. Former President Dr. Abdul Kalam visited Sri Lanka from 25-27 June 2015 to participate in the “International Energy Symposium titled Energy Challenges in the Knowledge Economy”.

The then External Affairs Minister of India Shri Salman Khurshid, visited Sri Lanka in October and in November 2013. External Affairs Minister Ms. Sushma Swaraj led a 12-member Parliamentary delegation to Sri Lanka from in April 2012 as the then Leader of Opposition in the Lok Sabha. Chief of Naval Staff Admiral R. K. Dhowan visited Sri Lanka on 22-25 November 2015 to participate in the annual International Maritime Conference ‘Galle

Dialogue', while Chief of Army Staff General Dalbir Singh Suhag visited Sri Lanka from 29 November - 4 December 2015. Commerce Secretary Shri Rajeev Kher visited Sri Lanka on March 4, 2015 for the third round of Commerce Secretary level interactions.

Commercial Relations Sri Lanka has long been a priority destination for direct investment from India. Sri Lanka is one of India's largest trading partner in SAARC. India in turn is Sri Lanka's largest trade partner globally. Trade between the two countries grew particularly rapidly after the entry into force of the India-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement in March 2000.

According to Sri Lankan Customs, bilateral trade in 2015 amounted to US \$ 4.7 billion. Exports from India to Sri Lanka in 2015 were US\$ 4.1 billion (up by 2.1%), while exports from Sri Lanka to India were US\$ 645 million (up by 3.2%). India is among the top four investors in Sri Lanka with cumulative investments of over US\$ 1 billion since 2003.

The investments are in diverse areas including petroleum retail, IT, financial services, real estate, telecommunication, hospitality & tourism, banking and food processing (tea & fruit juices), metal industries, tires, cement, glass manufacturing, and infrastructure development (railway, power, water supply). A number of new investments from Indian companies are in the pipeline or under implementation.

Notable among them are proposals of Shree Renuka Sugar to set up a sugar refining plant at Hambantota (US \$ 220 million), South City, Kolkota for real estate development in Colombo (US \$ 400 million), Tata Housing Slave Island Development project along with Urban Development Authority of Sri Lanka (US \$ 430 million), 'Colombo One' project of ITC Ltd. (ITC has committed an investment of US\$ 300 million, augmenting the earlier committed US 140 million). Dabur has already set up a fruit juice manufacturing plant (US\$ 17 million) in May 2013.

On the other hand, the last few years have also witnessed an increasing trend of Sri Lankan investments into India. Significant examples include Brandix (about US\$ 1 billion to set up a garment city in Vishakapatnam), MAS holdings, John Keels, Hayleys, and Aitken Spence (Hotels), apart from other investments in the freight servicing and logistics sector. Developmental Cooperation The conclusion of the armed conflict saw the emergence of a major humanitarian challenge, with nearly 300,000 Tamil civilians housed in

camps for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). The Government of India put in place a robust programme of assistance to help the IDPs return to normal life as quickly as possible as also consistently advocated the need for them to be resettled to their original habitations as early as possible.

India's immediate humanitarian assistance to IDPs included supply of 250,000 family relief packs, establishment of an emergency medical unit which treated over 50,000 IDPs, supply of over one million roofing sheets, as well as 400,000 bags of cement for constructing temporary housing and provision of 95,000 starter packs of agricultural implements. India also assisted in revival of agricultural and economic activities in areas affected by the conflict.

The main impetus for stepping up of India's development assistance flowed from the commitments made during the visit of President of Sri Lanka to India during June 2010, when the then Prime Minister of India announced a Development Package for Sri Lanka. This included construction of 50,000 housing units, rehabilitation of the Northern Railway lines, wreck-removal and rehabilitation of the KKS Harbour, establishment of Vocational Training Centres, construction of a Cultural Centre at Jaffna, setting up a 500 MW coal power plant at Sampur, restoration of Thiruketheeswaram Temple, establishing an Agricultural Research Institute in the Northern Province, expanding the scholarship program for Sri Lankan students to pursue their higher studies in India, setting up Centres for English Language Training and providing technical assistance for the National Action Plan for a Trilingual Sri Lanka. The Housing Project, with an overall commitment of over INR 1372 crore in grants, is the flagship project of Government of India's assistance to Sri Lanka. It is perhaps the largest such project undertaken by the Government of India overseas. The first stage of construction of 1,000 houses in the Northern Province was completed in July 2012. The second phase of constructing or repairing 45000 houses in the Northern and Eastern Provinces is being implemented under an innovative owner-driven model, wherein the owner-beneficiaries undertake the construction/repair of their houses themselves and Government of India arranges technical support and financial assistance. This phase was launched on the birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi on 2 October 2012 and has made excellent progress since its launch. As on 31 December 2015, a total of 43,800 houses have been completed. During 2015, 13,827 new houses were constructed in the

Northern Province, and 2,051 in the Eastern Province. In addition, 502 damaged houses were repaired in the Northern Province. Only 2,200 houses remain to be constructed or repaired in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, which is expected to be completed during the next few months.

The third phase, to construct 4,000 houses in the Central and Uva Provinces through an innovative community-driven approach, will be launched very shortly. Sri Lanka is one of the major recipients of development credit given by the Government of India. Under a line of credit of \$167.4 million, the tsunami-damaged Colombo-Matara rail link has been repaired and upgraded.

Another line of credit of \$800 million for track laying and supply of rolling stock to support construction of Medawachchiya to Madhu, Madhu to Talaimannar, Omanthai to Pallai, Pallai to Kankesanthurai railway lines and setting up of signaling and telecommunications systems in Northern Sri Lanka is already operational. In October 2014 the Pallai-Jaffna reconstructed railway track and signal system was inaugurated thereby reconnecting Jaffna to Colombo by rail.

India also continues to assist a large number of smaller development projects in areas like education, health, transport connectivity, small and medium enterprise development and training in many parts of the country through its grant funding. Cultural Relations The Cultural Cooperation Agreement signed by the Government of India and the Government of Sri Lanka on 29 November, 1977 at New Delhi forms the basis for periodic Cultural Exchange Programmes between the two countries.

The Indian Cultural Centre in Colombo actively promotes awareness of Indian culture by offering classes in Indian music, dance, Hindi and Yoga. High Commission organized an event on 21 June 2015 to celebrate the First International Day of Yoga at the iconic ocean side promenade Galle Face Green. The event was attended by two thousand yoga enthusiasts.

Every year, cultural troupes from both countries exchange visits. Pursuant to an announcement made by the Hon'ble Prime Minister of India during his visit to Sri Lanka, a Festival of India in Sri Lanka was launched in November 2015, with 'Nrityarupa', a scintillating dance medley from different parts of India performed in Colombo, Kandy and Galle. The theme of the Festival is "Sangam": a confluence of cultures of India and Sri Lanka. India and Sri Lanka commemorated the 2600th year of the attainment of

enlightenment by Lord Buddha (SambuddhatvaJayanthi) through joint activities. These included the exposition of Sacred Kapilavastu Relics in Sri Lanka that took place in August - September 2012.

During the exposition, approximately three million Sri Lankans (nearly 15 percent of the total population of Sri Lanka) paid homage to the Sacred Relics. The Indian Gallery at the International Buddhist Museum, Sri Dalada Maligawa, was inaugurated in December 2013. The Gallery highlights the shared heritage and close Buddhist links between India and Sri Lanka. The two Governments jointly celebrated the 150th Anniversary of Anagarika Dharmapala in 2014.

The India-Sri Lanka Foundation, set up in December 1998 as an intergovernmental initiative, also aims towards enhancement of scientific, technical, educational and cultural cooperation through civil society exchanges and enhancing contact between the younger generations of the two countries. Education is an important area of cooperation.

India now offers about 290 scholarship slots annually to Sri Lankan students. In addition, under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Scheme and the Colombo Plan, India offers nearly 200 slots annually to Sri Lankan nationals. Tourism also forms an important link between India and Sri Lanka. Government of India formally launched the e-Tourist Visa (eTV) scheme for Sri Lankan tourists on 14 April 2015.

Subsequently, in a goodwill gesture, the visa fee for eTV was sharply reduced. The new eTV fee for Sri Lankan nationals is only US\$ 25 (plus bank charges of 2.5%), instead of US\$ 60 (plus US\$2 bank fee) charged earlier. In 2015, out of the total tourist arrivals, 316,247 were from India constituting 17.58% of the total number of tourist arrival to Sri Lanka. Sri Lankan tourists too are among the top ten sources for the Indian tourism market. In 2014, around 200,000 visas were issued by the High Commission and other posts in Sri Lanka to facilitate travel between Indian and Sri Lanka.

Fishermen issue Given the proximity of the territorial waters of both countries, especially in the Palk Straits and the Gulf of Mannar, incidents of straying of fishermen are common. Both countries have agreed on certain practical arrangements to deal with the issue of bona fide fishermen of either side crossing the International Maritime Boundary Line. Through these

arrangements, it has been possible to deal with the issue of detention of fishermen in a humane manner.

Indian Community The People of Indian Origin (PIOs) comprise Sindhis, Borahs, Gujaratis, Memons, Parsis, Malayalis and Telugu speaking persons who have settled down in Sri Lanka (most of them after partition) and are engaged in various business ventures. Though their numbers (10,000 approximately) are much lesser as compared to Indian Origin Tamils (IOTs), they are economically prosperous and are well placed. Each of these communities has their organization which organizes festivals and cultural events. According to unofficial statistics, it is estimated that around 14,000 Indian expatriates are living in Sri Lanka.

The IOTs are mostly employed in either tea or rubber plantations in Central, Uva and Sabragamuwa Provinces though during the last decade, the younger generation has been migrating to Colombo in search of employment. A fair number of IOTs living in Colombo are engaged in business. According to Government census figures (2011), the population of IOTs is about 1.6 million.

India - Myanmar Relations

Myanmar shares a long land border of over 1600 Km with India as well as a maritime boundary in the Bay of Bengal. Four North-Eastern States viz. Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram share international boundary with Myanmar. Both countries share a heritage of religious, linguistic and ethnic ties. Myanmar has a substantial population of Indian origin (est. 1.5- 2 million).

Further, Myanmar is our gateway to South East Asia and ASEAN with which we are seeking greater economic integration through India's 'Look East' and 'Act East' Policy. Myanmar also offers us an alternative access route to the Northeast. Apart from supply of pulses, possibilities of energy supply from offshore blocks in Myanmar and business opportunities that emerging from an opening economy underpin bilateral relations India has a policy of strengthening improved relations with Myanmar.

The recent victory of the National League for Democracy (NLD) in the November 8, 2015 elections, in which the NLD won 255/323 seats (in the lower house) and 135/168 (upper house) apart from 475/630 (in

regional/state Parliament) has further provided opportunities to strengthen the engagement.

Various institutional mechanisms have infused dynamism to the growing and multi-faceted bilateral ties. The first meeting of the India-Myanmar Joint Consultative Commission (JCC) co-chaired by EAM and Myanmar FM was held on July 16, 2015 in New Delhi. The JCC has been established as an umbrella mechanism to facilitate interaction between various line ministries on the two sides.

At the Secretary-level, these include Foreign Office Consultations (FOC) at the level of Foreign Secretary/Deputy Foreign Minister (last held at New Delhi in July 2014 and Nay Pyi Taw in July 2013) and National Level Meeting (NLM) at the level of Home Secretary/ Deputy Home Minister (19th NLM held in Nov 17-19, 2014, Yangon and 18th NLM on 28-29 Dec 2012, N. Delhi).

Apart from them, technical level and operational level meetings are held. High-level Visits There have been several high level visits: PM Rajiv Gandhi (1987), Sr Gen Than Shwe (2004 and 2010), President Abdul Kalam (2006), Vice Senior Gen. Maung Aye (2008), Vice President Ansari (2009), President U Thein Sein (Oct 2011 & Dec 2012) and then PM Dr. Manmohan Singh (May 2012).

During these visits, important agreements were signed (MoU on Cooperation in Non-traditional Security Issues, MoU on Intelligence Cooperation, DTAA, BIPPA, MLAT in Criminal Matters), and a number of development projects like the Kaladan project, restoration of Ananda Temple, hospital upgradation, OFL link. India has extended loans of US\$ 297.43 million and grants of US\$ 477.63 million for several infrastructure and public interest projects in health, education, agriculture etc. PM Dr. Manmohan Singh paid a State Visit to Myanmar from May 27-29, 2012. PM and President U Thein Sein signed 12 Agreements and MOUs including on USD 500 million Line of Credit, on Air Services, Border Areas Development, on Establishment of the Advanced Centre for Agriculture Research & Education (ACARE) Rice Bio Park Myanmar and Institute of Information Technology with Indian assistance, Establishment of Border Haats, Joint Trade and Investment Forum, CEP for 2012-2015, MoUs for Cooperation amongst Think Tanks/

Institutes of the two countries and support for HRD through 500 training slots.

With new road projects like the Trilateral Highway and Rhi-Tiddim road, India's commitment to Myanmar's development stands at US\$ 2 billion. PM Narendra Modi visited Nay Pyi Taw from Nov 11-13, 2014 to attend the 12th ASEAN-India Summit and 9th East Asia Summit.

PM called on President U Thein Sein and met Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. PM also interacted with around 300 members of the PIO/OCI community of Myanmar. NSA Ajit Doval attended the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement ceremony on 15 October 2015 in which he was India's witness signatory, among others that included China, Thailand, EU, UN and Japan. India's presence was a demonstration of support to the peace process underway in Myanmar.

EAM paid an official visit to Myanmar from 14-16 December 2012 and had extensive discussions with the Myanmar Foreign Minister. EAM and Foreign Minister signed the MOU for construction of Rhi-Tiddim Road in Chin State of Myanmar. EAM and Myanmar Vice President jointly inaugurated the "International Conference on Buddhist Cultural Heritage" organized by ICCR and Sitagu International Buddhist Academy in Yangon.

EAM and Minister of Religious Affairs jointly unveiled the Sarnath Style Buddha Statue gifted by the People of India to Myanmar and also inaugurated the photo and book exhibition on "Buddhist Cultural Heritage" at the premises of Shwe Dagon Pagoda. EAM Sushma Swaraj visited Nay Pyi Taw from August 08-11 to attend the 4th East Asia Summit Foreign Ministers Meeting and 21st ASEAN Regional Forum Ministerial Meeting and paid an official bilateral visit on August 11, 2014. RM led a high level delegation comprising of the Defence Secretary, Vice Chief of Naval staff, the GOC-in-C Eastern Command and other senior officials which visited Myanmar from 21 to 22 January 2013.

During the visit, RM called on President U Thein Sein and had discussion with C-in-C Vice Senior General Min Aung Hlaing and Defence Minister Lt. Gen. Wai Lwin. Speaker of Lok Sabha led a first ever Indian Parliamentary delegation to Myanmar from 12-15 February 2013. During the visit the Speaker called on the President U Thein Sein and held discussions with Pyithu Hluttaw Speaker Thura U Shwe Mann and Amyotha Hluttaw U Khin

Aung Myint. The Speaker of Pyithu Hluttaw hosted a banquet in honour of visiting Speaker and interacted with the Indian Community.

Minister of Commerce, Industry and Textile visited Myanmar from 6-8 June 2013 to attend World Economic Forum on East Asia in Nay Pyi Taw. CIM and Myanmar Minister of Commerce U Win Myint inaugurated the 1st India-Myanmar Joint Trade and Investment Forum, Yangon. CIM Nirmala Sitharaman co-Chaired the 5th Joint Trade Committee (JTC) meeting with U Win Myint on 16-17 February, 2015 in Nay Pyi Taw.

During the visit CIM interacted with the Myanmar captains of industries at UMFCCI in Yangon and addressed the community function organized by the Indian community, Yangon. Other visits include that of Chief Ministers of Sagaing and Mandalay regions of Myanmar, who visited the Sangai festival in November 2013 with a 110-member delegation that included businessmen, artistes, academics and media.

The 3rd CMLV (Cambodia, Myanmar, Lao PDR, Viet Nam) Business Conclave was held on 12-13 January 2016 at Mamallapuram, near Chennai. “Myanmar as an Investment Destination” was a major theme at the Conclave. Commerce Minister Nirmala Sitharaman and Myanmar Dy. Commerce Minister Dr Pwint San co-chaired the Conclave along with Ministers from other CMLV countries.

Being the first major promotion of Myanmar as an investment destination for the Indian industry in decades, the Conclave was attended by top business leaders of both these countries as also by other CMLV countries. Commercial relations Commercial cooperation is another area of focus. India and Myanmar signed a trade agreement in 1970.

Bilateral trade has been growing steadily reaching USD 1571.95 million in 2014-15 (Exports to Myanmar USD 773.74 million and Imports from Myanmar USD 1016.86 million) and India is the fourth largest trade partner of Myanmar but trade remains below potential. Agriculture sector dominates bilateral trade.

Myanmar is the second largest supplier of beans and pulses to India and Timber and wood products. India's exports to Myanmar include pharmaceuticals products, steel & iron products, electrical machinery,

Mineral oil, Rubber and articles, plastics etc. Border trade via Moreh and Zawkhatar reached to US\$ 51.68 million in 2013-14.

India has moved to eleventh largest investor from tenth position with an approved investment of US\$ 299.5 million out of total estimated investments of US\$ 45.237 billion from 33 countries by 655 enterprises. Most of India's investments have been in the oil and gas sector.

Following the New Foreign Investment Law (02 Nov 2012) and the by-laws and rules framed by the respective departments/ministries (31 January 2013) investments into the country is increasing. Now FDI is allowed 100 % in select sectors. Indian companies have evinced interest in investing in Myanmar and major contracts have been won by Indian companies include Jubilant Energy India- PSC-1 onshore bloc; Punj Lloyd; Jindal Saw; Welspun India; Vihaan Networks; Nipha Exports and Troika Exports; L&T.

More facilitative environment that includes greater air, sea and road connectivity options would give a fillip to the cooperation. Cooperation in banking sector is crucial for investment and trade. United Bank of India signed number of banking agreements with banks of Myanmar (MFTB, MICB, MEB, and 9 private banks) in order to facilitate trade transactions between the two countries.

United Bank of India (UBI) has opened its representative office in November 2012. In addition to UBI, Indian Overseas Bank, EXIM bank and State Bank of India have opened representative office in Yangon. Mechanisms such as Joint Trade Committee, Double Taxation Avoidance Agreement and Bilateral Investment Protection Agreement and other technical level committee on trade have contributed significantly in strengthening trade and investment relations.

The first Joint Trade and Investment Forum (JTIF) was held in Yangon on 7 June 2013 co-chaired by Shri Sunil Mittal and U Aung Win (President UMFCCL, Myanmar). Myanmar is an important partner in strengthening our energy security. Recognising this, an MOU on Co-operation in the Petroleum Sector between MOP&NG and Ministry of Energy of Myanmar was signed during President's visit to Myanmar in March 2006. Development cooperation and humanitarian relief Development cooperation is a key aspect of our relationship and we have offered technical and

financial assistance to Myanmar for projects in infrastructure, capacity-building, emergency relief and others.

The total development assistance to Myanmar stands at approx USD 2 billion. Disaster Relief: India has responded promptly and effectively to assist Myanmar in humanitarian relief operations following natural calamities like Cyclone Nargis in 2008, the earthquake in Shan State in 2010 and cyclone Komen in 2015.

We have provided immediate relief material, medical assistance, supplies for rehabilitation work, biomass gasifiers, solar torches & lanterns. We have also replaced 16 damaged transformers and given a grant of USD 200,000 to repair the Shwedagon Pagoda complex in Yangon. We also gave assistance of USD 1 million for relief and reconstruction work in the quake affected zone in Shan State, of which 250,000 was given as a cash grant and the remainder used to finance reconstruction of 1 high school and 6 primary schools.

We have also donated US\$200,000 in cash to GOM for Rakhine State rehabilitation. India again provided a sum of US\$ 1 million to Government of Myanmar for promoting inter-communal harmony in Rakhine State which the Myanmar Government has chosen to use to construct 10 schools to serve both communities and promoting communal harmony.

The construction of 10 schools has hence been completed and classes commenced from the new building. Our emergency supply of food, medicines and relief supplies through four airforce flights to Kalay and Mandalay, soon after the Cyclone Komen has been widely appreciated. Cultural relations India and Myanmar share close cultural ties. There is a deep sense of kinship, particularly amongst the Buddhist community, given India's association with the Buddha's life.

We are trying to make the most of this shared heritage by undertaking some key initiatives: GOI working for restoration of the Ananda Temple in Bagan; GOI donated a 16 foot replica of the Sarnath Buddha Statue which has been installed at the premises of Shwedagon pagoda in Yangon; MEA in coordination with ICCR and the Sitagu International Buddhist Academy and Myanmar Ministry of Religious Affairs organised an International Conference on Buddhist Cultural Heritage from 15- 17 December 2012. Apart from this, performances by Indian and Myanmar cultural troupes have

been organized on a regular basis. Myanmar troupes and artistes have regularly participated in South Asian and ASEAN cultural events in India.

Connectivity is increasingly being seen as the key to promoting bilateral commercial, cultural, touristic and other exchanges. India is undertaking some important development projects that will enhance connectivity: these include the Kaladan project, construction/upgradation of Rhi-Tiddim Road, MOU for which was signed during the visit of EAM to Myanmar in December 2012.

We have agreed to Myanmar's request to undertake the task of building the 69 bridges along the TamuKalamyo-Kalewa (TKK) Friendship Road and construct the 126 km Kalewa-Yargyi road segment for establishing seamless Trilateral Highway from Moreh in India to Mae Sot in Thailand via Myanmar. We are also working on boosting air, rail and sea links.

During the visit of Prime Minister to Myanmar in May 2012, Air Services Agreement was signed and agreed to set up Joint Working Groups to determine the technical and commercial feasibility of cross-border rail links as well as direct shipping links between the two countries. The bilateral Air Services Agreement enables third, fourth and fifth freedom rights to both Indian and Myanmar carriers.

An MOU to establish a direct Imphal-Mandalay bus service and the broad framework for the operation of this service has been negotiated and initialized and awaiting the final formal signing. The Air India has launched a direct flight between Delhi-Gaya-Yangon once in a week during the peak season of 2014. The Shipping Corporation of India has launched a direct sea link between India and Myanmar in October, 2014.

The relations of India and United States of America

Indo-US relations reflect an interesting story of relations between world's two largest democracies whose people share a faith in democracy and liberalism. The history of these relations give an account of continued friendship and cooperation crossed at times by conflicts and strains.

In the era of cold war the two countries, while holding different perception of political relations, remained engaged in developing cooperation in the sphere of economic relations. In the post cold war era, both India & the USA find themselves closer and committed to extend their economic cooperation into other fields. Recent changes in Indian economic policies have received good response from the United States. Both countries have conducted joint Naval exercises and both are trying to forge ahead on the path of friendly cooperation. India now realises better the importance of its relations with the USA, and the latter is now willing to develop around relations with India.

India and the USA happen to be the two largest democracies in the world and yet in the past the relations between them failed to be very-smooth and warm. "Despite the similarity of domestic political set up and dedication to liberal democratic values," says B. R. Nanda, "Indo-American relations have remained without "warmth ever since the independence of India." Since 1947. these have been marked by dramatic oscillations, characterised in the main by tension and suspicion." One can describe the history of Indo-US relations as a unique account of desire for friendship and yet of relationship remained characterised by strains and tension.

B.R. Nanda even went to the extent of saying, 'No consensus of opinion exists on normal relations between India and the USA.' However, in contemporary times there are present positive signals for the development of Indo-US friendship and cooperation.

Right from the beginning of their relations, both India and America got engaged in attempts to establish friendly and co-operative and yet, except some useful trade and economic links, the political relations continued to experience frequent ups and downs-mostly down's and even show-downs. The present situation too reflects a developing friendship and cooperation despite the existence of irritants like American pressure on India for signing NPT and American restrictions upon the transfer of Russian missile technology to India. This unique situation in Indo-US relations has been due to the existence of differences and certain major hindering factors along with some important and valuable positive and helping factors. The latter have been the sources of the attempts to work for the development of more and more friendly and cooperative relations whereas the former have been the irritants which have

prevented the growth of really meaningful friendship and mature politico-economic co-operation among these two countries.

The existence of differences both in the foreign policy orientations and perspectives of the two countries and in respect of certain major international issues and problems were in the era of cold war a source of common cultural links and shared love for certain values and ideas were always, and continue to be, a source of friendship between the two countries.

The over-all situation, in the past was, however not very encouraging. Consequently, "Neither side," writes B.R. Nantia, "has been able to gain much from the other." For a clear undemanding of the nature of Indo-US relations, it is therefore, imperative to identify and analyse these positive and negative or helping and hindering factors.

The Positive Factors

Indo-US relations derive strength from number of positive and helping factors and because of these there has always been present a strong desire among the Indian and American leaders and the people to work for the development of warm friendship and highly co-operativeable-geo-political and strategic reasons, the traditional cultural links, the similarity in respect of certain key ideals and institutions, and the, shared love for peace and liberal democracy have been such helping factors which have always prompted efforts towards the improvement of Indo-US relations.

Nehru view of the links between India and USA. Mr. Nehru, during his first visit to America as the Prime Minister of India, in October 1949 and his second visit in 1956 identified the important links and the positive factors which provide good basis for the development of Indo-US friendship and cooperation. While speaking before the two Houses of the US. Congress on 13 October, 1949, Nehru observed: There is much in common between them (India and U.S.A.). Like you, we have achieved our freedom through a revolution, though our methods were different from yours. Like you, we shall be a republic based on the federal principle, which is an outstanding contribution of the founders of this great Republic as we have placed in the forefront of our constitution those fundamental human rights to which all men who love liberty, equality and progress aspire-the freedom of the individual, the equality of men and the rule of law...."

"The great democracy of the U.S.A. will, I feel sure, understand and appreciate our approach to life's problems because it could not have any other aim or a different ideal. Friendship and co-operation between our two countries are, therefore, natural. I stand here to offer both in the pursuit of justice, liberty and peace.

Similarly, in all his other speeches, delivered during the course of this visit, Nehru identified a number of positive factors that favoured the growth of Indo-US friendship. He also paid rich tributes to President Roosevelt of his great interest and support to the cause of freedom of India.

During his second visit to America, in a Television and Radio statement issued on December 18, 1956 at Washington, Nehru again observed, Between United States and India, there had existed friendly and cordial relations even before India gained her independence. No Indian can forget that in the days of our struggle for freedom we received from your country a full measure of sympathy and support. Our two Republics have a common faith in democratic institutions and the democratic way of life and are dedicated to the cause of peace and freedom.

We admire the many qualities that have made this country great, and more especially the humanity and dynamism of its people to the great principles to which the fathers of the American revolution gave utterance. We wish to learn from you and we plead for your friendship, and your cooperation and sympathy in the great task that we have undertaken in our own country."

Similar views have been expressed by many other Indian leaders. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Indian leadership has become more vocal in advocating the need for developing high level cooperation with the U.S.A. As such it is, therefore, natural for India to work for friendship and co-operation with the U.S.A.

Likewise, many of the American leaders and statesman also realise the existence of important links and similarity of values between India and the U.S.A. and advocate the need for the development of Indo-US friendship and co-operation.

The following can be described as the positive and helping factors which strongly favour the attempts to foster Indo-US friendship and mutual cooperation.

1. Influence of American War of Independence and Declaration of Independence on India. During their freedom struggle against the British Indians drew much inspiration and courage from the American War of Independence. The American Declaration of Independence kindled the hearts of Indians and inspired them to put in more and more efforts for securing independence from the yoke of British imperialism. During freedom struggle many Indian freedom fighters and great scholars visited America and tried to secure American support for India and her freedom.

2. American support for Indian Independence. America gave a good more support to India at a time when Indian freedom fighters were engaged in a strong struggle against the continued British imperialism in India.

During the period of World War II, American President Roosevelt pleaded with British P.M. Churchill the need for a sympathetic and humanistic consideration of the demands of Indians and it came to be a factor that influenced the sending of Cripps Mission to India.

Though America, being a war ally of Britain, could not directly act and influence Britain in favour of the demand for the independence of India, yet the moral pressure exerted by President Roosevelt received much appreciation from the Indians. Moreover, America did not object, rather well tolerated, the activities of Indian freedom fighters who were working from abroad for strengthening the struggle for the freedom of India.

3. Common Faith in Liberal Democracy and World Peace. Both India and America have a firm faith in the values and principles of Liberal Democracy. Both are the two largest working democracies of the world. America respects Indian love for democracy and is keen to see the successful working of India's democracy.

It stands for the development of India through the democratic process, as India's, success is bound to strengthen the case for democracy as a system of government and an ideal way of living.

Similarly, India respects the American traditions of liberal democracy and derives encouragement for the development of Indian democratic process. Both India and America share a love for human rights, liberty, equality, justice and peace. Both are committed to the causes of world peace and security and to the development of friendship and co-operation with other countries of the world. Both are opposed to imperialism, colonialism and apartheid.

4. American recognition of the importance of India. India is a big country with vast potential for growth and development. It is a state with the second largest concentration of population-man-power. It occupies a strategically important position in Asia. It is an important leader of the Third World and of the group of the Non-aligned. It has now come to be one of the most developed among the developing nations.

With 1/3rd of the total skilled man-power of the world, with the status of being tenth technologically developed nation and with vast potentials for becoming a nuclear power, India now occupies an important position in the eyes of America.

After 1971, American foreign policy came to view India as a major power in South Asia. All these factors strengthen the case for American desire to build up relations with India. Similarly, India recognises the important position of America as one of the two most powerful and developed countries which can help India in her task of socio-economic development of Indian society.

India is fully conscious of the super power status of America and the key role that is playing in the international relations of the post-war period. Thus both India and America realise the importance of each other and this recognition strengthens the case for the development of Indo-US relations.

5. India's, Need for US Economic Assistance. India, ever since her independence has been engaged in the process of socio-economic reconstruction. For this, she needs outside economic and technological help. America as one of the most developed and economically well-off states has the immense potential to provide both economic aid and technological knows how to India. During the past 50 years India has been a major recipient of US foreign aid.

Even for getting aid and loan, from International monetary institutions like World Bank, India needs US support. India's need for American help further strengthens the case for Indian friendship and co-operation with America.

In the post-cold war, post-Soviet Union and post-Warsaw Pact era of international relations India realises more fully the importance of relations with the U.S.A.

These five factors, can be described as fundamentally important positive factors which favour the attempts to secure warm friendship and mutual cooperation between India & the U.S.A. It has been due, mostly, to these factors that the leaders, statesmen and people of both the countries have been keen to develop close relations between these two largest working democracies of the world.

The nature of Indo-US relations in the contemporary times.

After having remained engaged in a system of ups and downs or a sea-saw game between 1947-90, the Indo-US relations began looking up in the post-cold war and post-USSR era of international relations. Under the impact of the deep and big changes in the international system of this last decade of the 20th century both India and the USA began realising better the importance and utility of each other.

Contemporary International System and US Perceptions. The economic liberalisation and policy changes in India under the impact of its own internal environment as well as due to external milieu, gladdened the USA, and it decided to respond more positively to India's needs.

The attempts at replacement of Indian socialist economy by market economy, the Indian decision to upgrade relations with Israel, the Indian vote in the United Nations over the resolution against the equalisation of Zionism with terrorism as well as in favour of American moves first for collective security war in the Gulf and later on for imposing socio-economic trade sanctions against delinquent Iraq, and the Indian decision to hold joint Indo US Naval exercises in the Indian Ocean, in particular impressed the American decision-makers, in favour of supporting and encouraging democratic India to become more stable and well functioning member of the international community.

India's status as an Asian Power, as a major- power of the South Asia, as a fast developing economic, industrial technological-nuclear power, as a prominent leader of NAM, as the most developed of the developing countries, as world's largest democracy with one of the two biggest consumer markets which Americans could exploit and as a local giant in its own right provided the background for such a change in US policy towards India in the post-cold war era.

In addition to these, the American dissatisfaction with Pakistan as a threatening nuclear weapon state, its role as an Islamic fundamentalist country, as a country which played a double role in the Gulf War by sending Pakistan troops to fight the war and by simultaneously supporting Iraq as a Muslim country, the American apprehensions of the strengthening of Islamic fundamentalism in Central Asian republic and West Asia, the virtual liquidation of communism and the end of the need of Islamic states as counterpoise to communism, the American view of India as a counterpoise to Communist China, the loss of American bases in Philippines, the continued need of influence the nature of politics in Asia, the chances for (the emergence of economic cold war with Japan etc., all combined to make Americans realise more fully the importance of India in world politics particularly in politics in Asia. Between an Islamic West Asia and a Christian West which includes the USA there is India that could have a sobering influence this perception also provided a meeting point between India and the USA.

India, too, because of the disintegration of its former friend, the USSR, the pressures on Indian economy, the realisation that the USA can be a biggest source of economic help for India, Indian defence and security needs vis-a-vis China and Pakistan in the post-USSR era; the realisation that in the era of unipolarism, cultivation of relations with the USA as the only super power left in the world is essential, the inability of Russia, the successor state of the USSR, to meet the security, economic and trade needs of India.

The Indian need for WB and IMF loans and assistance which are definitely influenced by the USA both directly as well as indirectly, the desire on the part of India to get a permanent seat in the UN Security Council which cannot be secured without American support, etc. all compelled rather impelled India to take steps for improving and developing Indo-US friendship and cooperation in various spheres of bilateral relations-economic-political-technological and military.

Thus, both the USA and India realised the importance of each other in the post-cold war and post USSR era of international relations. They decided to attempt an improvement in their relations by extending cooperation in various spheres. The psychological and emotional bonds between Indians and Americans, which have been in existence ever since the emergence of USA in 1765 through the Declaration of independence and the subsequent war of independence against Britain, came forward to provide the necessary impetus for initiating the process. By May 1992, both India and the USA were in a position to hold joint Naval exercises in the Indian Ocean heralding the era of increased defence cooperation between the world's two largest democracies.

The Nature and Progress of Indo-US Relations. The shift in the Indo-US relationship began with the disintegration of the USSR and the need felt by India to find an acceptable alternative to the discredited socialist path of development.

The 1991 Indian budget initiated several measures-devaluation, removal of licences and controls, privatisation, opening of manufacturing sector to foreign investment and invitation to MNCs to invest in India.

These measures were initiated under the guidance of IMF and World Bank. The 1992 budget followed this process and introduced more liberalisation in trade, industrial, commercial spheres. The liberalisation of imports, decontrol, decanalisation, partial convertibility of rupee etc., were introduced.

These changes received good appreciation from the US administration and business. India appeared to the USA as a big consumer market for export, of American goods and for flow of US expertise to India. A stream of American official visitors started visiting New Delhi. They all talked of the need to develop Indo-US friendship and cooperation in various spheres.

A change in US outlook gave a positive orientation to the environment of Indo-US relations. In the emerging new world order, the US administration started realising better the importance of India, particularly vis-a-vis Pakistan and China.

The Indian need for more and more western aid, technology, imports capital in the aftermath of the disintegration of the USSR, which had remained one of its biggest 'trade partner', Mr. R.L. Bhatia, the minister of State for External Affairs, observed on 13th August 1992 that India had suffered tremendously in trade and in the spheres of Arms supplies with the disintegration of the USSR, and the inability of its successor Russia and the CIS to keep up trade relations, particularly arms supplies further influenced India in favour of initialing moves to attract western aid and capital.

The rise of non-socialist regimes in Eastern Europe which were dependent upon the USA and other Western European countries for their socio-economic reconstruction programmes involved the possibility of a reduced western aid and loans for India.

In order to justify continuance of such aids and loans, India accepted the World Bank and IMF view to introduce changes in the Indian economic system. India decided to develop more fruitful and cooperative relations with the USA in the Gulf crisis and Gulf War decision-making process in the UN Security Council and voted for the repeal of UN resolution which equated Zionism with Terrorism.

These Indian decisions pleased the Americans and added appreciation came when India gave full diplomatic recognition to Israel. The shared perceptions regarding the dangers inherent in the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Muslim countries of Asia, particularly in Central Asian Republics of former USSR also impelled India and USA to work for giving a new and positive health to their bilateral relations.

The US stand on Kashmir, that the issue be resolved bilaterally on the basis of Shimla Agreement, reflected a welcome change in favour of India. In November 1992, US President Bush stated that India and Pakistan should come to resolve the differences over the nuclear weapons issue in South Asia. This view appeared to be softer than earlier rigid stand. The two countries, therefore, started increasing the volume of their trade and made agreements for the supply of US arms and technology to India. Both conducted joint Naval exercises in the Indian Ocean in May 1992.

After the election of Bill Clinton as the new Democratic President of the USA, replacing George Bush, the Republican US President, India decided to make the first big move to send in November 1992 a high level team to conduct diplomatic bendings with the new transitional term of democratic leaders. This Indian move was designed to keep intact and strengthen the process of growing Indo-US friendship and cooperation. President Bill Clinton and his aides also

declared that they recognized the potential of relations with India. Thus the climate for the growth of Indo-US cooperation in various spheres of bilateral relations has become healthy and bright in the contemporary years.

However, there continue to be present several road-blocks which both the USA and India could have either to overcome or ignore for making the current optimism and realisation enduring and really fruitful. Despite realising better the new importance of relations with India in the changed international system, the USA continues to press Super 301 against India, call for the of NPT by India and to enforce Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) against Indian space and missile programme.

In the words J.F. Sethi "The USA is applying the carrot and stick technique to test mettle to adjust to the situation which has changed in every respect and not too favourably for this country." "Washington is attempting to extract the highest price from India for upgrading the Indo-US relations, believing that India is weak and vulnerable.

PM. Narasimha Rao's 1994 visit to Washington. In May 1994, PM. Narsimha Rao paid six-day official visit to the USA: with a view to clear misunderstandings and for creating a good base for a new start to the bilateral relations between the two largest democracies of the world. The visit was successful in reversing the low ebb that had come to develop between the two countries in past few months.

The joint statement issued by PM Narasimha Rao and President Clinton recorded that india and the USA were heading towards a new partnership in their relations. After notcing the areas of agreement over such issues as liberalisation and human rights, both the leaders gave a call for increasing the pace and scope of high level exchanges on all aspects of their relations as well as for discussing ways and means for meeting the challenges before the world.

On Kasmir, the USA and India held that bilateral Indo-Pak negotiations and Shimla spirit can enable the resolution of all outstading issues including the issue of Jammu and Kashmir.

The two leaders welcomed the successful conclusion of the Uruguay round and pledged support for WTO. The visit was also productive in so far as the fact that India and the USA signed six memorandums of understanding relating to fields of trade commerce, technology and defence. It was agreed:

(1) To revive the Indo-US Joint Commission (1974) by reviving the sub-commission on trade and economy; (2) to establish regular foreign office

consultation at various levels; (3) to review and update the MOU on technology (1984); (4) to enhance and broaden cooperation at civil and services level in defence (5) To examine the possibility of setting up an Eminent Persons Group and (6) to encourage the setting up of an Indo-US Business Partnership Initiative.

Along with this the USA was brought round to the view that nuclear proliferation issue can be taken up not at a such-regional level but at a broader level (5 + 2 + 2 level) i.e., USA, Russia, UK, France and China + Germany and Japan + India and Pakistan.

In fact, Indian Ambassador in the USA, Mr. S.S. Ray, has been doing wonderful job in keeping Indo-US relations healthy and dynamic.

A study Indo-US relations after the end of cold war and disintegration of the USSR reveals that there are three major irritants in Indo-US ties - Patents for Pharmaceuticals and chemicals, nuclear non-proliferation and missile control. The first one involves the use of Super 301 and Special 301 by the USA vis-a-vis India, the second involves the US move to secure India's adoption of NPT and the third involves the enforcement of MTCR regime against India's space and missile programmes as well as to prevent the supply of Russian Cryogenic engines to India.

On the Super 301 and Special 301 disputes, India has conceded, according to US officials themselves, most of its demands. However, the USA has made it clear that it must get 100 percent satisfaction and support from India in the GATT negotiations on American terms if further friction is to be avoided.

On nuclear non-proliferation, the USA closely coordinating its moves with Pakistan is trying to push India into a five-power conference to denuclearisation of South-Asia while insisting that the USA itself must keep nuclear weapons in its arsenal for an indefinite period and, hence, must reject the Indian proposal for global non-proliferation. In a report published in February 1994, the USA listed India along with Pakistan, Israel and Brazil which the US administration felt were not prepared to sign NPT. It even criticised the Indian decision to oppose the extension of NPT for future i.e., after April 1995.

The third major issue is an advanced rocket engine for peaceful purpose which Russia is willing to sell to India, saving India the huge cost of developing the engine herself. However, the USA, according to a report, is threatening sanctions both against India and Russia if the engine sale goes through. Whether the threat is explicit or implied is not clear. The latest pressure point is the agreement by 27 nations aimed ostensibly at curbing the spread of nuclear

weapons but, in effect, aimed, according to experts, at nations which refuse to sign on the dotted line on nuclear non-proliferation issues.

The signatories to the new accord are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Britain, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the USA. This represents an expansion of the nuclear suppliers group though China, Brazil and Argentina are not parties.

Although the stated purpose is to prevent Iraqi nuclear programmes in reality, according to explanations in background briefing reflected in the U.S. press, the accord could hurt nations thought to be interested in advancing cover nuclear arms programmes, including Argentina, Brazil, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Libya, Pakistan, North Korea and South Africa.

The USA has shown willingness to develop military cooperation with India and yet it continues to put pressure on India for securing a halt to the Indian missile programme. On 12 January, 1995, India and USA signed the "agreed minutes" on bilateral defence relations that seek to enhance the level of bilateral defence cooperation.

The nuclear suppliers group, the U.S. Press points out was in fact, formed shortly after India's 1974 atomic explosion. Started at the urging of the USA, the group initially consisted of the seven major suppliers of nuclear gear and set guidelines for the export of items with direct use of nuclear weaponry." The initial accord did not cover items that had peaceful uses. The new one does so in the name of dual-use.

The new agreement sets detailed rules for limiting the sale of machinery and materials that can be used either for peaceful purposes or for making the atomic bomb. Such items include key items of commercial need for any industrialising country, such as robots, special furnaces, and computerised machine tools.

Through these measures US has been even while accepting the importance of ties with India, is engaged in an arm-twisting of India. India has been equally determined to resist the American pressures on these issues. It has declared its determination to keep up its space and missile programmes even after the, possible refusal of Russia to supply the Cryogenic engine by indigenously meeting the need. It has repeated the firm decision not to sign the discriminatory treaty and to unduly bow before the US Super 301 and Special 301.

India has determinedly rejected the proposal for holding a five nation (India, Pakistan, USA, China, Russia) Conference on making South Asia a nuclear weapon-free zone. At times the US administration has been acting in an apparently anti-Indian way. In October 1993, a senior official of the Clinton Administration who deals with South Asia, went to the extent of observing that the USA came forward to impress upon the need to resolve the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan in accordance with the provisions of Shimla Agreement.

Yet the episode reflected the hard realities of American policy towards India. America, further seldom hesitates to put pressure on India for securing a particular change in India's nuclear policy, missile programme, space programme and pace of economic liberalisation in India. As such these irritants can cause trouble to Indo-US ties.

However, these experts in India believe that if India can get through her economic, nuclear and space programmes despite the US pressures after initial aggressiveness, threats and actions will gradually ease and the two nations will be truly in the road to friendship and cooperation.

The USA needs Indian support in the new world order, containment of China and for achieving regional stability. India also needs US support for these three reasons as well as for meeting its developmental and economic needs and programmes.

Indian government wants America to develop relations with India independently of Pakistan, and to relate Indo-US relations to bilateral, regional and international concerns- PM Narasimha Rao's 1994 visit to the US constituted a bold attempt to give a new impetus to Indo-US economic cooperation. The economic content of relations can maintain a balance between Indo-US political and other differences and the need for furthering the government to government and people to people level relations.

With the known India in self-sufficiency in foodgrains, a developed industrial base and modernised infrastructure, trained scientific and technical manpower and managerial skill, increased capacity for crisis management and above all with second largest, well-equipped and discipline military, India offers a good scope for an increased American investment in India. The presence of a large number of Indians in the USA gives a further basis for the development of Indo-US cooperation for development. India fully realises the importance of relations with the USA.

In April 1994, it even conducted official level talks with the USA over such sensitive issues like Nuclear Proliferation, NPT and Disarmament. It has always been keen to keep limited the role of irritants of Indo-US relations. The USA too realises the importance of India.

That is why the damage done by Mr. Raphael was sought to be undone by Mr. Talbott. In January 1995 Indo-US relations got a big boost with the visit of high level US officials to India. Defence cooperation and economic cooperation got a new health.

In January 1995, Mr. Ron Brown, US Commerce Secretary and Mr. William Perry, US Defence Secretary paid official visits to India and tried to consolidate the growing trend towards increased Indo-US friendship and cooperation. During the visit of US Commerce Secretary several important trade and commerce agreements worth 4 billion dollars were signed.

The whole exercise appeared to signal the opening of an Indo-US commercial alliance. It was governed by the desire to keep an American tab on the pace and depth of India's economic reforms as well as to enable India have a legitimate access to the US market. Both India and the USA were successful in giving a proper direction and health to Indo-US trade and commercial relations in the new era of globalisation and WTO.

A day earlier the US Defence Secretary Mr. William Perry had concluded his visit to India and had formalised the growing defence relation between the two countries. On January 12, 1995, the 'agreed minutes' on defence relations i.e., bilateral defence cooperation were signed. These were designed to give qualitative push-up to Indo-US defence cooperation which had started developing since 1991.

The agreement signed envisaged a three-way cooperation- civilian to civilian level cooperation i.e., bureaucratic contacts; service to service level cooperation i.e., an extension of relations, and cooperation in defence research and production. The agreements did not involve any arms transfer or joint technology development. These also signified no change in US perception of India's stand on NPT.

It was however, stated that "The enhanced cooperation between our two countries is designed to make a positive contribution to the security and stability of Asia. These measures will also promote the maintenance of international peace and security in the post-cold-war world."

Indeed, January 1995 signalled the emergence of a new agreed and well understood drive towards the securing of increased Indo-US cooperation in two vitally important sectors of relations- commerce and defence. In March 1995, the American first lady Mrs. Hillary Clinton paid an informal nonofficial visit to India and it gave an elegance and warmth to the relations between the world's two largest democratic societies.

At the moment the future of Indo-US ties appears to be bright despite the fact that the issues of NPT and Kashmir continue to still remain 'issues.'

Indo-China relationship.

A Turning Point

Indian Prime Minister's visit to China in December 1988 was a turning point in the sense of the expression. It provided an effective and active ground for pursuing the process of Sino-Indian normalization of relations and the settlement of the vexed boundary disputes.

The constitution of the Joint Working Group provided an operational framework for the securing of conflict resolution as well as for the conduct of relations. Further, the 1988 visit invigorated the process of high level contacts between India and China, and the exercises started producing several agreements for the promotion of trade, economic, cultural and technological cooperation and relations.

During November 1989-June 1991 (Janta Dal-Janata Party rule in India) Beijing always tried to keep up the process initiated by the late PM Rajiv Gandhi and New Delhi remained content to reciprocate the Chinese goodwill gestures.

The Visits

In December 1991, Chinese Primere Li Peng visited New Delhi, in June 1992 former President R. Venkataraman visited Beijing and a little later Defence Minister Sharad Pawar paid a visit to Beijing. These visits, the meetings of the Joint Commissions and the-activities of the Joint Working Group kept the process of Sino-India normalisation in an active state. The Joint Working Group, till today has had six meetings.

At the second meeting, it decided to set up a military level mechanism to institutionalise the arrangements for maintaining peace and tranquility along the borders. In Feb. 1992, both the countries agreed to set up Consulate -Generals in Bombay and Shanghai and agreements made at various levels were in themselves motivated by the desire not only for extending Sino-Indian cooperation in the changed environment of international relations but also for creating an environment conducive for the resolution of the boundary dispute.

International political Transformation

The international system has been undergoing a big transformation under the impact of several developments- the end of Cold War, the liberalisation and death of socialism in the countries of Eastern Europe, the termination of Warsaw Pact, the disintegration of the USSR, rise of United Germany, the socio-economic-politics, integration of European Community, the rising Islamic Fundamentalism in West Asia and Central Asia, the weakness of Russia and other members of the Commonwealth of independent States.

The virtual isolation of communist countries China, Cuba and Vietnam, the possible moves to dislodge remaining communist regimes, the emergence of the USA as sole super power, unipolarity in international relations and the new need to cultivate- relations with the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are some of the important developments in the Post-Cold war era of International political system.

Fear of Isolation

In the new environment, China fears isolation, US hegemony and problem of maintaining and expanding its exports, rising strength of Islamic Fundamentalism is also looked with distaste by communist China because of the existence of a sizeable Muslim population in China. China is apprehensive of US designs to establish a new world order dominated by the latter.

Conditioning Factors and Factors of Change -New Realizations

China has become wise and has learnt from history that its policy towards India between 1955 to 1971 was also responsible for putting India in the lap of the former Soviet Union. It had to suffer a limitation in the past due to the emergence of strong Moscow-New Delhi relationship.

Strained relations with India had in the past adversely affected China's relations with many Third World Countries. Further, China has come to realise that a Muslim Pakistan trying to strengthen and spearhead the forces of Islamic fundamentalism in West Asia and Central Asia can become a source of strain in the years to come. India is a developing power and China cannot ignore it for long.

In the era of economic liberalisation China can gain by expanding its trade, industrial, cultural and even military relations with India. The consistent Indian efforts for developing friendly cooperation with China also encourages Beijing to develop Sino-Indian ties. Similar Sino-Indian perceptions in respect of the view that Human Rights and nuclear issues should not be used as ploys of USA and Western Countries for interventions in the internal affairs of other sovereign states.

Nevertheless it wants to keep limited the U.S.A. power in Asia, particularly South Asia, because it fears that the U.S.A. would not hesitate to secure an overthrow of Communism in China.

Indian Perceptions

Right after its independence, India decided to work for establishing high level friendly cooperation with China. For this end in view it gave full recognition to Communist China, advocated strongly the case of Communist China's entry into the United Nations and its Security Council as a permanent member, signed the Tibet Agreement and Panchsheel Agreement with China, and took pride in 'introducing' China at Bandung Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference.

However, Chinese aggressive border policy against India and the October 1962 Chinese aggression gave a severe blow to India's efforts and the concept of Sino-Indian Bhai-Bhai got buried in the Himalayan snows.

Conduct of relations with Communist China, which started playing host to Pakistan in all spheres of relations and giving it distinct preference over India, became a real big problem for Indian leadership.

It was only in early seventies that India was in a position to break the impasse by upgrading, in 1976, diplomatic relations with China. This decision gave a solid ground to the process of normalisation of Sino-India relations.

In 1979 India's Foreign Minister Mr. Vajpayee visited China but the trip got terminated mid-way due to Chinese attack on Vietnam. The broken threads of contacts with China were picked up again in 1980 when Mrs. Gandhi returned to power in India.

In 1981 the then Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua visited India. Thereafter the progress of Sino-Indian normalisation started picking up, despite China's threatening postures towards India's Arunachal Pradesh. The crisis of 1984 Summer was kept within limits and the Sino-India dialogue was kept open.

Rajiv Gandhi Visit

In December 1988, the late PM Rajiv Gandhi visited China and his visit proved to be a turning point in the bilateral relations of the two Asian powers. The decision to maintain peace and tranquility on borders and the constitution of a Joint Working Group gave good health to the process of Sino-Indian normalisation of relations.

The two countries decided to transform normalisation into a process of bilateral cooperation in various spheres of relations. The boundary dispute was sought to be resolved through concerted joint efforts and was not allowed to materially check the development of ties.

Thus in the contemporary era of international relations both India and China came to realise the new importance of each other. They decided to step up the process that had been initiated in December 1988.

The visit of Chinese Prime Minister to India in December 1991 and Indian President's, and Defence Minister's visits to China in mid-1992 have added strength to the process of normalisation.

Li peng's Visit

With a view to push further the process of Invigorated normalisation initiated in Dec. 1988, Chinese PM Li Peng paid a six day official return visit to India and conducted talks, signed agreements and expressed the willingness to promote still belter relations with India.

The whole- gamut of Sino-India relations including the vexed boundary disputes were reviewed by the two Prime Ministers of India and China.

Mr Li also observed: "At least we can start the process of settlement of the vexed boundary question." Staling that both sides shared the desire to maintain peace and tranquility in the border areas, the Chinese Premier said. "I am confident that a solution can finally be found through amicable consultations conducted in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation.

Both the sides however, agreed that boundary dispute should not come in the way of the expanding of bilateral relations.

In a major step towards expanding and strengthening bilateral relations, India and China agreed to resume border trade on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, reopen Consulates-General at Bombay and Shanghai after 29 years and cooperate with each other in spare research, technology and application.

The agreement followed the successful completion of several high-level discussions between the Department of Space of India and the Chinese Ministry of Aerospace. China and India, being two large developing nations, stood to gain considerably by co-operation in frontier technology, like space, in which both countries had made remarkable progress in recent years.

Analysing the outcome of Mr. Li Peng's visit, it can be Mated that while little progress was made in respect of a solution of the vexed boundary issue, the visit generated goodwill and an atmosphere conducive for strengthening bilateral relations.

Making statement in the Lok Sahha. PM. N'arasimha Rao, observed, "India and China owed it to humanity to work together as the world was in a slate of ferment despite elimination of East-West tensions."

High Level Visits

In another way this visit produced a healthy environment for increased high level political contacts. In June 1992 former President Venkataraman visited Beizing and held useful discussions with Chinese leaders. His visit was followed by the visit of Defence Minister Sharad Pawar's visit to China.

The festival of China in India was held and in 1993 India festival in China was to be held. All these development indicate welcome new trends in Sino-Indian relations. India and China are Irving to recover rather salvage the close and intimate ties of early 1950s.

Suggestions As to China

China must realise the due importance of India and should refrain from helping Pakistan as a counterpoise to India or as a state capable of keeping India under pressure. In the post- Tiananmen and post-USSR, even in post-Communism era. India has not tried either to condemn China: or to isolate China or even to pressurise China by immediately cultivating defence or alliance type relations with the U.S.A.

Further, China must not try to woo or pressure or cajole the tiny Himalayan kingdom Bhutan into a boundary demarcation agreement based on certain principle of delimitation which may be later on invoked against India during the course of exercise to .settle the Sino-Indian boundary dispute.

Further, China is quite sensitive towards the Tibet issue. It is keeping Tibet in a stale of siege. India can u.se this position at feast as. a bargaining point. In the words of Parshotam Mehta "Pakisairs close liasion with China heavily underlined by the just concluded (October 1992) visit of Pakistans Prime Minister To Beijing and their adversary relationship with India has been a major fact of life all through the seventies and almost (ha eighties while our growing ties with Beijing should to an extent neutralise the earlier sling, there had sadly been no let up in the anti-India stance of our Western Neiglibnour."

Future Course of India's Relations With China

T.N. Kaul very aptly analysed the future course of Sino-India relations in his book 'Reminiscences- Discrete and Indiscrete. "He wrote, India and China have to live as neighbors. Geography cannot be changed by either. "

This appears to be the best available approach to the issue of establishing fully normal and friendly relations with China and for solving the crucial and knotty Sino-Indian boundary dispute.

Q. 28 Discuss the nature of developing relations between India and Russia.

Ans. After the disintegration of the USSR in December 1991, Russia emerged as the successor slate of the former super power in world politics. Since that time India and Russia have been getting engaged in giving a desired direction and health to their bilateral relations. Each is conscious of the importance of the other for the preservation and fulfilling of their respective politico-economic strategic interests in the contemporary international system.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union in December 1991, gave rise to the Commonwealth of Independent States formed by the 12 Soviet Republics of former USSR. Legally Russia came to be the successor of the USSR and this was symbolized in transfer for the USSR's permanent seal and veto power in the UN Security Council to Russia.

The nuclear weapon, key of the USSR was also handed over by the Soviet President Gorbachev to Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The end of the Soviet Union came as a big loss to India because it meant an end to an era of high level trade, industrial, technological and military supplies relations.

The issue of availability of Soviet spare parts for India's defence machine and air-crafts became a big headache.

The non-availability of time tested friendship of a super power, as USSR was, and the problem of securing defence supplies particularly at a time when Pakistan was maintaining a proxy war in Jammua and Kashmir and Punjab which could develop into a war at any time, acted as a big limitation on India's foreign relations.

India had become quite aware of the impending problem resulting from the instability and weakness of the USSR and had tried to establish a rapport with the Russian President Boris Yeltsin. However, till the continued existence of the USSR, it remained difficult for India to balance contacts with President Gorbachev and President Yeltsin, particularly because of the known differences between the two leaders.

In November 1991. Indian Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Madhav Singh Solanki visited the USSR and tried to retail Indo-Soviet Relations which had gone somewhat off the rails because of restructuring of the territories of the USSR.

He used the opportunity to establish contacts with Russian federation officials as well as to assess in advance the position of Russia vis-a-vis USSR. He met several officials both of the Soviet administration and of Russian administration. The visit served to highlight the ground situation in the USSR. However while the Soviets assured of their continued interest in doing business with India and providing mechanisms for resolving problems such as the rupee-rouble parity, as and when these may arise, the Russian Government declared that it would not recognise special trading agreements between the USSR and third countries on its ' territory (of which the rupee-rouble trade was one).

Even when Mr. Solanki was present in Moscow, the Russian Foreign Minister Kosirow observed in a TV interview that Russia would opt for direct diplomatic relations with India, thereby implying that the door was open for a similar move by other Soviet Republics/The visit. therefore, brought to light the fluid nature of Soviet polity of 1991 as well as the possible difficulties in the way of development of India's relations with Russia,

When the Soviet Union disintegrated completely in December 1991, India with Russia became particularly important to India as Russia was the largest and the richest former Soviet Republic, which became the successor of the USSR and which accounted for about 70 percent of the total Indo-Soviet trade.

Russian President Yeltsin lost no time in stating that he believed that commitments to India should be met, yet India felt uncertain because of the critical situation of Russian economy, lack of clear cut policy, lack of information regarding Russian ability to fulfill India's defence spares needs, the problems contracted with the fixation of a realistic exchange rate and the fate of rupee-rouble trade.

In order to overcome the difficulties and resolve disagreements over certain crucial issues like the supply of Russian military spares to India and the fixation of Rupee-Rouble exchange rate and trade relations and the conduct of relations with Republics of former Soviet Union, India initiated immediate steps.

In early 1992, India and Russia took first firm step to rebuild economic relations which had been shattered during the unprecedented political turmoil and disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. A bold attempt was made to rationalise Indo-Russian ties particularly in the economic sphere. The decision to end rupee trade, (using the Indian currency as the unit of exchange) and to switch over to hard currencies was taken. It was designed to dissolve the old and continuing problem of fixing and refixing rupee-rouble parity. This decision was also necessitated because both the countries had launched themselves on the road to market economy which necessitated the acceleration of foreign exchange earnings.

The Indo-Russian trade was also free from governmental monopoly and the private companies from either country were permitted to enter each other's market both as a buyer and seller. This decision had the potential to gear the Indo-Russian import-export relations. Further, India was able to secure a commitment from the Russian Foreign Minister Gennedy Burbulis, during his visit to New Delhi, for maintaining an uninterrupted availability of spares needed by the Indian defence machine.

In January 1991, India and the erstwhile Soviet Union had signed a contract for the supply of Cryogenic engine by the Soviet space body Glavkosmos to India. This engine was to be used by India for putting satellites in the space and Russia agreed to preserve this contract.

However, when the USA started putting pressure on India for checking its Space, Satellite and Missile development plans, initially Russia agreed to supply the cryogenic engine to India as per agreement and on schedules. It declared

that Russia would not bow to any pressure to cancel rocket technology transfer to India. Later on, US administration Started pulling pressure on Russia for maintaining the Missile Technology Control Regime and in case of its failure to do so, threatened trade sanctions against Russia.

Because of US pressure Russia, while maintaining the decision to uphold the January 1991 Agreement, expressed the view that India should provide appropriate guarantees on its future use. PM Narasimha Rao, while denying the reports that the Russian agency Glavkosoms had suspended or cancelled the contract for the development of space programme in India, told the Lok Sabha that Space Secretary had gone to Moscow for technical discussions as requested by the Russian side, The Russians had informed the Government of India that they wanted "further technical discussions." "It meant that they wanted to discuss technical safety of the programme, engine transaction and needed further assurance at technical level" The rocket technology transfer agreement is yet to be translated into action by India and Russia. Since it is a legal and binding agreement between two sovereign nations, India expects that Russia would come forward to fulfil its legal obligations as the successor of the former Soviet Union.

Meanwhile supply of Russian spares for India's defence machines have been going on. Mr. Sharad Pawar, the Indian Defence Minister went even to the extent of recording that the Country's defence preparedness would be maintained by expediting supply of critical defence spare parts and technological support from Russia, 'under a 400 million US dollar credit facility executed by President Boris Yeltsin. Improved versions of the Mig 29 aircraft were also likely to be acquired.

After a series of discussions with top Russian leader, including State Secretary Gennady Butbulis, Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyre, Foreign Economic Relations Minister Pyotr Avchen and First Deputy Defence Minister Kohoshin, the outgoing Indian Ambassador Alfred S. Gonsalves in his farewell briefing with newsmen, on October 3, 1992, observed that in what is considered as a major shift in its policy Russia is to finance defence cooperation with India. While declining to comment on reports about the \$ 830 million credit line to India for the purchase of modern hardware for Indian armed forces as approved by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Mr. Gonsalves stated that Russia favoured strategic cooperation with India, not limited to just defence, in view of the situation in Central Asia and West Asia (Growing strength of Islamic fundamentalism).

He further observed that Mrs Kozyrev also assured Mr. Gonsalves that India remained Russia's highest priority. The Russian Foreign Ministry had worked out a draft agreement on regular consultations and cooperation between the two

countries. The agreement was signed during Mr. Yeltsin's visit to India in January 1993.

Dr. Burbulis, a seniormost policy maker in the Yeltsin administration, who was handling preparations for the President's visit to India, shared the contents of some of the documents expected to be signed with India on extensive trade, defence cooperation and civil projects co-operation.

Mr. Aven also expressed his government's will to normalise trade with India and assured the Indian Ambassador that by the end of this year Russia would supply another two million tonnes of crude oil in addition to one million tonnes agreed last month. Russia had also decided to supply another three million tonnes of oil to India in 1993. He also confirmed his government's commitment to honour the contract on the sale of the cryogenic rocket engines to India and noted that in this matter the Russian Government had the "firm" backing of the country's Parliament.

Mr. Gonsalves said that the leaders assured him that Russia's long term strategic interests were in maintaining better relations with India. Indicating a tilt in Russian foreign policy favouring Asia, particularly India, China, South Korea & Turkey, the outgoing ambassador observed that defence relations would continue to play a major role in the relations between the two countries as there was a realisation that both countries together could play a major role in the new sensitive areas of the world, including Central Asia and West Asia.

Pointing out that Indo-Russian relations had reached a take-off phase and the period of uncertainty was over, Mr. Gonsalves said that the future directions of cooperation between the two countries would continue in defence and power as also long-term civic projects. Russia would finance both trade and defence projects, he said: "Financing in defence is a major step such assistance is not given to anyone else". Russia agreed to this during Indian Defence Minister Sharad Pawar's recent visit to Moscow.

Further, Pakistan has been given a clear hint that its seeking arms from Russia is a wastage of time. Though some concrete Russian military-industrial units were interested in selling modern arms to Pakistan, there were standing instructions from President Yeltsin not to sell them to Islamabad. Mr. Gonsalves said he was told this by Russian Deputy Minister Kunadze. Pakistan was told by the Russian side that Mr. Yeltsin's visit to India in January and a bilateral Russian-Indian treaty of friendship, and cooperation did not fit with the sale of arms to Pakistan.

These observations of India's out-going ambassador to Moscow, clearly hold out the view that Indo-Russian ties are heading for a better future. Mr.

Gonsalves was also reported to have observed that, "We have more orderly relations with Russia than what we had with the Soviet Union." It is perhaps on this account that rather than adopting the 1971 Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between India and the Soviet Union, Russia has decided to sign afresh an amended treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation with India.

Q 29 Write a note on the New Beginning in Indo-Russian Relations.

Ans. In the last week of January 1993, India and Russia were successful in putting behind them the turmoil and uncertainties of the 1991-92 period, and in ushering on the bilateral relations toward increasing friendship, cooperation and mutually fruitful trade. The new phase came during Russian President Boris Yeltsin's 3 day visit to India. Both the countries were successful in resolving several core problems, apart from signing a treaty of friendship and Cooperation and a host of other agreements. Both the countries were in a position to fill in the hiatus that had prevailed in their bilateral relations since the disintegration of the USSR and the rise of Russia as a successor state.

India and Russia in a major breakthrough reached an agreement on the 15 year old rupee-rouble exchange rate impasse and a three-point package to ensure an uninterrupted supply of Russian defence spares to India.

In a "decisive and forthright political agreement". President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao decided that the exchange rate to re-estimate India's debt would be the one that existed on January 1, 1990, and the whole package would be implemented from April 1 last year.

An External Affairs Ministry spokesman said this would give India a net advantage of 39 per cent in its huge debt repayment to the erstwhile Soviet Union, estimated by Russia around \$10 billion to be payable by the year 2010. While the technical details were being worked out, the Indian debt would now be repayable in 45 years. The exchange rate was stated to be Rs. 16 to one rouble as on January 1, 1990.

The two countries signed a comprehensive agreement to ensure guaranteed supplies of defence equipment, spare parts, product support and services heeded for maintenance, repair and modernisation of frontline Russian armament deployed by the Indian Army, Navy and Air Force. The wide-ranging agreement was chalked out at a 75-minute meeting between the two Defence Ministers and their delegations at South Bloc.

Mr. Yeltsin also announced that Russia would support India in the United Nations Security Council on the Kashmir issue. He declared his country's support for India's unity and territorial integrity as Mr. Rao apprised him of India's position that Kashmir was an integral part of the country.

India and Russia discussed the danger posed by fundamentalism which had led to violence and terrorism in different parts of the world. in an apparent reference to Pakistan, Mr. Rao underlined the threat posed by cross-border state-sponsored terrorism.

During the visit both the countries agreed that bilateral trade would be stepped up and could reach \$ 2.5 billion in 1993 and \$ 3.5 billion by 1994.

President Yeltsin invited the Indian businessmen to "now get crowded" in the Russian market as most of the trade and economic problems between the two countries had been resolved.

The Russian President outlined the three-pronged strategy as setting up of units in India to manufacture the spares, joint ventures by the two countries for this and the supply of "disengaged" Russian armaments to India.

India had been facing hardship in getting a regular supply of military supplies from the erstwhile Soviet Union since 1987. In an apparent reference to pressures from the USA, Mr. Yeltsin said Russia would not allow a third party intervention to come in the way of the continued supply of cryogenic rocket engines to India. A contract had been signed by Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) and the Russian firm Glavkosmos for the supply of the engines by 1995 and transfer of its technology subsequently by 1997.

With the end of the Cold War, Mr. Yeltsin said Russia would no longer pursue the policy of political and economic blocs. Instead, it would adhere to independent foreign policy. The stress would, hereafter, be on bilateral basis rather than on creation of blocs. "We would not use India for political intrigues", he said.

India and Russia agreed to coordinate their activities and exchange information and experience to combat different manifestations of terrorism, organised crime and illegal arms trade. An agreement to this effect was signed between the Indian Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Security of the Russian Federation on 29th January 1993.

In terms of the agreement, the two countries would also exchange information on checking international illegal economic activities and contraband and render mutual assistance in search of persons suspected of committing crimes, investigation of which is within the competence of the two countries. They would also assist and coordinate in ensuring security of their respective diplomatic and consular officers and staff as well as to persons whom special security has been provided by the two governments.

Both India and Russia agreed to conduct joint scientific research in the fields of mutual interests, exchange publications and results of the research and scientific and technical information and other materials.

According to the agreement, any information and materials, that are the subject of exchange between the parties, as well as the information on the extent and content of their cooperation are confidential and may not be transferred to anybody without evidently expressed consent or request of the party which has provided such information. In case of necessity- to communicate of a third party the information received by one of the parties under the agreement, the written consent of the party which has communicated this information shall be required. To maintain effective communication and co-ordination of the cooperation under the agreement, the two countries may on the basis of reciprocity, appoint a representative liaison officer.

The signing of a new Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation was designed to guide the path of Indo-Russian relations in the next 20 years. It held that India and Russia would refrain from taking any action that might affect the security interests of each other.

According to the Treaty, the two countries also agreed on the necessity to liquidate weapons of mass destruction and to support the process of nuclear disarmament. At the same time, the two countries underlined the necessity to have minimum defence capabilities that would strengthen security and stability in the region and the world.

The treaty, which formed the first major document to guide the future of Indo-Russian relations, after Russia became an independent republic in 1991, was to be valid for 20 years after it is ratified by the Parliament of the two countries. It replaced the 1971 Indo-Soviet Treaty, without the security clause. It began with preamble which took note of the 1971 pact under which India and the former USSR were to consult and help each other in the event of an attack.

According to the inter-governmental protocol the Foreign Ministers of India and Russia will establish a mechanism for regular consultations to review the implementation of agreements reached between them and to review international and bilateral issues. The ministers were to meet at least once a year. Consultations between the Foreign Offices of the two countries were to be held on an annual basis, alternately in New Delhi and Moscow. The first round of consultations was to be held in February between the Department of Science and Technology and the Ministry of Science of Russia.

Addressing a Joint Press Conference with the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V Narasimha Rao, at the conclusion of his 3-day visit, Mr. Boris Yeltsin extended unequivocal support to India on Kashmir.

He observed "the truth was on India's side on the Kashmir issue." He also offered support to any move to induct India into the UN Security Council as a permanent member. Reading to the VS proposal to bring Germany and Japan to the Security Council, the Russian President held that it needed a closer look.

Further, while extending Russian hand of friendship and cooperation to India, Mr.. Yeltsin held that "though we want to have some relations with Pakistan, with regard to military and technical aspects, we are not prepared to extend any aid to Pakistan." "Russia would, however, extend support to India in its bid to normalise relations with China and Pakistan."

Commenting upon the outcome of his visit to India, Mr. Yeltsin said that it had put an end to the three-year pause in Indo-Russian relations which were now entering a new phase marked by dynamism. The relationship would have a sound basis of political and economic interests and would be devoid of political hypocrisy,"

The signing of several agreements and the friendship treaty between India and Russia were designed to provide a firm foundation for successful bilateral cooperation.

However in July, 1993, Russia, acting under American pressures, decided not to transfer the technology for cryogenic rocket engines to India, It was totally against the official Russian declarations to the contrary. While India needed these engines for pursuing its space programme, the USA felt that these would be used in India's missile development programme. Russia was convinced of Indian viewpoint but had to bow before the USA. apparently for getting American and Western development aid. In September 1993, Russia decided to compensate India for breaking the cryogenic rocket deal. The whole episode reflected the Russian desire to keep up its relations with India as well as its helplessness before and dependence upon the USA.

P.M. Narasimha Rao's Russian Visit. In June 1994, PM Narasimha Rao Visited Russia for giving a desired direction to Indo-Russian relations. The visit produced two significant declarations and nine agreements. Both the countries denounced the efforts to weaken the unity of pluralisation states though religious extremism. Both agreed to jointly fight the forces of aggressive nationalism and religious fanaticism.

The leaders of the two countries agreed to improve their bilateral relations further. The agreements signed related to increased defence cooperation, extension of the \$830 million defence credit, the setting up of a joint venture to service military aircrafts of the Russian origin, peaceful space research, science and technology, informatics, protection of environment, meteorology, standardisation and certification.

This visit was successful in plugging the gap that appeared to have come in the relations between the two countries when Russia had frozen the cryogenic rocket deal.

Currently India and Russia have been, once again, trying to revive their bilateral cooperation for mutual development. In December 1994, the Soviet Premier Mr. Viktor Chernomyrdin visited India and held important discussions with the Indian Prime Minister and other leaders. He categorically denied that Russia was giving weapons to Pakistan. He also identified Pakistan as one of the countries of origin of foreign mercenaries operating in Russian Republic of Chechnya. He clearly stated the Russian commitment to develop relations with India. During his visit eight agreements were signed for strengthening bilateral cooperation, in various fields including military, technology and space research. These agreements committed the two countries to lay deep the foundations for the growth of Indo-Russian friendly cooperation in the years to come.

The need of the hour, for both the countries, is to build upon this foundation in a beneficial and comprehensive way for securing the commonly held objectives of peace, security and development. In fact, Russia needs all round development of relations with India for several reasons just as India needs these relations for maintaining and securing its own interests. The Soviet Union was a super power, Russia is not. Hence, Russia needs India as much as India needs Russia.

After the end of the Cold War, the long term strategic interest of Russia and India coincide. Both are interested in the multipolar structure of the world whose components would balance each other's influence.

In the economic spheres the interdependence among the two states remains. India cannot ignore the need for Russian military spares and technology, and Russia is faced with consumer goods shortages which can be met with Indian supplies and help. Moreover, for the health of her exports, Russia would not wish that India should develop the Washington alternative for meeting its defence and technological needs.

In the international sphere India and Russia have reasons to be more cooperative. Both the countries are faced with growing external debt repayment

problem, for both maintaining of foreign exchange reserve levels is going to be problematic, both are interested in checking the growing strength of Islamic fundamentalism in West Asia and Central Asia, both are still to normalise fully their relations with communist China, and both realise the importance of bilateral trade for the health of their economies. These factors can provide, and it is hoped will provide, a good ground and foundations to the growth of Indo Russian ties and relations in the days to come. In fact Russia is now coming out of its shell and trying hard to re-establish its friendly and cooperative relations with India and the latter is prepared to reciprocate.

Indo-Pak relations.

Pakistan's support of Terrorism and Militancy: Pakistan's known support and help to Kashmir militants and the virtual anti-Indian tirade launched by Pakistani rulers after the happenings of December 6, 1992 over Ayodhya have been responsible for throwing all talk of Indo-Pak friendly cooperation in the post-Cold War era to winds. There has been no change in Pakistan's anti-India attitude.

Islamic Muslim Fundamentalism: Currently, Pakistan has been busy in rallying the Islamic countries behind it over the issue of demolition of disputed structure at Ayodhya. It has been trying hard to project India as a Hindu India acting against Muslims, particularly Kashmiri Muslims.

It is always at pains to project India as a state where wholesale violations of human rights of Muslims are taking place. Domestic compulsions of Pakistan have been forcing Pakistani rulers to use anti-India rather hate-India card to maintain credibility and popularity at home.

Pakistan's Anti-India Stands: Since 1947 Pakistan has been maintaining an anti-India policy. This feature of its foreign policy has been continuously reflected in its foreign policy decisions and behaviour in international relations. Presently Pakistan's foreign policy is revolving around anti-India pivot.

Pakistan's Anti-India Orientation: Pakistan is always engaged in projecting its image as an Islamic state and India as a Hindu State. It always up-holds the two-nations theory which has for its basis that Hindus and Muslims are two separate Nations. Pakistan represents [the interests of Muslims and always tried to project itself as a champion of the human rights of Indian Muslims.

In doing so Pakistan outrightly refuses to accept the Indian view that its policies and action quite often constitute an interference in Indian internal affairs.

Instigating Islamic Fundamentalism : In projecting its image as a stable, committed and fast developing Islamic country, Pakistan has been continuously engaged in consolidating the forces of Islamic fundamentalism in World, e.g. OIC, ECO as well as in Middle East. West Asia and Central Asia.

It has been successful in getting former USSR into an organisation called ECO. It is designed to be a forum for the promotion of regional cooperation for economic development among the member countries. However, Pakistan is expected to use this forum for drawing these states not only away from India but also for supporting Pakistan in its anti-India decisions.

Kashmir Issue: Pakistan has never hesitated to use its membership of NAM and Commonwealth of Nations, CMC and ECO to raise to Kashmir issue and in the process practice its anti-India stance. It did so at the CHOGM Meet 1992, Accra Conference of the NAM Foreign Affair Ministers 1992, Tenth NAM Summit Meet Sept. YB2, and subsequent meetings and conferences.

Supports to Kashmir Militants : Since 1989 Pakistan has been actively engaged in supporting the Kashmiri militant organisations operating in the Kashmir Valley. In the name of Islam it has always tried to preach Anti-Indianism in Kashmir which happens in be a Muslim-majority area of India.

The Kashmiri militants are regarded by it as freedom fighters, engaged in Jihad against Indian oppression and dominance.

Making Kashmir A Muslim Issue: Presently Pakistan has been engaged in presenting Kashmir as a Muslim issue. It has tried and it has been successful in getting passed resolutions from the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) calling for India to protect the human rights of Kashmiri Muslims and to give them the right of self determination.

Weapons Support : The support to Kashmiri militants by the supply of weapons, money and logistic support is being supplemented by encouraging the people on both sides of the Line of Actual Control (LOC) in Kashmir to end this line.

From its own side of Kashmir, Pakistan has been giving moral support and help to 'Marches' designed to cross the LOC. However, it has also acted to thwart these Marches at their final stages.

Pakistan's Kashmir Policy

- (1) To present Kashmir problems as a Muslim problem.
- (2) To involve the Muslim countries and their organisation (OIC) in the Kashmir issue on the side of Pakistan.
- (3) To provide all help and support material, military, moral, ideological and logistic to Kashmiri militants.

(4) To keep up pressures on India by giving help to militants in Punjab and other anti-India elements operating in India.

(5) To unite Islamic fundamentals! forces in Asia and make them accept Pakistani view of Kashmir as a Muslim problem and India as an anti-Muslim country.

In November 1992, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and six Islamic states or Centred Asia (Republics of former USSR) joined hands to form ECO. It is designed to secure friendly cooperation among the Muslim countries, which includes the friendship to support Pakistan against India, particularly in respect of the Kashmir issue.

(6) To keep pressure on India by maintaining its attempts to capture some of the Indian posts in Siachen and Kargil sectors. On the one hand it has been maintaining a dialogue for reducing tensions on the Siachen battle line and on the other hand it has been trying to keep up pressure on Indian security forces with view to weaken Indian ability to meet the menace posed by militants in Kashmir.

(7) The current Kashmir turmoil is presented as a struggle of the people of Kashmir to secure their rights and freedom including the right of self determination.

(8) To describe Indian Secularism as a facade secularism-Hindu fanaticism and fundamentalist chauvinism in the disguise of Secularism.

This is being done by Pakistan to oppose the Indian view that Kashmir is a symbol of Indian secularism.

(9) To raise the Kashmir issue at the United Nations after securing the committed-support of Muslim countries to Pakistan stand on Kashmir.

(10) To use its two-year (1993-94) membership of the UN Security Council for pursuing a vigorous role (i) for highlighting "the violation of Human Rights in Indian occupied Kashmir," (ii) for securing support for the Right of Self-determination of the people of Kashmir.

Nuclear Capability: According to American Press reports, based on investigative journalism Pakistan has acquired the capability to make at least seven nuclear bombs. Even the foreign secretary of Pakistan admitted during the course of his visit to New York in 1992 that Pakistan was having one nuclear bomb.

South Asia as a Nuclear Free Zone: Its demand for making South Asia a nuclear free zone is designed to win back the USA and since India is opposed to this demand to secure an indictment of India as a potential nuclear weapon state. In November 1992, it sponsored a resolution in the United Nations for making South Asia a nuclear weapon free zone.

Indian Policy Vis-a-Vis Pakistan

Since Kashmir is an integral part of India, as its accession to India has been a legal and historical in fact, India holds that the only issue that has to be sealed is the issue of Pakistan's occupation of a large part of India's J & K. Indo-Pak differences over Kashmir have been indeed very wide.

India regards the happenings in Kashmir as Pakistan sponsored militancy, a proxy war that Pakistan has been making against India since December 1989. It asserts, and has been exercising its right and duty to project pressure and defend the dimity and integrity of India, of which Kashmir is an integral part.

Nuclear Programme Factor

India upholds its nuclear programme as peaceful nuclear technology development programme. India is not prepared to sign NPT because it is discriminatory treaty aimed at perpetuating the gap between the nuclear weapon and non-nuclear weapon states.

It wants other countries, particularly the USA and China to restrain Pakistan from developing further its known nuclear weapon capability. Indian nuclear policy, as such, is opposed to Pakistani nuclear policy. The nuclear factor is an important factor of Indo-Pak relations of

Babri Masjid Incident

India is a secular state. It has been living with and trying to develop the secular culture. Babri Masjid demolition has been the handiwork of some fanatic Hindus. All Hindus are not fanatics. Just as there are fanatics in every religion, including Islam, likewise, there are some fanatics among the Hindus.

It is a known and recorded problem, the Pakistan rulers have always tended to use the Kashmir card. Now along with Kashmir it has been using the Babri Masjid card and the South Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone card to malign India and secure internal support for the regime.

The Realism

So long as Pakistan continues to talk for the sake of talk and keep up its anti-India policies on the ground, there can be no meaningful and real progress in Indo-Pak relations. Shimla spirit appears to have been evaporated, rather it has been thrown to the winds by the Pakistani rulers.

An agreement, however, sacred or legal, is a piece of paper unless it is respected and used by both the parties. Pakistan now disregards the Shimla Agreement and India cannot maintain it single-handedly. As such Indo-Pak relations are bound to drift and remain tense in last decade of the 20th century.

Indo-Sri Lanka relations. The basic attitude of India towards its neighbouring countries has always been one of the goodwill and neighbourliness and of equality. Consequently, the main thrust of Indian Foreign Policy has been governed by the assumption that India can play a really effective and useful role in world politics only if it can develop peaceful, friendly and productive relations with the neighbouring countries.

Being a big and powerful state of South Asia, India considers its responsibility to assure its neighbouring states that India aspires for no hegemonistic role in the South Asia and that it is keen to develop with its small neighbours warm, friendly and cooperative relations based upon equality and mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity. It has been on this basis that India has, ever since her independence, tried to establish cordial relations with her neighbours.

In particular, in respect of Sri Lanka, Indian foreign policy has always been governed by the desire to assure Sri Lanka that India fully respects the sovereignty and integrity of the island country and that India is keen to cement the traditional, cultural and trade ties by taking concrete steps towards the development of a more meaningful friendship and fruitful cooperation between the two countries. However, several hindering factors have always kept the path of Indo-Sri Lankan ties uneven and strained.

(1) Sri Lankan Fears- Sri Lanka has not been quite forth-right in coming forward to develop highly cooperative relations with India. Being a small state with a population 43 times lesser and a territory 50 times smaller than India. Sri Lanka has been quite fearful of the role of India in South Asia and in the Indian Ocean area.

As Ivor Jennings says, "People of Sri Lanka have a sensation of living under a mountain (India) which might send down destructive avalanches." A certain section of Sri Lanka ruling elite has been apprehensive about Indian role towards Sri Lanka. Originally, it feared that India would like to fill in the power gap that was to appear as a result of complete British withdrawal from South Asia.

The memory of invasion of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) by South Indian States gave strength to such a fear. They further fear that Sri Lanka matters in the defensive calculations of India and in case of an attack upon India from the South, Sri Lanka with its finest natural harbor of Trincomalee, is likely to covet India's attention.

The existence of 12% of Tamil speaking people of Indian origin and their organised opposition of the ruling Sinhalese also has been responsible for

generating a sense of fear from India. Many persons in Sri Lanka fear that India can create trouble in their country by supporting the Tamilians of Sri Lanka.

In particular, they fear the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, particularly when it is ruled by DMK or AIDMK, as a state bent upon supporting the establishment of an independent state-consisting of the Tamil speaking areas of India and Sri Lanka.

It has also been feared by the people of the island that, as A.J. Wilson writes, "Sri Lanka may fall prey to a chauvinistic and politically instable regime in New Delhi which may seek to buttress its weak domestic position by engaging in forcing war."

The fear of India has checked Sri Lanka from the path of moving speedily on the road to build highly cooperative relations with India. At times, this has led Sri Lanka to attempt to find a counterpoise to India.

To begin with, this fear and some other compulsions made Sri Lanka adopt a pro-West policy, and to conclude a defence security pact with Britain. Sri Lanka's decision to keep up the naval base at Trincomalee and the airbase at Katunayake as also the decision to remain in the Commonwealth, were prompted by the desire to check the 'threat from India',

In the sixties, Sri Lanka tried to secure friendship with China for this purpose. Its swing towards China after India's debacle in the border conflict with China in 1962, opines Kodikara, could be interpreted as an effort in the direction of "The island's continual search for reinsurance against India."

It even tried to cultivate relations with Pakistan because it viewed Pakistan as a power that could match India in South Asia. It was this feeling that made Sri Lanka adopt a sympathetic attitude towards Pakistan in 1971. It took nearly six months to adjust to the new realities in South Asia and to accord recognition to Bangladesh.

Further, after 1971, Sri Lanka felt or at least the USA was successful in putting this thing into the mind of the Sri Lankan government, that the improvement in relationship with USA was the best alternative to check the growing Indo-Soviet power system in South Asia.

Later on, the eruption of ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka's Jaffna area involving Tamils of Sri Lanka who have deep cultural links with Tamils of India, made Sri Lanka fearful of India's role. Despite repeated announcement by India that it stands for a stable, united and integrated Sri Lanka the Government and people

of this island nation continue to fear India. Tear of India," observes Philip Mason, "has been a major factor in Sri Lanka's foreign policy, "

However, after having experienced the role of India as a country committed to (he Non-alignment, good neighbourliness, peace, friendship and cooperation with all, Sri Lanka has been realising more and more that it has nothing to fear from a strong and stable India and that it can gain out of friendship and cooperation with India. Principles of Panchsheel, The repeated assurances given by the Indian leaders that India, at no time, has tried, and will never try to play a hegemonistic role or even the role of a big brother towards its neighbours, has been reassuring Sri Lanka about the good intentions of India towards her small neighbours.

As early as in 1953, Prime Minister Nehru, while speaking in the Lok Sabha on March 17, observed, "Here is a big continent lying astride north of Ceylon and they are, I am sorry, I think, unreasonably just afraid of being swamped or swallowed by India or by Indian people."

He, in this speech, rejected as baseless and mischievous the thesis that India has aggressive designs on Ceylon. He declared that India stood for peace, amity, good neighbourliness, friendship and cooperation with Ceylon on the basis of sovereign equality and mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity.

Similarly, Mrs. Gandhi in an interview given to the Editor-in-chief of the Times of Ceylon in April 1972, gave an assurance to the people of Ceylon that India stood for the sovereignty and prosperity of Ceylon as an independent sovereign state and wanted to develop the best of friendship and cooperation with Ceylon. She strongly refuted the view that India has designs on Ceylon. She observed, "Those who think India had designs on Ceylon are victims of malicious propaganda. The very idea is not merely fantastic but absurd and unthinkable."

The Indian leaders, from PM Nehru to Manmohan Singh, have always been at pains to assure Sri Lanka that India fully accepts and respects the sovereign equality of Sri Lanka and its status as an important and equal member of the community of nations.

India nurtures no aggressive designs against Sri Lanka. On the contrary, India is most anxious to see a stable, strong and developed Sri Lanka. These assurances, the realisation by Sri Lankan leadership of the geo-political compulsions and of the need to develop trade and economic relations with the nearest land mass-India, have made things better for the development of Indo-Sri Lankan relations. Sri Lanka now realises that its security and development interests stand squarely linked with Indian interests and that there is a compatibility and complementarity between them.

National Interests of India and Sri Lanka. The past experience of having solved some of the Indo-Sri Lankan problems and disputes through bilateral peaceful methods has further helped the inculcation of the hope that India and Sri Lanka can live as good neighbours and work together for securing a higher level of economic prosperity through bilateral economic, industrial and technological cooperation and trade links.

Besides these, the similarity in foreign policy perceptions (since, 1956), commitment to Non-alignment, faith in United Nations and peaceful means for the settlement of disputes, similar view of the nature and status of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, opposition to colonialism and racialism, solidarity with the Third World, and the resolve to secure the rights of the Third world including the securing of a New International Economic Order have been a source of strength for the growth of Indo-Sri Lanka friendship and cooperation. Since 1956, the relations between these two countries began developing into relations of friendship and co operation.

The initial apprehensions got replaced by maturer understanding of each other. Both the countries were successful not only in overcoming the initial lack of understanding but also in resolving some of the major bilateral issues and problems.

However, in 1960s and 1970s the Sri Lankan policy of Sinhalisation of society led to polarisation between the Sinhalese and the Tamils of Sri Lanka. The attempts of the Tamils to secure an independent state in northern Sri Lanka, started causing serious strain on Indo-Sri Lanka ties. The Tamils of India had strong cultural links with Tamils of Sri Lanka. When the ethnic conflict between Sinhalese and Tamils began and became militant, the Government of India steadfastly held the view that it fully supports the sovereign integrity of Sri Lanka but the Tamils of India had sympathies with Tamils of Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan Government again became apprehensive of role of India. Even the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord (1987) failed to improve the climate.

Sri Lankans are now accepting the good intentions of India. But Tamil factor continues to be an irritant. The popular support base of LTTE in Tamil Nadu suffered a big decline after the LTTE hand in the murder of former P.M Rajiv Gandhi became known. In 1992 India imposed a ban on LTTE.

While analysing the nature and history of Indo-Sri Lanka relations one must bear in mind the above analysis of the facts. In fact, the course of Indo-Sri Lanka relations has been always determined by two sets of factors-one set of helping and the other set of hindering factors. **Q.32 Explain in brief the**

negative and Positive Factors of Indo-Sri Lanka Relations. Ans. Positive Factors of Indo-Sri Lanka Relations

The following important points of agreement, areas of understanding and positive factors have been a source of strength and happiness for the bilateral relations between India and Sri Lanka;

1. The Strong Traditional and Cultural Links between the people of two Countries. Both the Sinhalese and the Tamils who constitute respectively the 70% and 12% of Sri Lanka's total population accept their traditional links with India. The Sinhalese accept themselves as the descendants of the Aryans of North India and the Tamilians accept themselves as the descendants of the Dravids of South India. The Sinhalese language bears the influence of Hindi. Similarly the Tamilians speak Tamil-the language of a large number of Indians living in the South.

Buddhism was introduced in Sri Lanka by India and even till today it continues to be the religion of the majority of the people of Sri Lanka. The National Day celebrations of Sri Lanka commence with a religious ceremony at Sri Mahabodhi, the sacred tree that was grown from a sapling from the Bodhi tree brought in the third century from Bodh Gaya in North India. Such cultural links between the people of the two countries have been a source of strength and have helped them to better understand and adjust with each other.

2. Helpful legacy of relations since 1948- The past experience of having resolved some of the complex issues and problems through bilateral negotiations also helps the process of development cooperation in more and more spheres of mutual interests. In the post-Cold War international system both Sri Lanka and India realise better the need for developing bilateral friendly cooperation.

3. Similarities in Foreign Policy Perceptions- The similarities in the foreign policy of the two countries again constitute a helping and positive factor in Indo-Sri Lanka relations.

(i) Both are committed to non-alignment and both have played a leading role in the operationalisation of Non-aligned Movement at the international level. Both Sri Lanka and India have already served one tenure each as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement. Both the countries are committed to uphold and strengthen the Non-aligned Movement at International level.

(ii) Both have a firm faith in Panchsheel.

(iii) Both are opposed to colonialism and racialism.

(iv) Both have firm faith in the ideology of the UN. Charter and both accept peaceful means for the settlement of all disputes.

(v) Both identify themselves with the Third World and are making important efforts for securing the rights of the Third World, in particular, the right to secure a New International Economic Order.

(vi) Both believe in regional cooperation as one of the best means for promoting their bilateral as well as regional interests. Both have been utilising the

Colombo Plan for securing their respective socio-economic interests and both are cooperating to make SAARC a successful regional

(vii) Both of them realise fully the urgent need to secure bilateral economic, trade, industrial and technological cooperation in this post-Cold War era of international relations. The resolve to fight the neo-colonial control of the developed over the developing also is a source of strength for Indo-Sri Lankan ties.

(viii) Both now accept more fully the need to resolve the Tamil issue. It has been causing strains for both the countries and their bilateral ties.

4. The Economic and Trade Links- Both have, during the past five decades forged important economic, trade, industrial, communication and cultural links. The progress in these directions gives encouragement to the undertaking of more steps towards an increased and more extensive bilateral cooperation and links. The existence of good opportunities for developing more trade links and establishing joint industrial ventures give development of more fruitful economic and trade ties.

5. Agreement over the Maritime Boundary and Kachhalivu Island- Both have successfully resolved the issue of demarcation of the Maritime Boundary and ownership of Kachhalivu island in a spirit of mutual reconciliation and adjustment.

6. Identity of views regarding the Status of Indian Ocean- Both the countries have a similar perception about the desired status of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Both the countries are as such in agreement to work for the securing of this objective. For achieving this objective both have been collaborating at the United Nations.

7. Peaceful resolution of difference over the issue of the stateless persons in Sri Lanka- The peaceful way in which both the countries reached agreements for repatriation of the people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka, also has been a source of satisfaction. Both have willingly shared their respective responsibilities towards the decision regarding the status of the stateless persons in Sri Lanka.

8. The New Realisation- Sri Lanka appears to have now realised that it was essential for it to build up relations with India which was a sub-regional power and which alone was capable of helping Sri Lanka in times of need. India on her part now realises better the need for developing better bilateral cooperation in all spheres of relations with Sri Lanka, an island nation strategically located in Indian Ocean,

9. History of Relations- The history of past five decades now tells both the countries that they have to have good neighborly relations because of their geography, history, culture and economic needs.

10. SAARC- India and Sri Lanka have been cooperating, though haltingly, on the SAARC platform. In December 1992, Sri Lankan Prime Minister did not

support the attempt on the part of Pakistan to raise the Babri Masjid demolitor issue in the forthcoming SAARC Meeting.

All these factors are the helping or positive factors of Indo-Sri Lanka relations. Their presence has always been a source of strength and happiness for the bilateral relations between them.

The Negative Factors or Irritants in Indo-Sri Lanka Relations

However, along with the above helping and positive factors there-have been present some major irritants or hindering factors in Indo-Sri Lanka relations. These factors have been a source of weakness, tensions and strains in the bilateral relations of these two South Asian neighbours. The following factors and disputes have been the source of fear, suspicion and tension in Indo-Sri Lankan relations.

1. Sri Lanka's Fears- Sri Lanka's fear of India and the complex that being a small country its interests and security is bound to be dependent upon the interests and policy objectives of India, has been a hindering factor in Indo-Sri Lankan relations.

The geo-political and geo-strategic compulsions- the small size and population as compared to India, the dependence upon the security policy of India in South Asia, and the close proximity with India have been the .major determinants of Sri Lanka's foreign policy towards relations with India. The fear generated by the fact of living under the shadow of Himalaya has been a negative factor.

It has prevented Sri Lanka to open out fully and develop highly warm friendship and cooperation with India. Even the history of almost past five decades of bilateral relations has failed to remove this fear from the minds of Sri Lankans.

2. The Differences over Settlement of Stateless Persons- The slow progress towards the implementation of agreement regarding the repatriation and settlement of people of Indian origin and the recent difference over the fate of the previous agreement over this issue, has been another hindering factors in Indo-Sri Lanka relations.

India holds that the old agreement has lapsed and that now it is the responsibility of Sri Lanka to grant citizenship and settle the people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka. As against this, Sri Lanka feels that the agreements are still in operation and these continue to bind India towards its responsibility as accepted under the agreements of 1964 and 1975. Even in 1993, the countries are finding it difficult to implement fully the agreements already signed.

3. Differences over the issue of Harnessing the Nuclear Energy for Peaceful Purposes- India believes that it has the right and the need to develop nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and as such is opposed to the Non-

Proliferation Treaty (NPT). India conducted its first PNE in -May 1974. It holds that if necessary it shall conduct more such explosions for implementing the peaceful nuclear energy utilisation programme which is essential for promoting the prosperity and welfare of its people. Sri Lanka, on the other hand feels otherwise and wants that India should sign the NPT. It did not look with favour the 1974 peaceful nuclear explosion conducted by India.

4. Issue of South Asia as a nuclear weapon free Zone- Much to the dislike of India, Sri Lanka currently supports the Pakistani demand for making South Asia a nuclear weapon-free zone. In November 1992, it voted in favour of the Pakistani sponsored resolution in the United Nations which supported the demand for making South Asia a nuclear weapon free zone. India is totally opposed to this piecemeal demand, It favours a general global nuclear disarmament.

5. Internal Conditions of Sri Lanka- The existence of subversive elements in Sri Lanka, which become active at times, to demand autonomy/ statehood for certain areas which are inhabited by minorities (mostly Tamil speaking people), has been a source of irritation in Indo-Sri Lankan relations because a section of the people of Sri Lanka, consisting of mostly Sinhalese and the members of ruling elite, feels that insurgents and terrorists operating in their country have their roots and bases in India.

The sympathy of the Tamils of South India towards the Tamils of Sri Lanka has been giving a basis to such an apprehension.

The Government of India has repeatedly made it clear to Sri Lankan authorities that neither India nor the people of Tamil Nadu are in any way helping or supporting the Sri Lankan insurgents and terrorists, India regards their activities as internal and domestic issues of Sri Lanka.

India has been cooperating with Sri Lanka in investigating reports about the supposed links and hide-outs of Sri Lankan insurgents in India. But this fails to satisfy the Sinhalese of Sri Lanka. The humanitarian shelter given to Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu has been a source of irritation. Even the ban on LTTE imposed by India in 1992 in the wake of solid proof of LTTE hand in the murder of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, had not fully convinced and assured Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan authorities continue to be suspicious of Indian support for Tamils of Sri Lanka,

6. Differences over the concept of Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace- Sri Lanka was one of the first few countries which supported the demand for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

At the moment Sri Lanka, however, appears to be a little hesitant in making determined efforts for securing this objective. Behind this lack of efforts on its part is the fear that countries like India, and even China, would try to fill the power vacuum after the elimination of super power naval presence in the Indian Ocean.

Sri Lanka, therefore, wants that the declaration of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace must also involve a commitment from the littoral states that none of them would increase its naval presence and strength in the Indian Ocean area,

7. Sri Lanka's desire of Keeping Equidistance from India and China- The desire of Sri Lanka to play safe and keep at a safe distance from both India and China, has also been a hindering factor in Indo-Sri Lankan relations. In the sixties, Sri Lanka even tried to secure friendship with China as a counterpoise to India. In seventies, Sri Lanka tried to develop more cooperative relations with China, Pakistan and the U.S.A., apparently as a safety measure against the growing friendship between India and the Soviet Union.

However, the outbreak of leftist insurgency in some parts of Sri Lanka in mid-seventies and the sympathetic and positive role played by India in helping it to overcome this internal insurgency made a big impact on the leaders of Sri Lanka and they realised the importance of developing relations with democratic India. But the existence of other negative factors prevented progress in this direction.

8. Pakistan Factor- Sri Lanka's growing relationship with Pakistan has been becoming an irritant for India. The Sri Lankans have been becoming more oriented towards Pakistan because of the hope that they can use it as a counterpoise against India.

These negative factors have been responsible for the slow-progress of Indo-Sri Lankan cooperation in various spheres. At times, these had been responsible for generating tension and strains for Indo-Sri Lankan relations. Sri Lanka is a small country and India is a large and big country. Sri Lanka continues to fear India and is not coming out of its own fears. **Q 33 Describe the relationship of India with her neighbours other than China and Pakistan.**

Ans. 1. Bangladesh- The Indo-Bangladesh Joint Economic Commission, whose term ended in October 1987, was revived and extended to a further period of five years with effect from 6 October, 1987. The meeting of the commission was held in May 1990 after a gap of seven years. The Indo Bangladesh Trade Agreement was renewed for another three years effective from 3 October, 1989, in Dhaka during the trade review talks held in September 1989. The protocol on Inland Water Transit and Trade was renewed for another two years from 4 October, 1989.

The former Minister for External Affairs, Mr. I. K. Gujrat visited Bangladesh from 16 to 18 February, 1990, at the invitation of the Bangladesh Foreign Minister. He called on President Ershad. A number of bilateral issues such as sharing of Ganga-Waters, Tin Bigha, Chakma Refugees and influx of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh were discussed. Such exchanges have created a favourable climate for further, strengthening and diversifying of India's Relations with Bangladesh in the political and economic field.

Ex. Prime Minister, Mr. Chandra Shekhar met President Ershad in Male during the Fifth SAARC Summit in November, 1990. The two leaders resolved to maintain good neighbourliness and strengthen ties.

India welcomed on 5 December, 1990, the offer of President Ershad to step down and hoped that this would pave way for fair and free elections under conditions acceptable to all parties. It also welcomed the end of the State of Emergency in Bangladesh and the decision taken jointly by major political parties to nominate Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed as Acting President.

India has welcomed the establishment of a Democratically Elected Government in Bangladesh and look forward to working with the New Government of Bangladesh in resolving outstanding issues through dialogue and further strengthening co-operation between the two

In a major development, India's eastern neighbour Bangladesh on September 23, 2010 agreed to start the construction of a crucial highway link to Kolkata. The proposed highway will provide transit facilities, ensuring easy movement of goods. Besides, it will also drastically shorten the circuitous route between the northeastern States and the port city of Kolkata.

The project-to be primarily financed by India-is part of the larger Assam Highway Network Project. Two routes have been okayed. The first one will enter from Bengal into Bangladesh at the existing Benapole land port on, the border and run across eastwards via Jessore and Dhaka and passing through Sylhet, located on the northeastern edge of Bangladesh, it will enter Assam/Meghalaya. The second axis, will start from north Bengal and enter the neighbouring country at Panchgarh and run southwards via Srirajganj to Dhaka and further southeast to Cox Bazar and Chittagong before entering Myanmar. India will be able to use both the routes.

2. Nepal- India attaches high-priority to improving Indo-Nepal Relations as part of its efforts to improve relations with the neighbours. Over the years, India has been extending considerable economic and technical assistance to Nepal and till recently was 'one of its largest donors.

In line with the commitment to take effective steps to improve, relations, the former Minister for External Affairs, Mr. I. K. Gujral invited the Nepalese Foreign Minister and talks were held in New Delhi from 3 to 5 January, 1990, resulting in greater understanding of each other's interests and concerns. This process was carried further with the visit of the Nepalese Official-level Delegation led by the Nepalese Foreign Secretary to New Delhi from 19 to 22 February, 1990. All aspects of Indo-Nepal Relations were discussed exhaustively.

The Nepalese Prime Minister, Mr. K.R Bhattarai visited India in June, 1990, for accelerating the normalisation of bilateral relations with India.

With the formal opening of the Customs and Transit Point at Bhairhawa in Nepal by the Nepalese Prime Minister, all 22 trade and 15 transit points between the two countries Started functioning normally. Mr. Bhattarai attain paid a goodwill visit to India in November, 1990, after attending the Fifth SAARC Summit in Male. The then India's Prime Minister, Mr- Chandra .Shckhar had talks with Mr. Bhattarai during the Summit Meet.

India and Nepal have agreed to undertake a joint study a identify overall Hydel Potential in Nepal and evolve a phased approach to develop it to the maximum benefit to both the countries.

However, Indo-Nepal relations came under a shadow when in the last week of December 1999, an .Indian Airlines plane 1C-814 was hijacked by some Islamic terrorists who had boarded the plane at Kathmandu airport. India decided to suspend the flights of Indian Airlines to Kathmandu and called upon Nepal to step up security at its airports as well as to check the activities of Pakistan's ISI backed terrorists groups which were engaged in cross border terrorist activities. Nepal look steps to tighten the security arrangement and assured India that no one will be permitted to use Nepalcse territory for anti-India activity. In March. 2000 Br. G.P. Koirala became the Prime Minister of Nepal in place of Mr. K.P. Bhaltarm and immediate contacts were established for the resumption of Indian Airlines flights to Kathmandu. The suspension had hit hard Nepalese tourism. The new government decided to give first priority to the security needs to Nepal as this was considered vital for checking the growing violent acts of Maoist revolutionaries and the activities of Islamic Jehadis from Nepalese soil, as had come to light in December 1999.

Both India and Nepal decided to take steps for the resumption of Indian Airlines flights and in fact these were resumed in May 2000.

In August, 2000 Nepalese PM Girija Prasad Koirala visited India and discussed on various issues with PM Vajpayee and other Indian leaders.

On February 1st, 2005 king of Nepal terminated the govrment of Sher Bahadur Deoba and imposed emergency in the country. PM Manmohan Singh sent Dr. Karan Singh as a peace massenger to Nepal and he met with the King Gyanendra. The King made an announcement to reinstate the Parliament on April 25lh. 2006. Seven Nepalese political parties nominated Girija Prasad Koirala Prime Minister and he took oath of PM post on April 30lh, 2006. On

May 18th, 2006 Nepalese Parliament unanimously decided to cut the political and military powers of the King.

On June 11th, 2006, Parliament unanimously decided to seize the veto power of the King. Now the right to ratification is given to the speaker of representative chamber.

On January. 2007, the interim Parliament accepted the new Constitution in place of old Constitution of 1990. According to the new Constitution, the real powers have been transferred from the King to Prime Minister.

3. Bhutan- Relations between India and Bhutan have traditionally remained friendly and close. The flourishing economic cooperation between the two countries is being maintained. India continues to and provides experts and specialists to it in the fields of forestry, industry, telecommunications, hydel survey, education, etc. In the sphere of education, India continues to offer Bhutanese Students opportunities for secondary as well as higher education and training in various fields such as civil aviation, police, defence, customs, medicine and engineering.

In March 1990, India and Bhutan renewed their agreement of trade and commerce for a five-year period. For the first time, this agreement permitted private parties in Bhutan to undertake foreign trade. The King of Bhutan, Digmé Singhe Wangchuk paid a four-day official visit to India in November, 1990. The King had talks with the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Chandra shekhar, on bilateral cooperation and regional issues. The Ex-External Affairs Minister, Mr. VC. Shukla also discussed with the King matters of mutual interest. India and Bhutan signed a Memorandum of Understanding on 25 November, 1990, for bilateral cooperation in executing the Second and Third Phase of the Chukha Hydel Project in Bhutan.

In 1997, India and Bhutan along with Bangladesh and Nepal agreed to extend their sub-regional co-operation in a big way. There exists a big potential for the development of this natural economic sub-region of South Asia. The rapid development of Bhutan's hydel power potential and of its agro-industrial infrastructure can make Bhutan a highly prosperous state. India has been and continues to remain committed to play leading role in the development of Bhutan's infrastructure. Both the countries have been co-operating in a satisfactory way.

The people of India and Bhutan are bound by strong historical and cultural ties. To strengthen these further, an Indo-Bhutan Friendship Society was formed in December 17th, 1999. Both India and Bhutan are committed to strengthen their ties which are based upon the needs of their national interest and geo-political realities of their territories. King of Bhutan visited India in February, 2007.

India and Bhutan held summit-level talks during the first India visit by the King of Bhutan, Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuk, in New Delhi on December 22, 2009. During his visit, a dozen pacts were signed between the two nations. The pacts were inked in the presence of the visiting King and Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh.

At the summit-level talks, India agreed to fund nearly a quarter of Bhutan's Tenth Plan outlay of Rs. 14,800 crore. Among the pacts are four MoUs for hydel projects that would ease power shortage in eastern India considerably. India is currently planning a transmission grid that will ultimately evacuate power from the Bhutanese projects all the way to Agra.

4. Maldives- The warm and cordial relations between India and the Maldives have further strengthened and diversified over the years. In keeping with the warmth of these relations, the former External Affairs Minister, Mr. I.K. Gujral visited Maldives from 12 to 16 January, 1990, for the first meeting of the Indo-Maldives Joint Commission. During this visit, the Foundation Stone of the Rs. 18 crore Indira Gandhi Memorial Hospital being built with Indian Assistance was laid by President Gayoom. A decision to waive visa requirements for the Nationals of both countries wishing to visit the other country was also announced.

President Gayoom paid a state visit to India in March, 1990, and had successful and fruitful talks with the then Prime Minister, Mr. V.R. Singh. Both the leaders had complete understanding on all issues. Mr. V.P. Singh paid a three-day visit to the Maldives in June, 1990. Among the major decisions in his talks with President Gayoom was the need to strengthen trade between the two countries by removing certain infra structural bottlenecks particularly that of transport. Bombay was air-linked with Male from November, 1990.

5. Myanmar- India and Myanmar share not only a long border but also religious and cultural affinities. The people of the two countries have traditional and friendly ties and it is, therefore, natural for India to be interested in developments in Myanmar. While maintaining the policy of strict noninterference in the internal affairs of Myanmar, previously known as Burma, India continued its principled support to the democratic aspirations of the people of Myanmar. In the elections held in July 1990, in Myanmar, the National League for Democracy won an overwhelming mandate. However, power has not been transferred to the representatives of the people. India hopes that the electoral verdict would be respected by the military leadership there.

6. Afghanistan- India continued to take an active interest in the developments in Afghanistan and kept in touch with those concerned with the situation. India had welcomed the signing of the Geneva Accord in April 1988 in the hope that it would lead to restoration of peace and stability in the region. India is for the

strict implementation of the Geneva Accords. India would like to see a political settlement in Afghanistan arrived at by the Afghans themselves without external interference or intervention and which takes into account the existing realities and the legitimate interests of all concerned. India is also for the cessation of bloodshed in that country and the preservation of Afghanistan's status as a Sovereign, Non-aligned and Independent Country.

Bilateral relations developed satisfactorily. India is also committed to providing assistance of Rs. 10 crore for refugee rehabilitation through the UN and bilaterally.

Dr. Subramaniam Swamy, Ex-Minister of Commerce, visited Afghanistan in the last week of December, 1990, and held wide-ranging trade talks with the Afghan Authorities. During his visit, he signed a Memorandum of Consultation with Afghanistan Commerce Minister economic activities between the two countries. He also met the Afghan President, Dr. Najibullah and discussed the situation in Afghanistan.

Complied