

Contact

+91 - 9821711605

Website

<https://academy.forumias.com>



EKLAVYA PROGRAMME

Study Material
GS - 2, Part - 2

DELHI - 2nd Floor, IAPL House, 19 Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, New Delhi 110005 | PATNA - 2nd Floor, AG Place, E Boring Canal Road, Patna, Bihar 800001 |

HYDERABAD - 1st & 2nd Floor, SM Plaza, RTCX Rd, Indira Park Road, Jawahar Nagar, Hyderabad, Telangana 500020

admission@forumias.academy | helpdesk@forumias.academy

INDEX

1	Important terminology in IR1
2	India-Pakistan Relations7
3	India-Afghanistan relations	...12
4	India- China relations	...16
5	India- Nepal relations	...27
6	India- Bhutan relation	...30
7	India- Bangladesh relations	...34
8	India- Srilanka Relation	...40
9	India- Maldives Relations	...45
10	India- Myanmar Relations	...49
11	SAARC	...55
12	BIMSTEC	...61
13	BBIN & MVA	...65
14	India's Act East policy	...68
15	India- Australia Relations	...73
16	India- Japan Relations	...77
17	India- USA Relations	...82
18	QUAD and AUKUS	...87
19	India & Indo-Pacific Region	...94
20	India- South Korea Relations	...99
21	India- Pacific Islands Cooperation (FIPIC)	...103
22	Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)	...108
23	IPEF	...113
24	India- Russia Relations	...115
25	Russia- Ukraine Crisis	...125
26	NATO	...132
27	India- United Kingdom (UK)	...138
28	India- France relations	...148
29	India Germany Relations	...158
30	India- EU relations	...162
31	India and West Asia	...169
32	I2U2	...177
33	India- Israel Relation	...182
34	Syrian Conflict	...192
35	Iran & US Relations	...199
36	India- Central Asia Relation	...204
37	India- Africa	...215

38	India- Latin America Relations	...227
39	India- Brazil Relations	...236
40	India- South East Asia Relations	...241
41	Arctic and Antarctic Region	...254
42	Globalisation and Anti-Globalisation	...264
43	Nuclear Weapons	...275
44	Indian Foreign Policy	...283
45	Diplomacy	...290
46	Indian Diaspora	...300
47	United Nation	...306
48	World Health Organization (WHO)	...313
49	Important In Bodies & Initiatives	...322
50	BRICS	...350
51	Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)	...355
52	Group of Seven	...359
53	World Order	...368
54	Military Exercises and Major Operations	...372
55	Non- Aligned Movement (NAM)	...385
56	New World Order	...390
57	Miscellaneous Dimensions of Education	...399
58	Private Sector in Education & EdTech Sector	...411
59	Demographic Dividend	...416
60	Skill Development	...423
61	PPP in Health Sector	...429
62	Digitization of Healthcare in India	...434
63	Mental Health	...439
64	Health Miscellaneous Topics	...447
65	NGOs	...459
66	Self Help Group (SHGs)	...463
67	Pressure groups	...470
68	Development Issues	...477
69	Poverty	...486

HI51- Important terminology in IR

I. National interest:

- An analytical tool and determinant used by a state to identify the objectives of foreign policy in relation to other states in an international system.
- According to Charles Beard, the term 'national interest' gained momentum during the gradual development of the idea of nationalism.
- In theoretical political analysis, its mainly used in the school of Realism.
- The primary national interest of a state is the acquisition and use of power, especially military power. Its root remains the survival and security of a nation, guided by shifts in the international environment.
- Thus, it is the claims, objectives, goals, demands, and interests that a nation always tries to preserve, protect, defend and secure in relations with other nations. **“The meaning of national interest is survival—the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states”**. — Morgenthau.
- Criteria for Defining National Interest:
 - **Ideological:** if one country's ideology is liberal-democratic, it will make policies supporting democratic governments and movements and oppose totalitarian ones.
 - **Moral and legal:** the imperative to act honestly and make decisions in accordance with international laws.
 - **Pragmatic:** unemotional, calculated decisions to deal with on-ground realities.
 - **Bureaucratic:** each organization tends to exaggerate its specific funding request and to argue in the name of the national interest rather than its own interest.
 - **Partisan:** to equate the success of one's own political party with an entire nation's success.
 - **Racial:** national interest defined in terms of interest of an ethnic or racial minority or majority.
 - **Class-status:** a particular class will defend its interests while defining national interest.
- **Foreign-dependency criteria:** protector states define policy obligations of their dependencies.
- Examples where **national interest holds sway over foreign policy:**
 - **At the cost of ethics.** E.g., to facilitate its withdrawal USA signed Doha pact with Taliban.
 - **To protect the strategic interest** of a country. E.g., Despite their historical connect with Palestine, UAE and Bahrain signed the Abraham Accords with Israel.
 - **To safeguard the interests and welfare of its citizens.** E.g., India continues to purchase cheap oil from Russia despite criticism from the West.
 - Though **principles of Human Rights** are well accepted by the west, their conduct is not in line with what they preach. E.g., Asylum pact between Rawanda and United Kingdom.
 - **Outweighs ideological considerations.** E.g., USA, biggest exponent of the democracy, supported dictatorship regimes in South America and Africa.
 - Prioritises **safety of one's own citizens even at cost of the life of innocents.** E.g., Global War on Terror (GWT) of America, led to loss of several innocentlives.
- **Enlightened national interest:** term popularised by former PM Manmohan Singh, while performing one's national interest, one should keep in mind the effects of its own policies, actions and decisions on neighbouring countries and those **policies should not produce adverse effects on neighbouring countries or the rest of the world.**

I. Balance of Power (BOP):

- It was used from sixteenth to early twentieth century, **as an instrument of policy to prevent power dominance.** Eg: The European state system from 1815 to 1914- used BOP as an

instrument to curb the quest for hegemonic ambitions.

- BOP has **prevented the formation of a universal empire** through conquest. It has not only protected the independence of discrete states but has also **facilitated the development of institutions like diplomacy and greater power management**.
- As per BOP theory, the world in which we live is a system where countries exist in perfect equilibrium. This equilibrium of the system can be disturbed if a state dramatically increases its power. This would compel other states to form alliances or increase their own powers to re-establish balance which had been disturbed in the first place.
- A term derived from BOP is **Balance of Terror**. In this, one state actor credibly threatens another state actor with destruction. Eg- During the Cold War, the US and the USSR often used the term in specific references to nuclear deterrence.

2. Deterrence:

- It means a situation where a person A may seek a certain behaviour from person B. If person B does not display the desired behaviour or tries to deviate from the desired behaviour, then person A can deter person B from behaving in an unacceptable manner by threatening person B with punishment.
- Deterrence is a special form of a power relationship where an imposer may **issue a threat to prevent any undesirable behaviour from another state**.
- Thus, deterrence is all about **negative sanctions**.
- Deterrence could be achieved through:
 - **Greater economic independence**- European Union, ASEAN groupings would see cordial relations among member countries as war would disrupt economies which are tied.
 - **Diplomacy in international organisations**- Resolutions at UNSC, UNGA platforms acting as deterrence.

- **Conventional and nuclear arms race**- Emergence of nuclear weapons during Cold War acted as deterrence between the US and the USSR.

3. Strategic Autonomy:

- Strategic autonomy denotes the ability of a state to pursue its national interests and adopt its preferred foreign policy **without being constrained in any manner by other states**.
- It presupposes the state in question possessing overwhelmingly superior power, enabling it to resist the pressures that may be exerted by other states to compel it to change its policy or moderate its interests.
- Theoretically, only **a lone superpower in a unipolar international order truly possess strategic autonomy** since it is the only country that would wield overwhelming economic, industrial, military and technological capabilities and thus the power to resist pressure from all other states. Even superpowers become susceptible to the pressures exerted by their superpower peers in bipolar or multipolar orders, which means that their **ability to be strategically autonomous is not absolute but only relative**.
- It follows from this that regional powers like India are destined to be even less strategically autonomous. **In the case of India, prominent examples of core national interests are Jammu & Kashmir and nuclear weapons**. But under external pressure, India is likely to alter its policy or moderate its interest on non-core security issues if the associated costs are calculated to be disproportionate to the benefits that may accrue from persisting with the preferred policy or interest.
- Eg- **India's decision to vote against Iran in the International Atomic Energy Agency**. This decision was driven by the calculation that antagonising the United States, which was pressing India to vote against Iran, would compromise the benefits flowing from improved bilateral relations with America including in the nuclear arena.

- Further, the ability of regional powers like India to resist external pressure and practice strategic autonomy on non-core security issues is likely to be a **function of the structure of the international order.**
 - In effect, **the practice of strategic autonomy is a function of the power capabilities possessed by a state and of the structure of the international system in a particular historical era.** If politics is the art of the possible, then political wisdom demands that the best not be made the enemy of the good.
 - Changing the world from unipolar to bipolar and multipolar:
 - **Bipolar (1945-1991):** Majority global economic, military and cultural influence held between two countries – the USA and USSR. This resulted in Cold War characterized by geopolitical tension between the two.
 - **Unipolar (1991-2008):** After disintegration of USSR, the USA became the only superpower and the international system has become unipolar. Assuming the role of global policeman, it was able to impose its will on other countries. Eg- the invasion of Iraq in 2003, the war in Afghanistan, and the policy of regime change during President Bush.
 - **Multi power (2008-till now):** Multipolarity is the emergence of many regional powers along with the withdrawal of the USA as a global policeman.
 - **Rise of China:** Aggression in the South China Sea, US-China trade war, Clashes with India at LAC (Line of Actual Control) and heavy investment in developing countries through Belt and Road initiative.
 - **Rise of BRICS and other major power:** BRICS is committed to democratization of international life. It accounts for almost a third of global GDP at purchasing power parity. Eg- creation of the New Development Bank (NDB) and Contingent Reserve Arrangement (CRA).
 - **Creation of international/regional groupings:** ASEAN (Association of southeast Asian Nations), APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation), etc.
 - **Russia reasserting its bipolar status:** meddling in Syria against US, growing Sino-Russia relations, Russia's annexation of Crimea, Ukraine crisis.
 - **Rise of India:** India's participation in Shanghai Co-operation Organization, G-20 Summit, the Mekong-Ganga Co-operation, the International Solar Alliance, etc. India is also recasting its approach. e.g., Quad, SAGAR, Blue dot network, etc.
- #### 4. Transnational actors:
- Transnational actors – from multinational corporations (MNCs) to International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) – have left their mark on the contemporary world system. But there is little systematic evidence to sustain claims that the transnational 'society world' has somehow overtaken the 'state world'.
 - Some transnational actors operate **globally** (Catholic church, International Committee of Red Cross [ICRC]; Amnesty International), while others are confined to **specific regions** of world (European Environmental Bureau, Asia Watch, or European Trade Union Confederation). Some concentrate on a **single issue** (transnational campaign to ban landmines), while others follow a **multipurpose mission** (churches and religious organizations).
 - They pursue their goals **independently of governmental considerations.** It refers to **organization of power beyond the state** (not between states), denoting political coordination, exchanges, and regulation that transcend national boundaries.
 - Current usage confines the term **“transnational”** to organizations and activities in which the relevant actor is nongovernmental, and the term **“trans-governmental”** is reserved for bureaucracies within a government that to some extent act independently from other parts of the same government.
 - The policies, decisions, and actions of the nation-states now bear the increasing influence of the presence and activities of non-state actors.
 - **Classification:**

- those motivated by **instrumental gains**, mainly economic
- those promoting **ideas and knowledge**
- those seeking to **advance their cause or objectives** through disruptive, illegitimate and, at times, violent actions (transnational terror networks and organized criminal networks).

5. Collective security:

- Collective security is an **approach to peace** involving an agreement by which states agree to take collective action against any state defined as an aggressor.
- Leaving aside the problems of settling disputes or enforcing law or satisfying justice, it concentrates upon **forestalling violence by bringing to bear an overwhelmingly superior international force against any aggressor.**
- Collective security as 'institutionalized form of 'balance of power'. BoP acts in the state of anarchy whereas collective security can come into existence only when some international organization exists.
- It is **conducive for peace because it reduces arms race.** Collective security as a concept continues to be seen as too **idealistic.** Neither

under League of Nations nor under United Nations it could be operationalized successfully. It has not been successful in ending the arms race. **Lack of faith in collective security led to go for countries acquiring nuclear weapons**

- Collective security should **not be confused with collective defence.** NATO is an example of collective security. Collective security is universal, enemy is not predefined. Collective defence is regional, it is meant only for the members and enemy is known in Advance.
- India always opposed collective defence pacts but supported collective security. **For India, collective defence pacts undermine the faith in collective security.** For US, there is no contradiction because collective defence is practical way to operationalize collective security. It does not contradict UN charter, which allows countries right of self-defence.

6. Hard Power & Soft Power:

- A nation's **hard power** and **soft power** complement each other in helping a country achieve its growth targets. They are public diplomacy tools that communicate the nation's competitive identity and advantage to the world.

Hard Power	Soft Power
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The term hard power describes a nation or political body's ability to use economic incentives or military strength to influence other actors' behaviors. 2. Hard power is linked with the possession of certain tangible resources, including population, territory, natural resources, economic and military strength, among others. 3. Time-effective: Generating hard power requires much less time as its resources are tangible. 4. Examples of hard power: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Trade sanctions imposed by US on Iran's economy in order to isolate and cripple Iranian economy. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Soft Power is a form of diplomacy exercised by a state to win its avowed aim without resorting to military coercion or by extending an economic inducement as a carrot. 2. Soft power is persuasive power deriving from attraction and emulation and grounded on intangible resources like tourism, culture, and heritage. 3. The importance and relevance is growing as more of humanity becomes connected with the potential to generate a surge of global opinion. 4. Useful in complex situations. Eg- India received a nuclear waiver in 2008 despite not being a member of NSG because of its

<p>b. The US return to military action in Iraq and direct intervention in Syria.</p> <p>c. Russia's annexation of Crimea and destabilization of eastern Ukraine.</p> <p>d. China's assertion of its territorial claims in the East and South China.</p> <p>e. India's blockage of supply and fuel in 2015 during Nepal Blockade.</p> <p>5. Limitations of hard power:</p> <p>a. Doesn't work during deadlocks: When there is deadlock between two nations, its usage further aggravates the problem.</p> <p>b. Not possible for weak states: Hard power needs enough resources and financial capacity to generate, hence doesn't work for weak states.</p> <p>c. Effects are momentary and usually backfire: Usually, results are limited and backfire in later stages.</p> <p>Eg- the use of coercive power in World War I acted as the genesis of WWII and more recently US' hard power in Afghanistan has failed to produce tangible results.</p>	<p>history of non-alignment and strong political ideals.</p> <p>5. Examples of soft power:</p> <p>a. Incredible India Campaign: An international tourism campaign to promote India as a popular tourist destination using India's heritage, yoga and multiplicity of colorful religious and cultural traditions etc.</p> <p>b. International Day of Yoga: PM Modi's effort to have the United Nations declare the International Day of Yoga on June 21 each year.</p> <p>c. International meetings: PM drove a common link between India and Central Asia by highlighting ideals of Islam- knowledge, piety, compassion and welfare, shared by both.</p> <p>d. India's volunteering efforts: Humanitarian rescue missions like Nepal floods, Sri Lanka floods recently to generate India's soft power in the world.</p> <p>e. European Union: EU has successfully used its soft power which derives from its readiness to offer a seat at the decision-making table to all members to attract new members benefitting both its member states as well as EU itself.</p> <p>6. Limitations of soft power:</p> <p>a. Weak power: Cultural influence does not equal political power, which is direct and more influencing.</p> <p>b. Limited scope: Outcomes depend on particular circumstances which cannot necessarily be influenced by states. For example, Buddhist heritage as a soft power can be used in Southeast and East Asian states, but not beyond.</p> <p>c. Slow, Long drawn, and blurred process: There is no concrete strategy used in soft power and the changes are usually very subtle.</p> <p>d. Limited contemporary usage: Currently world is experiencing grave problems like non-state cross-border terrorism, direct belligerence like Chinese Doklam incursion which can be better dealt with hard power.</p>
--	---

- **India's global image** is as much **determined by its trade and geopolitical standing as by its ability to share its culture with the world** through food, music, films, technological prowess, and tourism potential.
- **Smart power** is defined as the capacity of an actor to combine elements of hard power and soft power in ways that are mutually reinforcing such that the actor's purposes are advanced effectively and efficiently. **It is an approach that underscores the necessity of a strong military, but also invests heavily in alliances, partnerships, and institutions.**
- **India's current foreign policy is placed on the concept of smart power.** Eg-
 - India resisted Chinese incursion in Doklam by effective troop management at the border during the crisis to showcase its hard power but at the same time meetings like Wuhan Summit depict its soft power approach.
 - Similarly, India and Pakistan maintain an effective military presence in border areas but continue to find new ways of engagement through efforts like Kartarpur Corridor.
 - Using economic strength to generate trust among neighbours: The launching of SAARC Satellite by India and allowing free usage of its services to all neighboring countries.

H152- India-Pakistan Relations

Historical background:

“Many of Pakistan’s problems from falling behind in secular education to the rise of Islamic extremism can be traced to the country’s founding on the basis of religious nationalism.” Husain Haqqani, former ambassador of Pakistan to USA.

The historical background of India-Pakistan relations goes back to **the history of partition** and the two-nation theory, which is the **foundational principle of Pakistan**.

The **Two-nation theory** asserts that:

- Muslims constitute a **separate nation** in the Indian sub-continent.
- There is **deeply embedded difference** in culture, history and identity between Hindus and Muslims that **cannot be reconciled**.
- Hinduism is antithetical to Islam and poses danger of **majoritarian subjugation**.

Stephen P. Cohen, a political scientist from USA, termed India-Pakistan relations a **‘paired minority conflict’** in which each side views itself as threatened and vulnerable, and thus resists negotiations and compromise.

The history of the relations between the two countries is marked by **four major wars**, intermittent **conflicts at the Line of Control** and use of **terrorism as an instrument of foreign policy** by Pakistan.

Bangladesh Liberation War and Its effect on Pakistan:

Political crisis in east Pakistan spiralled into humanitarian crisis after Pakistan army launched brutal suppression of Bengali nationalism under **Operation Searchlight**. The huge exodus of refugees to India made way for a war in which Pakistan lost half its navy, a quarter of its air force and a third of its army, apart from east Pakistan which became Bangladesh. India-Pakistan signed **Shimla agreement**.

In the years after the 1971 war, General Zia Ul-Haq followed **Islamization policy in Pakistan** as marked by the **1979 Hudood ordinances**. These were laws that replaced parts of the British-era Pakistan Penal Code, adding new criminal offences and new punishments to implement Sharia law. E.g., whipping, amputation, and stoning to death etc. for crimes like adultery. The Islamization under Zia Ul-Haq is considered a critical turn of fate towards **institutional radicalisation** of Pakistani state and society, and directly led to **state-sponsored terrorism against India**.

ISSUES AND DISPUTES BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN**I. Territorial Issues:**

- Pakistan’s occupation of parts of Jammu & Kashmir, namely, **Pakistan-occupied Jammu & Kashmir (PoJK)**.
- Un-demarcated line of control beyond point NJ9842 in **Siachen glacier**; it is a strategic location at **the trijunction** of India-, Pakistan- and China-controlled areas (Shaksgam Valley).
- Contested border at **Sir Creek** in Kutch in Gujarat; it is 96 km long estuary in Arabian Sea.

Sir Creek and Thalweg principle

India’s claim line on the border in the Kutch estuary draws on the Thalweg Principle in international law. According to Thalweg principle, if the boundary between two political entities is a waterway, the border would lie along the thalweg of that watercourse, i.e., the centre of the principal navigable channel of the waterway.

Pakistan extends claim in the area to eastern margin of the estuary and rejects application of Thalweg principle claiming that the Sir Creek is not navigable. India’s assertion is that Sir Creek

is navigable during high tides and that fishing trawlers use the channel to go out into the sea. Hence, Thalweg principle should be used to determine the border.

2. **Asymmetric Warfare:** It refers to unconventional strategies and tactics adopted by a party when the military capabilities are significantly unequal. Pakistan engages in asymmetric warfare in following ways:

- **Cross-border terrorism/** state-sponsored terrorism by Pakistan to coerce India into negotiating over Jammu & Kashmir.
- **Money-laundering,** terror-financing, smuggling of guns, explosives, **FICN** (Fake Indian Currency Notes) and drugs (from 'the golden triangle').
- **Information warfare,** including orchestrated protests, news articles and

social media campaigns using fake accounts to promote communalism and inter-religious conflicts in India.

3. **CPEC:** China-Pakistan Economic Corridor runs through PoJK ignoring India's sovereign claim over the region. E.g., **Diamer Bhasha Dam** project which was denied funding by international donors viz., World Bank, IMF and Asian Development Bank due to Indian claim over the region.

4. **Indus Water Treaty (IWT):** Pakistan has raised multiple disputes at Permanent Court of Arbitration over India's exercise of limited rights over the four western rivers assigned to Pakistan under the treaty. E.g., **Ratle** and Kishanganga Hydroelectric projects. The **river training projects by Pakistan** to reduce flooding in the delta of Indus increased flooding in the Rann of Kutch in India.

Indus Water Treaty divides the Indus basin into three eastern (Ravi, Beas, Satluj) and **three western rivers (Chenab, Jhelum, Indus)**. The former is assigned to India and the latter to Pakistan. The treaty allows India to use water from the western rivers for limited irrigation use and unlimited non-consumptive use for applications such as power generation, navigation, fish culture, etc. Detailed regulations are provided for India in building projects over the western rivers.

IWT has been a largely beyond the pale of dispute, as the terms of the treaty are more generous towards Pakistan and India has desisted from taking a narrow view on the treaty. But experts have suggested the need for India to weaponize IWT to coerce Pakistan into good conduct towards India.

There is **need to relook at the Treaty** due to following reasons:

- The terms of the treaty are not balanced by the demand for water in the Indus basin. The eastern group of rivers contains nearly 20% of the flow of Indus system, while the four-western rivers constitute 80% of the flow.
- India has shown **unilateral generosity** in sustaining the treaty. Pakistan has raised **multiple objections on India exercising rights** over the water of Indus basin. India may do well to **take similarly narrow view on the eastern rivers** and associated ground water resources flowing to Pakistan, given the scarcity of water in Indian states situated in the Indus basin, namely Punjab and Haryana. E.g., the dispute over **Satluj-Yamuna link canal**.
- The preamble of the treaty recognises the rights and obligations on use of water from the Indus system in **a spirit of goodwill, friendship and cooperation**. There is evident lack of goodwill on Pakistan's part as evident in its **use of terror as a policy instrument**, or **denial of MFN status to India** despite India extending it to Pakistan unilaterally. As stated by Ministry of External Affairs in one of its media briefings, **"Blood and water can't flow together."**
- **Climate change** has changed water demand and supply scenario. The IWT does not take that into account.

5. Lack of Regional Cooperation:

- Pakistan's **anti-Indianism** has laid waste regional efforts for cooperation. SAARC was made virtually dysfunctional, making the countries shift the diplomatic engagements to alternative platforms like **BIMSTEC** which don't involve Pakistan.
- Pakistan views **Afghanistan** as a source of 'strategic depth' for Pakistan. Such attitudes betray an ambition for regional hegemony and competition rather than constructive cooperation. E.g., obstructing India's transit-trade with Afghanistan.

EVOLUTION OF INDIA'S POLICY TOWARDS PAKISTAN

India's Policy towards Pakistan in the early post-independence period:

- The India-Pakistan relation was largely defined by the violent partition of British India.
- After the independence, India and Pakistan established diplomatic relations; however, the partition and different territorial claims kept the India-Pak relation hostile.
- The Nehru government adopted a **policy of non-rancour** towards Pakistan.
- The government policy aimed at fair dealing and of promoting conciliation and reducing mutual tensions.
- The government regarded the problem faced by Hindus in East Bengal as a human problem and tried to solve it by persuasion and pressure.
- In 1950, India and Pakistan signed the Nehru-Liaquat Pact to resolve the issue of protection of minorities.
- India and Pakistan also signed several agreements on trade and travel.

In general, the India government followed a policy to improve relations with Pakistan and to prevent the emergence of a climate of hostility.

1990s: Track-II diplomacy and Gujaral doctrine

In the 1990s, India made a number of overtures and took **unilateral steps to improve relations** under

what came to be known as **the Gujaral doctrine**. To create a positive atmosphere and enhance trust between the two countries, the government encouraged people-to-people contacts. The number of visas issued to Pakistani nationals was increased; there was greater interaction between academics and media persons; and efforts were made to enhance cross-border trade. This came to be known as **Track-II Diplomacy**.

Track-II diplomacy is the practice of non-governmental, informal and unofficial contacts and activities between private citizens or groups. It contrasts with **track I** diplomacy, which is the conventional diplomacy by governments held through official government channels. However, track-II diplomacy is not a substitute for track one diplomacy. **Track-II** is supposed to assist officials in managing conflicts by exploring possible solutions away from the public view and without the requirements of formal negotiations. In addition, the term track 1.5 diplomacy is used by some analysts for situations of official and non-official actors cooperating in conflict resolution. In India, the 'Neemrana dialogue' was launched in 1991 as a track-II initiative between India and Pakistan, which has continued intermittently amidst disruption due to terror attacks such as 26/11 attacks in Mumbai or Uri attacks. The latest round of track-2 dialogue took place in April 2018. Topics discussed in the dialogue included Kashmir, Siachen conflict and the situation at the Line of Control.

Late 90s and 2000s: Composite Dialogue and Strategic Restraint

The two countries had gone nuclear in 1998. The then Prime Minister Vajpayee decided to revive the dialogue with Pakistan in this changed geostrategic context. **Composite Dialogue** was held in October-November 1998 to discuss eight identified subjects – peace and security including confidence-building measures; J&K; Siachen; Tulbul navigation project; Sir Creek, Trade and Economic Cooperation; Terrorism and Drug Trafficking; and Friendly Exchanges in different fields. India launched the most comprehensive and high-profile engagement

in the past 25 years in the **Lahore visit** of the PM Vajpayee along with an entourage of celebrities, media and politicians on the inaugural run of the Lahore-Delhi-Lahore bus service in February 1999.

The composite dialogue did not lead to agreements on any of the subjects. **Pakistan's intransigence** and support for militancy in Kashmir continued unabated. **Kargil war** and **Kandahar hijacking** incident marked the height of betrayal and **non-reciprocity**. Terrorist incidents by **Pakistan-based jihadist groups** continued in Kashmir as well as in major Indian cities.

In 2001 India mobilised troops under **Operation Parakram** after the attack on Indian Parliament and threatened use of force. But overall, the policy remained under the larger paradigm of **strategic restraint**. Two years after the 2001 Parliament attacks, Pakistan was engaged again at the Agra summit in 2003 to restart the composite dialogue. The summit failed as the worldviews of the two countries were quite divergent, and they could not agree on the draft of the Agra Declaration. Terrorism was the chief concern for India while **Kashmir remained 'the jugular vein' for Pakistan**.

The policy of strategic restraint continued even in the aftermath of the dastardly **26/11 attacks**. The logic of restraint has been to avoid confrontation lest it escalates to the nuclear level. But Pakistan started considering this as India's weakness.

Changing Approach Towards Pakistan: From Strategic Restraint and Aman ki Asha to Strategic Resolve

In 2010, Aman ki Asha was launched as a joint campaign by media groups of India (Times of India) and Pakistan (the Jang group) for mutual peace and development of cultural relations between the two countries, that had suffered in aftermath of 2008 Mumbai attacks. However, the ISI and the Pakistani-army backed jihadists continued to relish in an environment of impunity whereby they carried out terrorist attacks without fear of India's retaliation. A near-repeat of the betrayal from 1999 Lahore visit was seen when **PM Modi's unannounced visit to Lahore** in December 2015 was answered by a terror attack at Pathankot Airforce Station a week later.

After the **Uri terror attacks** in 2016, India conducted **surgical strikes on terror launch pads** across the LoC. After the **Pulwama terror attack** in February 2019, India again displayed steadfast resolve and conducted the **Balakot air strikes** in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan, killing dozens of terrorists in a pre-emptive attack. This was the first time an Indian aircraft went deep inside Pakistan after the 1971 war. Quite evidently, the policy of strategic restraint was replaced by the **policy of strategic resolve**. India showed political will and resolve to act decisively against terrorism. The new approach also helped to call out the **nuclear bluff** of Pakistan.

Current Policy of the Government vis-à-vis Pakistan

The ongoing approach towards Pakistan seems to be a mixture of **indifference, isolation** and **punitive retaliation**. India's policy is to diplomatically and politically isolate Pakistan in the international community and take punitive steps to induce change in the behaviour of Pakistani establishment towards India. There is a strong public opinion not to have any dialogue with Pakistan. According to a 2017 BBC World Service poll, only 5 per cent of Indians view Pakistan's influence positively, with 85 per cent expressing a negative view; whereas, 11 per cent of Pakistanis view India's influence positively, with 62 per cent expressing a negative view.

What are the challenges in managing the India-Pakistan relation?

- **Lack of consistency** in policy on elements like non-engagement, track-II diplomacy, dialogue, and people-to-people contacts.
- **Complete diplomatic isolation** of Pakistan is tough to achieve. The **gun-to-own-head diplomacy** of Pakistan helps it to keep western countries invested in its political and economic stability. There is also tendency in USA to hyphenate its India policy with Pakistan.
- **Strategic utility of Pakistan** to extra-regional powers reduces its incentives for cooperation with India.
- **Nuclear deterrence** of Pakistan increases the complexity of India's punitive retaliation. With more punitive retaliation, the countries go higher

up in the **escalation ladder**, inching closer to a **nuclear war**. It also increases international **pressure on India to resolve bilateral issues** with Pakistan.

- There are **multiple power-centres** in Pakistan – ISI, Pakistan army, civilian government, and religious extremists. The **mullah-military alliance** and the Islamist influence on society are difficult conundrum to solve.

Are there areas of convergence between India and Pakistan?

- **Economic Cooperation:** Pakistan is staring at **balance of payment crisis** since past many years, as evident by repeated requests for IMF bailout loans. **Indian investments** can pull its economy out of rut. A large market for Indian goods in close vicinity will help Indian industry as well.
- **Food and Essentials:** Inflation in essential goods like medicine and food have created livelihood crises in Pakistan. **India's pharmaceutical and farm sector** can pitch in to help. The shortage of cultivation area for **pulses** in India can be overcome through imports from Pakistan.
- **Tourism and Heritage:** It can be mutually beneficial for economic as well as **cultural relations**. E.g., access to **Sharda Peetha** on lines of **Kartarpur corridor**.
- **Infrastructure and Connectivity:** Pakistan's reliance on China for construction of roads, bridges, electricity transmission lines and railways are **sources of debt-vulnerabilities**. India can offer more economic alternative through **NHAI, Konkan railways** etc.

- **Development:** Reduced level of mutual suspicion and threat would help free resources for development expenditure.
- **Geo-economic convergence:** Pakistan can provide India **trade-transit** to Afghanistan and central Asia. Better economic cooperation would also increase **regional trade** and **prosperity**. It would simplify the viability of **international north-south transport corridor** as opposed to alternatives like **Chabahar**.

Way Forward:

India must pay greater attention to its most difficult neighbour. Engagement with Pakistan must be approached with a slow but sure path of improvement in economic, cultural, strategic inter-dependencies. But an environment devoid of terror is an essential pre-condition that can never be done away with. **(2550 words)**

H153- India-Afghanistan relations



- Afghanistan, with its capital at Kabul, is located on cross roads of central and south Asia. It is a landlocked country bordered by Pakistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Iran. Geographically it is mountainous with plains in north and south west. Ethnically, it consists of Pashtuns (largest in number), Tajiks, Hazaras and Uzbeks.

Historical background:

- Relations between the people of Afghanistan and Indians date as far back as the **Indus Valley Civilization** itself - **Mundigak** and **Shortugai** being the Indus Valley sites there.
- India and Afghanistan have a strong relationship based on historical and cultural links. The relationship has its foundations in the historical contacts and exchanges between the people.
- India -Afghanistan modern relations can be traced in four phases:
- **First Phase:** The First phase, unfolds from Indian Independence in 1947 to the end of cold war 1990. India enjoyed amicable relations with Afghanistan during the first phase except during the Soviet intervention (1979–89) in Afghanistan. India's special partnership with the Soviet Union

and the logic of Cold War politics led India to take a neutral position on Soviet intervention, which adversely affected India's image among the Afghans.

- **Second Phase:** The second phase began with the end of the Cold War in 1991 and lasted until the overthrow of the Taliban regime in 2001. During Taliban rule in Afghanistan India had no diplomatic ties with Kabul, this phase came to the lowest point in India-afghan relations.
- **Third Phase:** The third phase commenced when the Taliban government was overthrown in 2001. During this phase, India emerged as the most important regional power, investing in Institutions building in Afghanistan. India opened its embassy in Kabul. In 2011 India signed a Strategic Partnership Agreement (SPA) with Afghanistan.
- **Fourth Phase:** The fourth phase started with coming to power of current ruling dispensation in 2014. India has adopted a soft power approach in Afghanistan by taking responsibility for various reconstruction and Developmental Programs. India has helped in building Afghan- India friendship dam, earlier known as **Salma Dam**. India has also developed an alternate route to reach Afghanistan through **Chabahar Port** in Iran.

Significance of Afghanistan for India:

- **location:** Afghanistan's location at the crossroads of Central Asia and South Asia, as well as South Asia and the Middle East, marks its strategic significance for the world in general and India in particular.
- **Geo-strategic:** Afghanistan provides India an opportunity to surround Pakistan on eastern as well as western front. It is also vital to check increasing influence of China in the region.
- **Connectivity:** Due to its strategic location, Afghanistan can boost connectivity for India not only with Central Asian countries, but also beyond it to the middle eastern countries. Chahbahar port in Iran will connect with the Zaranj-Delaram highway in Afghanistan, boosting India's presence in the region. It will provide a

land-sea route for India, by-passing Pakistan, ensuring easy access to Central Asia. The potential of Afghanistan to give a fillip to trade, energy, and connectivity highlights its **geo-economic** relevance.

- **Natural resources:** Afghanistan is rich in natural resources such as copper and iron oxides. The utilisation of these natural resources can boost the revenue generation for the Afghan government and at the same time fulfil India's developmental needs. E.g., Hajigak mines, Aynak mines etc.
- **Regional integration:** Geo-political importance of Afghanistan can be seen from its relevance for regional integration. Afghanistan is central to India's objective of ensuring sub-regional integration and cooperation in South Asia. E.g., stability in Afghanistan is seminal to improve the efficacy of SAARC.
- **Security concerns:**
 - a. Afghanistan falls in the **golden crescent and is a hub for trafficking of drugs** to India. A strong and stable government in Afghanistan may aid in reducing/checking this menace.
 - b. Afghanistan has the unviable record of **allowing terror groups to operate from its territory**. Therefore, India as well as the **global community has high stakes** in promoting a peaceful, prosperous and stable Afghanistan.

Significance of India for Afghanistan:

- India can play a key role in the **development of infrastructure in Afghanistan:**
 - a. Construction of the **parliament building** of Afghanistan.
 - b. Development of **Zeranj-Delaram highway**, linking Afghanistan with Chabahar port.
 - c. Construction of **Salma dam**, also known as India-Afghanistan friendship dam.
 - d. Laying of transmission lines from Pule Khumari to Kabul.
- India can leverage its expertise for the **capacity building/development of human-resource** in Afghanistan:

- a. More than 3500 Afghans are being imparted **skill training** by India in various domains.
 - b. A special scholarship programme aims at providing **scholarships to 1000 Afghan nationals** per annum.
 - c. India offers **500 Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC)** slots to Afghanistan annually to boost its administration and governance
- India has been in the forefront in **providing humanitarian assistance:**
 - a. Indian government has committed itself to provide humanitarian assistance to the tune of **one million doses of covid vaccines**, food grains, and other life saving drugs during the on-going covid19 pandemic.
 - b. India has aided the construction of **Indira Gandhi Institute of Child Health**.
 - c. India has been one of the **first responder in sending relief materials** like family ridge tents, sleeping bags, sleeping mats, blankets etc., after the country was struck by an earthquake in June 2022.
 - Besides boosting the **land-sea connectivity** (Chabahar-Zeranj-Delaram highway), India has also enhanced the **air connectivity with Afghanistan**. Direct air freight corridor between India and Afghanistan is the example of the same.
 - India has the potential to play a pivotal role in **economic development of Afghanistan:** India can boost private investments in Afghanistan, as done through the **India Afghanistan Trade and Investment show** in 2017.
 - India can assist Afghanistan government in various **democratic exercises** such as **elections;** democratic **governance;** training of officers in **administrative and diplomatic capacity** etc.

The US withdrawal from Afghanistan has altered the geo-political scenario:

- As part of DOHA talks, USA announced its troop withdrawal and completely pulled out under Biden administration.
- As per the deal Taliban would hold and honour peace in Afghanistan. Also, Taliban would ensure

that the Afghan land is not misused for terrorist activities which may prove to be a deterrence to regional and global peace.

- However, some experts believed that the Doha agreement may not fructify to attain the objectives of peace and development, as:
 - a. The **Afghan government was not a party to the deal** and initially refused to agree for the release of 5,000 Taliban prisoners (as per the agreement). However, it released almost all prisoners till date.
 - b. The **intra-Afghan negotiations** did not begin as planned and underwent lot of hassle.
 - c. Despite the peace agreement between the U.S. and the Taliban, **insurgent attacks against Afghan security forces** were reported to have surged in the country,
 - d. On 22 June 2020, Afghanistan reported its "**bloodiest week in 19 years,**" along with kidnappings.
- It was also believed by the experts that the **power vacuum** created by the US withdrawal will lead to **ingression of global powers** like **Russia and China** and **regional players** like **Pakistan and Iran** into Afghanistan, in order to gain strategic depth.
- After a hotly contested civil war between ANSF and the Taliban, the **Taliban succeeded in forming a government** in Afghanistan.
- **China:** Given Chinese anxiety of terrorism in Uighurs, China has vested interest in keeping a strong influence in Afghanistan. China also seeks to include Afghanistan in BRI initiative, and with strategic partnership with Iran, China can connect Afghanistan to Central Asia and West Asia.
- **Russia:** Russia has vested interest in the region, as it faces the issue of terrorism in the Caucasus. Also, it is in Russia's interest to reduce the American hegemony in the Afghan soil.

Pakistan: Pakistan will seek strategic depth in Afghanistan by taking remote control through Taliban. Since USA will needs Pakistan for logistics support, this may also lead to thawing of relations between Pakistan and USA.
- **USA:** Troop withdrawal from Afghanistan has reduced American footprint in the region. However, it has opened up more resources for the USA to

tackle China from becoming a maritime threat in the Indo-Pacific.

Security implications for India:

- The Soviet withdrawal in 1989 left the Pakistani military with a large surplus of Islamist fighters that it had trained and armed. Islamabad decided to use them to intensify the insurgency in the Kashmir Valley, thus US withdrawal pose a similar threat.
- The withdrawal of US forces may increase the influence of Pakistan in Afghanistan. The terrorist groups will be empowered by the **support of deep state of Pakistan**.
- It will further the **instability in Afghanistan** resulting in more proliferation of drugs and narcotic substances in India from the area of golden crescent.
- The Taliban's assurance to keep the al-Qaeda under check seems deceptive:
 - a. The Taliban and the al-Qaeda need each other in many areas.
 - b. Both are friendly towards Pakistan and could pose security threats for India.

Some experts in India have voiced **concern with regard to India's engagement with the Taliban** regime in Afghanistan, because:

- **Poor record** of the Taliban leaders with regard to **upholding the human rights** of its citizens.
- **Concerns over cross-border terrorism**, radicalisation, drug trade, etc.
- It is believed in some quarters that accession of Taliban in Afghanistan is **perilous to the developmental work** done by India in the country.
- Engaging with Taliban, as per some scholars, would be **tantamount to abandoning the old friends** (civilian elected government)
- There are also **apprehensions** in some quarters that the **Taliban led government** in Afghanistan may become a **proxy for Pakistan's interests**.

However, as the new geo-political realities dawn in Afghanistan, India needs to re-evaluate its traditional stance vis-à-vis Afghanistan, which was to engage with only the **legitimate elected government** of

Afghanistan. Experts have pointed to the **need of engaging with Taliban**, as:

- Foreign policy of any nation is guided by the **national interest**. To further its national interest and to ensure **peace, security and stability** in the region, India needs to accept the **changing geo-political realities**.
- India has **substantially invested in Afghanistan** for building capacities in areas of administration, infrastructure, security etc. **Protecting its investment** is central to securing **strategic gain in the region**.
- **Concerns over cross-border terrorism**, radicalisation, drug trade, etc. can be **better addressed** through a **sustained dialogue** with whoever occupies the seat of power in Kabul.
- In the changing scenario, there is anticipation of Afghanistan once again becoming **the region of 'Great Games'** with the involvement of various actors like Russia, China, Pakistan etc.
- the Taliban dispensation in Afghanistan welcomed India's **diplomatic presence in Kabul** and promised to ensure **security to the Indian mission** in the Afghan capital.

Therefore, in order to preserve its enlightened national interest in the region, India needs to:

- Broadening its **diplomatic engagement** with all the stakeholders in Afghanistan **including Taliban**. India may also consider appointing a **special envoy** dedicated to Afghan peace process.
- India should **deepen its engagement with Afghanistan**, from **economic to military** sectors like providing **training to Afghanistan armed forces**.
- Over-reliance on soft power may prove to be sub-optimal. Hence, limited and **strategic military engagement** can be thought of.

- Instead of going for aid diplomacy India should start **investing in the region**. The respect that India has gained in the minds of Afghan people (soft-power) should be utilized to **promote investment in the region**.
- India should engage with **Iran and Russia** to develop a cooperative mechanism on economic ties with Afghanistan.
- Simultaneously, India should **engage with Afghanistan civil society** to help build democratic institutions which can provide long lasting peace and development. These steps have the potential for paving way for a lasting peace in Afghanistan.
- **De-hyphenate Pakistan from the Taliban**, especially as the Pakistan security establishment is finding the going tough with the Kabul regime.

Further, India should **bolster its capacity** for ensuring internal security, in light of **changed geo-political situation** in Afghanistan:

- Bolstering the institutional capacity of India's counterterrorism apparatus.
- Intelligence capabilities and inter-agency coordination for providing swift, actionable intelligence.
- Using technology like Artificial Intelligence to monitor social media use of terrorist outfits.
- Better coordination in India's highly fragmented police and internal security system.
- Insulating systems from political patronage and corruption.
- Removing vulnerabilities of India's maritime and coastal security architecture.
- Bilateral and multilateral scenario-building exercises in the North-west region, Indian Ocean region etc.

H154- India- China relations

Brief Historical background:

- China, with its capital in Beijing, is the world's most populous country. The People's Republic of China (PRC) was founded in 1949 after the Communist Party defeated the nationalist Kuomintang. Kuomintang retreated to Taiwan, creating two rival Chinese states - the People's Republic (mainland) and the Republic of China (ROC/Taiwan).
- **Historical ties:**
 - Written records of contacts between India and China date back to at least 2nd century B.C. Chinese monk, **Fa Xian (Fa-Hsien, AD 399-414)**, visited India in AD 402, stayed for 10 years, and after his **return translated many Sanskrit, Buddhist texts into Chinese**. His record of journeys **Fo Guo Ji** (Record of Buddhist Kingdoms) is an important historical source.
 - In the 5th Century AD **Bodhidharma**, a South Indian monk, became the first patriarch of the Shaolin Monastery in China. Xuan Zang (Hiuen Tsang) visited India during Harshavardhana's reign in the 7th Century AD, in search of Buddhist scriptures.
 - The decline of Buddhism in India and the spread of colonialism in both countries resulted in diminished cultural exchanges.
 - The **respective national struggles for freedom saw the resumption of contacts**, mutual interest, and **feelings of solidarity**. Landmark events of this period are **Kang Youwei stay in India (1890s)**, **Tagore's visit to China (1924)**, sending of the **Aid China Medical Mission**, which included Dr. Dwarkanath Kotnis, by the Indian National Congress (1938).
 - The early fifties and the **Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai phase of 1950s** witnessed a further strengthening of these ties.
- **Post-independence ties:**
 - India became the **first non-socialist bloc country** to establish **diplomatic relations with the PRC**.
 - However, the relations **began to deteriorate after 1959** due to the Chinese designs to assert itself in Himalayas. This ultimately led to Sino-Indian border **clashes in 1962**.
 - **PM Rajiv Gandhi's landmark visit in 1988** marked the beginning 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** on the India-China Border Areas during **PM Narasimha Rao's** visit reflected the growing stability in bilateral ties.
 - **During PM Atal Bihari Vajpayee's visit in 2003**, India and China signed the Declaration on Principles for Relations and Comprehensive Cooperation and decided to appoint Special Representatives (SRs) to explore the framework of a boundary settlement.
 - During the visit of **Chinese President Xi Jinping to India in September 2014**, the relationship was upgraded to a Closer Development Partnership. **The two sides also signed an MoU to open the Nathu La route for Kailash Mansarovar Yatra**.
 - This was followed by PM Narendra Modi's visit to China in May **2015**. He also announced the extension of **e-visa facility for Chinese tourists to India**.

- **2018** witnessed an upward swing in the momentum of ties. Two agreements, relating to the provision of hydrological information on the Brahmaputra River, and on phytosanitary requirements for rice exports, were signed at this meeting.
- However, in **2020** after Ladakh standoff there has been unprecedented deterioration in ties.

Differences among India and China:

CHINA	
FOUNDATIONS	<p>GOVERNMENT A single party rules China. Those at the top control the reforms process, although bureaucrats located far from Beijing don't always do its bidding. Officials who deliver economic growth can move up the ladder.</p>
	<p>INFORMATION AND TRANSPARENCY Economic information is increasingly available, but political information is not. The state's efforts to curtail news compete with technology-based efforts to disseminate information.</p>
	<p>PROPERTY RIGHTS The state respects the individual's rights to property more than it used to, but it still sacrifices them on the altar of public interest when the two come in conflict. The state can therefore make huge investments in public goods.</p>
IMPLICATIONS	<p>LOCAL BUSINESS The country has millions of would-be entrepreneurs, but their potential is constrained unless they partner with the state or with foreigners. The government is often the entrepreneur.</p>
	<p>MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES Foreign companies get red-carpet treatment from the state. Since they usually rely on their home bases for capital and senior talent, they aren't affected much by China's poor markets.</p>
	<p>DIASPORA Overseas Chinese played a catalytic role in starting China's economic miracle two decades ago. They are still a source of capital, while Chinese returning home contribute brainpower.</p>
	<p>RURAL ECONOMY The physical infrastructure in the villages is often superb. But the relative decline in the rural standard of living, compared with that in coastal areas, has fueled protest and resentment.</p>
	<p>EDUCATION AND HEALTH The resource-rich state has made large investments in education. Basic literacy levels are very high. The quality of health care is bad, partly because China moved away from a centralized system to a private model after 1978.</p>
	<p>EXTERNAL RELATIONS A fiat-driven approach characterizes China's relations with the world. The country leads with its wallet. China is stronger than India in their common hinterland in Asia and is gaining prominence in Africa and central Asia.</p>



INDIA	
<p>GOVERNMENT Coalitions of political parties jockey for power in a raucous democracy. Positions of power aren't dominated by traditional economic or social elites. Individual rights are respected, but the presence of many interest groups often renders the system dysfunctional.</p>	FOUNDATIONS
<p>INFORMATION AND TRANSPARENCY There's a cacophony of voices that are rarely deliberately inaccurate. The media debate everything; nothing is off-limits. In fact, they are increasingly exposing corruption in high places.</p>	
<p>PROPERTY RIGHTS The individual's rights to property are sacrosanct. Public interest is often sacrificed for the individual's sake. The government can make only small investments in public goods, which has led to poor infrastructure.</p>	
<p>LOCAL BUSINESS Indigenous enterprise has flowered in the past 15 years. It is aided by effective capital markets, good information flows, and respect for property rights.</p>	IMPLICATIONS
<p>MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES The government continues to exhibit a distaste for foreign investment, although less so than in the past. That's partly for good reasons, like supporting indigenous entrepreneurs, and partly for bad ones, such as protectionism.</p>	
<p>DIASPORA Once shunned, nonresident Indians are more accepted than they used to be. Capital flows from overseas Indians come in the form of remittances, not investments.</p>	
<p>RURAL ECONOMY The state's utter neglect of rural India has left villagers impoverished. The infrastructure is usually in terrible shape. The efforts made by the private sector and civil society to help villagers are laudable but inadequate.</p>	
<p>EDUCATION AND HEALTH The state has made woefully inadequate investments in education. The quality of health care, especially for the masses, is terrible. Private-sector investments help compensate, but they aren't large enough to make an impact.</p>	
<p>EXTERNAL RELATIONS The state's inefficiency extends to projecting India's influence. India's best brand ambassadors are its companies, executives, academics, and film stars. India is incapable of using hard power but is a masterful exponent of soft power.</p>	

Significance of China for India and vice versa:

<p>Geopolitical</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To restore friendly relations with Pakistan and keep it under check and to get support for UNSC membership. Asian century: With Russian economy crumbling, India and China as great powers would have a greater role to play. The new geography of trade is because of the contributions of both India and China. They could alter the global balance of power from a unilateral one to a multilateral one.
<p>Geostrategic</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sound ties between India and China will lead to peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific and across the world. It would encompass the major portion of the heartland of Asia besides resting on the waters of the Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean. Indulging in mutual intelligence sharing and cooperation is required for tackling infiltration and drug trafficking. If relationships become better, and borders become settled, It will free up of vast amount of resources locked in defense preparedness, .
<p>GeoEconomic</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It would integrate the world's two fastest-growing economies. Indian companies can use China for cheap raw material. Chins can turn to India to design and develop products cost-effectively and hire Indian talent to market and service products. Best way of combining China and India is to focus on hardware in China and on software in India. With Global uncertainty, growing protectionism and anti-Globalization trend, both beneficiary of liberal international order must work closely to sustain the same. China has huge forex reserve and India needs foreign investment for projects like Make in India. Both nations are members in NDB, AIIB, BRICS, BCIM etc and hence good relations among them can bring economic prosperity.
<p>Cooperation on other areas of common interest</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Despite rivalries, the two countries have played up their cultural links- such as the importation of Buddhism into China. India and China signed Education Exchange Programme (EEP) in 2006. Under this, government scholarships are awarded to 25 students, by both sides, in recognized institutions of higher learning in each other's country. Issues like WTO trade negotiations, climate change, food security and energy security. The two countries have a common interest in curbing religious radicalism and terrorism.

Areas of Convergence - Economic Ties - India's dependency on China:

- India's exports to China:** India's biggest exports to China, recently have been iron ore, cotton, and other raw material-based goods, which saw a recovery in demand in China last year (2021).

- China's Imports to India:** Over the last two years, India has imported large quantities of electrical and mechanical machinery, auto components, Active Pharmaceutical Ingredients (APIs), and a variety of medical supplies ranging from oxygen concentrators to Personal Protective Equipment (PPEs).

- **Bilateral Trade Growth:** The growth in the bilateral trade with India was highest among China's major trading partners, at 43%. Trade figures with China's top three trading partners showed a 28.1% increase with ASEAN, 27.5 % with the EU, and 28.7% with the US.
- **China's Trade Deficit:** In 2021, India's trade deficit would rise to USD 69.38 billion. For more than a decade, India has expressed concern about China's expanding trade deficit and has urged China to open its markets to Indian IT and pharmaceutical products.

Issues & Challenges -

- **Chinese Assertion (Implications for the World & India):**
 - One of the many consequences of China's assertive posture in Asia has been the **emergence of geopolitical coalitions** to limit the prospects for Beijing's regional dominance. Two new coalitions that have got a lot of political attention are the **(QUAD)** Quadrilateral framework involving Australia, India, Japan and the US, and the **AUKUS**, which brings together Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States.
 - Imperative for the world is to display solidarity with partners in Southeast Asia and with those who have fallen victims to **China's assertiveness and Wolf warrior diplomacy** (Recently Chinese Ambassador threatened Bangladesh for suffering substantial damage to bilateral ties if it joins Quad).

- India and the group of Democracies must stand with small countries which are falling into **Chinese Debt traps** by publicly stating their discomfiture with Chinese assertiveness and by strengthening strategic partnerships with like-minded countries in the Indo-Pacific region.
- **Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG) issue with China:** China, a key member of the NSG, has been stridently opposing India's bid primarily on the grounds that New Delhi is not a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.
- **Masood Azhar** - When India raised its concerns in United Nations Security Council, China was the only country among the 15 members to have opposed the ban on Jaish-e-Mohammad chief Masood Azhar.

BRI and India:

- **What is Belt and Road Initiative?** The BRI, formerly known as One Belt One Road or OBOR, is a global infrastructure development strategy adopted by the Chinese government in 2013 to invest in nearly 150 countries and international organizations.
 - The Silk Road Economic Belt is envisioned as three routes connecting China to Europe (via Central Asia), the Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean (through West Asia), and the Indian Ocean (via South Asia).
 - The 21st Century Maritime Silk Road is planned to create connections among regional waterways.
 - It is a stepping stone for China's aspirations of global leadership by creating a rival to the transatlantic economic area with the US at its apex.



How is it a threat to India?

- **CPEC** (China-Pakistan Economic Corridor) already runs through the Indian territory illegally occupied by Pakistan, signing OBOR would be disrespectful towards our own sovereignty.
- It poses a major **security threat** to India as Beijing is trying to encircle New Delhi by undertaking construction projects and railway lines in the neighboring countries under the guise of connectivity.
- Joining OBOR can **give legitimacy to the alleged state-sponsored terrorism from Pakistan** that can now spread to the rest of J&K.
- What some call a move on **economic diplomacy**, this project would give India massive headaches as the **immediate fallout** will be **increased ease of cooperative action between Pakistan and Chinese forces**. Also, worryingly, the **Chinese Army will get deeper access and deployment in Kashmir**.
- This project is **unilateral** in all aspects as it is handled solely by China without taking advice of countries that are going to be part of BRI.

How should India counter OBOR?

- **Modernize connectivity across its land and maritime frontiers** with neighboring countries.

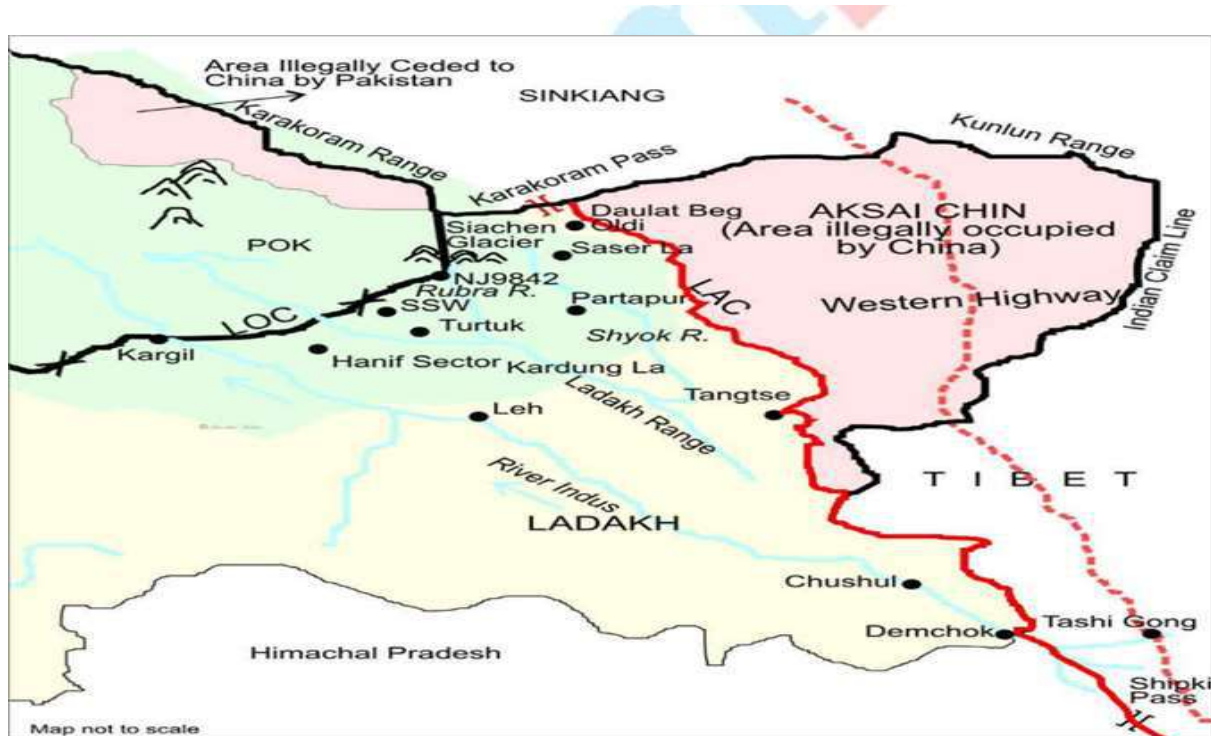
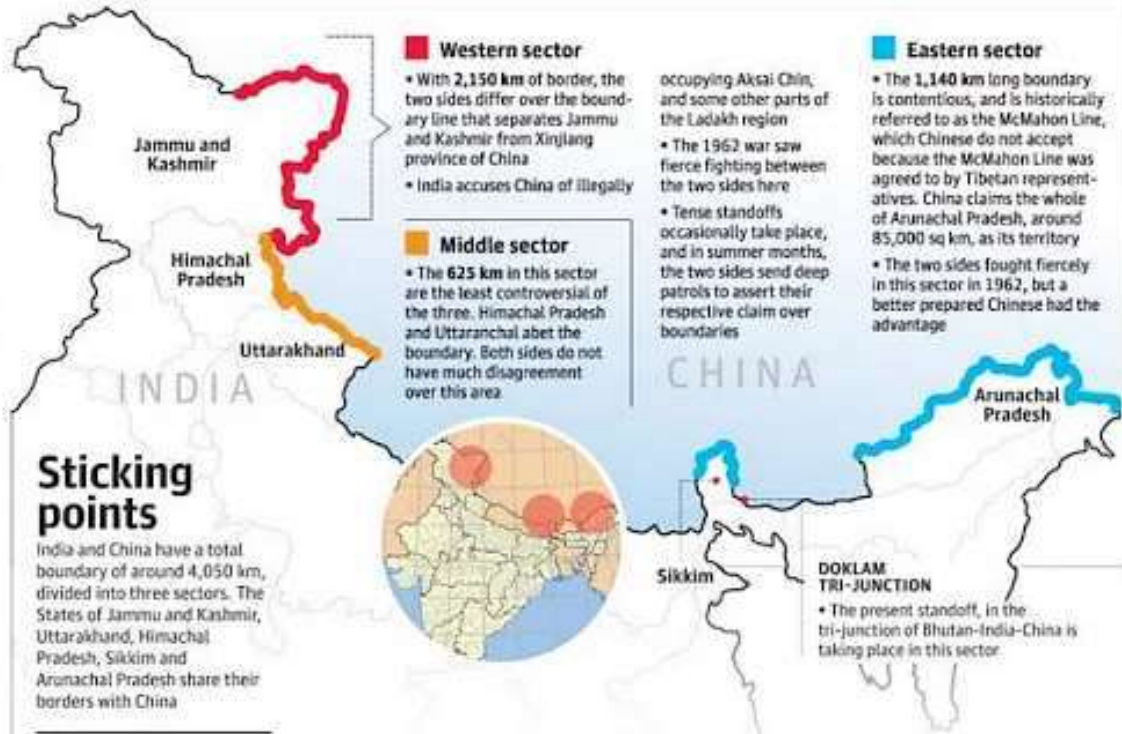
- **Work with like minded countries** like Japan and multilateral institutions to develop regional connectivity in the Indian Subcontinent and beyond.



- India's vision document on **ASIA- AFRICA GROWTH CORRIDOR** can be a good front.
- **India-Japan** has launched their own **infrastructure development projects** to balance OBOR- GREAT WALL.

Border disputes-

- Sector wise, causes & consequences-
 - **India- China war 1962:** dispute over Aksai Chin and Arunachal Pradesh's sovereignty. China achieved its goal of gaining control of the Aksai chin. There have been several incidents where Chinese troops have entered the Indian side and Indian troops have entered the Chinese side.
 - Two incidents of armed conflict in **1967**, first at **Nathu La and then at Cho La**. PLA attacked Indian posts at Nathu La. The conflict at Nathu La lasted 5 days, while the conflict at Cho La ended on the same day.
 - **Chumar, 2014:** After Indian soldiers attempted to obstruct Chinese construction work of extending the road from Chepzi to Chumar, a 16-day standoff ensued between Indian and Chinese forces in eastern Ladakh near the village of Chumar.
 - **Doklam, 2017:** near the **tri-junction of India, China, and Bhutan**.
 1. The 73-day standoff was the longest time the two militaries had been face-to-face in decades.
 2. Doklam is nearly 100 sq kms in size and is made up of a **valley and a plateau**. The area is bounded by the Ha valley of Bhutan, the Chumbi valley of Tibet (China), and the Indian state of Sikkim.
 3. The issue began in June when Chinese army engineers attempted to construct a road through the Doklam plateau, claimed by both China and Bhutan.
 4. While the Chinese foreign ministry initially demanded that India withdraw its troops unilaterally, both sides eventually agreed and announced their withdrawal on August 28, returning to their pre-16 June positions.
- **Galwan Valley:**
 - In a remote Himalayan valley in mid-June **2020**, Chinese and Indian troops faced each other armed only with sticks and rocks and did not use guns. By the end of the battle, at least 20 Indian soldiers had been killed and 76 had been injured.
 - It was the deadliest clash between the two militaries on their high-altitude border in decades, sparking a frenzy of diplomatic activity to try to defuse tensions.
 - On June 15, clashes occurred at more than 4,000 metres (14,000 feet) above sea level in an area between Indian-controlled Ladakh and Chinese-controlled Aksai Chin, but it is unclear what caused them.
- **Military standoff in the Eastern Ladakh-**
 - The border standoff between India's and China's military began in May **2020**, following a violent clash in the **Pangong lake** areas. On January 12, 2022, the two sides met for the 14th round of Corps Commander-level talks to end the deadlock. **China has recently renamed several places in Arunachal Pradesh as part of its claim to the Indian state**. On a global scale, India condemned the move and responded with a clear statement that assigning invented names would be futile and would not change the reality that the places are part of Arunachal Pradesh.
 - **Bridge across the Pangong Lake:** China is constructing a new bridge on Pangong Tso, which will provide an additional axis for the faster deployment of troops between the north and south banks of the lake, and closer to the LAC (Line of Actual Control). The bridge is located on their territory, and the Indian Army must account for this in its operational plans.



- **Chinese New Land Border Law, 2022:** China passed law for the “protection and exploitation of the country’s land border areas”-
 - **Sacrosanct nature of Borders:** “The sovereignty and territorial integrity of China are sacred and inviolable”.
 - **Border defense:** It mandates the state to take measures “to strengthen border defense, support economic and social development as well as opening-up in border areas.
 - **Habitation near borders:** It seeks to improve public services and infrastructure in such areas, encourage and support people’s life and work there.
 - **Consultations with neighbors:** It asks the state to follow the principles of equality, mutual trust, and friendly consultation, handle land border related-affairs with neighboring countries.

- **Mechanisms for Border settlements:**
 - **Shimla convention in 1914** to demarcate the boundary between Tibet and North East India, attended by representatives from all three countries, Tibet, China, and British India. The agreement was signed by British India and Tibet, but not by Chinese officials.
 - Currently, **India recognises the McMahon line as the legal boundary between India and China**, as agreed by the Shimla convention but **China rejects the Shimla agreement and the McMahon line**, claiming that Tibet was not a sovereign state and thus lacked the authority to enter into treaties.
 - The **Panchsheel doctrine** stated unequivocally that all parties must "respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity."
 - **In 1989**, India and China formed a **Joint Working Group for Confidence Building Measures (CBMs)** and agreed to resolve all border disputes bilaterally.
 - The **Line of Actual Control (LAC)** is the military border that separates Indian-controlled areas of Jammu and Kashmir from Aksai Chin.
 - India traditionally considers the **Johnson line of 1865**, which was marked by a civil servant named **W.H. Johnson and placed Aksai Chin** in Jammu and Kashmir. China, on the other hand, recognises the **Macartney-Macdonald Line** as the actual boundary, placing Aksai Chin in China's Xinjiang region.
 - When then-PM Narasimha Rao visited China in **1993**, the two countries signed the **'Agreement for the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility along the LAC.'**
 - In **1996**, an agreement on **“Confidence Building Measures in the Military Field”** along the LAC was reached.
 - **In 2003**, India-China relations received a significant boost. India's sovereignty over Sikkim was recognised by China. India and China signed a **“Declaration on Principles for Relations and Comprehensive Cooperation”**, as well as a mutual decision to appoint **Special Representatives** to explore the framework of a political boundary settlement.
 - A **protocol on Modalities for the Implementation of Confidence Building Measures** in the Military Field Along the LAC was agreed upon in **2005**.
 - **In 2012**, India and China agreed to establish a “working mechanism for consultation and coordination” along India's border with China.

South-China Sea (SCS):

- **What is the basis of the dispute?** Through Nine-Dash line, China has claimed sovereignty over entire SCS. This is in violation of international laws and UNCLOS.
- **What are the disputed regions?** It spans disputed regions like (a) *Paracel Islands* which are claimed by China, Taiwan and Vietnam; (b) *Spratly Islands* which are claimed by China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Brunei and Philippines; (c) Scarborough Shoal which are claimed by Philippines, China and Taiwan; (d) *Natuna Island* which are claimed by

Indonesia's and (e) others territories like Pratas Island, Mischief reef.

What is the Importance of SCS?

- As per UNCTAD, 55% of the world trade passes through this region. It also accounts for the passage of 80% of Chinese oil shipments. It also has rich fishing grounds and rich biodiversity.
- **Geostrategic significance:** Its proximity to Malacca strait will allow China to overcome the 'Malacca dilemma'. It will allow China to Secure and Dominate 'SLOC' (Sea lines of communication).
- **Change in Chinese foreign policy:** China has shifted gears from 'peaceful rise' to 'assertive china'. It will allow China to assert regional dominance and ability to project its military strength.

What is the response of other parties and the world:

- **China claims Sovereignty over entire SCS.** China wants to handle countries bilaterally as it can use power asymmetry to assert itself. China has undertaken building artificial islands in Sparty and Paracel. It objects to Indian/other naval vessels in SCS. Recently, China resorted to use of maritime militia to anchor around Philippines claimed territories.
- **USA** is not a party to UNCLOS, but recognizes it. Pursuant to this it rejects Chinese claims. USA also conducts freedom of navigation operations (FONOPS) to challenge any unilateral assertion of such extravagant maritime claims.
- **INDIA** is not a direct party in the dispute and in best of its interest it may like to have an amicable relationship both with China as well as ASEAN nations.
 1. As of now India's **official position-** SCS dispute should not be "internationalized" and India has called to **Peaceful resolution** through bilateral and multi-lateral mechanism as per international law.
 2. However, it's **economic, maritime and strategic interest demands maintaining freedom of passage for maritime trade** through the SCS. This compels India to get involved in the dispute. Further, India has

announced '**Act East policy**' and also actively engaging in **Indo-Pacific strategy**. India has been concerned about the security of its trade flows and energy interests in the SCS.

3. **Vietnam** has offered India seven oil blocks in its territory of the SCS- this move didn't get down well with China. India has signed energy deals with **Brunei** too. India being a member of the **QUAD** makes China susceptible because the grouping is a type of containing mechanism for China.
- **ASEAN** recently called for adherence to UNCLOS. ASEAN is also negotiating Code of conduct with China for SCS. However, there is lack of unity as China has strong economic and political grip over some countries like Laos, Cambodia etc.

Taiwan Crisis:

- **One China Policy:**
 - As per the PRC, **Taiwan's sovereignty belongs to China**, the PRC's government and supporters believe that the secession of Taiwan should **be agreed upon by all 1.3 billion** Chinese and not just 23 million Taiwan residents.
 - Beijing asserts that there is **only "One China" and Taiwan is part of it**. It views PRC as the only legitimate government of China, and seeks Taiwan's eventual "unification" with the mainland.
 - **Chinese claim:** Taiwan is bound by an understanding known as the **1992 Consensus**, which was reached between representatives of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Kuomintang (KMT) party that then ruled Taiwan.
- **India's stand:**
 - India has **followed a "One China policy"** since its recognition of the PRC in 1949, and only maintains trade and cultural relations with Taiwan.
 - India routinely reiterated this policy **until 2008** after which it stopped mentioning it in official statements.

- However, during then Chinese premier Wen Jiabao's visit to India in December 2010, India did not mention support for the **One-China policy** in the joint communique.
- In 2014, when **PM Modi** came to power, he invited **Taiwan's Ambassador**, along with the president of the Central Tibetan Administration **to his swearing-in**.
- India-Taiwan **trade**: \$5.7 billion in 2020, India- Taiwan also signed Bilateral Investment Agreement in 2018 and Double Tax Avoidance Agreement in 2011.

Way Forward:

- Given the competition and conflict angle, it is necessary to **build up economic and security capabilities** and begin to **close the power gap with China**.
- India should aggressively pursue **Cotton Route, Project Mausam and Spice Route** to strengthen economic ties between countries in the Indian Ocean rim. India should bring into action the planned strategic **Asia Africa Growth Corridor** with the help of Japan.
- The **External Affairs Minister suggested** "three mutuals" and "eight broad propositions" as a way forward for the relationship.
 - **Mutual respect, mutual sensitivities and mutual interests** are the "determining factors".
 - **Major propositions:**
 1. **Adhering to commitment:** The agreements already reached must be adhered to in their entirety, both in letter and in spirit.
 2. **Respect for LAC:** Both sides also needed to strictly observe and respect the LAC, and any attempt to unilaterally change the status quo was completely unacceptable.
 3. **Maintaining peace and tranquillity:** Peace and tranquillity in border areas was the basis for the development of the relationship in other domains. If disturbed, the rest of the relationship would be too.

4. **Broader partnership:** While both remain committed to a multipolar world, they should recognise that a multipolar Asia was one of its essential constituents.
5. **Reciprocity:** While each state had its interests, concerns and priorities, sensitivities to them could not be one-sided and relations were reciprocal in nature.
6. **Divergences management:** While both sides have common cause on development and economic issues and common point on membership of plurilateral groups, there are divergences in interests and aspirations.
7. **Civilizational ties:** As civilizational states, India and China must always take the long view.
8. **Cooperation and competition:** Even before the events of 2020, the relationship had reflected a duality of cooperation and competition.

H155- India- Nepal relations

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

“Ours is a ‘**Roti-Beti ka Sambandh**’ – a bond of family and kinship.” – Late Smt. Sushma Swaraj, former External Affairs Minister of India on India-Nepal ties.

- **Traditional Links:** India and Nepal share ties of culture, religion, tradition, language, literature, and mythology. **Janakpuri** is the supposed birthplace of **Seeta**, while **Limbini** is where Buddha was born. **Ayodhya** and **Ganga** are as sacred to Nepalese as they are to Indians.
- **Geographical Bond:**
 - The people in both the countries are nurtured by the same mountains and rivers. **Kosi, Gandak, Sarayu** rivers travel to India from Nepal.
 - Nepal remains solely **dependent on India for connectivity and supplies** of essentials apart from the normal economic activities.
- **Colonial Legacy:** The outcomes of the **Anglo-Gurkha war of 1815-16** has had important bearings on current India-Nepal relations.
 - The British created **Gurkha regiments** as part of their colonial army after being witness to their bravery in the 1816 war. On independence, India absorbed six of the ten such colonial Gurkha regiments as part of the Indian Army.
 - **The treaty of Sugauli** created a riverine border between British-controlled areas of India and Nepal. Current border dispute between India and Nepal is based on different perceptions of rivers as identified under this treaty.
- **Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship 1950**
 - It creates an open border between India and Nepal.
 - It allowed Nepal to overcome disadvantage of being a land-locked state.

However, there are **divergent views on the 1950 treaty:**

Nepalese elite view	Indian View
Unequal treaty, a symbol of Indian hegemony.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unique benefits for Nepal and Nepalese – employment opportunities, unrestricted movement across borders (open border), national treatment etc. • Vajpayee government agreed to jointly review provisions of the treaty. But there was no input from Nepal. • The treaty acts as a device for Nepalese leaders to posture against India.

- **Transition to democracy:**
 - Nepal transitioned into a **multiparty system of democracy** with the election of the **Maoist government in 2008** after the fall of the monarchy in 2006.
 - **Adoption of a constitution in 2015** in a slow process marked by bitter disagreements and protests.

ISSUES & CHALLENGES

“India’s Nepal policy has not always been the outcome of rational choices.” – Prof. SD Muni, political scientist and expert on India-Nepal relations. India-Nepal ties are weighed down by **following issues:**

- I. **Border dispute:**
 - **Kalapani-Limpiadhura-Lipulekh Trijunction:** Under treaty of Sugauli 1816, river Kali marked the western border of



Nepal. There is dispute over the source of river Kali.

• **Implications:**

- **Security Implications:** As the tri-junction of India, Nepal & China, it allows India to keep an eye of PLA’s movements and vice versa.
- **Geopolitical Implications:** It provides China opportunity to erode India-Nepal bilateral ties and extend geopolitical influence as part of its ‘**five-finger strategy**’. E.g., it can enter the dispute as an interested party with stakes in the issue.
- **Logistics and Infrastructure:** The disputed region is at heart of the **shortest and most economic route** from North India to Kailash Mansarovar. It also improves infrastructure and access to remote regions which are threatened by the Chinese ‘**salami slicing**’ tactics and incursions.
- **Strategic implications:** It **reduces India’s dependence** on China and Nepal for ferrying pilgrims to Mansarovar through longer and logistically complex alternatives like Nepalgunj-Humla or Kathmandu-Kerung route through Nepal or via Nathu La in Sikkim. It also creates an **India-controlled access into Tibet**.



Five-Finger Strategy/Policy of China:

- It is a Chinese foreign policy element attributed to **Mao** for extending Chinese control over Himalayan states.
- It considers **Tibet as a geo-strategic palm** and the Himalayan states/regions of Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh as **five fingers of Tibet**, which should be controlled by the **Chinese arm**.

2. Chinese Influence:

- **China’s growing footprint** in Nepal as seen in:
 - Nepal’s participation in **BRI/ OBOR**,
 - Negative **views on Indo-pacific** in Nepal
 - Chinese **interference in Nepal’s domestic politics** including in government formation and discussions among political parties.

- The **reasons** for increasing Chinese influence in Nepal:
 - The perception of **'India promises, China delivers'** due to slow implementation of India-funded projects. E.g., **Mahakali agreement** has remained without start for over two decades.
 - **Anti-India sentiment** among elite sections.
 - Nepalese attempts to play India against China for diplomatic gains and as a **bargaining chip**.
 - Chinese promise of access to Ports, roads, railways, aviation, communication etc. E.g., **trans-Himalayan railway**.

3. Political Instability in Nepal: Madhesi Issue

- Madhes refers to plain region of Nepal. It covers 22 of Nepal's 75 districts. 17% of country's area and **50% population**. It refers to the plain regions of Nepal, with Madhesis being the people living in Madhes (derived from **Madhya-desh** or the middle country).
- **New constitution of Nepal** which was adopted in 2015 disempowered Madhesis. New laws such as **Citizenship Amendment Act 2006** continue discriminatory treatment against cross-border marital ties, with **gender inequities**.

4. Dependence-dominance relationship:

- **Big Brother Approach:** The naturally dominant position of India creates a 'big brother attitude' in India's approach to its relation with Nepal, which is detested by Nepalese.
- **Coercive diplomacy:** 2015 economic blockade was alleged by Nepal to have official support of Indian government for coercing political and constitutional changes in Nepal.

AREAS OF CONVERGENCE:

- **Economic Convergence:** Cross-border SEZs can be promoted. Regional economic linkages will help in economic growth of India's underdeveloped eastern region. Initiatives like

Motor vehicle agreement (MVA) under BBIN need to be pursued for promoting regional integration.

- **Security:** Cross-border smuggling, circulation of Fake Indian currency, cutting logistic support for terrorism are important areas of cooperation. **Joint management of border** also needs to be enhanced.
- **Infrastructure:** Power purchase from **hydroelectric projects** funded and constructed by Indian entities would help build mutual stakes in the development of both countries. **Flood control** and **disaster management** such as in the yearly flooding of **Kosi** also require cooperation between India and Nepal.
- **Cultural Convergence:** Ramayana circuit would help improve people-to-people ties. **Buddhist circuit** can be source of **tourism economy**.

WAY FORWARD

The palpable **distrust in bilateral relations** creates a neighbourhood trapped by apprehensions. It reduces scope for **regional cooperation**. To address the issues, **India must -**

- Introduce new economic developmental and infrastructure initiatives.
- More professionalism in diplomacy.
- Disregard traditional muscular diplomacy and resort to arm-twisting measures like blockade.
- Build on top of PM Modi's cooperative diplomacy which was received warmly in his visit to Nepal.

In the words of Rakesh Sood – **"Whenever Nepali politics become highly polarized, India becomes a convenient punching bag"**. Thus, India must walk the tightrope skilfully while involving itself in Nepal's domestic affairs. (1107 words)

HI56- India- Bhutan relation



Historical context

India and Bhutan share a time-tested bilateral relationship which is characterized by trust, good-will and a mutual respect and understanding for each other’s aspirations. Diplomatic relations between India and Bhutan were established in 1968 with the establishment of a special office of India in Thimphu. The historical context of India-Bhutan relationship can be seen from:

Treaty of Punakha (1910):

- Bhutan become protectorate state of ‘British India’. It means Bhutan to have Internal autonomy and not external autonomy.

Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation (1949):

- India and Bhutan signed the Treaty of Peace and Friendship on August 8, 1949, in Darjeeling.
- The treaty is termed as the continuation of the Anglo-Bhutanese Treaty of 1910. It treats the Himalayas as the sentinel of India’s security

- The Indo-Bhutan Treaty is dubbed as the corner stone of Bhutan’s foreign policy.

Revised treaty (2007):

- India and Bhutan revised the treaty of friendship and cooperation in 2007
- One of the significant changes was the removal of the clause on the “advice of the Government of India in Bhutan’s external affairs”.
- The status of India vis-à-vis Bhutan changed from being a guiding partner to being a close friend of the country.

India-Bhutan trade and transit Agreement, 1972 (renewed in 2016):

- It provides for duty-free transit of Bhutanese exports to third countries.

Treaty of Cooperation in Hydropower and Protocol (2006):

- Under this, India has agreed to assist Royal government of Bhutan in developing a minimum of 10,000 MW of hydropower and import the

Surplus electricity from this to India by the year 2020.

Significance of Bhutan for India:

- Geo-strategic significance of Bhutan arises from its geographic location. The Himalayan state shares a border with China as well as with India. Four Indian states viz. West Bengal, Sikkim, Assam, and Arunachal Pradesh share a border with Sikkim.
- Bhutan is strategically important for India as the country acts as a buffer between India and China.
- Bhutan is the only other country, other than India, which has an unresolved border dispute with China. The threat of Chinese incursion in Bhutan's territory poses a direct security threat to India's interest.
- A stable and prosperous Bhutan is important for India to effectively tackle the prevalent insurgency in India's North Eastern states.
- Bhutan is one of major regional trade partner of India. The bilateral trade between India and Bhutan have more than doubled from USD 484 million in 2014 to USD 1083 million in 2021.

Areas of cooperation between Bhutan and India:

Hydropower cooperation

- For Bhutan, hydro-power development continues to be a vital catalyst for socio-economic development. The ongoing cooperation between India and Bhutan in the hydro-power sector is covered under the 2006 bilateral agreement for cooperation and its Protocol signed in 2009.
- The hydropower projects are an example of win-win cooperation between India and Bhutan. These projects while generating export revenue for Bhutan are also cementing the economic integration between the two sides.
- These hydropower plants are providing a reliable source of inexpensive and clean electricity to India too.
- As of date, four hydro-electric projects (HEPs) totalling 2136 MW are already operational in Bhutan and are supplying electricity to India, including the 60 MW Kurichhu HEP; 1020 MW Tala HEP; the 336 MW Chukha HEP; and the 720 MW Mangdechhu HEP.

- Further, three Hydroelectric projects are under construction. These include the 1200 MW Punatsangchhu-I, the 1020 MW Punatsangchhu-II and the 600 MW Kholongchhu. Of these, Kholongchhu is the first Joint Venture model project between Bhutan and India.

Security cooperation:

- **Operation all clear:** Royal Bhutanese Army and Indian army conducted a joint operation, that started in December 2003, by the name of operation all clear, to flush out Indian insurgents (ULFA), hiding in the Bhutanese territory.
- **IMTRAT:** Indian Military Training Team (IMTRAT) is permanently based in western Bhutan to train the Royal Bhutan Army.
- Bhutan, due to its strategic location, has a key role to play in safeguarding India's vital Siliguri corridor.

Diplomatic cooperation:

- The Golden Jubilee of the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between India and Bhutan was celebrated in the year 2018.
- Both the countries maintain close cooperation through high level political and diplomatic visits. Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, chose Bhutan for his first international visit as a Prime Minister, in 2014.
- Bhutan is a founding member of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). It is also a member of BIMSTEC, World Bank, the IMF, Group of 77 and others.
- India plays pro-active part in imparting training to the diplomats of Bhutan.
- Promoting space diplomacy, as a part of SAARC satellite programme, India has inaugurated a satellite ground station in Bhutan. The ground-station will aid in communication, disaster management, tele-medicine, tele-education, banking, television broadcasting etc.

Economic cooperation:

- Indo-Bhutan Trade and Transit Agreement (renewed in 2016) facilitates seamless trade and commerce between the two countries by ensuring benefits such as duty-free transits.

- India is the largest trading partner of Bhutan, with the bilateral trade standing at USD 1083 million in 2021.
- Bhutanese currency is Ngultrum (Nu.) is officially pegged to the Indian Rupee.
- India has committed 4500 crores to Bhutan's 12th Five Year Plan (FYP).

Cultural and educational cooperation:

- India actively provides scholarships to Bhutanese students, improving the developmental indicators of the students. Around 4000 Bhutanese are studying in under-graduate courses in Indian universities on self-financing basis.
- The two countries enjoy a substantial level of people-to-people ties. India Bhutan foundation was established in 2003 for improving people to people cooperation in the areas of culture, education and environment protection.
- Buddhism provides a strong foundational basis for the cultural integration between the two countries.
- Under bilateral cultural exchange programme, the interchange of cultural troupes and artists between the two countries have gained traction.

Doklam issue:

- Doklam plateau is a tri-junction between India, Bhutan, and China. It is an 89 sq.km patch of territory in Chumbi Valley between Sikkim and Bhutan. It's called the Donglang region by China, Bhutan calls it Doklam Plateau and India refers to it as Doka La.
- It is surrounded by the Chumbi Valley of Tibet, Bhutan's Ha Valley and Sikkim. This region holds immense strategic importance for India and China.
- Lying east of Sikkim, it has a commanding view of the Chumbi valley and overlooks the narrow Siliguri Corridor that links the North-East to the rest of India.
- The unilateral Chinese intrusion in the region is opposed by both China and India. China's construction of permanent military posts, trenches, helipads etc., raised alarms in Bhutan and India.

- In 2017, India and China has engaged in a stand-off over the unilateral and illegal intrusion of China into the trijunction area.
- Indian troops confronted the Chinese troops at Doklam at the request of the Bhutanese government. The stand-off at Doklam lasted 72 days, before the two countries agreed to disengage from the strategically important plateau.

Challenges in the bilateral relationship:

- The Motor Vehicles Agreement that was signed in 2015 involving Bangladesh, Bhutan, India and Nepal (BBIN) was blocked by Bhutan's upper house citing environmental concerns.
- Across some sections, India has been perceived to be as occasionally meddling in the internal affairs of Bhutan.
- Growing and unsustainable trade imbalance in favor of India. Bhutan's trade deficit is set to worsen as India's Good and Services Tax (GST) taxes makes its exports to Bhutan cheaper and imports from Bhutan more expensive
- The porous borders between Bhutan and India are often misused by anti-India insurgents.
- The Chinese footprints in Bhutan are a cause of strain in the India-Bhutan ties. Growing number of Chinese tourists, Bhutan's urge to diversify its economy beyond hydropower etc., provide the Chinese with a leverage over India vis-à-vis Bhutan.

Way forward:

- India should work towards nourishing and mending (where needed) the relationship in the spirit of neighbourhood first, Gujral doctrine etc.
- The common cultural linkages such as Buddhism should be leveraged to deepen the people to people ties between the two countries.
- There is an imperative to diversify the economic relations beyond hydropower. New areas of economic cooperation such as tourism, education, cottage industries etc., should be explored in a sustainable manner.
- The connectivity between North East states and Bhutan should be augmented in order to boost the mutual economic potential.

- Avenues and platforms for mutual exchange of ideas should be encouraged. For example, India can explore the possibility of implementing the concept of Gross National Happiness in Indian context.
- Timely completion of hydropower projects is an important step towards ensuring socio-economic development.

ForumIAS

HI57- India- Bangladesh relations

1. Brief Historical background:

- Bangladesh, with its capital at Dhaka, came into being as the People's Republic of Bangladesh. It was born as a result of the **War of Liberation of Bangladesh** when Bengali East Pakistan seceded from the union with (West) Pakistan in **1971**.
- India was the first country to recognize Bangladesh as a separate and independent state and established diplomatic relations with the country immediately after its independence in December 1971. **India-**

Bangladesh Friendship Treaty of peace and cooperation 1972 signed between India and Bangladesh led to the foundation of future relations between the two countries.

2. **Significance of Bangladesh for India:** India's one prime interest is developing North-East India, better connectivity to South-East Asian Countries, and exploring the Indo-Pacific region. To reach that, better India-Bangladesh relations is a significant step.



Geopolitical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Security of North East: A friendly Bangladesh can ensure that its soil is not used for anti-India activities. Bangladesh's action resulted in the arrest of many top leaders of the NE insurgent groups like United Liberation Front of Assam and National Democratic Front of Bodoland. • Securing sea lines of communication: Bangladesh is strategically placed nearby important sea lanes. It can play a significant role in containing piracy in the Indian Ocean.
---------------------	--

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fighting terrorism and deradicalization: Stable, open, and tolerant Bangladesh helps India in stopping extremists from flourishing there and also in cooperation in deradicalization efforts, sharing intelligence, and other counter-terrorism efforts.
Geostrategic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategic location: From the perspective of India’s Northeast, Bangladesh is India’s most strategic neighbour, whom New Delhi cannot ever afford to ignore. • Bridge to Southeast Asia: Bangladesh is a natural pillar of India’s ‘Act East policy’. It can act as a ‘bridge’ to economic and political linkages with South East Asia and beyond. Bangladesh is an important component of BIMSTEC and BBIN initiatives. • Balancing China: A neutral Bangladesh would ensure containment of an assertive China in this region and help in countering its string of pearls policy. • Gateway to NorthEast: The bridge ‘Maitri Setu’ has been built over the Feni River which flows between the Indian boundary in Tripura State and Bangladesh. It is set to become the ‘Gateway of North East’ with access to Chittagong Port of Bangladesh, which is just 80 kms from Sabroom.
Geoeconomic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade between two: A focal point during Ms. Hasina’s visit as the two countries gear up to sign a Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement. • Bangladesh imports critical industrial raw materials from India on which its exports are reliant. Bangladesh also could improve several manufacturing industries by leveraging Indian expertise in service sectors. • For the benefit of communities living along border areas of both countries, 4 Border Haats, two each in Tripura and Meghalaya, have been established. Also, steps have been taken for reduction in customs and immigration documents, establishment of 49 Land customs stations, integrated check posts, etc. • Bangladesh’s economy is now one-and-a-half times as large as that of West Bengal; better integration between the two would provide a huge boost for eastern India.

3. Areas of Convergence:

a. Economic Relations:

- Bangladesh is India’s biggest trade partner in South Asia and India is the second biggest trade partner of Bangladesh.
- In the FY 2021-22, **India’s exports to Bangladesh were \$16.15 bn and**

bilateral trade grew to \$18.13 billion.

- India at present provides a power supply of 600MW from Palatana Power Plant in Tripura. In return, Bangladesh agreed to provide a 10 GBPS internet connection to India’s North Eastern States.

b. Connectivity:

- Both countries jointly inaugurated the newly restored **railway link between Haldibari (India) and Chilahati (Bangladesh)**.
 - Agreed to an early operationalization of the Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal (**BBIN**) initiative Motor Vehicles Agreement through the expeditious signing of the enabling MoU.
 - The second addendum to the **Protocol on Inland Water Transit and Trade (PIWTT)** was signed recently.
 - **Kolkata-Dhaka-Agartala Bus Service** also launched in 2015. This reduced the distance between Kolkata and Agartala from 1,650 km to just 500 km.
- c. Cooperation over Rivers:
- A bilateral **Joint Rivers Commission (JRC)** has been working since June 1972 to maintain liaison between the two countries to maximize benefits from common river systems.
- d. Defence Cooperation:
- **Border Management:** It is also worth recalling that India shares its longest border of 4,096.7 kilometres with Bangladesh, which is also the fifth-longest border in the contemporary world.
 - The India-Bangladesh **Land Boundary Agreement (LBA)** came into force following the exchange of instruments of ratification in June 2015. India and Bangladesh swapped the disputed islands allowing the inhabitants to choose their country of residence. The inhabitants were incorporated as citizens of either India or Bangladesh.
 - Various Joint exercises of Army (Exercise **Sampriti**) and Navy (Exercise **Milan**) take place between the two countries.
- e. Medical tourism:
- Bangladesh accounts for more than **35% of India's international medical patients**.
- Bangladesh alone contributes to more than 50% of India's revenue from medical tourism.
- f. Co-operation in multilateral platforms:
- Members of major regional organisations like SAARC and the BIMSTEC.
 - Solidarity at global platforms like UNSC, working together in achieving SDGs.
 - Cooperation to tackle the challenge of COVID-19 pandemic – participation of Bangladesh in SAARC leaders Video Conference in March 2020 and for creation of the SAARC Emergency Response Fund to counter effects of the global pandemic in the South Asian region.
 - PM Modi sent over two million doses of AstraZeneca-Oxford University vaccine **Covishield, as a gift**.
 - PM visited Bangladesh in March and participated in the golden jubilee of its independence from Pakistan and the birth centenary of Bangabandhu. It was decided to commemorate **December 6 as 'Maitri Diwas' (Friendship Day)**.
- g. Recent Advancements:
- Recently, India and Bangladesh signed seven agreements and also inaugurated three projects to deepen their partnership.
 - The use of the **Chattogram and Mongla ports** in Bangladesh for movement of goods to and from India, particularly from Northeastern India.
 - Use of Bangladesh's **Feni River for drinking water supply in Tripura**.

4. Issues & Challenges:

- a. **River water disputes:** India and Bangladesh share 54 big and small transboundary rivers, all of which are part of the drainage system of the Ganga-Brahmaputra-Meghna (GBM) basin. Bangladesh is the lower riparian. This causes concern in Bangladesh that India—being both the upper riparian and first to develop the water resources—can have far more disproportionate control over the

ivers, compounded by the lack of transparent data. The major water disputes between two countries are:

- **Farakka Barrage-** It aims to divert water into Bhagirathi-Hooghly River to increase the lean period flow of river to increase the water depth at the Kolkata port which was threatened by siltation.
- The other reason for water dispute is **Teesta River**, which has its source in Sikkim. In 1983, both nations agreed to an ad-hoc agreement for water sharing where India received 39% of Teesta water while 36% was allocated to Bangladesh. In 2011, an agreement to establish a Joint Hydro Observation Station was evolved which proposed an interim agreement for the next 15 years

under which India was to get 42.5% of the Teesta water while Bangladesh was to get 37.5% of water flow during the dry season. The agreement could not be adopted due to opposition by the CM of West Bengal.

- **Construction of the Tipaimukh Dam:** Tipaimukh Dam is a hydel power project proposed on the river Barak in Manipur. Bangladesh is concerned that the dam will disrupt the river's seasonal rhythm and adversely affect downstream agriculture and fisheries. Another concern is related with the location of Tipaimukh Dam, which lies in an ecologically sensitive, seismically volatile, and topographically fragile region.

TWO NATIONS, ONE RIVER

Total length: **414km**

Sikkim: **151km**

Sikkim-West Bengal boundary: **142km**

Bangladesh: **121km**




Why Teesta is important:

 **- for Bangladesh**
According to the report of Asian Foundation in 2013, its flood plain covers about 14% of the total cropped area of Bangladesh and provides direct livelihood opportunities to approximately 73% of its population.


"I always want Bangladesh to get water. But we have a problem with the Teesta water because the water supply in the river has gone down"

Mamata Banerjee, after meeting Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina in April 2017 at New Delhi.

 **- For India**
Teesta is the lifeline of North Bengal and almost half a dozen of districts of West Bengal are dependent on the waters of Teesta. The negotiations on how to share the water have been going on since 1972.

1972: Joint River Commission (JRC) was established by India and Bangladesh in the Indo-Bangla Treaty of Friendship.

1983: Agreement on ad-hoc sharing of Teesta water. According to agreement, ad-hoc sharing is valid until 1985 end.

1983: Water sharing in ad-hoc agreement:

India	39%
Bangladesh	36%
Unallocated	25%

1998: Bangladesh started "Teesta Barrage" irrigation project (3 cropping seasons per year).

2011: an interim deal that was supposed to last for 15 years – gave India 42.5% and Bangladesh 37.5% of Teesta water.

b. **Chinese Influence:** Chinese inroads into the neighbourhood have been a cause of worry for India. China has been actively pursuing bilateral ties with Bangladesh. Bangladesh had successfully approached China for a mega project to enhance Teesta river water flow.

- New Delhi's adoption of **anti-Muslim policies, a hardening of India's grip on Kashmir, and other simmering bilateral disputes** has led a growing number of analysts to conclude that Bangladesh will increasingly cultivate warm relations with India's strategic rival, China.
- **Human rights violations in Kashmir** that followed the revocation of Kashmir's autonomy, and the **adoption of the controversial Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) and the National Register of Citizens (NRC)** stirred outrage among many Bangladeshis.
- **China** has flooded Bangladesh with **foreign direct investment**, lucrative infrastructure development projects, and has granted **tariff-free access to the Chinese market for 97% of Bangladeshi products**. According to the 2019 UN World Investment Report, Bangladesh recorded its highest FDI of \$3.61 billion from China alone.
- China is also a **top exporter of defense equipment** to Bangladesh. China's BRI project has also fueled Chinese investment in Bangladeshi infrastructure developments. After Xi Jinping's visit in 2016, Bangladesh has seen an additional increase in Chinese investment and loan offers.
- Furthermore, in 2016, Bangladesh purchased two **submarines** from China for \$205 million. Indian intelligence also reported that Poly Technologies Inc., a Chinese state-owned company, has been assigned to build a submarine base, which will cost around \$1.2 billion.

Nevertheless, China's involvement in building Bangladesh's first submarine base has raised eyebrows in India and has led to questions of whether Bangladesh will follow in the footsteps of other South Asian neighbors to join China's orbit in South Asia.

- Bangladesh also requires China's support in resolving the Rohingya refugee crisis. **Bangladesh is the second biggest arms market for China after Pakistan.**

c. Other issues:

- **Rohingya crisis:** There are almost 11 lakh Rohingyas refugees in Bangladesh. India has supplied humanitarian aid to Bangladesh under 'Operation Insaniyat' for Rohingya crisis but Bangladesh expects India to put pressure on Myanmar for repatriation of over a million of Rohingyas.
- The **Indo-Bangladesh border** is of porous nature which provides a pathway for smuggling, trafficking in arms, drugs, and people and cattle.
- **Delay in project execution:** As of 2017, India had extended three lines of credit worth approximately \$7.4 billion. However, less than 10% of the cumulative commitments have been disbursed so far. Also, there is a delay in the implementation of the BBIN project.

Way Forward:

- It should raise alarm in New Delhi that after the **June 2020 border clash between India and China**, all of India's South Asian neighbors, including **Bangladesh, remained silent and did not condemn China.**
- The road ahead in Bangladesh-India relations will remain turbulent. The **cancellation of official state visits by several Bangladeshi officials to India, the unwillingness of the Bangladeshi PM to meet India's High Commissioner to Bangladesh, and Pakistani PM Imran Khan's rare phone call to Bangladesh's PM Sheikh Hasina**, highlight

the challenges faced by New Delhi to rebuild bridges with Bangladesh.

- However, if these bridges are rebuilt, Bangladesh could play a critical role in helping shape India's strategic environment.
 - It would be opportune to reflect on how to **empower the "third space" of ground-level stakeholders** between the two nations: The space which breathes on mutual trust and love that can provide the ecosystem for **nurturing growth and stability** for the next half a century, based on ground-up ideas to reap the benefits of connectivity.
 - The **early resolution of Teesta** is the better way to boost India-Bangladesh relations. The government has to form a tripartite committee containing members

from India, Bangladesh, and the State of West Bengal to determine the amount of water sharing.

- The government has to ensure the **deportation of illegal migrants**. Further, the government should not extend voting rights and nationality to illegal migrants.
- The governments should **involve joint forces to reduce border issues**. Such as illegal trading, trafficking, cattle smuggling, etc. This will yield better results in curbing crime and increase better civil-military relations.
- India needs to **strengthen regional groups** like SAARC, BIMSTEC, etc. This will give full impetus to India's **Neighbourhood First policy**.

HI58- India- Srilanka Relation

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

“(For Sri Lanka) the challenge is to be mindful of the sensitivities of larger neighbour; (for India) it is about respecting the sovereignty of smaller neighbour.” – C Raja Mohan, foreign affairs expert.

- **Cultural Bond:** More than 2500 years old recorded relations filled with legacy of cultural, religious, intellectual and linguistic interaction between India and Sri Lanka
 - **Ethnic Links:** There are purported ethnic links between Sinhalese and people from Bengal and Odisha as well as between Tamils of India and Sri Lanka due to **historic migrations**. Prince Vijaya, the first Sinhalese king, came to Sri Lanka from India as per **Mahavamsa** and **Dipavamsa**.
 - **Religious Ties:** Sri Lanka was among the first places where King Ashoka sent his religious emissaries through his daughter Sanghamitra and son Mahinda. The historic sapling of original Bodhi tree brought by them survives to this day as **‘Jaya Sri Maha Bodhi’** in Sri Lanka’s Anuradhapura. Sri Lanka became a **centre for export of Buddhism** and India’s cultural influence to the east and southeast Asia.
 - **Linguistic Links:** Sinhala is part of **Indo-Aryan** group of languages. The **Sinhala script** derives from the Indian **Brahmi** and **Grantha** scripts. Tamil is source of great cultural **sensitivity about Tamil-speaking regions** of both countries, such as in domestic politics of Tamil Nadu in India.
- **Sri Lankan Civil War:** Conflict between LTTE and Sri Lankan military created a three-decade long **Civil War** which ended in 2009, in a bloody campaign that saw large number of civilian deaths.
 - **Policies of Sinhala domination** by successive governments after independence from colonial rule, e.g., **the Sinhala Only Act** (Official Language Act 1956) and the 1971 **policy of standardisation** (language-based affirmative action for university entrance); resulted in ethnic conflicts amongst the Sinhalese and Tamil population of Sri Lanka.
 - **Liberation Tigers for Tamil Eelam** (LTTE) was formed in 1976 for separate Tamil homeland in north-eastern Sri Lanka. **Black July ethnic riots** in 1983 saw a **pogrom against Tamils in Sri Lanka** as reaction against killing of 13 Sri Lankan soldiers by LTTE.
 - It is reported that India initially provided arms and **training to the Tamil rebels**. Later India pushed for political reconciliation.
 - **India’s muscular meddling** in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka did not succeed in realising the Tamil demands; it contributed to the **deep distrust** between Delhi and the Sinhala nationalists. India eventually paid a heavy price for it. E.g., the large number of casualties of Indian Peace Keeping Forces in conflict with LTTE and the **assassination of Rajeev Gandhi in 1991**.
- **Indian intervention in the Sri Lankan Civil War:**
 - The **Indian government initially supported the insurgent groups** after the Sri Lankan government rejected Indian offer for political settlement between rebels and the army. E.g., **Operation Poomalai** (1987) to provide humanitarian assistance by airdropping food supplies over Jaffna which was besieged by Sri Lankan Army.
 - However, LTTE’s dream of a sovereign Tamil Eelam comprising all the Tamil inhabited areas posed a **threat to India’s territorial integrity**.
 - India sent peace keeping force under **Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord** to oversee disarmament of rebels.

- Many militant groups relented, but **LTTE refused** to lay down arms. Attempt for forceful disarmament pulled IPKF into violent clashes with LTTE, such as **Operation Pawan** (1987) for control of Jaffna.
- Political understanding between Sri Lankan government and LTTE, including clandestine arms supplies by Sri Lanka government to LTTE to fight against IPKF; calls for withdrawal of IPKF from both sides of Sri Lankan civil war.
- With defeat of Rajiv Gandhi government in 1990 elections, the new government of VP Singh ordered withdrawal of IPKF.
- **In the aftermath of Rajiv Gandhi's Assassination:** After the assassination of the former Indian Prime Minister through a suicide bomber, India assumed **peripheral role in the Sri Lankan civil war**. It 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 be not enmeshed in hostilities against the LTTE.

- **13th amendment:**

- It is an outcome of the **Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord** of July 1987.
- It provided a **power-sharing arrangement** through creation of **provincial councils** to enable all nine provinces in the country to self-govern. Subjects such as education, health, agriculture, housing, land and police are devolved to the provincial administrations.
- But due to **restrictions on financial powers** and overriding powers for the **President**, the provincial devolution has not made much headway. For example, the provisions relating to police and land have never been implemented.
- While initially, the north and eastern provinces were merged and were served by a North-Eastern Provincial Council, the two were de-merged in 2007 following a Supreme Court verdict.
- Many Tamil nationalists do not find 13th amendment sufficient, while Sinhala nationalists see it as an **imprint of Indian hegemony**. However, some factions see the 13th amendment as a **starting point**, which can be built upon.
- The 13th Amendment is among the few significant gains on the settlement of the long-pending Tamil question in Sri Lanka. It is an exception to the Sinhala majoritarianism

which successive governments have pursued since the country's independence in 1948.

- **Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord 1987** entailed the following:
 - India took a stand **against separatism** in Sri Lanka.
 - Official status to Tamil language.
 - Consolidation of Tamil-majority areas (northern and eastern provinces) into a single province.
 - Devolution of Power to provinces.
 - **Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF)** to enforce order, oversee ceasefire and disarmament of militant groups in Sri Lanka.

SIGNIFICANCE OF SRI LANKA FOR INDIA

- **Geo-political Significance:**
 - Sri-Lanka is India's **nearest maritime neighbour** located in Indian ocean located just across the **Palk strait**.
 - Cooperation on **multilateral platforms** like **BIMSTEC**.
- **Geostrategic Significance:**
 - For India, Sri Lanka is vital to switch naval fleets from Bay of Bengal to Arabian Sea and vice versa.
 - Sri Lanka is vital for **situational awareness** in the Indian Ocean Region about threats to

maritime security. E.g., **Colombo Security Conclave** with membership of India, Maldives, Mauritius and Sri Lanka.

- **Geoeconomic Significance:**
 - Sri Lanka is a country located near some of the world's most important shipping lanes.
 - Sri Lanka is uniquely placed for Indian diplomacy where India can put in action its **neighbourhood** first as well **SAGAR** policy.

AREAS OF CONVERGENCE

- **Commercial relations:**
 - Sri Lanka is India's largest trade partner in SAARC. India is second largest trading partner of Sri Lanka. Expanding market of India has given impetus to Sri Lankan businesses.
 - India is the largest contributor to FDI in Sri Lanka.
 - India-Sri Lanka FTA was signed in 2000; possibility for **CEPA** for better regional economic integration exists.
- **Development Aid:**
 - Demand-driven people centric **developmental assistance** to Sri-lanka across sectors like education, health, livelihood, housing etc. E.g., South Asian Satellite, building 50000 houses in war affected areas, Multiple Line of credits.
 - **Disaster-relief** and **humanitarian assistance** during floods, cyclones and tsunami. India gave over **1 million Covid19 vaccine** dose to Sri-Lanka under **vaccine diplomacy**.
 - **India's assistance to build war-torn areas;** housing project – building 50,000 houses in war-torn areas.
 - Grants of more than 3.5 billion USD; 20 ongoing grant projects; Emergency ambulance service
- **Cultural relations:**
 - Reconnecting the subcontinent's sacred geographies — including the Ramayana trail, the Buddhist circuit
 - Building people-to-people ties through strengthening of cultural links.

- India is an **important stakeholder** and has played significant **role** in **national reconciliation** after civil war for ensuring **lasting peace**.

- **Security & Strategic Cooperation:**

- Co-operation between India and Sri Lanka in carrying out **surveillance, anti-piracy operations and curbing illegal activities**.
- Exercises like **Mitra Shakti** and **SLINEX** to improve **coordination** of armed forces. India has also **given patrol vessels** to Sri Lanka to increase its **maritime awareness**.
- India is assisting Sri Lanka to bolster her **maritime security infrastructure**. In Oct 2021 India signed a 700M \$ deal to build a **strategic deep sea container terminal** in Colombo.
- India has also signed **civil nuclear deal** with Sri Lanka (first for Sri Lanka with any other country) for peaceful use of nuclear energy.

- **Ecological Convergence:** India and Sri Lanka have converging interests on issues like **climate change**, marine pollution, **sustainable blue economy** etc.

WHAT ARE THE IRRITANTS IN INDIA-SRI LANKA RELATIONS?

- **China's increasing footprint** in Sri Lanka and **debt trap (cheque-book diplomacy)**
- Unresolved issue of **13th amendment** to Sri Lanka's constitution
- **fishermen** issue
- India's stand on **UNHRC resolution** (abstained) against war-atrocities during civil war.
- Role of **para-diplomacy** in addressing the Tamil issue.
- **Kachchativu Island Issue:** A disputed island which was ceded by India to Sri Lanka under the 1974 Indo-Sri Lanka Maritime Agreement to settle maritime boundaries in Palk Strait. Fishing in exclusive economic zones is restricted near the island, which often becomes an issue of contention.
- **Ethnic Conflict**

- Ethnicity distribution as per 2001 census: 82% (Sinhalese), 9.4% (Tamil), 7.9% (Moor).
- **Tamils in SL:** Migrant plantation workers from India, new and old immigrants; Sri Lankan Tamils and Indian Tamils.
- **Fishermen issue:**
 - Palk Strait and Gulf of Mannar
 - Joint working group set up
 - Release of Indian boats in 2019 during Rajapaksa's visit to India
- **China Factor**
 - Extended billions of dollars to SL;
 - hidden debt, loans whose public disclosure was prohibited by their terms.
- China's eyes on IOR-Hambantota port
- Arms supply
- Chinese exports are more than Indian exports to SL
- Sri-India-China triangle
- **External Balancing:** Propensity to balance ties with India through **toehold to external powers** especially those inimical to India builds **distrust** and limits the scope of India-Sri Lanka ties. E.g., with west and USA in past as seen in **USA's involvement with Trincomalee Oil farms** in 1980s or more recent docking of **China's spy ships** at Sri Lanka's Hambantota port.

Sri Lankan Economic Crisis: Sri Lanka is passing through an **acute economic crisis** due to **depletion in foreign reserves** which in-turn has resulted in **default on debt-servicing** payments and **shortages** of fuel, food, medicines, cement and other essential items in the country.

- The **reasons** behind ongoing **economic crisis** in Sri Lanka:
 - Sri Lanka's **access to aid and investments reduced** due to factors like **censure by USA and EU on human rights** violations in civil war, **weak economic fundamentals** and graduation of Sri Lanka to **middle-income status by IMF**. High-interest commercial loans for infrastructure projects as seen in the **Chinese debt-trap diplomacy**, gradually built-up indebtedness.
 - **Covid-Impact: Tourist arrivals** declined due to the 2019 Easter bomb blasts and reduced further during covid-pandemic. **Exports** of tea, rubber, spices and garments suffered. **Investments** dried up, leading to a **decline in foreign exchange reserves**.
 - **Regressive control-based economic measures** such as use of forex reserves for currency appreciation aggravated the crisis. **Ban on fertilizer imports** and overnight shift to organic farming led to fall in agricultural production and food shortages.
 - **Political corruption** contributed to bad policy-making. Sweeping tax cut in 2019 wiped out a third of the country's tax revenues.
 - **Simhala nationalism** played role in riskier infrastructure investments amidst **geo-economic optimism** and **delayed seeking of IMF-aid** bringing the economy to crisis point. Expenditure-heavy **populist policies and subsidies** were prioritized over market reforms.
 - The **Ukraine crisis** aggravated the food and fuel shortages, intensifying the economic crisis. It was the final straw for many Sri Lankans, who took to the streets in droves.
 - A worsening **Covid-outbreak in China** meant that the Chinese government was relatively disinterested about the Sri Lankan crisis.
- **Impact of Sri Lankan economic crisis on India:**
 - **Security and Strategic interests:** Countries hostile to India can exploit economic vulnerability to acquire **dual-use assets** as previously seen in **Chinese acquisition of Hambantota port** (2017) or USA's involvement with **Trincomalee Oil farms** (1980s).
 - **Economic Aspects:** There is a threat of **disruption for India's exports** as 48% of India's international cargo uses Sri Lanka as **trans-shipment hub**. **Bilateral trade**, interests of Indian companies and their **investments** in Sri Lanka will also be harmed.

- **Refugee Crisis:** Ethnic, cultural and geographical proximity can result in huge refugee inflow, escaping socio-economic upheavals in Sri Lanka. Economic crisis can refuel unrest and ethnic tensions in an internally-divided country.
 - Steps taken by India to help Sri Lanka:
 - **Currency swap agreement,**
 - **Line-of-credit** for purchases from India
 - Emergency supplies of **food, fuel, medicines.**
- But a lot **more can be done** to ameliorate the crisis such as:
- **Lines-of-credit** should be expanded to **cover more categories of bilateral trade** as per needs in Sri Lanka.
 - **India's past experience** in handling balance-of-payment crisis and **greater capacities in economic policy-making** should guide Sri Lanka in **market reforms** for achieving balance between economic growth and debt sustainability.
 - Policies for greater **economic orientation towards India** can help Sri Lanka achieve **economic stability.**
 - India should crowd in **investments along with partner countries** based on conditions of **reforms, financial viabilities and need-based projects.**
- Lessons from the crisis:
- The past experience of India with political instability in Sri Lanka has been bitter (**LTTE/ Rajiv Gandhi Assassination**). India needs stability in Sri Lanka for its own good. Accordingly, Government of **India must step-up** to the occasion and help Sri Lanka.
 - Sri Lanka and similarly situated countries must also heed to the **repercussions for ignoring debt sustainability.**

WAY FORWARD:

- Regional Cooperation through SAARC, BIMSTEC, SAGAR, Indian Ocean Rim Association.
- Incremental economic integration through CEPA
- Indian private investments in Sri Lankan economy and infrastructure.

- Soft power's role in building stronger people-to-people ties and reciprocal '**neighbourhood first**' policies.

Indian ocean is the **strategic backyard** of India where India envisions a **zone of peace** and stability. In this perspective, India and Sri Lanka should **bridge differences and build a strategic partnership** for mutual good. (2318 words)

HI59- India- Maldives Relations

Maldives is an **archipelago** of 1,192 **islands** in the **India ocean**, south of Indian group of islands of **Lakshadweep**. Maldivian islands are greatly dispersed across the Equator. It is the **smallest country in Asia**, with **99% of its area being water**. It is also designated as a **Small Islands Developing State (SIDS)**.

Historical Background

Apart of their geographical proximity, India and Maldives share cultural, linguistic, ethnic and religious links. India was one of the first nations to recognise Maldives after its independence from British rule, in 1965. India opened its mission in Maldives in 1972 at the level of CDA and Resident High Commissioner in 1980. In 2004, Maldives set up its High Commission in New Delhi (at that time one of its only four diplomatic missions worldwide).

Some important events in India-Maldives relations:

- **Maritime Boundary Treaty, 1976**
India and Maldives signed Maritime Boundary Treaty in 1976, whereby Maldives recognised **Minicoy island** as Indian territory.
- **Comprehensive Trade agreement, 1988**
Both countries signed the trade agreement which further improved commercial relations between the countries.
- **Operation Cactus, 1988**
India undertook a military operation to restore the legitimate rule of **President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom**, after a military coup.
- **Malé Water Shortage Crisis, 2014**
India was quick to respond, when the only water treatment facility in Male broke down leading to a water crisis in the city. India provided drinking water under its **'Operation Neer'**.
- **Covid-19 pandemic, 2020**
Besides financial relief of **\$150 million** in the form of a **currency-swap**, India also provided Maldives essential medicines under its **'Operation Sanjeevani'** and **'Mission SAGAR'**.

Significance of Maldives

1. Geo-strategic significance:

- **India's 'neighbourhood First Policy':** Maldives is central to **India's Neighbourhood First policy** which aims to establish a peaceful, united and prosperous neighbourhood.
- **Strategic location on Sea Lines of Communication:** Maldives lies as a **'toll gate'** on the strategic sea-route connecting **Persian Gulf** and **Red Sea** with **South East Asia**. It is significant for India as nearly 50% of our external trade and 80% of energy imports transit through this sea route only.
- **Maritime and coastal security:** Maldives, due to its proximity to India's West coast, is key to India's role as a **'Net Security Provider'** in the **India Ocean Region (IOR)**.
- **Chinese security threat in Indian Ocean region:** Maldives, also has an important place in India's strategy to counter Chinese threat in IOR such as **'String Of Pearls'**. (String of Pearls is a strategy developed by China under which it will establish a network of military bases encircling India).

2. Geo-political significance:

- **Indo-Pacific region:** Rising strategic importance of **Indo-Pacific** and India's active engagement with global stakeholders, such as **QUAD** (India, US, Japan, Australia), makes Maldives all the more significant for India.
- **China's rising influence:** China has actively engaged with countries in the Indian Ocean, especially India's neighbours. For example, heavy Chinese investments in Sri Lanka.
- **Diplomatic relations:** Maldives is a founding member of regional groupings such as SAARC and NAM.
- **Regional peace and stability:** India would want a stable and friendly Maldives for overall regional stability.

3. **Geo-economic significance:**
 - **Market for Indian goods:** Maldives, due to its geographical limitations, depends heavily on Indian goods. It can serve as a lucrative market for Indian goods.
 - **Investment opportunities:** Maldives is an attractive destination for Indian investments, especially in infrastructure projects.
 - **Blue economy:** Maldives can play a key role in enhancing India's capabilities in sustainable management of marine resources.
4. **Other significance:**
 - **Disaster management:** Indian Ocean is prone to disasters such as cyclones and tsunamis. This makes India-Maldives cooperation critical to mitigate the effects of disasters.
5. **Cultural significance:**
 - **Indian diaspora:** With a total strength of 25000, Indian form the 2nd largest expatriate community in Maldives.
 - Maldives serves as an attractive **tourist destination** for Indians.

Areas of convergence

I. **Economic relations:**

- **Trade relations:** India is Maldives's **third largest** trade partner. Indian imports from Maldives stood at **\$17.1 million** in 2020, while Indian exports stood at **\$196 million**, indicating a **trade surplus**. India exports a variety of items such as pharmaceuticals, engineering products, agricultural products etc. **Tourism** is a major industry in Maldives and by 2020 India became the number one source of tourists to Maldives.
- **Developmental projects:** India is developing 45 infrastructural projects in Maldives
 - **Greater Malé Connectivity Project** – it is the largest civilian infrastructure project in Maldives connecting Male to three neighbouring islands. India has extended financial package of \$100 million and a line of credit of \$400 million to Maldives for this project.
 - **Uthuru Thila Falhu Naval Base Harbor:** India has extended \$50 million to Maldives for the

10 REASONS WHY MALDIVES IS IMPORTANT FOR INDIA

- 1** Strategically located in the Indian Ocean, Maldives archipelago comprising 1,200 coral islands lies next to key shipping lanes which ensure uninterrupted energy supplies to countries like China, Japan and India.
- 2** Since China started to send naval ships to Indian Ocean roughly 10 years ago—and right up to Gulf of Aden in the name of anti-piracy operations—Maldives' significance has steadily grown and now it's at the heart of international geopolitics.
- 3** As the pre-eminent South Asian power and a 'net security provider' in the Indian Ocean region, India needs to cooperate with Maldives in security and defence sectors.
- 4** China's massive economic presence in Maldives is a major concern for India. With the country now said to owe 70% of its external aid to China, many believe that Yameen has done to Maldives what Rajapaksa did to Sri Lanka. India had to push back at some stage and the current political crisis might just have offered India the right opportunity.
- 5** A large section of population which supports the opposition parties like Nasheed's MDP wants India to act against Yameen.
- 6** Maldives is also a member of Saarc. It is important for India to have Maldives on board to maintain its leadership in the region. Maldives was the only Saarc country which seemed reluctant to follow India's call for boycott of Saarc summit in Pakistan after the Uri attack.
- 7** Under Yameen, radicalisation grew rapidly and it was often said that archipelago accounted for one of the highest numbers of foreign fighters in Syria in terms of per capita. India can ill-afford a neighbour which fails to check Islamic radicalisation.
- 8** India and Maldives share ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious and commercial links. India was among the first to recognise Maldives after its independence in 1965 and later established its mission at Malé in 1972.
- 9** There are 25,000 Indian nationals living in Maldives (second largest expatriate community). Indian tourists also account for close to 6% of tourists Maldives receives every year.
- 10** India is also a preferred destination for Maldivians for education, medical treatment, recreation and business. According to MEA, more and more Maldivians are seeking long term visa for pursuing higher studies/ medical treatment in India.

development of its defence infrastructure.

- **Economic recovery package:** During his visit in 2018, Pm Modi offered an economic recovery package of \$1.4 billion to Maldives.

2. Defence cooperation:

- India and Maldives signed a **Comprehensive Action Plan for Defence** in 2016.
- **Training:** India provides training to the members of Maldivian National Defence Force, meeting 70% of its training requirements.
- **Military exercises:** Defence forces of both the countries have engaged in various joint military exercises such as **EKUPERIN, EKATHA** etc.
- **Defence equipment:** India has also helped Maldives enhance its defence capabilities by providing military equipment. For example, **Coastal Radar System**.

3. Disaster Management:

- India has time and again proven itself to be a **'first responder'** in the region with active contribution in **Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR)** efforts and providing technological support. For example, Indian tsunami Early Warning System.
- **Diplomatic and Geo-political convergence:** Both the countries have supported each other at various regional and multilateral organisation. For example, Maldives co-sponsored the G-4 draft resolution on UN reforms, India extended its support to Maldives candidature for non-permanent seat in UNSC for 2019-20 term.
- **Memorandum of Understanding:** India and Maldives signed various MoUs on cooperation in fields such as hydrology, health, cargo services, white shipping information etc.

Issues and challenges

I. Political instability:

- Being a recent democracy, Maldives's democratic institutions have been under

threat. In 2015, opposition leader **Mohamed Nasheed** was arrested on charges of terrorism.

- Maldives policy towards India is also dependent upon its leader. For example, present president **Mohamed Solih** has reaffirmed its 'India first' policy, while the former president **Abdula Yameen** was inclined towards China.

2. **Radicalisation:** Political instability and socio-economic issues have fuelled Islamic radicalisation in Maldives. For instance, Maldives accounted for one of the highest numbers of ISIS fighters in per capita term. This makes Maldives vulnerable to outside influence against India.

3. **India's big brotherly attitude:** Experts such as **C Rajamohan** have criticised India's assertive approach in the neighbourhood. They argue it leaves less room for smaller countries to express their sovereignty.

4. **Trust deficit with people:** Many people in Maldives accused India of building military presence in Maldives. This was followed by an **'India-Out'** political campaign as well.

5. **Chinese angle:** Increasing Chinese influence in the region is a cause of worry for India.

- **Chinese' debt trap diplomacy:** Maldives owe almost 70% of its external debt to China. India is fearful of a situation similar to that of Sri Lanka.
- **Maldives-China Free Trade Agreement** puts China in a sweet spot to influence Maldives economically.
- China also conducted **naval operations** in Maldives in the name of anti-piracy operations. This is even more significant in the light of Chinese policy of **'String of Pearls'**.
- **Diplomatic support:** China accused other countries of interfering in Maldives's domestic issues during the political crisis in 2018.

Way forward

- India should **actively engage** in areas where both the countries share common interests such

as disaster management, ocean navigation, blue economy, climate change mitigation etc.

- **People to people ties:** Cultural exchange should be used to bridge trust deficit and build a 'brand India' among the people of Maldives.
- India's '**Neighbourhood First Policy**' and Maldives's '**India first policy**' are complimentary in nature. Bilateral relations should be guided by these policies.
- India's vision of **SAGAR:** SAGAR has great potential to improve partnership among the two

countries. (SAGAR, that is, Security And Growth For All in Region is India's doctrine of maritime cooperation in Indian Ocean Region).

- **Diplomatic engagement:** Active diplomatic engagement is need to keep vigil on Chinese activities and to counter them pre-emptively.
- India can exploit its competitive edge in sectors such as **medical tourism**. This will enhance P2P as well as B2B relations.

HI 160- India- Myanmar Relations

I. Brief Historical background:

- India and Myanmar share a long land border of over 1600 km and a maritime boundary in Bay of Bengal. A large population of Indian origin lives in Myanmar.
- India-Myanmar relations are deeply rooted in history. The most important connecting link is **Buddhism**. In ancient time, Gautam Buddha sent two monks, Tapusa and Bhalika, with eight strands of his own hair to promote Buddhism in Myanmar.
- In modern time, **British** had exiled last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar to Yangon and Konbaung king of Myanmar to Ratnagiri.
- The relations from **1948 to 1952** could be considered as friendly and **cordial** when Myanmar became independent, with good

rapport between PM Nehru and Myanmar's Prime Leader U Nu. India and Myanmar signed a **Treaty of Friendship in 1951.**

- The relationship turned **frosty** from **1962 to 1988** under General Ne Win, after Military Coup, as Burma chose a **policy of isolationism, expelled ethnic Indians, refused to be in Commonwealth of Nations and withdrew from NAM.**
- The visit of PM Rajiv Gandhi in 1987 laid foundations for a stronger relationship. Since **1988 till today**, primarily due to India adopting a more realistic and pragmatic policy toward Burma, relationship has overall been on the **upswing.**

2. Significance:

Geo-Political	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Key partner in controlling insurgent activities especially Naga insurgency and crackdown against extremist groups in North-East, thus, ensuring stability in the region. Insurgent groups such as NSCN-K, NSCN-IM have operational bases inside Myanmar. 2. Being the largest democracy in world, India's engagement with democracies is applauded. 3. The military junta's extreme stance on Rohingyas might again provoke a wave of refugees to both Bangladesh and India. During recent Rohingya issue, 14000 registered and 40000 unregistered refugees came to India. A stable Myanmar can prevent this fleeing of refugees.
Geo-Strategic	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Only country where India's Neighborhood First meets Act East policy. Springboard for Indo-Pacific strategy. 2. Chinese String of Pearls and the recent BRI have Myanmar as a crucial link. Instability and political turmoil may lead to closer links with China, because military juntas traditionally close to China and CPC. 3. Crucial for India's SAGAR policy under which Sittwe port in Rakhine, Myanmar was developed. 4. As the only ASEAN country sharing a land border with India, Myanmar is a bridge between India and ASEAN. 5. India's engagement in South-East Asia through ASEAN, BIMSTEC, Mekong-Ganga, and EAS can boost only with stability in the region.

Geo-Economic	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> BCIM corridor plays a key role in establishing a sub-regional trade network facilitating India's economic interests. India is 4th largest trading partner of Myanmar making its stability important for smooth trade and investment relations. Important gateway for economic development of NorthEast India. The success of infrastructure developmental projects in North-East India directly depend on co-operation with Myanmar. Eg- Development of IMT trilateral highway, Kaladan corridor, etc.
---------------------	--

3. Areas of Convergence -

- **Infrastructure Development projects:** In 2013, India provided a 500 million \$ LOC (Line of Credit) for developmental projects in Myanmar. IMT trilateral highway and Kaladan Project are also under implementation.
- **India-Myanmar-Thailand (IMT) trilateral highway:** A 3,200-km highway linking India, Myanmar and Thailand will connect Moreh in Manipur to Mae Sot in Thailand interconnected via Mandalay in Myanmar.



- **Significance:**
 - Political:** Due to close partnership between India and ASEAN this highway project assumes greater significance. It will boost India's "look east policy" and connect it with a free trade zone developed at Sittwe Port in Myanmar.

- Economic:** Substantially increase border trade with Myanmar and spur growth in trade and investment, which has not picked up due to infrastructure bottlenecks.
- Strategic:** Connect Manipur and other northeastern states with Thailand through Myanmar. Thailand is already well linked to Malaysia and Singapore, thus this could in effect connect India with four of its Southeast Asian friends. Such connectivity project helps us in **countering China's OBOR initiative.**
- **Bottlenecks:**
 - Facing **inordinate delays**, and already missed a couple of deadlines.
 - India and Thailand have upgraded some of the link roads but due to **financial scarcity** in Myanmar, much work remains incomplete.
 - New government in Myanmar is now creating hurdles** by demanding a renegotiation of Motor Vehicles Agreement (MVA) and its applicability on trilateral highway.
 - India-Myanmar border is plagued by numerous security concerns like illegal trade, drug trafficking and insurgencies and concerns on ethnic insurgent camps.
- **Kaladan Multi-Modal Transit Transport (KMMTT):**



- Project is aimed at connecting eastern Indian seaport of Kolkata with Sittwe seaport in Myanmar.
- India constructed Sittwe Port as a deepwater port in 2016 at Sittwe.
- **Significance:** The project will reduce distance from Kolkata to Sittwe by approximately 1328 km and reduce the need to transport goods through narrow Siliguri corridor/Chicken's Neck.
- **Economy:** The bilateral trade among both countries remained around \$2 bn.
 - **Energy security:** Myanmar has rich reserves of oil and natural gas. Since India imports nearly 80% of its fuel, Myanmar becomes important as future offshore gas finds can be piped to India.
 - **Food security:** Import of pulses and beans from Myanmar is significant in making India food secure.
- **Defence:** Both the countries conduct a joint military exercise named India-Myanmar Bilateral Military Exercise (**IMBEX**). Both armies jointly carried out **Operation Sunrise** twice, under which, they jointly target the militant groups operating in border states. In 2020, India gifted Myanmar navy its first submarine, a kilo class (**INS Sindhuvir**) attack submarine.

● **Other areas:**

- ii. India developed Myanmar Institute of IT in Mandalay and Advanced Center for Agricultural Research and Education (ACARE) for research on pulses and oilseeds.
- iii. India's renovated 11th Century Ananda Temple in Myanmar (damaged due to earthquake).
- iv. India also provides Humanitarian and Disaster Relief to Myanmar during emergencies like Cyclone Mora, Komen, and Nargis, and earthquake in Shan State.
- v. India has supplied 10 lakh doses of '**Made in India**' **coronavirus vaccines** as well as a grant of 10,000 tonnes of rice and wheat.

4. **Issues:**

- **Rohingyas Issue:** Mass scale exodus of Rohingya Muslim from Rakhine province of west Myanmar to India, Bangladesh, Thailand and Indonesia.
- **Who are the Rohingyas?**
 - They have been oppressed by government since late 1970s with a army clearing operation to identify 'illegal immigrants'. The 1982 Citizenship Law in former Burma made them stateless people.

- The 1.1 million Bengali speaking Rohingya in mainly Buddhist Burma, bordering majority Muslim Bangladesh, are world's largest stateless and unwanted population in a single country.
- **Why are they stateless?**
 - To qualify for citizenship, Rohingya had to renounce their identity and accept being labelled as 'Bengalis' on all official documents. They also had to prove presence of their family in Rakhine back 3 generations.
 - This is extremely difficult as many lack documents or had lost them in 2012.
- **Why the Crisis?**
 - Since WWII they have been treated increasingly by Burmese authorities as illegal, interloping Bengalis, facing apartheid-like conditions that deny them free movement or state education.
 - In August 2017, insurgents known as Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) attacked several paramilitary check posts.
- **Security Implications:**
 - Import of ferment caused by migration, efforts of radical Islamists to influence youth, and Pakistan attempts to capitalise this.
 - Rising anger in Muslim world has compounded fears of home-grown militancy as well as support from international jihadists.
 - Illegal movement of people, combined with human trafficking and cross-border migration, can weaken Myanmar's relations with its neighbour Bangladesh and its ASEAN partners.
- **India:** In a major boost to India's policy on Rohingya, the MHA would shift Rohingya refugees to flats meant for EWS in Delhi.
 - The Foreigners Regional Registration Office (FRRO), has been requesting space at a new location for Rohingya from Delhi government since 2021.
 - According to the MHA, illegal immigrants are detected, detained and deported under the Passport Act, 1920 or Foreigners Act, 1946.
- In 2018, seven Rohingya were deported to Myanmar. It was the first time that Myanmar issued a certificate of identity to them.
 1. **India's stance:** India denied entry of migrants and deported 40,000 Rohingyas who were illegally living in India.
 2. It cited **burden on limited resources** of country also said that illegal migrants are more vulnerable to getting recruited by terrorist organisations. Also, any violent activities in Rakhine state may delay Kaladan Project.
 3. According to government, since India is not a signatory to UN Convention on Refugees thus **Rohingya's refugee status granted by UNHCR** had no bearing on their deportation.
 4. India's acts are in **violation of legal norm of non-refoulement**, which states that no one should be compelled to return to his or her home country from a host country where they would face abuse, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, or other irreparable damage.
 5. **Non-refoulement is regarded as a principle of customary international law, and India remains bound by it.**
- **Ethnic conflicts and insurgencies in NE, etc.:**
 - Chins in Myanmar have close kinship ties with Mizoram, and also in Nagaland.
 - Various parties representing ethnic groups will join hands with the National League for Democracy/NLD party in building a "federal democratic union".
 - Many of these have been waging insurgencies for decades and have been battling the Tatmadaw. The NLD's

outreach to them can pave the way for peace deals.

- Myanmar's festering insurgencies also work in India's favour. That's because China will lose its influence over insurgent groups once they lay down arms after a truce.
- China has been using some of these insurgent groups as proxies against India. For instance, the Arakan Army has been working against Kaladan Project promoted by India.
- Also, rebel outfits of the Kachin, Karen and some other ethnic groups have been offering shelter to militants of India's northeast, who receive arms and other support through Myanmarese rebels cultivated by China.

5. Myanmar Coup:

• Reason:

- Myanmar conducted elections democratically in November 2020. Aung San Suu Kyi led Party won the elections. **The military reserves 25% of seats as per their 2008 Constitution.**
- The military ("Tatmadaw" in Myanmar) alleged, there was **large scale "irregularities" in the general elections.**
- Myanmar's elected democratic government was about to swear in and convened Parliamentary session on February 1. **The coup occurred to stop this.**
- It resulted in **imposition of a state of emergency for one year and establishing military rule again.** The military detained democratically elected leader Aung San Suu Kyi and other politicians of the country.
- The military also threatened to revoke the military-drafted 2008 Constitution, "If one does not follow the law".

• Stand of various countries:

- **Ministry of External Affairs of India** mentioned that **India will "always be**

steadfast in its support to the process of democratic transition" in Myanmar.

- **UN Secretary-General condemned** the coup in strong words.
- The **US** warned Myanmar's military officials to "take action" if military proceeded with coup.
- **Australian** government called for release of detained leaders.
- **China** asks all the sides in Myanmar to resolve the dispute on its own.
- **Post- Coup situation:**
 - The deposed civilian lawmakers put together their own government known as **National Unity Government (NUG)**, which commands support of the majority.
 - The coup faced popular resistance including a wide-scale **civil disobedience movement.**
 - The military in response has been firing openly at **unarmed protestors**, conducting violent nighttime raids in residential areas, and blocking social media sites.
 - There has also been an **armed resistance** that has gripped whole country under **civilian militias**, called **People's Defence Forces (PDF).**
 - Powerful ethnic armed groups have joined forces with PDFs. There have been thousands of **clashes** between these groups and army, much more than in Syria or Afghanistan.
- **India's current approach:**
 - India has taken a **balanced diplomatic approach**, calling for **restraint, restoration of democracy, and release of political prisoners**, but also maintaining its lines of communication with military.
 - India has also firmly **stayed away from imposing sanctions** on junta.
- **India need to recalibrate its approach?**

- Military is incapable of providing the kind of political, economic, and social stability that India needs to advance its interests.
- India's Northeastern border with Myanmar remains on top of the bilateral agenda.
- Sagaing region, bordering three Northeastern states, and Chin state, bordering Mizoram and Manipur, have seen dramatic clashes, forcing thousands to flee into India.
- The Myanmar military has roped in Manipuri insurgents as mercenaries to attack anti-junta forces, in exchange for safe haven.

Way Forward:

- New Delhi must reconsider its partnerships in Myanmar and invest in those entities that can

provide a **stable political environment and also secure its security interests.**

- The **NUG** enjoys much more mass popularity than the military, and is in a position to restore calm.
- China has strong links with ethnic armed groups in northern Myanmar, but not with **PDFs**. So, if India really wants to offset Chinese influence, it needs to take this opportunity to **forge new friendships.**
- As situation becomes stable, we need to focus on **community level high and positive development projects and build people-to-people economic linkages.**
- Indian government's "**Buddhist Circuit**" initiative, to double foreign tourist arrivals and revenue connecting ancient Buddhist heritage sites should resonate with Buddhist-majority Myanmar.

HI 61- SAARC

Composition

SAARC or South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation is a **regional, inter-governmental** organization of South Asian countries. It was established in **1985** after the signing of **SAARC Charter** at **Dhaka**. SAARC consists of **8** countries of the South Asian region. These are **Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka**. **Afghanistan** was added at the **14th annual summit** in **2007**, held in New Delhi. The Secretariat of the Association located at **Kathmandu, Nepal**.

SAARC also has nine observers: **Australia, China, The European Union, Iran, Japan, The Republic of Korea, Mauritius, Myanmar** and the **United States of America**. While **China** has requested to join SAARC as a member, **Turkey** and **Russia** have applied to join SAARC in observer capacity.

Structure of the SAARC

1. **SAARC summits**- The meeting of Heads of State is the highest decision-making body of SAARC.
2. **Council of ministers**- It consists of Foreign ministers of all the member countries. The Council undertakes the function of policy formulation and progress review.
3. **Standing Committee**- It consists of the Foreign Secretaries of the member states. It is entrusted with overall monitoring and coordination.
4. **SAARC Secretariat**- It was established in **Kathmandu** in 1987. It comprises of a Secretary general, seven directors and general service staff. Its function is to provide administrative support.

Specialized agencies of SAARC

1. South Asian University (SAU)
2. South Asian Regional Standards Organization (SARSO)
3. SAARC Development Fund (SDF)
4. SAARC Arbitration Council (SARCO)



Objectives of SAARC as outlined by SAARC Charter are:

- to **promote the welfare of the peoples** of South Asia and to **improve their quality of life**
- to **accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development** in the region and to provide all individuals the **opportunity to live in dignity** and to **realize their full potentials**
- to promote and **strengthen collective self-reliance** among the countries of South Asia
- to contribute to **mutual trust, understanding and appreciation** of one another's problems
- to promote **active collaboration and mutual assistance** in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields
- to **strengthen cooperation** with other developing countries
- to strengthen cooperation among themselves in **international forums** on matters of common interests
- to **cooperate with international and regional organizations** with similar aims and purposes

Principles of SAARC

1. Respect for the principles of **sovereign equality, territorial integrity, political independence, non-interference** in the internal affairs of other States and mutual benefit.
2. Such **cooperation shall not be a substitute for bilateral and multilateral cooperation** but shall complement them.
3. Such cooperation **shall not be inconsistent with bilateral and multilateral obligations**

Areas of cooperation

- Human Resource Development and Tourism
- Agriculture and Rural Development
- Environment, Natural Disasters and Biotechnology
- Economic, Trade and Finance
- Social Affairs
- Information and Poverty Alleviation
- Energy, Transport, Science and Technology
- Education, Security and Culture

Significance of SAARC

1. **Economic and demographic:** SAARC comprises of **3% of the world's area, 21% of world's population** and **5.2% (\$ 4.47 trillion in 2020) of the global economy**.
2. **Regional integration:** SAARC countries are united by geography, culture, history, common traditions, clothing and food habits. SAARC countries can use this sense of **commonness** and **synergize** their actions. SAARC has the capability to emerge as unified block like the **ASEAN**.
3. **Economic significance:** SAARC region is the **world's most densely populated** region with a fertile land. South Asian region has tremendous economic potential in terms of **big market, agriculture, cottage industries, textile industries etc.**
4. **Common solutions:** SAARC countries face **common issues** such as poverty, illiteracy, poor socio-economic conditions, poor living standards, technological backwardness and so on. SAARC countries can come together to create **common solutions** for **collective progress**.
5. **Regional dispute resolution:** SAARC can provide an effective platform for peaceful resolution of bilateral disputes between the members. (It should be noted that SAARC charter specifically restricts discussions on bilateral disputes at SAARC).
6. **Contribution to UN:** SAARC members collectively contribute the highest number of troops to UN peacekeeping missions.

Significance for India

1. **Regional stability:** SAARC provides a unique platform where India can work for overall stability of South Asian Region. Regional stability is important in India's own socio-economic progress.
2. **Geo- strategic significance:**
 - **Neighborhood First Policy** – SAARC region basically forms India's neighborhood. Any engagement with SAARC will further India's doctrine of 'Neighborhood First Policy'.

- **Look West Policy:** SAARC members such as **Afghanistan** and **Pakistan** are India's 'gateway to West Asia'.
- 3. **Indian Ocean Region:** SAARC states are strategically located in the Indian Ocean Region. For example, the sea route connecting **Persian Gulf** and **South East Asia** passes through Maldives; **Sri Lanka** also serves as an important **halting terminal** for ships.
- 4. **China angle:** A fragmented South Asia is easier for China to influence. SAARC can engage with countries like Bhutan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Maldives, Sri Lanka in economic and developmental cooperation to counter China.
- 5. **Regional leadership of India:** SAARC provides the perfect platform for India to emerge as a regional leader. This would be a stepping stone in India's vision of becoming a global power.
- 6. **Geo-economic significance:**
 - **Market:** Densely populated South Asia is a lucrative market India goods and services, especially for Information Technology.
 - **Investment opportunity:** Indian businesses can invest in SAARC members in upcoming sectors such as banking, digital financing etc.
- 7. **North East development:** SAARC countries such as **Bangladesh** and **Bhutan** play an important role in development of India's North East especially in **connectivity** and **utilization of natural resources**.
- It excluded trade in services such as informational technology.
- SAFTA has led to abolition of **double taxation and free movement of certain commodities**.
- Most countries have accorded **Most Favoured Nation (MFN)** status to each other (except Pakistan, which did not accord MFN status to India, in 2019 India also withdrew MFN status given to Pakistan)
- **SATIS (SAARC Agreement on Trade in Services):** It was signed during the **16th SAARC summit, Thimphu, 2010**. It intends to follow **GATS-plus model** of giving a '**positive list**', whereby countries will agree on a list of services for trade liberalization.
- **SAARC Development Fund (SDF)** – it was also established during **16th SAARC summit at Thimphu, Bhutan in 2010**. It provides funding in collaborative projects in social sector such as poverty alleviation. SDF is governed by a board which consists of Finance Ministers of member states.
- 2. **SAARC Arbitration Council:** It is an inter-governmental body providing a legal framework to resolve disputes related to trade, investment, banking and such other matters referred to it by member states.
- 3. **South Asian Regional Standards Organization (SARSO):** It was established to improve coordination among members in the field of standardization.
- 4. **SAARC Satellite:** South Asia Satellite is a communication satellite (**GSAT-9**) built by **ISRO** to provide a variety of communication services over the South Asian region. All SAARC members, **except Pakistan**, are using the satellite.
- 5. **SAARC Visa Exemption Scheme:** It was launched in 1992. It gives certain categories of dignitaries such as judges, diplomats and so on, exemption from Visa requirements.
- 6. **Convention on Suppression of Terrorism:** It was adopted in 1987 and updated in 2004. It highlights SAARC members' commitment to

Achievements of SAARC:

I. Enhanced economic cooperation:

- **SAPTA – South Asia Preferential Trade Agreement** was signed in **1995** to promote trade between SAARC members and to reduce trade barriers.
- **SAFTA –**
 - **South Asia Free Trade Agreement** was signed in **2004** and came into effect in **2006**.
 - It aimed to establish a customs union by reducing all customs duty on goods to zero by the year 2016.
 - It has impacted positively trade within the region.

collectively tackle the issue of terrorism plaguing the region.

7. **SAARC Asia university, Delhi:** Opened in 2010, South Asian University has become fully functional providing scholarships and opportunity for cultural exchanges.
8. **SAARC Food Bank:** Agreed upon in 2007, it requires each country to keep a reserve of food grains to supplement national efforts to provide food security.
9. **Disaster Management: SAARC Disaster Management Centre** has been set up at **Gandhinagar, Gujrat**. It provides policy support, technical advice, capacity building services and training facilities to member countries.
10. **Covid-19 response:**
 - SAARC members participated in **SAARC Covid-19 video conference**, and idea put forth by **Indian Prime Minister**, in 2020.
 - **Covid-19 Emergency Fund:** India pledged **\$10 million** towards the fund.
 - **Integrated Disease Surveillance Portal:** Set up by India, it helped SAARC countries to track Covid-19 infections across borders.

Issues and challenges

1. **Deadlock in SAARC:** Last SAARC summit was held in 2014 and subsequent summits could not be held as the 2016 Summit scheduled in Pakistan got cancelled in the backdrop of terrorist attacks in Pathankot and Uri. In 2020, SAARC members turned down Pakistan's proposal to host a summit.
2. **Poor economic integration:** Inter-regional trade among South Asian countries is less than **5%** of total trade of the region (compared to **60%** of Europe). Intra-regional investment is less than **1%** of region's total investment.
3. **Implementational issues:** Despite various agreements, SAARC members have not been active in implementing the agreements. For example, with enactment of **SAFTA SAARC** members agreed to strive to establish a Customs Union and then an Economic Union on the lines of European Union, but this remains a pipe dream only.
4. **Disputes between states:** Political and border disputes between member states derail the process of census building. For example, border disputes between India-Pakistan, India-Nepal, Afghanistan-Pakistan.
5. **India-Pakistan conflict:** SAARC summits have been overshadowed by political tussle between India and Pakistan. This undermines the effectiveness of the association. For example, cancellation of Islamabad summit in 2016 after India refused to participate in the backdrop of Uri attacks.
 - **Pakistan's has also been non-cooperative** especially towards India led initiatives. For example, **SAARC-Motor Vehicles Agreement (MVA)** and **SAARC satellite** project were replaced with BBIN-MVA and South Asia satellite respectively (without Pakistan).
6. **Regional stability:** The region has witnessed various political turmoil which creates instability. For example, Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan, frequent regime changes in Pakistan etc.
7. **Socio economic instability:** Various countries in the region have been facing existential threats which undermine their capacity to contribute to SAARC. For example, Sri Lanka has declared emergency, IMF bailout of \$6 billion for Pakistan.
8. **Regional security:** There is a lack of consensus among SAARC members regarding **threat perceptions**. For instance, cross border terrorism constitutes a major challenge for India, but Pakistan has failed to address the issue.
9. **Chinese influence:** China has developed deep economic and strategic relations with India's neighbors which undermines regional unity. For instance, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Maldives, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Nepal have become a part of China's Belt and Road Initiative.
 - **SAARC minus India:** Many experts have argued that China is '**trying to replace India**' and it would not be farfetched if it regroups South Asian countries in a **SAARC minus India forum**. There are many instances where China has tried to show that it can fulfil the role which traditionally India have been playing in the region. For example:

- **China-South Asia Emergency Supplies Reserve** during Covid-19
 - China led **Poverty Alleviation and Cooperative Development Centre**
 - It sent medical supplies to most SAARC nations during Covid-19 under its '**Health Silk Road initiative**'.
10. **Uncertainty over Afghanistan's future:** With Taliban overthrowing democratic government in Afghanistan, the future engagement between Afghanistan and SAARC remains doubtful. With the exception of Pakistan, other SAARC members have not recognized Taliban government in Afghanistan (as of 2022).
 11. **Fears regarding India's hegemony:** With India's economic and military might, coupled with its strategic influence in the global arena, many small countries perceive India as '**Big Brother**' and fear India's domination in SAARC. It should be noted that India has always considered itself as the '**natural leader**' of the region. Therefore, this trust deficit stems from the history of the Association itself.
 12. **Lack of institutional mechanisms for dispute resolution:** SAARC is built upon the idea that bilateral issues would not be discussed on its platform. This greatly undermines consensus building and leads to trust deficit.
 13. South Asian region **lacks the economic and financial resources** to contribute in a meaningful way.
 14. **Reliance on bilateralism and issue-based grouping:** SAARC member have resorted to bilateral relations and small interest based groups to further their strategic interests undermining the functioning of SAARC.
 15. **BIMSTEC over SAARC:** BIMSTEC provides an alternative to SAARC, especially for India as it does not include Pakistan. For example, in 2016 BIMSTEC leaders were invited to BRICS summit under BRICS's regional outreach program
 16. **Refugee crisis and rights of minorities:** Refugee crisis is one of the most contentious issues among SAARC nations which remains unsolved. For example, influx of Rohingya refugee into India from Bangladesh, Afghan refugees into Pakistan etc.

- SAARC countries have often accused each other of **oppression of minorities**. For instance, India has accused both Pakistan and Bangladesh of abusing rights of Hindu minorities, while these countries have raised concerns about well-being of minorities in India

Relevant in present times?

1. **Covid-19 pandemic and collective response:** Covid-19 has presented issues such as economic slowdown, access to vaccines, poverty which require collective efforts.
2. **India's claim to become a global power** can only fulfil if it comes out as a regional leader.
3. **Changing world order:** Global order has seen a shift from **globalization to isolationism**. In this context, it is imperative for South Asia to present a united front. This would give it bargaining power at global platforms.
4. **To counter China:** A unified South Asia is the need of the hour to counter Chinese ambitions in the region.
5. **Limitations of BIMSTEC:** BIMSTEC simply lacks a **sense of common identity** which the SAARC provides to all South Asian countries. BIMSTEC has recently got some momentum and relevance, on the other hand SAARC has an established **extensive network of institutions and mechanisms**. Also, BIMSTEC is focused on **Bay of Bengal region and sectoral partnerships**, as such it engages **only eastern neighbors** of India. Peace and prosperity cannot be achieved without actively engaging all the neighbors, including Pakistan and Afghanistan, for which SAARC can provide a platform.

Way forward

1. Role of India:

- India should work as **equal partners** with SAARC countries to negate any apprehensions of India hegemony.
- **Engaging with Pakistan:** India has participated in SCO summits even after Chinese border incursions in Galwan region. Similarly, India should engage with Pakistan for the revival of SAARC.

- **Education and medical diplomacy:** India can become the hub of education and medical tourism in the region. This would give India diplomatic leverage while at the same time improve people to people relations
2. **Reforms needed in SAARC:**
 - SAARC could adopt the '**ASEAN minus X**' formula, where members who are unwilling to join an initiative can withdraw from it without disrupting the overall functioning and consensus building.
 - **Formation of Conflict Conciliation Groups:** It is high time that SAARC introduces bilateral dispute resolution mechanism under its ambit. The CCGs can be formed for resolving bilateral disputes if and when interested parties agree to seek SAARC help.
 3. **SAARC Development Fund** should be augmented to replace China as a viable option for countries to take financial assistance.
 4. **Cultural cooperation:** SAARC countries should focus on exploiting their shared cultural history to strengthen relations.
 5. **'All of South Asia' approach:** South Asian countries need to work as a collective to set common standards and promote a more intra-regional, transnational approach towards health security, food security, and job security.
 6. **Regional Economic development:** South Asia has the potential to become a hub of manufacturing due to availability of cheap labor.
 7. **Connectivity:** Despite its geographical closeness, South Asia region is poorly connected. Connectivity projects would attract **investments, enhance trade and movement of people.**
- SAARC remains an important platform for regional stability, peace and progress of South Asian region. Its revival should be a priority for all its members. Example of ASEAN should serve as an inspiration for SAARC. ASEAN has successfully exploited its geographical location and shared identity, SAARC can do the same.
- India needs to view SAARC from the prism of its '**Neighborhood First Policy**'. India is a '**natural leader**' in the region and bears the responsibility of SAARC's revival.

HI 62- BIMSTEC

BIMSTEC is an inter-regional grouping of the countries in the Bay of Bengal region comprising of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Myanmar, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Thailand. The seven countries are from South Asia and South East Asia. BIMSTEC seeks to act as a bridge between South and South East Asia. Originally the grouping was formed as BIST-EC (Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka, and Thailand Economic Cooperation) in 1997 (Bangkok declaration).



With the addition of Myanmar, in the same year, the grouping became BIMST-EC. Later, with the inclusion of Bhutan and Nepal, in 2004, the grouping came to be known as BIMSTEC.

Objectives of BIMSTEC:

- Create an enabling environment for rapid economic development.
- Accelerate social progress in the sub-region.
- Promote active collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest.
- Provide assistance to each other in the form of training and research facilities.
- Cooperate more effectively in joint efforts that are supportive of, and complementary to, national development plans of member states.

- Maintain close and beneficial cooperation with existing international and regional organizations, with similar objectives.
- Cooperate in projects that can be dealt with most productively on a sub-regional basis and which make best use of available synergies

Significance of BIMSTEC:

- The BIMSTEC region consists of 22% of the world population and a combined GDP of US \$3.71 Trillion.
- The region has the potential capability to be a trade force in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) as one-fourth of the world's trade moves in and around the Bay of Bengal yearly, which also includes massive untapped resources.
- The region acts as a vital link between South Asia and South East Asia.
- With a logjam in SAARC, due to state sponsored terrorism by Pakistan, BIMSTEC hold immense importance as a vehicle for regional cooperation.
- With Pakistan not being a member of this organization, India can effectively carry forward the agenda of South Asian integration and prove its leadership in South Asia, a stated objective of India's Neighborhood First policy.
- BIMSTEC has the potential to cooperate closely to check the menace of terrorism, organized crime, trafficking etc.
- BIMSTEC provides an opportunity for the development of North Eastern states by linking them to the ASEAN region.
- BIMSTEC, as an inter-regional grouping, can play seminal role in boosting regional connectivity.
- BIMSTEC countries have common interest in deepening HADR partnership, in lines with Sendai framework.
- BIMSTEC countries can together cooperate and collaborate for the upliftment of poverty ridden masses, contributing significantly to the SDGs.
- It has a strategic salience for India as it links three important sub-regions and bring India's strategic peripheries under a single grouping:

- a. Nepal and Bhutan in the Himalayan sub-region;
- b. Sri Lanka and Bangladesh in the Bay of Bengal sub-region; and
- c. Myanmar and Thailand in the Mekong sub-region.
- BIMSTEC connects the Act East policy of India with the Act West Policy of Thailand. BIMSTEC is crucial for the economic development of the North East India which remains backward and insurgency stricken.
- BIMSTEC can help in countering China's Cheque Book diplomacy. Further, it can strengthen India's position as a responsible regional power in the Indo-Pacific.

Achievements of BIMSTEC:

- The BIMSTEC Permanent Secretariat was opened in 2014 in Dhaka. It helps in better management of regional issues.
- BIMSTEC Permanent Working Committee (BPWC) to deal with administrative and financial matters of the Secretariat was set up post the 4th Kathmandu summit of 2018.
- BIMSTEC convention on cooperation in combating international terrorism, transnational organised crime, and illicit drug trafficking has come into force in March 2021. It encourages data sharing and intelligence gathering on criminal activities.

Failures of BIMSTEC:

- In its 24 years of existence, BIMSTEC has had only five summits.
- As per critics, India has not been able to provide effective leadership to this initiative, and the other leader Thailand has been more inclined towards other groupings such as ASEAN or Lancang-Mekong Cooperation (LMC) Forum (established by China).
- An objective to integrate the economies of South Asia and South East Asia could not be fulfilled because of strong tendencies of competition and

- protectionism among member countries, and their failure to bring into force the Framework Free Trade Agreement signed in 2004.
- Projects taken up to improve physical connectivity between South and South-East Asia did not make much headway reducing the integrative potential of the grouping.
- Huge asymmetry among the nations creates divergence of economic and strategic interests.
- The inability of the organization, as a whole, in dealing with the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar, relating to Rohingyas, has raised doubts over its efficacy.

BIMSTEC as an instrument for advancing foreign policy of India:

- Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, and Sri Lanka are part of India's immediate neighbourhood wherein the 'Neighbourhood First' policy is implemented. Thailand and Myanmar are members of ASEAN which is central to India's Act East policy.
- India shares both land and maritime boundaries with BIMSTEC members (land borders with Bangladesh, Bhutan, Myanmar, Nepal) and (maritime boundaries with Bangladesh, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, and Thailand). The re-imagining of the Bay of Bengal subregion through the BIMSTEC forum has allowed a greater role for the Neighbourhood First policy.
- Maintaining close and cordial ties with the BIMSTEC nations ensures a smooth eastward drive for India. Myanmar and Thailand form the first chain of nations serving as a launching pad for Delhi to engage with Southeast Asia and beyond.
- For India, the Bay of Bengal is part of the Indian Ocean Region which India considers as its primary areas of maritime interest. Its engagement in BIMSTEC is part of India's larger maritime vision wherein SAGAR, SAGARMALA, Project Mausam and India as a 'net security provider' are being implemented.

Comparison between BIMSTEC and SAARC

SAARC	BIMSTEC
1. A regional organisation looking into South Asia	1. Interregional organisation connecting South Asia and South East Asia.
2. Established in 1985; a product of the Cold War era	2. Established in 1997 in the post-Cold War.
3. Member countries suffer for mistrust and suspicion	3. Members maintain reasonably friendly relations
4. Suffers from regional politics	4. Core objective is the improvement of economic cooperation among countries
5. Asymmetric power balance	5. Balancing of power with the presence of Thailand and India on the bloc
6. Intra-regional trade only 5 percent	6. Intra-regional trade has increased around 6 percent in a decade

BIMSTEC as a supplement, and not as an alternative to SAARC:

- South Asian identity: SAARC reflects the South Asian identity of the countries, both historically and contemporarily. There is a cultural, linguistic, religious and culinary affinity that defines South Asia.
- BIMSTEC, on the other hand, is not moored in the identity of the nations that are members. It is essentially a grouping of countries situated around the Bay of Bengal.
- Founding Principle of BIMSTEC: One of BIMSTEC’s two founding principles is: “Cooperation within BIMSTEC will constitute an addition to and not be a substitute for bilateral, regional or multilateral cooperation involving the Member States.”
- BIMSTEC as a bridge: It is seen more as “a bridge between South and South East Asia” and a “platform for intra-regional cooperation between SAARC and ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] members.”
- Doubts about BIMSTEC’s efficacy: The leaders of BIMSTEC nations have held summits just five times in 25 years. Moreover, there has been a delay in the adoption of the Free Trade Agreement (FTA), a framework that was agreed upon in 2004.

- The permanent secretariat in Dhaka faces a severe resource crunch, both in terms of money and manpower.
- Poor success rate of other alternatives: Many agreements have not made progress in other groupings either: the Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal (BBIN) grouping has failed to implement the MVA due to opposition from Bhutan.
- India has been able to leverage SAARC where neighbours became force multipliers for India’s power projections.

Issues and challenges in BIMSTEC:

- Mandate: BIMSTEC has a wide mandate that runs across various areas of cooperation such as health, agriculture etc. This may lead to spreading the resources thinly.
- Economic integration: Poor economic integration between the BRICS member does not augur well for the grouping. Despite talks since 2004, the FTA has not been signed.
- Connectivity: Both the physical, and people to people connectivity among BIMSTEC countries remain wanting.
- Irregular Summits: Since its inception, BIMSTEC has had only 5 summits, in 24 odd-years.
- Bilateral issues: Bilateral issues between members have created frictions within the grouping. Rohingya issue created tension between Myanmar

and Bangladesh; India-Nepal border heat up; division of Teesta water, Rohingya issue have strained India-Bangladesh ties.

- Chinese influence: The incursion of China, with its cheque book diplomacy, and unilateralism, has the possibility to mar the growth potential of the grouping.
- Ideological differences: Military intervention and takeover in Myanmar; Thailand is monarchy, democracy in India etc., ideological differences make the group ideologically heterogeneous.

Way forward:

- Former PM of Sri Lanka Ranil Wickremesinghe suggested to invite Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore in the forum to increase its reach and scope.
- Focus on few priorities, undertake projects that are economically feasible and ensure timely completion of projects. This would add credibility to BIMSTEC.
- Japan can be made a member which can provide the required capital to keep the projects running.

- Experts have suggested to do away with the negative list of differential tariffs to move forward with the Free Trade Agreement.
- As decided in the 5th BIMSTEC summit, the countries can enhance cooperation with regard to technology transfer, training of diplomats, mutual legal assistance in criminal matters etc.
- Timely completion/upgradation of infrastructure projects such as India, Myanmar, Thailand (IMT) highway.
- There is an imperative to upgrade the BIMSTEC secretariat in terms of staff members, funds, capacity etc.
- Finalizing BIMSTEC Motor Vehicle Agreement and BIMSTEC Coastal Shipping Agreement will further boost the connectivity in the region.
- Decentralizing the BIMSTEC organization by adopting a bottom up, people centric approach can enhance its credibility. Also, People to people ties should be enhanced through education, culture, tourism etc.

HI63- BBIN & MVA

I. **What?** Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, and Nepal (BBIN) signed a framework Motor Vehicles Agreement (MVA) in June 2015 at Thimphu, Bhutan.

- **Aim:** To provide seamless people-to-people contact and enhance economic interaction by facilitating cross-border movement of people and goods.
- However, **Bhutan has not yet ratified** the pact for its entry to come into force. But it has provided its consent for the entry into force of the MVA among Bangladesh, India, and Nepal without obligation to Bhutan.
- **Assistance:** Asian Development Bank (ADB) has been providing **technical, advisory, and financial support** to the BBIN MVA initiative as part of its assistance to the South Asia Subregional Economic Cooperation (SASEC) program.
- As per the agreement, **member countries would allow vehicles registered in the other countries to enter their territory under certain terms and conditions.** Customs and tariffs will be decided by the respective countries and these would be finalized at bilateral and trilateral forums.

- The BBIN initiative, for the time being, operates through **inter-governmental Joint Working Groups (JWG)** comprising senior officials of respective governments, under the aegis of their respective Foreign Affairs ministries.
- Two such JWGs were set up, one on Trade, Connectivity, and Transit, the other on Water Resources Management, and Power/hydropower trade and Grid Connectivity.

2. **What is the News?**

- **India, Bangladesh, and Nepal have finalized a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) for implementing the Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal (BBIN) Motor Vehicles Agreement (MVA).**
- A meeting of India, Bangladesh, and Nepal on the BBIN MVA was held at New Delhi on March 7-8, 2022. Bhutan participated in the meeting as an observer.
- The meeting was held to discuss the Passenger and Cargo Protocols that are essential to operationalize the BBIN MVA for



the Regulation of Passenger, Personal, and Cargo Vehicular Traffic.

- During the meeting, an enabling MOU to be signed by India, Bangladesh, and Nepal pending ratification of the MVA by Bhutan was finalized.
- The countries emphasized the importance of operationalizing the BBIN MVA expeditiously by fostering greater sub-regional cooperation.
- The delegates agreed on specific steps and timelines to expeditiously finalize the Passenger and Cargo Protocols for its implementation.
- Asian Development Bank provided technical and knowledge support to the meeting.
- **Note: Bhutan has decided to continue to stay out of the BBIN Motor Vehicles Agreement (MVA).**

3. Objectives & Benefits

- BBIN's vision for the sub-region rests on Four pillars:
 - Trade, connectivity, and transit.
 - Investment in power generation and water management sectors.
 - Cooperation in the energy area, in power trade, and converting national grids into a sub-regional grid.
 - Contact between the peoples of the region.
- **Potential benefits:**
 - Once implemented thoroughly, they have the potential to increase India's regional trade within South Asia by almost 60% and with the rest of the world by over 30%.
 - This would be a visible advantage for South Asia with transport corridors transformed into economic corridors.
 - The BBIN Agreement signals that relations that were earlier characterized by trust deficit among countries are now decisively moving towards a national

political consensus for cooperation among the neighbours.

4. Significance

- It would permit **unhindered movement** of passenger and cargo vehicles among the four countries.
- It will promote **safe, economical, efficient, and environmentally sound road transport** in the sub-region and will further help each country in creating an **institutional mechanism for regional integration**.
- The BBIN has been envisioned as a similar **growth quadrangle** that has attempted to address the complementarities of the domain, with the **utilization of mutual assets like rivers, energy, and infrastructures** solidified through a common framework of guidelines.
- Since there are only a few members, the process of addressing the diversities seems to be **faster with a comparatively lower cost of investment**. Such cooperation also appears to be **non-exclusionary in nature** as they do not compete with the larger regional arrangements.
- There is also a **transfer of skill and technology from the more developed countries to the lesser developed countries** through the spillover effect, which facilitates the up-gradation of skill sets and local labour force amongst all the partners.
- Such sub-regional concepts also help in developing the **backward and forward linkages in the national economy**, thereby acting as a catalyst for triggering development in other parts of the economy as well.
- There would also be a sound **involvement of the local people** here, with the local communities, which again would be signifying a **bottom-up approach of integration**.
- All four countries have been suggested to take **full advantage of 'tourism potential' with rich natural and cultural attractions, including many of the**

world's major Buddhist sites. The idea lies in the integration of all four countries in developing a **separate tourism sector** of their own with the flow of tourists from the rest of the world in accessing more economic benefits.

- A country-wise perspective:
 - **India:** From the Indian perspective, the BBIN MVA will, most significantly, ease the movement of goods from mainland India to its Northeast economic centres, namely Agartala (Tripura), Guwahati (Assam), and Shillong (Meghalaya) along with the cross-country routes. Poor infrastructure, difficult terrain, insurgent politics, and geopolitical constraints have thus far kept the Northeast region underdeveloped and isolated for many years that can have better access with such progresses.
 - **Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Nepal:** The Bangladesh Inland Water Transport Authority and the Inland Waterways Authority of India, through the BBIN can work together, beyond the bilateral dynamics that they share. The economic benefits of this initiative will inadvertently support Bhutan and Nepal as well, through port connectivity, addressing their landlocked nature. Similarly, the transit rights shall also be recognised that remain in a deadlock.

5. Issues & Challenges

- **Why has Bhutan decided to stay out of BBIN MVA?**
 - Bhutan's PM has said that the country's top **priority is to remain "carbon-negative"**. That's why it would not be possible for them to join the MVA as there are serious **sustainability and environmental concerns**.
 - Bhutan is the only country in the world that is carbon-negative, which means it produces more oxygen than it consumes.
- This is a very basic agreement with 16 Articles that has focused only on the

transport of cargo and passengers. **Such provisions are already present under the bilateral agreement with renewable permits and it does not cater to the regulatory bottlenecks** and is also yet to bring in harmony.

- **Chief gaps** in the implementation of MVA are lack of standards in the design of infrastructure, absence of rules on driver's training and license, restrictions on visa, entry and exit points, and even routes that drivers take.
- There are still **some agreements** holding up the final protocols, including issues like insurance and bank guarantees, and the size and frequency of freight carriers into each country, etc.

6. Way Forward

- All these programmes would be successful, in these trying times of the **COVID-19** pandemic, when the **world is trying to recuperate its economic and connectivity aspirations**, only with all the members and stakeholders being on the same page of agreement.
- **South Asia** has witnessed the failure and stagnation of regional and subregional organizations in the recent past as well because of the lack of cooperation in upholding a common vision. However, the time seems to be ripe to **engage in micro-level projects** like the BBIN, beginning from the Track I level, manifesting the visions that have been in the pipeline for operationalization for years now.
- The success of this initiative will depend much upon India to **make it acceptable across the political spectrum in neighbouring countries**.

HI 64- India's Act East policy

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

- India has a more than 2500-year long history of looking and acting eastwards in the south east Asian region and further east.
 - Three countries in the region carry Indian heritage in their names viz., Indonesia (the Indian archipelago), Singapore (Simhapura) and Cambodia (Kamboja)
 - Port cities of south east Asia used to be the meeting point for traders from India, China, Japan and local merchants.
 - Indian influence is visible in local architecture, language, religion, literature and art.
- The vibrant links between India and East and south east Asia was disrupted by the onset of colonialism.

- Post-colonial attempts at re-establishing regional links were undercut by cold war dynamics. India's Non-aligned stand had limited appeal in the intense cold war perspective in East and South East Asia as the South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) was formed in 1954 under US-led bloc.
- The series of wars and food crisis in 1960s forced India to focus on own affairs than getting proactively involved in global matters.
- Over the coming decades, political and economic gulf developed between India and East Asia. While East Asia was roaring ahead economically with unprecedented strides, India was stuck with massive unemployment, illiteracy, and poverty.

India's proactive East Asian policy after Independence:

India's foreign policy in the years immediately after independence was heavily influenced by developments in East Asia. There was more active Indian involvement in East Asian affairs than any other region:

- Asian Relations conference, New Delhi (1947) was attended by nationalist leaders leading the independence movement across Asia.
- Special Conference on Indonesia (1949) was organised for mobilizing global public opinion against the Dutch colonialists and garner support for independence movement in Indonesia.
- India was one of the first countries to welcome and extend diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China at the end of civil war in 1949.
- India was among the first countries to supply troops for peacekeeping operation in Korea under UN in the early 1950s.
- Because of India's proactive steps and neutral stand, India was made the Chairman of International Control Commission on Vietnam in 1954.
- To step up Asian unity, India co-sponsored the famous Afro-Asian Conference (the Bandung Conference) in 1955.
- India was also instrumental in getting Japan back into the global mainstream post-World War II. India waived all reparation claims against Japan in the Indo-Japan Peace Treaty 1952.
- India professed support for Ho Chi Minh-led struggle against French colonial rule in Vietnam.

• Look East Policy:

- 'Look East Policy' was adopted in 1991 by PV Narsimha Rao's government. It came off as an economic imperative in wake of India's balance of payment crisis. The 'tiger economies' of east and south-east Asia were the dynamic engines of growth in contemporary world and India was naturally interested in them for economic growth.

- It was part of efforts for **strategic course correction** to achieve better integration of India with the east Asian countries and other US allies after the end of the Cold War era.
- **From Look east to Act East:**
 - **The first phase (1991-2003):** driven by considerations of globalisation; focus was on development of trade and investment linkages with ASEAN.

- **The second phase (2003-2014):** It added new dimensions - development of India's remote **northeast region (NER)**; emphasis on relations with ASEAN as well as **east Asian countries**; economic as well as **strategic ties**
- The Look East policy was upgraded to '**Act East Policy**' in **2014** to give **renewed push** for extensive economic and strategic relations with the nations of Southeast Asia.

OBEJECTIVES OF ACT EAST POLICY

- Promote economic cooperation between India and south east and east Asian countries.
- Develop strategic relationship with countries in the Indo-Pacific region.
- Providing enhanced connectivity to the states of North-eastern Region with countries in India's eastern neighbourhood.
- Provide a proactive and pragmatic approach to strengthen historical and cultural ties.

FEATURES

- It is an effort by the Indian government to cultivate extensive **economic and strategic ties** with the nations of East and Southeast Asia and further strengthen India's relationships in the Indo-Pacific.
- It is **based on 4 C** – Culture, Commerce, Connectivity, and Capacity Building.
- It is seen as an **action-oriented, project and outcome-based policy**. E.g., improving cooperation on various projects like Kaladan multi-modal project, India-Myanmar-Thailand (IMT) Trilateral Highway, etc.
- **Intensive and continuous engagement** at bilateral, regional and multilateral level.

- Bilateral: FTA with Thailand; CEPAs with South Korea and Japan; annual summits, 2+2 Ministerial Dialogue.
- Regional framework: East Asia Summit (EAS), Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), ASEAN Regional Forum.
- Sub-regional organisations: BIMSTEC, Mekong-Ganga Cooperation, BCIM Forum
- Focus on historical, cultural, linguistic, and religious ties through people-to-people exchanges. The **ASEAN-India Network of Universities (AINU)** was launched in 2022 as a **collective knowledge network** by Nalanda University and ASEAN University Network. It is an effort to revive historical legacy of knowledge production and exchange amongst the countries in the region.
- AEP provides an **interface between India's NER and the ASEAN** region. It aims at economic development of North Eastern Region (NER) as a **gateway to South East Asia**.
- AEP includes a **strategic component**. It is informed by the changing geo-political scenario including the threat of **Chinese dominance** in the ASEAN affairs (such as South China Sea disputes) and China's rising influence over the Indian Ocean region (maritime silk route, string of pearls etc).
- Act East Policy is part of **India's vision for the Indo-Pacific** which is built on India's Act East Policy and the **SAGAR doctrine** (Security and Growth for All in the Region)

COMPARISON WITH LOOK EAST POLICY

Look East Policy	Act East Policy
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It initially focussed on the ASEAN countries 2. It marked a monumental shift in India's foreign policy away from cold-war era protectionist policies. 3. Trade and investment were more emphasised than connectivity. Later initiatives on connectivity failed to take off. 4. Economic rationale behind its implementation. 5. Shaped by the end of cold war. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It is oriented towards India's eastern neighbours like China, Japan, and South Korea and south-pacific states including Australia and New Zealand, apart from ASEAN. 2. It marks an incremental change over Look East Policy. 3. Greater prominence to northeast India's connectivity and improving the implementation of connectivity projects.

<p>6. East Asian countries were relatively disinterested in India relation.</p>	<p>4. Economic, strategic and infrastructure needs are driving it. 5. Informed by the rise of China 6. Greater realisation of India's balancing power aspect vis-à-vis China.</p>
--	--

WHAT ARE INDIA'S INTERESTS IN THE EAST?

- The strategic uncertainties in the region following the **decline of US influence** and the rapid **rise of China**.
- Shaping - along with other like-minded countries - the evolving **new regional order** which should be open, rules-based, and free from the influence of any single hegemon.
- As a country dependent on sea-borne trade for its sustenance, **freedom of navigation**, overflight, and unimpeded commerce in open seas are important interests of India.
- Oppose the use **force as a means of settling disputes** as the Chinese acts of **building** artificial islands in South China sea and **salami slicing** in the Himalayas mirror each other.
- **Connectivity** programmes for promoting regional cooperation and integration.
- **Economic interests:** Becoming part of **global value chains**, attracting investments in manufacturing and modern technology, to reap benefits of the **fourth industrial revolution**.

WHAT HAS THE ACT EAST POLICY ACHIEVED SO FAR?

- India is implementing **Quick Impact Projects** in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam to provide development assistance to grass-root level communities in the fields of education, water resources, health etc.
- **Connectivity** is an important element of Act East Policy. Efforts in this direction include:
 - Agartala-Akhaura Rail Link between India and Bangladesh,
 - Intermodal transport linkages and inland waterways through Bangladesh,
 - Kaladan Multimodal Transit Transport Project and
 - Trilateral Highway Project connecting NER with Myanmar and Thailand

- **Engagement with ASEAN:** ASEAN-India engagement has become deeper and has scaled new heights. **India is now the 4th largest trading partner of ASEAN.**
- **Cooperation on Regional Initiatives:** India is steering a number of sub-regional programmes and projects such as the BBIN corridor, India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway, Kaladan multimodal project etc.
- **Asia-Africa Growth Corridor** is a joint initiative of India and Japan to overcome infrastructure deficit in global south. It can be an effective counter to China's debt trap diplomacy. Joint projects have been launched in third countries such as in Sri Lanka (LNG related infrastructure), Myanmar (development efforts in the Rakhine state), Bangladesh (road and reconstruction of bridges) and Kenya (health services).
- **North-East development:**
 - In 2019, the Government of Japan announced plans to invest around Rs 13,000 Crore in several ongoing, as well as new projects in different states of India's North-Eastern region.
 - Under **India-Japan Act East Forum**, projects such as Road and Bridges and modernization of Hydro-electric power project have been undertaken in north east.
- **Security Engagement:**
 - **Defence cooperation** has increased with East Asian countries. E.g., line of credit for purchase of defence equipment from India, export of **Brahmos to Philippines**.
 - India has also activated a **satellite imaging and tracking station in Vietnam** which provides capability to track Chinese naval activities in the region.
 - Since 2015, India has carried out joint maritime-law enforcement patrols and

military exercises with ASEAN countries. The **Milan naval exercise** under the Andaman & Nicobar Command sees participation from navies from Indonesia to South Korea and Singapore.

➤ Act Far East

- It is an extension of India's Act East Policy to **Russia's far east region**
- It includes Line-of-Credit and cooperation on energy, technology and defence.
- It includes a **maritime route between Vladivostok and Chennai**, passing through the south China sea.
- It demonstrates India's **inclusive vision for Indo-pacific**.
- It will improve Russian participation in the Indo-pacific. It can help bridge gaps between Russia and Japan and between Russia and US.
- It gives India access to an energy-rich region and would help India's economic growth.

ISSUES & CHALLENGES

- **The China factor:** There has been a growth in **China's influence** as well as **assertiveness** in the region. The growing **India-China tensions** in the Himalayas and **South China Sea disputes** attest to it. Aversion to or fear of war and **threat to regional peace** could limit cooperation between India and countries of the region.
- **Economic Cooperation:**
 - There is **mutual disappointment** about pace of expansion in economic ties.
 - The FTAs and CEPAs have not proved beneficial to India, with worsening import dependence.
 - **India's economic policies** are not considered investment and trade-friendly by its east Asian neighbours. E.g., India's withdrawal from the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) deal due to apprehensions on rule-of-origin and interest of domestic livestock farmers.
- **Internal Politics:** Malaysia's stand against India's domestic policy changes vis-à-vis Jammu &

Kashmir and Citizenship (Amendment) Act affected trade ties due to **boycott of Malaysian Palm Oil**.

- **Soft Power:** India's use of "**Buddhist diplomacy**" faces challenge of finance and infrastructure as most sites are located in eastern India which is economically backward. There is challenge from China as well which also vies for global leadership of Buddhism.

WAY FORWARD

- The government should **complete the tasks promised in the Delhi Declaration 2018**, such as:
 - Digital connectivity projects in Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar and Vietnam
 - Complete India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway
 - Enact Trilateral Motor Vehicle Agreement (MVA) to facilitate movements across the border.
- India must take a fresh look at its Act East policy and the impacts of unsatisfactory economic cooperation. **Review the terms of the FTAs** to give a boost to bilateral trade and augment the volume of trade to its actual potential.
- The country must **revamp its domestic policies** to enhance attractiveness as a destination for investment.
- State governments must be empowered to play active roles under the Act East Policy. For instance, a **Northeast branch of NITI Aayog** can be set up to bridge the gaps between the Centre and States in implementing the Act East Policy.
- **Sub-regional groupings:**
 - The government should focus on increasing cooperation through regional groupings like **BIMSTEC** which is a natural connector of South and Southeast Asia.
 - Countries must enhance the negotiation process to conclude BIMSTEC MVA, BIMSTEC coastal shipping agreement, and BIMSTEC TFA (Trade Facilitation Agreement).
- **Overcome Bureaucratic Hurdles:**

- The development cooperation projects for the Act East should be put in fast-track by **avoiding cumbersome documentation and bureaucratic procedures**. For this, EXIM Bank of India should open its branches in all South, Southeast and East Asian countries.
- Coordination between Prime Minister's Office, Ministry of Finance, and Ministry of External Affairs needs to be enhanced for timely implementation.
- The government should **reap the low-hanging fruits** first. For example, international flights can be started from Imphal to other countries for boosting medical tourism. Imphal's Shija Hospital has already become a favourite destination of Myanmar people for health check-ups.
- The country should **expand the outreach of Act East policy** by taking a regional approach, bringing along neighbouring countries from south Asia like Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. This would enable better development of India's Eastern and North-eastern states.

India's Act East policy has a strong synergy with **Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific** and **South Korea's New Southern Policy**. ASEAN centrality, convergence of economic and strategic interests and people to people ties should be the basis of India's act in the east.

HI65- India- Australia Relations



Australia, with its capital at Canberra, is the smallest continent and one of the largest countries of the world. It lies between the Pacific Ocean and Indian oceans in the Southern Hemisphere. Commonwealth of Australia was formed in 1901. Geographically, Australia has diverse landscapes ranging from deserts in the centre, tropical rainforests in the north-east and mountain ranges in south-east. It was able to use its natural resources to rapidly develop its agricultural and manufacturing industries.

Historical background of relations between India and Australia:

Phase I (1947-1970): India, after its independence in 1947, established a mission in Australia. Afterwards, India adopted non-alignment policy at foreign policy level while Australia remained inclined towards the USA and established its alliance with America very firmly.

Phase 2 (1970-1991): This period witnessed the change in domestic politics in Australia which also

brought change in India-Australia Relations. In 1971, India and Australia envisaged cultural cooperation. The relationship went on an upswing but it was short-lived. After the Indo-Pak war of 1971 and the subsequent conclusion of the India-Russia Treaty of Friendship, the relationship began to slow down.

Phase 3 (After the end of cold war): An Australia-India council to promote long terms interest in India was established in 1992. With the changing global scenario, Australia has come to look at India as a potential partner in **promoting regional security and stability**. This led to upgradation of the bilateral relationship between the two nations to a **'Strategic Partnership'**, including a **Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation in 2009**. Over the years an array of institutional mechanism has been put in place to promote bilateral cooperation such as exchange of **high-level visits**, Foreign Ministers' Framework Dialogue, Joint Trade & Commerce Ministerial Commission, Defence

Policy Talks including Energy Security Dialogue and Australia-India Education Council, Track-2 Dialogues like Australia-India Leadership Dialogue, Youth Dialogue, etc.

More recently 2+2 Ministerial dialogue and the framework of Quad has provided strategic impetus to forge closer strategic relations.

Mutual significance of India-Australia relationship/partnership:

- **Energy Security:** Australia is a natural partner for India in the energy sector. Australia's long-term and secure LNG supply can help diversify India's current highly concentrated import supplies from the Middle East. India's growing energy demand, large market, growing economy, can ensure a steady revenue stream for Australia, through energy purchases.
- **Strategic:** Australia is important for securing the maritime security in the Indian Ocean region. Chinese assertion poses seminal threats for Australian sea lines of communication. Given Australia's location and naval capacity, it has potential to collaborate with India to promote a free, inclusive, prosperous and stable Indo-pacific. India's role as the net security provider in the region can be extended to limit the influence and impacts of hegemonic powers in Indo-Pacific. Both countries upgraded their relationship to a **Comprehensive Strategic Partnership** and signed **Mutual Logistic Support Arrangement (MLSA)**.
- **Geopolitical:** India and Australia support a multi-polar world order. Australia has continued to support India's claim for permanent membership of the Security Council, the APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) and the reforms of the United Nations.
- **Economic:** Both countries have a **complementary economic relationship**. Australia is rich in primary natural resources like Coal, Bauxite etc, which are needed by India to fuel its growth. India is Australia's **seventh-largest trading partner** and **fifth-largest export destination**. Australia is among the top 20 trade partners for India. Two-way goods and

services trade between India and Australia was approximately \$27 billion in 2020.

- **Regional and maritime cooperation:** Both India and Australia are members of the **Quad, Commonwealth, Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA)**, ASEAN Regional Forum, Asia Pacific Partnership on Climate and Clean Development, and have participated in the East Asia Summits.
- **Agricultural cooperation:** From farming practices through **food processing, supply and distribution to consumers**, the Australian agribusiness sector has the **research and development (R&D) capacity, experience and technical knowledge** to help India's food industry improve **supply chain productivity** and sustainability and meet the challenges of shifting consumption patterns.

Areas of convergence and achievements between India and Australia:

Civil Nuclear cooperation

- A **Civil Nuclear Cooperation Agreement** between the two countries was signed in September 2014 during the visit of then PM Tony Abbott to India.
- Australia holds approximately **31 per cent of the world's uranium reserves** and is one of the top exporters of the commodity.
- India plans to **import 100 tonnes of uranium** to power its various nuclear power plants in FY 23.

Defence cooperation

- India and Australia **conduct 2+2 ministerial dialogue since 2021**. This provides a platform for extending deliberations between the countries. The defence and the foreign ministers of the two countries are the participants in the 2+2 ministerial dialogue.
- Australia and India have a positive defence relationship, underpinned by the **2006 Memorandum on Defence Cooperation** and the 2009 **Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation**.
- **AUSINDEX** is **bilateral maritime exercise** between India and Australia since 2015 that developing **deeper understanding and**

cooperation between the Indian Navy and the Royal Australian Navy (RAN).

- Indian Air force participated in **Exercise Pitch Black 2018** (PB-18) a biennial multinational large force employment warfare exercise was hosted by Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) from 24 Jul 18 to 18 Aug 18 in Darwin, Australia. India also participated in the 2022 instalment of the Pitch-black exercise.
- India extended the **invitation to Australia** and an Australian contingent participated in the **2020 Malabar exercises**. With it, all the four members of the Quad participated in the Malabar naval exercise.

Multilateral cooperation.

- India and Australia cooperate in various multilateral fora. Australia supports India's candidature for a permanent seat in an expanded UN Security Council.
- Both India and Australia are members of the Commonwealth, IOR-ARC, the ASEAN Regional Forum, the East Asia Summit and the Asia-Pacific partnership on climate and clean development. In 2008, Australia became an observer in the SAARC.
- India and Australia are also members of the three **multilateral export control regimes** namely **Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR)**, **Wassenaar Arrangement** and **Australia Group**.

ECTA

- On 2nd April, 2022, India and Australia signed an **Economic Cooperation and Trade Agreement (ECTA)**.
- Under the terms of the ECTA, India will give **85% of Australia's exports zero-duty access** to its domestic market. Further, India is expected to get **zero-duty access** to Australia for its goods over **five years**.
- The ECTA also has adequate provisions for **resolving trade disputes**, in order to ensure a seamless operation of the trade deal.
- The ECTA, between India and Australia, also provides for a **compulsory review mechanism** after the completion of 15 years.

- The ECTA lays out **"rules of origin"**, which are aimed at **creating anti-dumping measures**.
- Australia is set to extend **'preferential access'** to the Indian products from **labour intensive sectors** like textile, leather, footwear, gems and jewellery etc.
- As the part of the ECTA, it is expected that **reciprocal benefits** will be extended by the two countries augmenting the **services trade** in the sectors like: IT, ITES, business services, health, education etc.
- On a reciprocal basis, the **students of the two countries** will receive the benefit of **securing work visas** for a period ranging from **18 months to four years**, as per the text of the ECTA.
- Under the ECTA, the two countries have agreed to ensure **fast track approval** for **patented, generic and biosimilar medicines**.
- In a first, the ECTA is expected to resolve the issue of **market access** between the two countries with regards to **agricultural products and alcoholic beverages**.
- The ECTA is expected to **increase trade** between the two sides to **\$45-50 billion** over five years, from the **current estimate of \$27 billion**.
- Further, it is estimated that an approximately **10 lakh additional job opportunities** will be generated due to the signing of the ECTA.

Despite wide ranging and multifaceted collaboration between India, and Australia, certain challenges remain, such as:

- While Australia is dependent on USA for defence and security, its economy is largely dependent on China. In such a scenario, Australia cannot leave China as India cannot address Australia's all requirements.
- The racial attacks on the Indian student in Australia during 2009 and 2010, created tension between the two countries. It also undermined the government's efforts to increase people to people ties between India and Australia. Such incidents also restrict the capacity of the two countries to deepen their bilateral relationship.

- Adani Group (Indian company) is facing opposition to its plans to invest \$16.5 billion in Carmichael coal mine is located in Queensland. Environmental groups who are concerned that the development will increase carbon pollution and endanger the health of the Great Barrier Reef marine park in northern Queensland.
- As major stakeholders in the global climate talks, India and Australia should **deepen research and development** initiatives, and devise **funding channels/mechanisms** for **decarbonising the economies**.

In order to move in the direction of forging a strong bilateral partnership, the countries should:

- Work towards formulating a **comprehensive Indo pacific vision** which ensures inclusivity, transparency, openness and a rule-based order. This will engage the two countries in a **meaningful partnership** for creating a prosperous and peaceful Indo-Pacific, reducing the hegemonic ambitions of any unilateral power.
- For the effective implementation of the ECTA, the two countries should work in a collaborative fashion to **remove, reduce, and rationalise entry barriers** for goods and services, **bureaucratic red-tapes** etc.
- There is an imperative for deepening **people to people ties** across various field such as: education, health, tourism, cultural interactions, arts and entertainment etc.
- India and Australia can join their strengths by aligning their goals of **becoming first responders in the events of natural disasters**. The two countries, owing to their geographical locations, have high stakes in creating a resilient regional framework for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR).
- The two countries should enhance the **bilateral engagements through track 1.5 dialogue**. The fifth round of track 1.5 dialogue between the thought leaders of the two countries, to be held in September, 2022, in Delhi, is a step in the right direction.
- **Institutional mechanisms** should be devised to promote a **hassle-free migration of skilled laborers** from India to Australia and vice-versa.
- **The two countries should strive towards the development of sustainable and resilient supply chains**, and extend cooperation in the fields of **critical minerals**.

HI 66- India- Japan Relations

Historical background:

• **Ancient times:**

- Though Hinduism is a little practiced religion in Japan, out of the “**Seven Gods of Fortune**” in Japan, 4 bear a **resemblance to Hindu deities** - Saraswati, Kuber, Shiva, and Lakshmi. **Garuda**, the mount of Vishnu is known by the name of Karura in Japanese.
- **Buddhism** reached Japan through Korea and China and has been a unifying factor. The Indian monk **Bodhisena** arrived in Japan to spread the teachings of Buddha around 736 AD. Ancient records from **Nalanda University** revealed presence of Japanese students as well.

• **Indian Independence Movement:**

- **Rash Behari Bose** created India-Japan relations during national movement itself.
- **Subhash Chandra Bose** used **Japanese endorsement** to form **Indian National Army**. The Japanese government built, supported, and controlled INA as well as the **Indian Independence League**.

• **Since independence:**

- At **International Military Tribunal for Far East**, an Indian Judge, delivered his dissenting judgement in favor of Japan. This

became a symbol of the beginning of modern relations.

- In the post-WWII period, India's iron ore helped a great deal in Japan's recovery from devastation.
- After restoration of Japan's sovereignty, Japan and India signed a **peace treaty establishing official diplomatic relations in 1952**. Relations between them were **constrained by Cold War politics**.
- Japan started providing **yen loans to India in 1958**, as the first yen loan aid extended by Japanese government.
- Since 1980s, there were considerable efforts to improve bilateral relations. **India's Look East Policy** posited Japan as a key partner. Since 1986, **Japan has also become India's biggest donor and aid partner**.
- Relations between them reached a brief **low in 1988** after **Pokhran nuclear tests**. **Japan imposed sanctions** on India and cut off all political as well as economic ties.
- India and Japan signed the “**Agreement for Cooperation in Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy**” in 2016.

Significance of Japan for India and vice Versa:

Geopolitical	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Share common ideals like democracy, rule of law, human rights, in addition to the complementarities that bind their economies. 2. Wide range of interests including regional cooperation, maritime security, global climate, and UN reforms. 3. Rise of China has been an important factor, while India's growing closeness with the US has also played a role, as US and Japan already have a close alliance.
Geostrategic (defense cooperation)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Both are strongly committed to freedom of navigation, overflights and unimpeded commerce in the open sea which is important for the stability and security of the Indo-Pacific region. 2. India's Act East Policy and Japan's "Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy" converge in Northeast. 3. Signed a Mutual Logistics and Supply Agreement (MLSA) in 2020 which allows militaries to access each other's bases and a host of related

	<p>supplies. In context of Ukraine crisis, this provided an opportunity for India to diversify its source of armaments and key technologies.</p> <p>4. India, Japan, the US, and Australia are trying to build a new security architecture in the Indo-Pacific region including African continent with QUAD.</p>
<p>GeoEconomic</p>	<p>1. Japan's interest is increasing due to India's large and growing market and its resources, especially human resources.</p> <p>2. Japan's technological and economic prowess could accelerate India's development by transforming its infrastructure and manufacturing sectors. Eg- DMIC (Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor), Mumbai Ahmedabad Bullet train project, and North-East Road Connectivity Project.</p> <p>3. Japan is positioned centrally in mega infrastructure initiatives, like Blue Dot Network or Build Back Better World (B3W) Partnership. Thus, its technology is going to be a boost for India's renewable energy push and battery technologies for electric mobility.</p>

Areas of Convergence and Achievements:

• **Projects and Investments:**

- Signed four agreements under which Tokyo is to support health care projects funded under the **Grant Assistance for Grassroots Projects (GGP)** scheme in India.
 - 1. GGP supports development projects designed to meet diverse basic human needs of the people in developing countries.
- Japan has invested Rs. 1,600 cr in development projects across India's Northeast and is also working closely with India on infrastructure projects in third countries such as Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.
- Signed the **Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement (ACSA)** for reciprocal provision of supplies and services between their defense forces.
- Laid out a roadmap for deepening our **Special Strategic and Global Partnership** in a post-COVID world.
- In 2022, Japanese PM announced an investment target of \$42 billion in India over next five years.

• **Economic and Commercial relations:**

- The **India-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA)** came into force in August 2011. It covers not only trade in goods but also Services, Movement of Natural Persons, Investments, Intellectual Property Rights, Custom Procedures, etc.
- Japan has been extending **bilateral loan and grant assistance to India** since 1958, and is the largest bilateral donor for India.
- India was the 18th largest trading partner for Japan, and Japan was the 12th largest trading partner for India in 2020. Also, direct investment from Japan to India has increased, and Japan was 4th largest investor for India in FY2020.
- The **bilateral trade** between India and Japan for FY 2019-20 (April – December) totalled US\$ 11.87 billion.
- **Science & Technology:**
 - Bilateral S&T cooperation was formalized through an Inter-Governmental Agreement signed in 1985.
 - **India-Japan Digital Partnership (IJDP)** was launched in 2018, focusing more on "Digital ICT Technologies".

- Establishment of three **India-Japan Joint Laboratories in the area of ICT** (AI, IoT and Big Data); Initiation of **DST-JSPS Fellowship Programme** for young researchers.
- **Healthcare: India's AYUSHMAN Bharat Programme and Japan's ASHWIN**, both sides had been consulting with each other to identify projects to build the narrative of AHWIN for AYUSHMAN Bharat.
- **Indian Diaspora in Japan:** Approximately 38,000 Indians live in Japan. The Nishikasai area in Tokyo is emerging as a "mini-India". Their growing numbers had prompted the opening of three Indian schools in Tokyo and Yokohama.
- **Defence Exercises:** Bilateral exercises namely, **JIMEX** (naval), **SHINYUU Maitri** (Air Force), and **Dharma Guardian** (Army). They also participate in Malabar exercise (Naval Exercise) with the USA and Australia.
- Members countries of the **G-20 and G-4** and also **International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor (ITER)**.

70 years of relationship:

- The year 2022 marks the 70th Anniversary of establishment of Diplomatic Relations between Japan and India. They **established diplomatic relations on April 28, 1952**.
- Japan has designated 2022 as "**Japan-Southwest Asia Exchange Year**" with the aim of taking Japan's relations Southwest Asia countries to new heights.
- To mark this historic occasion, the two countries have decided to have special logos. The Japanese side launched its logo in August 2021 and the Indian side in September 2021.
- **After WWII**, instead of signing the multi-lateral San Francisco Peace Treaty, India opted for concluding a **bilateral peace treaty with Japan**, considering that honour and equality should be ensured for Japan to rejoin international community. This is the **cornerstone of our long-standing friendship**.
- Even before diplomatic relations, **the goodwill between people of the two countries** was deeply rooted in business, academic and cultural exchanges.
- In **1951**, when India hosted the first Asian Games in New Delhi, it invited Japanese athletes. This was one of the **first occasions where Japanese flag was hoisted after WWII**. This experience soothed the minds of Japanese people who were struggling to rebuild their country.
- After 70 years of multi-layered exchanges, relationship between our two countries grew into a "**Special Strategic and Global Partnership**".

Hikaku San Gensoku Policy:

- Japan's 'Hikaku San Gensoku' or **three non-nuclear principles** are a parliamentary resolution that has **guided Japanese nuclear policy** since their inception in 1967.
- **Basic tenets: Japan shall neither possess nor manufacture nuclear weapons, nor shall it permit their introduction into Japanese territory.**
- Both are trying to forge a nuclear cooperation agreement particularly driven by **Japan's entrepreneurial needs and increasing export of Infrastructure Technology**.
- Japanese government has set up an **International Atomic Energy Development Company** to form a centralized platform to increase Japan's competitiveness in winning contracts for nuclear power projects overseas, eyeing UAE, Jordan, and India.
- A **civilian nuclear pact** between both is also vital given that Japanese companies have stakes in all US and French firms that would be setting up nuclear power plants in India.
- The process was started with a joint statement in 2006, under which Japan made a commitment to India to enhance civil nuclear energy cooperation under appropriate IAEA safeguards.
- However, because of these principles and **strong public sentiment against nuclear cooperation with Non-NPT signatory countries like India**, and challenges from **anti-nuclear lobbies and the media**, Japan took almost five years to move from commitment to negotiation stage.

- **Abe convinced the anti-nuclear hawks in Japan** to sign the agreement in 2016. Japan under this agreement will supply nuclear reactors, fuel, and technology to India.

Issues & Challenges:

- **Challenges of geography** - Being far-off from each other with hostile neighbours around - do not allow both to take clear-cut stands on either country's bilateral disputes. Eg- Kuril and Senkaku islands for Japan and Aksai Chin for India.
- **Trade ties** underdeveloped compared to ties with China: The bilateral trade with Japan in 2017-18 stood at a meagre \$15.71 billion, whereas it stood at \$84.44 billion with China in spite of all the political tensions. Japanese companies in India are only 1/8th of their presence in Chinese markets.
- **Defense sector:**
 - India is facing trouble in acquiring **Japan's Shinmaywa US-2** maritime reconnaissance aircraft. Indo-Japanese ACSA/MLSA is also a scaled-down version of the more expansive Japan-Australia Reciprocal Access Agreement.
 - Japan obviously has a very advanced high-technology industrial sector, **its military industry is insignificant.**
- The **Asia-Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC)** has not come to reality so far surrounded by skepticism on its feasibility and nature of projects in it. It is a joint Indo-Japanese effort **to build infrastructure and connectivity projects in Africa and South-East Asia.**
- **No progress on reworking the CEPA.** While it did boost bilateral trade, but also expanded India's trade deficit with Japan.
- Both countries have **border and hegemonic issues with China.** So their policy stance hinges generally on China, rather than growing comprehensively.
- Both had **diverging interests** with respect to economic issues like E-commerce rules (Osaka track), RCEP, etc.
- Japan has concerns about the poor infrastructure and skill development in India which hinders the economic partnership.

QUAD:

- India is a member of BRICS, AIIB, etc. which include China. India has joined AIIB but Japan refused to do so seeing it as a counter to Japan led **Asian Development Bank.** So, India has to do a **balancing act.**
- India has long adopted a non-aligned approach as opposed to the pro-US foreign policy stances of Japan and Australia. The failure of these nations to come up with a joint statement points to an inherent struggle to reconcile their competing views on countering the rise of China.

Recent Events:

- The March 2022 visit to India by Japanese PM Fumio Kishida for the annual summit laid out a roadmap for deepening the **Special Strategic and Global Partnership between the two countries** in a post-Covid world.
- India and Japan signed a Reciprocal Provision of Supplies and Services Agreement (RPSS).
- **India-Italy-Japan trilateral partnership:**
 - Italy has become more vocal on risks emanating from China's strategic competitive initiatives and is intending to enter Indo-Pacific geography.
 - It has done so by seeking to join India and Japan in a trilateral partnership.
 - On the Indian side, there is great interest in forging new partnerships with like-minded countries interested in preserving peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific.
- **2+2 Ministerial Dialogue, 2019:**
 - It is seen as an upgrade of the 2010 meeting between foreign and defense secretaries of the two countries.
 - The ministerial-level meeting was held after a decision to institute a Foreign and Defense Ministerial Dialogue was taken during the 13th India-Japan Annual Summit held in Japan in 2018.
 - It aimed to give further momentum to their special strategic partnership, particularly in the maritime domain.
- **Supply-Chain Resilience Initiative:**

- Formally launched by **India, Australia, and Japan**, to counter Chinese dominance in the Global Supply Chain.
- It aims to prevent disruptions in the supply chain and mainly focus on diversification of investment and digital technology adoption.
- **Other MEA-led-bilateral dialogues:**
 - The **Act East Forum**, established in 2017, aims to provide a platform for India-Japan collaboration following India's "Act East Policy" and Japan's "Free and Open Indo-Pacific Vision".
 - At the **2nd meeting of Act East forum**, both sides agreed to focus on expanding Japanese language in North-East, training caregivers under Technical Intern Training Program (TITP), capacity building in area of bamboo value chain development, and Disaster Management.
 - The inaugural **India-Japan Space Dialogue** was held in Delhi for enhancing bilateral cooperation in outer space and information exchange on respective space policies.
- **Currency Swap Agreement:**
 - Both have entered into a **\$75-billion currency swap arrangement** in 2020 that was renewed in 2022 to bring greater stability to foreign exchange.
 - The deal will help them to swap their currencies for U.S. dollars to stabilise the rupee which has witnessed the steepest fall in recent years.

Way Forward:

- Japan as world's third-largest economy, with high-tech skills, can act as a **natural ally to India**.
- At a time of global geopolitical flux, the two are among the important countries **fighting to champion freedom, international norms and rules, inclusivity, and free and fair trade**.
- If both continue to add concrete security content to their relationship, their strategic partnership could **potentially be a game-changer in Asia**.
- The emphasis on boosting trade and investment must be balanced with **greater strategic collaboration**. They should also work for digital

infrastructure cooperation in fields like **5G, Open RAN, Telecom Network Security, submarine cable systems, and Quantum Communications**.

- Both countries can contribute to the larger effort to build strategic equilibrium, power stability, and maritime security in the **Indo-Pacific**.

HI67- India- USA Relations

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

- **Early years after independence:**
 - **Educational cooperation:** Nine American universities and U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) helped establish IIT Kanpur, one of the first Indian Institutes of Technology.
 - **Food security:** U.S. Agronomist **Norman Borlaug** spurred food security in India through collaboration with **Dr MS Swaminathan** on deployment of high-yield wheat varieties to increase agriculture productivity in India. The ‘**green revolution**’ helped India graduate from food scarcity to self-sufficiency in food within a decade.
 - **Non-Alignment:** India took leadership role for non-aligned movement to stay clear of cold war bloc politics.
- **Cold war dynamics:**
 - **Closer USA and Pakistan relations** with the latter providing a mediating role of Pakistan in Nixon’s rapprochement with China; USA gave overt support to Pakistan in the **1971 Indo-Pak war**.
 - India signed the **Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship**, which marked a sharp deviation from non-alignment.
- **The Turbulent 90s:**
 - **Kashmir militancy:** Clinton administration’s attempts to force India into a Kashmir settlement with Pakistan.
 - **Economic Sanctions:** Amidst, US pressure on India to roll back the nuclear and missile programmes, India conducted 1998 nuclear tests at Pokharan. USA imposed economic sanctions on India after the 1998 nuclear tests at Pokharan.
- **Normalisation of Ties:**
 - Diplomatic efforts for bridging the prolonged **atomic divergence**; most economic sanctions were eased within few months of imposition. All remaining sanctions lifted in 2001.
- **Effects of 1991 liberalisation** materialise into period of rapid economic growth for Indian economy in early 2000s, helping normalise India-US ties.
- **India-US Nuclear Cooperation:** Under the **Indo-US Nuclear Deal**, USA lifted moratorium on nuclear energy trade with India. India agreed to **separate civil and military nuclear facilities** and put the former under **IAEA safeguards**. It enabled full civil nuclear cooperation between India and USA. Later USA facilitated an **NSG exemption** for India and **ended the country’s decades-long nuclear apartheid**.
- **Global Strategic partnership**
 - Based on **shared democratic values and convergence of interests** on bilateral and global issues.
 - **Defence Framework Agreement** signed in 2005; renewed in 2015.
 - The annual **India-US strategic dialogue** started in 2010.
 - Obama announced his ‘**Pivot to Asia**’ strategy in 2012 about the USA’s vision for the Pacific region. In 2021, it evolved into Trump administration’s **Strategic Framework for the Indo-Pacific**, increasing the salience of India in the emerging **regional geo-politics**.
 - US recognised India as a **major defence partner** in 2016. It enabled India to enjoy some of the benefits of being a U.S. treaty ally, such as access to defense technology, without a formal alliance.
 - **Foundational agreements** signed between India and USA which enable the latter to export sensitive equipments to allies: LEMOA (2016), COMCASA (2018), BECA (2020).

WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF USA FOR INDIA:

- **Geo-political:**

- Support against hostile powers like China and Pakistan at global forums such as UNSC.
- To facilitate own rise as regional and global power.
- Support for **reforms of multilateral bodies**, such as India's membership of UNSC and NSG.
- **Geo-strategic:**
 - Maintain **stability in Indo-pacific** through an order based not on Chinese supremacy but on security and autonomy for all states in the region
 - To put pressure on Pakistan to **check state-sponsored terrorism**.
 - Access to **defence technology** and advanced military equipment
- **Geo-economic:**
 - To **balance China's economic might** and resultant influence in India's neighbourhood, such as in Sri Lanka.
 - **Climate Action:** India needs access to **technology and finance** to achieve ambitious targets for mitigation of climate change and global warming.
- **Developmental:**
 - **Supply chain integration:** Investment from US-based companies to become part of global supply chains for growth of its manufacturing sector and generate large-scale employment.
 - **Education:** USA is among the most favoured destinations of Indians for higher education and research. India's attempts to reform its education sector through **National Education Policy 2020** can benefit from the experience and best practices of **US higher education institutions**.
- **Russia:** To isolate Russia with whom USA continues to have difficult relations. E.g., India's strategic ambiguity in Ukraine crisis which experts attribute to country's dependence on Russia for defence supplies.
- **Geo-strategic:**
 - India is an **island of stability** and a **liberal democracy** in an unstable and divided region.
 - India is a source of USA's demographic advantage through flow of **highly-skilled immigrants**.
- **Geo-economic:**
 - **Market:** India is today the fastest growing major economy. India's large and young demography are seen as source of economic growth and good returns for US—based investors.
 - **Future economy:** Data-governance and **e-commerce** are emerging as new sectors of economy, where India has particular salience. US needs India's support to create new agenda for **post-Doha talks** on global trade rules.

AREAS OF CONVERGENCE

- **Geostrategic:** Checking Chinese aggression and **securing international rules-based order** by protecting freedom of navigation and overflight through global channels of communication.
- **Defense:** USA seeking market for its **weapons** and India seeking **defense technology** and **reliable supplies** of military equipment. The two can cooperate on **cyber-security** and **drone warfare**.
- **Economic:** USA seeking Indian market and India seeking USA's **investments**, manufacturing and technology for economic growth towards **5 trillion USD economy** and raise standards of living.
- **Energy:** Advanced US technologies and India's rapidly growing energy market offer win-win possibilities through a cleaner energy route and low carbon pathways, such as smart grids, **energy storage**, flexible resources, and distributed energy resources.

WHY IS INDIA RELATIONSHIP SIGNIFICANT FOR USA?

- **Geo-political:**
 - **The China Factor:** Rise of China and its geopolitical ramifications have pushed USA to look for countries and partnerships that can balance threats emanating from China.

- **Counter-terrorism:** Restricting activities of terror groups and taking action against them. E.g., at FATF.

AREAS OF COOPERATION

- **Economic Relations:**

- India-US **bilateral trade** in goods and services increased from \$104 billion in 2014 to \$157 billion in 2021.
- United States is **India's largest trading partner** and most important **export market**. Many U.S. companies view India as a critical market and have expanded their operations there. For example, iPhones being made in India.
- Initiatives like **Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF)**.

- **Strategic Engagement:**

- **2+2 talk** – Defence and Foreign Ministers/ Secretaries meeting expand mutual understanding and cooperation;
- **Strategic Clean Energy Partnership (SCEP):** Inter-governmental engagement across five pillars of cooperation: (1) Power and Energy Efficiency; (2); Responsible Oil and Gas; (3) Renewable Energy; (4) Sustainable Growth and (5) Emerging Fuels.
- **Space cooperation:** Equipment from NASA on-board India's **Chandrayaan-I** mission confirmed the presence of **water on**

Moon. In 2022, India and USA signed on to a **bilateral space situational awareness arrangement**.

- **Defence & Security co-operation**

- **Regional Security:** Indo-pacific strategy and Quadrilateral Security Dialogue or Quad-grouping for regional security.
- **Joint exercises: Yudh Aabyas**, annual joint military exercise started in 2002; **Vajra Prahar**, with US Army Special Forces and India's Para SF; **Malabar exercise** under Quad-framework
- **Defence supplies: Biannual Defence technology and trade initiative (DTTI)** meetings to bring sustained leadership focus to the bilateral defence trade relationship. It aims to create opportunities for **co-production** and **co-development** of defence equipment. Four Joint Working Groups, focused on land, naval, air and aircraft carrier technologies, have been established under DTTI.
- **Information-exchange:** Various **foundational agreements** enable **information-sharing partnership** across various warfighting domains.
- **Education:** Education is one of the key pillars of India-US cooperation. Indian students receive more **student visas** for USA than any other country.

Foundational Agreements for Defence and Security Cooperation:

- **COMCASA –**

- Communications Compatibility & Security Agreement (COMCASA) deals with secure military communication.
- It is an India-specific variant of the Communications Interoperability and Security Memorandum of Agreement (CISMOA).
- India had signed a related agreement called the General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA), in 2002. However, it catered more to intelligence sharing and did not cover many sensitive technologies as under COMCASA.
- Since India had not signed the agreement earlier, the Indian military had bought US platforms such as C-130 Hercules special operations planes and the Globemaster C-17 strategic airlifters without US proprietary communications equipment.
- This also increases the ability to communicate safely with all US-made equipment used by foreign military, such as in Japan and Australia.
- Secure and encrypted communication during joint exercises would increase the inter-operability between the two forces.

- **LEMOA –**
 - Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA) is a tweaked India-specific version of the Logistics Support Agreement (LSA).
 - It's an accounting mechanism which allows both countries to replenish supplies from each other's designated military facilities.
 - It would aid in supply of food, water, billeting, transportation, petroleum, oil, lubricants, clothing, medical services, spare parts and components, repair and maintenance services, training services, and other logistical items and services.
 - Even without LEMOA, India has previously provided logistical support on an ad hoc basis to American ships, such as during the first Gulf War in 1991, and during USA's 'war on terror' after 9/11.
- **BECA –**
 - Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA) enables supply of **high-end equipment, real-time intelligence** and information.
 - It is useful in improving **the accuracy of Indian missiles and armed drones** using American geo-spatial information to hit enemy targets.
 - It allows both countries to share military information such as maps, nautical and aeronautical charts, commercial and other **unclassified imagery**.
 - There are provisions for sharing **classified information** like sensitive satellite and sensor data, with safeguards to prevent it from being shared with any third party.

- Regular exchange of **high-level political visits** has provided sustained momentum to bilateral cooperation.
 - There are many more areas of cooperation between the two countries including **people-to-people**, institutional, **academic**, ideological, technological, to name a few. For example, the 2022 **Indian movie 'RRR'** became a major hit across US, extending India's **cultural exports**.
- ISSUES & CHALLENGES**
- **Global order:** USA seeks to assert its hegemony while India seeks a **multipolar world** order. E.g., different visions for Indo Pacific, with India encouraging participation from Russia through **Chennai-Vladivostok maritime corridor**.
 - **Global governance:** USA takes a status quoist approach in global economic governance while India seeks a more democratic order. E.g., USA's control over IMF and World Bank.
 - **Trade:**
 - USA seeks open market access, no tariff barriers, investment protection while India seeks to safeguard domestic market, regulate foreign capital and assert sovereignty of national laws. E.g., **market-place versus inventory model** for e-commerce, **data-localization** norms by RBI, etc.
 - **Tariff wars** through duties imposed on Indian steel and aluminum; withdrawal of generalized system of preferences (GSP) benefits for Indian exports in 2019.
 - **WTO has been made dysfunctional** by USA through blocking of appointments to its appellate body for dispute settlement.
 - **Intellectual property:** USA seeks full protection based on its laws. Its '**special 301 report** regularly castigates India for supposedly poor IPR regime. India on the other hand, emphasizes, TRIPS measures. E.g., India-South Africa joint **proposal at WTO for patent-waiver** to deal with Covid-crisis.
 - **Global security:** India and USA have **differing views on regional issues** such as **Ukraine crisis**, Afghanistan etc. **US-support for Pakistan** such as on F-16 supplies directly harms India's strategic and security interests.
 - **Questioning of civil liberties** and democratic rights in India is an irritant in bilateral ties. EAM S Jaishankar has characterised such views as "**interests, lobbies and vote banks**" driving the US position. India has also started to highlight hate crimes against Indian Americans in USA, such

as assault on two Indian-American Sikhs in New York.

- **Unilateral sanctions:** India's purchase of **S-400 anti-aircraft missile system** from Russia face sanction under CAATSA, a domestic law of USA. India was also forced to cut down **oil supplies from Iran** due to sanctions from USA. It also undermines India's **strategic autonomy** and national interests.
- **H1B visas** used by Indian immigrants are faced with **anti-immigrant policies** under seeming reversal of globalisation. Restrictions on **employability of spouse**, reduction in number of visas etc. are some of the concerns.
- **Distrust:** A strategic tilt in India's foreign policy towards USA faces resistance due to historical legacies and **distrust**. E.g., USA's sending of **7th armor to Bay of Bengal** to stop Indian intervention in Bangladesh liberation war in 1971. **Continued US support for Pakistan** also undermines USA's reliability as a strategic partner for India.
- The **principle of differentiated responsibilities** on climate action is de-emphasised by USA in an abdication of responsibility for climate change and use of **carbon budget**. On the other hand, US's sudden **withdrawal from the Paris climate agreement** undermined global action.

WAY FORWARD:

- **Multilateral cooperation** with like-minded democracies for **infrastructure investments** to provide sustainable alternative to China's OBOR.
- Enhance **cooperation in emerging technologies** such as data regulation, information sharing, and privacy protection and address issues crucial to the preservation of national security.
- Strengthen **coordination on international issues** for synergies and better appreciation of each other's position.
- **Cooperation on counterterrorism:** Coordinate strategies for managing a Taliban-led Afghanistan and multilateral efforts to apply pressure on the Pakistan's military-intelligence

complex to abandon support for all terrorist groups.

- **Strengthen and integrate GVCs:** Use investments to strengthen bilateral trade and integrate GVCs; **incentivise multinational corporations** to take leadership in creating global supply chain resilience.
- USA must realise that the challenges facing today's world are such that no country can do all that needs doing as was made clear by Covid-19 pandemic. USA, thus, should be willing to share responsibilities for regional leadership, peace and security with India.
- India must confront its approach to international leadership which has traditionally been more passive than assertive, more reactive than active.

In summary,

India-US relations are marked by growing political and security cooperation, expanding economic engagement, widening interface between the two societies, and the intensifying footprint of the Indian diaspora in the US.

The India-US. Bilateral cooperation is board- based and multi-sectoral, covering wide variety of issues.

As described by Prime Minister Modi, India and USA - as the world's two largest and oldest democracies - are **natural partners**. Going forward, both the democracies should push for better bilateral ties and enhance cooperation as **"Enduring Global Partners in the 21st Century"**.

HI 68- QUAD and AUKUS

QUAD

Composition of QUAD:

Quadrilateral Security Dialogue or QUAD is an **informal forum for strategic dialogue** between **India, Australia, Japan** and the **USA**. Constituted as security dialogue with focus on maritime security in the Indo-Pacific region, now it has expanded to other domains like **health, infrastructure, climate change, cyber security** etc.

QUAD **does not have a formal organization** but is maintained through summits, meetings, information exchanges and military drills.



Objectives & mandate

- **Free and Open Indo-Pacific:** The **core objective** of QUAD is to ensure a **free, open and prosperous Indo-Pacific region**. It is to secure free movement of goods and open access to everyone to undertake trade in the region.
- **Rule-based global order:** Quad thrives to maintain a **rule-based global order, freedom of navigation** and a **liberal trading system**.
- **Maritime security:** Quad is a collaborative effort to provide maritime security in the region against the threat of China's aggression. The broader goal of an 'open' Indo-Pacific also includes the aspect of securing Sea Lines of Communication from any security threats.
- **To promote democratic values:** QUAD members consider themselves as '**diamond democracy**' whose objective should be to promote democratic ideals in the region. This

includes respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries in the region.

- **To contain China:** Although never mentioned in any official QUAD statement, experts argue that QUAD is a strategic grouping to counter China's aggression in the Indo-Pacific region.
- The '**Spirit of the QUAD**' statement issued jointly during the **QUAD virtual ministerial meet, 2021** outlines the following objectives of the grouping:
 - Maritime security
 - Combating the Covid-19 crisis especially vis-à-vis vaccine diplomacy
 - Addressing the risks of climate change
 - Creating an ecosystem for investment in the region
 - Boosting technological innovation

Evolution of QUAD

Evolution of QUAD can be studied in three phases:

1. Origin of Quad (2004-2007)

- Origin of the grouping can be traced back to **2004 Tsunami** where the USA, Japan and Australia joined forces to help India in its rescue and relief operations.
- It was in **2007** that the leaders of the four countries met on the sidelines of the **ASEAN summit**. **Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe** was the first to pitch the idea of a QUAD grouping, during the summit.
- In 2008, Australia withdrew from the grouping under Chinese pressure and a growing conflict between the USA and China in the Asia-Pacific region.

2. Phase of no activity (2008-2017)

- In this phase, QUAD members kept engaging on a **bilateral and trilateral** level, especially in terms of **military exercises**, however, they did not come together as a quadrilateral group. For example, Japan joined Australian naval exercise '**Kakadu**' in 2008, in 2012

Japan also became a part of **Malabar exercise** conducted by India.

- **US's 'Pivot to Asia' policy:** In 2011, the **Obama administration** significantly increased its resource allocation to the Eastern Asian region. This was seen as a part of US's policy of '**soft containment**' of China.
- **China's assertiveness in Indo-pacific:** QUAD members started to take notice of China's assertiveness in the region especially undermining the sovereignty of other countries. For example, the US openly ridiculed China's claims in the South China sea.
- In 2012, Japanese Prime Minister again emphasized on the idea of Asia's '**Democratic Security Dimond**' hinting towards the need of democracies to align their interests against China.

3. Restart phase (2017-present)

- This phase saw re-emergence of QUAD in the face of increasing Chinese aggressiveness.
- Japan invited India, the USA and Australia to hold a joint ministers meeting during the **2017 ASEAN summit**. In this meeting, QUAD members agreed to pursue a '**Free and Open Indo-Pacific**' strategy and enhance military cooperation.
- Since then QUAD members have actively engaged with each other. First '**QUAD Leaders' summit**' was held virtually in **March, 2021**. In **September, 2021**, the US hosted **second 'QUAD Leaders Summit'** and **first in-person meeting** of the group.
- Quad members have also shown willingness to expand the group to include **New Zealand, Vietnam and South Korea** under a so called '**QUAD plus**' forum.

Significance of QUAD

- **Significance of Indo-Pacific:** Indo-Pacific region comprises of 38 countries which account for 63% of the world's GDP. Also, 50% of the world's maritime trade occurs in this region.
- **To curb China's aggression:**

- Collective action is needed to restrain the hostile Chinese strategies such as **A2AD (Anti-Access/Area-Denial)** strategy in South China Sea under which China has created a weapons system which would deter its rivals from entering.
- Growing influence of China in the region undermines **US's stand as a global power**.
- China has made **huge investments** in the region and has developed **deep economic ties** with the countries, to an extent that Indo-Pacific region is economically dependent on China. For example, China's trade with **ASEAN is \$685 billion (2020-21)** compared to \$78 billion of India's trade with ASEAN, China is also the **biggest source of FDI** in the region.
- **To restore a 'rule-based order':** Quad countries have expressed concerns regarding Chinese disruption in the '**rule based global order**'. For example, China has refused to adhere to rulings of multilateral organizations like the WTO, PCA etc.
- **Geo-strategic interests of nations:**
 - US's interest is to maintain a **uni-polar world** with US being the only super power.
 - India, Japan and Australia want a **multi-polar Asia** where they are equal partners.
 - India also aims for a **uni-polar South Asia**, with India being the only regional power.
- **Supply chain resilience:** China has monopolized the global supply chains (especially in electronic sector). This makes supply chains vulnerable. Quad has already taken steps in this direction, for example, Quad members have agreed to diversify the semiconductor supply chains.
- **Cyber-security:** Experts have warned against China '**weaponising**' its IT infrastructure in other countries. For instance, there were reports that 5G towers installed by Chinese firm Huawei were collecting military information.

Significance for India

- **To contain Chinese:** Chinese territorial aspirations and its expansionist policy has a direct impact on **India's territorial integrity**. India

can leverage its membership in Quad to contain Chinese aggression.

- **Geo-strategic significance:**
 - Membership to Quad gives a **boost to India's diplomatic influence** in Indian Ocean Region as well as in global diplomatic arena.
 - This would also enable India to expand its **influence to Indo-pacific countries**. For example, 2021 edition of Malabar exercise was conducted in Philippine sea.
 - **Act East Policy:** Vision of Quad is in line with India's Act East Policy which aims to deepen India's ties with countries in East and South East Asia.
- **Military cooperation:** Quad membership will give a boost to **India's defence capabilities**. Quad military engagement involves cooperation in **defence technologies, logistical support and access to information**. This is evident by signing of various defence agreements between India and the **US - Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Association (LEMOA), Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (COMCASA) and Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA)**.
- **Economic cooperation:** Quad dialogue would increase investment opportunity for India especially in significant sectors such as healthcare, green energy, cyber security etc.
- **Net Security provider:** India considers itself as a **Net Security Provider** in the India Ocean Region. Cooperation with Quad countries can further this claim especially in case of a Chinese threat.

Achievements

- **Military cooperation:** QUAD members have greatly enhanced their military cooperation not just in terms of military exercises but also in enhancing **joint defence capabilities**. For example, Australia joined the Malabar Naval exercise in 2020 making it a quadrilateral exercise.
- **Reassurance to Indo-Pacific:** Coming together of four economically and militarily

strong democracies give assurance to smaller countries in the Indo-Pacific region against China's assertiveness, especially to countries in the South China sea region.

- **Geostrategic positioning:** China has called QUAD as '**Asia NATO**'. This shows that China has recognized the presence of Quad in the Indo-Pacific and would find it difficult to carry on with its expansionist policies.
- **Indo-Pacific Economic Framework:**
 - It is a US proposed '**Economic bloc**' which would have Quad members along with other countries in the **Indo-Pacific region**.
 - As of 2022, it has **nine** other members in addition to four Quad countries - Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, South Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.
 - The Framework has four pillars:
 - a) **Trade:** It will include digital economy and emerging technologies, labour commitments, environment, trade facilitation, transparency and good regulatory practices. It will also include corporate accountability, standards on cross-border data flows and data localisations.
 - b) **Supply Chain Resilience:** To develop 'a first-of-its-kind supply chain agreement' that would anticipate and prevent disruptions.
 - c) **Clean energy and decarbonisation:** It will include agreements on '**high-ambition commitments**' such as renewable energy targets, carbon removal purchasing commitments, energy efficiency standards, and new measures to combat methane emissions.
 - d) **Tax and anti-corruption:** It includes commitments to enact and enforce '**effective tax, anti-money laundering, anti-bribery schemes** in line with **[American] values**'.
- **QUAD vaccine partnership:** QUAD members have committed to ensure vaccine accessibility.

- The US, Australia and Japan agreed to finance vaccine initiatives in India
- QUAD has pledged to **donate 1.2 billion vaccines** across the globe.
- Japan Bank for International Cooperation will provide **\$100 million investment to India** in healthcare sector related to Covid-19.
- **'Build Back Better Health Security'**: Countries have pledged to work towards a **'global pandemic radar'** to improve disease surveillance infrastructure.
- **Infrastructure development:**
 - Launch of **QUAD Infrastructure Coordination Group** to coordinate activities of Quad members to deliver high standard infrastructure.
 - Quad partners have **contributed \$48 billion, since 2015**, for infrastructural projects in Indo-pacific.
- **Climate change mitigation efforts:**
 - **Green Shipping network: Quad Shipping task Force** will work to establish a network of ports and shipping lines dedicated to decarbonizing shipping value chain.
 - **Clean Hydrogen Partnership:** To enhance viability of Hydrogen based economy in the Indo-pacific region.
 - **Enhancing Climate resilience:** A new technical facility under **Coalition for Disaster Resilient infrastructure** will be set up to provide assistance to **Small Islands Developing States (SIDS)** in Indo-Pacific.

- **Critical and emerging technologies**
 - Launch of **Semiconductor Supply Chain initiative:** To diversify semiconductor supply chain and counter Chinese monopoly on Semiconductor supply chain.
 - To support 5G deployment and diversification and reduce dependence on Chinese companies as there are wide spread apprehensions of China using 5G infrastructure to spy upon other countries.

Issues and challenges

- **Absence of a definitive structure:** Quad lacks an organizational structure, it does not have a permanent secretariat and a permanent decision-making body. It also lacks a clear long-term vision and a charter to align the interests of its members.
- **No provision of 'collective defence':** Unlike NATO, Quad has no provision for **'collective defence'** which means that in case of Chinese threat to any one nation, other members are not legally obliged to intervene.
- **Formation of AUKUS Security Alliance:** Experts are of the view that the AUKUS agreement has essentially 'de-securitized Quad'. AUKUS can replace QUAD as the major military arrangement in Indo-Pacific. This also evident with a shift in Quad's mandate from being security specific to other spheres like health, infrastructure etc.
- **Diversification of objectives:** Quad's expanded mandate takes away its focus from its core objective, that is, to ensure maritime security in India-Pacific.



Source: U.N. Comtrade (Figures for 2020)

- **Divergence among the members:** Quad members differ greatly from each other in terms of economic, military and technological might. This makes difficult to align their aspirations and balance everyone's interests.
- **Chinese dilemma:** Although Quad is seen as a way to contain China, members of the Quad are heavily dependent on China economically.
 - China is a major trade partner for all the Quad members. This makes it difficult for countries to go on an all-out offence against China. **(Refers to the diagram above)**
 - **China's territorial claims:** China has been aggressively claiming historical rights over territories in the Indo-Pacific region. For instance, China refused to follow the Permanent Court of Arbitration ruling regarding South China Sea.
 - **China's closeness to ASEAN:** China has close economic, strategic and cultural ties with the ASEAN countries. For example, China is a part of ASEAN's Regional Cooperation Economic Partnership (RCEP).
 - Quad members, despite their anti-China rhetoric continue to deepen their ties with China. For example, US investors continue to hold \$1 trillion worth of Chinese equity.

Challenges specific to India

- India is the only Quad country which shares a land border with China. Therefore, India has to be careful in its bilateral relations with China.
- **Economic dependence:** China is India's largest trade partner. India also depends on China for some of its critical imports, for example, 68% of Active Pharmaceutical Ingredients demand is met by Chinese imports.
- **Emergence of AUKUS:** Western powers are looking for defence technology transfer through AUKUS and not QUAD. This would mean that India could lose on enhancing its defence capabilities which it would expect from being a member of Quad.
- **Chinese-pakistan:** The Chinese-Pakistan axis poses a constant security threat to India.
- **Naval capabilities:** Indian presence in Indo-Pacific would over stretch its naval forces. This

essentially limits India's role in Quad to Indian Ocean Region.

Way forward

- **Being more inclusive:** Quad needs to engage with other countries of Indo-Pacific. It should project itself as a credible alternative to China. **Climate & Information Services Task Force** will help to fulfill such objectives.
- **Strategic autonomy:** India should not compromise its strategic interests as it is the only Quad member sharing a land border with China.
- **Merge with AUKUS:** many experts have suggested the in future Quad and AUKUS can merge as their strategic interests are aligned.
- **Organized set up:** Quad should build a definite organization clearly stating its long term vision and strategy. There should be fixed mechanisms for policy formulation.
- **Role of India:** India needs to actively engage with Quad while balancing its bilateral relations with China.

AUKUS

Composition

AUKUS is a **new trilateral security partnership** with focus in **Indo-Pacific** between **Australia, the UK and the US (AUKUS)**. It was announced by the US in September, 2021. The partnership is seen as a way of containing China.

Objectives:

- **Focus on Indo-Pacific:** With Indo-Pacific emerging as a new theatre of geopolitical rivalry, Western countries are looking to engage more and more in the region. AUKUS aims to secure a free and open Indo-Pacific.
- **Deterrence for China:** AUKUS is supposed to deter China from continuing its predatory activities in the Indo-Pacific region. It should be noted that officially AUKUS is not positioned as an anti-China partnership but experts have argued that containing China is its core objective.
- **To enhance defence cooperation:** AUKUS is specially focused on enhancing joint defence capabilities and technology sharing. For example, under the pact signed in September 2021, the US

and the UK have agreed to help Australia acquire a nuclear-powered submarine.

- **To ensure rule-based order:** AUKUS aims to 're-establish' rule in the Indo-Pacific region which has been disrupted by China's unilateral activities changing the status quo. For instance, China is accused of 'creating' new islets by piling sand over reefs in the South China sea.

Significance

- **Stability in Indo-Pacific:** Forming AUKUS alliance reiterates the importance of Indo-Pacific for the western powers. Indo-Pacific region occupies an important position in international trade. **50% of the world's maritime trade** occurs in this region. AUKUS has the potential to ensure a stable Indo-Pacific
- **Geo-strategic and geo-political importance:**
 - **Against China:** Collective strength of AUKUS can prove to be an effective deterrence against China.
 - **Diplomatic leverage:** AUKUS provides diplomatic leverage not only to Western countries but also to countries in Indo-Pacific.
 - **Interests of partners:** Presence of the US and the UK would help in securing interests of its partners in China's neighborhood such as **Japan, Taiwan, South Korea** etc.
- **Economic development: Small Islands Developing States (SIDS)** can greatly benefit from investment coming from AUKUS members.
- **Compliment QUAD:** While QUAD has a broader vision of Indo-Pacific, **AUKUS is Pacific-centric**. This would augment the efforts of QUAD while reassuring ASEAN of their strategic autonomy.
- **Defence Cooperation:** AUKUS would greatly augment combined military strength of AUKUS members. AUKUS pact provides for deeper integration of security and defence-related science, technology and industry bases.
- **Multi-sectoral cooperation:** AUKUS pact also includes cooperation on other sectors such as advances **cyber technology, artificial intelligence, quantum technologies,**

hypersonic technologies and electronic warfare.

- **Intelligence sharing:** AUKUS also focuses on intelligence sharing among the three countries separating it from **Five-Eyes intelligence sharing alliance** which also includes New Zealand and Canada. (Five Eyes alliance is a **cold war era intelligence sharing arrangement** between the US, the UK, Australia, New Zealand and Canada).
- **Significance for India:**
 - Formation of AUKUS is in line with India's interest in **countering China** in Indo-Pacific.
 - It would **upgrade India's allies in the region**, especially Australia, which is in proximity to China.
 - **Overall security of Indo-Pacific** is in the interest of India.
 - AUKUS will buy India much needed time to augment its Naval capabilities.
 - Experts argue that such deterrence to China will give more room to India to **pursue an offensive foreign policy**.

Issues and challenges

- **China's opposition:** China has aggressively criticized the formation of AUKUS. It has even accused Western powers of '**Cold War mentality**'. Many experts have argued that instead of deterring China it may lead to **a more aggressive China**.
 - It should also be noted that China has **deep economic ties in the region**. Countries in Indo-Pacific are heavily dependent on China. For example, China is the biggest source of investment in ASEAN.
- **New Cold War:** Experts have warned that China may react aggressively to any challenging move by Western powers. This would lead to a Cold War scenario.
- **Instability in Indo-Pacific:** The '**Great Game**' of power would make it difficult for countries in the region to navigate between these superpowers.
- **Dilemma for ASEAN:** ASEAN countries are apprehensive of involvement of Western powers

in the region. Many experts believe that countries like Singapore, Philippines and Indonesia may find it 'less tenable' to have security ties with the US while balancing ties with China.

- **Nuclear arms race:** It may heighten China's anxiety and push to augment its nuclear program. This may lead to an arms race in the region and hurt international non-proliferation efforts.
- **Presence of QUAD:** QUAD is a parallel group with similar vision and strategy. This would lead to division of efforts and resources, thus undermining the ultimate objective.
- **Unpredictable nature of US policies:** In the recent past we have seen sudden change in US stand on various issues based on its domestic condition. For example, US withdrawal from Trans-Pacific Partnership under the Trump administration.
 - Many experts have also questioned whether **US has the ability** to contain China militarily. This view has gain more traction US withdrawal from Afghanistan.
- **South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone (SPNFZ):** Also known as the **Treaty of Rarotonga**, it formalizes a nuclear weapons free zone in South Pacific. Although Australia is acquiring Nuclear powered submarine and not nuclear weapons, the future of the treaty is uncertain.
- **European interests:** Many European countries have felt left out from the alliance. **France** accused Australia of unilaterally withdrawing from French defence pact, calling the AUKUS '**a stab in the back**'; Canada has also shown displeasure on non-inclusion; there are concerns regarding the US-EU relations and NATO.

Way forward

- **Inclusion of other stakeholders:** AUKUS can consider including other partners and stakeholders in the region such as France, India, Japan and South Korea.
- **Engage with regional players:** It is important to engage with ASEAN countries to address any apprehensions.
- AUKUS can release official statements reiterating its commitment to **non-proliferation**.

- **Indian stand:** Indian MEA S Jaishankar has emphasized the AUKUS is not relevant to QUAD and India must focus on contributing towards strengthening Quad.

QUAD vs AUKUS debate

After the announcement of AUKUS, there is a debate whether Quad would be superseded by AUKUS in the Indo-Pacific domain.

Strengths of AUKUS:

- **Military might:** The combined military might of the US, the UK and Australia can effectively deter China in the Indo-Pacific region.
- It is focused on enhancing military capabilities which would enable its members to project their power in the region. For example, nuclear submarine and hypersonic missiles to accountable.

Strength of Quad/issues with AUKUS:

- Quad is already an established forum with well-balance objectives.
- AUKUS may weaken **ASEAN centrality** in the region.
- Quad, with the **presence of India and Japan**, has an **Asian identity**. On the other hand, AUKUS is composed of **Anglo-saxon allies** which may be seen as '**outsider**'.
- **Quad is an inclusive grouping**, for instance the idea of **Quad plus** which would include New Zealand, Vietnam and South Korea. AUKUS is exclusionary in nature, even the European nations felt excluded by its formation. The US has clearly said that they would not expand AUKUS.
- **AUKUS is a military alliance** while **Quad is a diplomatic alliance**. Both are focused on Indo-Pacific region and countering China but AUKUS is specifically focused on enhancing military capabilities while Quad has a broader vision of cooperation such as healthcare, green energy, space cooperation etc.

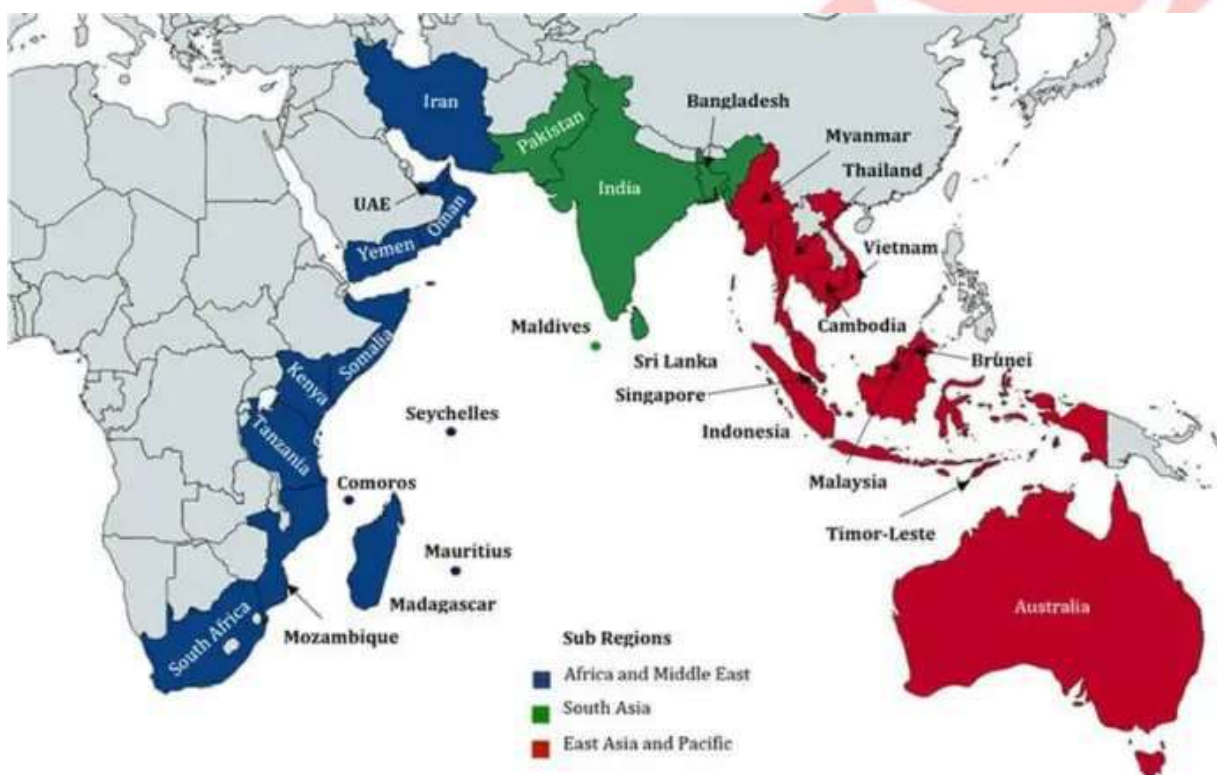
It can be concluded that AUKUS is a bold step by Western powers in the Indo-Pacific domain, it cannot replace Quad. AUKUS should be perceived as augmenting the efforts of Quad and not negating them.

HI69- India & Indo-Pacific Region

Significance of IOR for India:

Geopolitical	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Competing rises of China and India, assertion of US hegemony, potential nuclear confrontation between India and Pakistan, US interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan, Islamist terrorism, and growing incidence of piracy in and around Horn of Africa. 2. Mozambique channel with vast resources remains undeveloped so whichever country controls this channel will command the western Indian ocean. 3. The littoral states are linked by commonly held democratic values, history, tradition, and common culture. 4. An ecological entity with rich maritime biodiversity which is set to be affected adversely by global warming.
Geostrategic	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Resources: The region contains 1/3 of the world's population, 25% of its landmass, minerals such as gold, tin, uranium, cobalt, nickel, 15% of the world's total fishing resources, 55% of known oil reserves, and 40% of gas reserves. 2. South China Sea, is estimated to hold around 10% of the global fish resources as well as 11 billion barrels of oil and 190 trillion cubic feet of gas. 3. The heart of its Indo-Pacific policy is rooted in Indian Ocean region integrating the blue economy with security. 4. Important for adherence to freedom of navigation, free sea and air lanes of communication, rule-based order, connectivity and a stable trade environment. 5. Security threats like piracy, unregulated migration, and the continued presence of extremist groups. Eg- Somalia, Bangladesh, and parts of Indonesia. 6. Military presence by almost all the world's major powers; US 5th Fleet is headquartered in Bahrain, the island of Diego Garcia; France-naval bases in Djibouti, Reunion, and Abu Dhabi. 7. China: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Increasingly active presence in Indian Ocean region as well as its efforts to expand geopolitical reach in Asia and beyond by the use of trade and military. b. Aggressive soft power diplomacy by providing large loans, investing in major infrastructure projects as part of its One Belt One Road initiative, its Chequebook diplomacy, and offering military assistance and political support in UN Security Council through its veto power.

GeoEconomic	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. According to ADB, countries in Indo-Pacific produce over 60% of global GDP, making it largest single contributor to global growth. 2. It consists world's vital choke points for global commerce, including the Straits of Malacca. It also stands at the intersection of international trade, with around 32.2 million barrels of crude oil passing through annually and 40% of global exports . 3. Dependence of Indian economy on Monsoon as Indian agriculture is mostly dependent on southwest monsoon.
--------------------	--



India - a Net Security Provider:

- The term in Indian context was first used by the US Secretary of Defence at Shangri-La Dialogue in 2009, arguing that “we look to India to be a **partner and net provider of security** in Indian Ocean and beyond”.
- This concept can include, **securing India’s national interests, addressing security concerns of a foreign government, or overall global security.** Eg- Indian navy supplied fresh water to Maldives when its Reverse

Osmosis plant failed, Indian military thwarted attempts of mercenaries for a coup in Maldives in 1988 under Operation Cactus.

- In light of its **capabilities and possible overseas role**, the Indian military has been called a net security provider in the region.
- India has been fortunate to strategically have experienced largely peaceful seas with mostly non-traditional threats like piracy, drug trafficking, IUU (Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated) fishing, and human trafficking.

- **Impediments:**
 - The inglorious status of India as the **second most populated** country in the world with **finite resource availability but huge requirements**.
 - It requires an increase in existing military hardware and **robust financial backing**.
 - Numerous instances of missing out due to **differing views of various ministries as well as between civil and military leadership**.
 - Turf war between three Services has not helped the **vision of jointmanship** required for India.
 - India has ideologically followed the **principle of military non-alignment with any superpower** so as to retain its strategic autonomy.
 - India has been persistently focused on **dealing with its land boundary with China and Pakistan**, and her full-fledged participation in ongoing proxy war.

Prospects for India:

- Important for **India's economic growth** and aim of reaching a \$5 trillion economic goal.
- India is **liberalising trade relations with strategic partners** like Australia, UAE, Israel and UK. India and the EU too have taken a political decision to resume talks on a long-stalled FTA.
- India does not comply with the US version of Indo-Pacific, which seeks to contain Chinese dominance.
 - India **seeks a good relationship with both China and the US**, hoping to cooperate in areas of common global interests such as climate change, free trade, and sustainable development with continuing its regional influence in South Asia.
- India **recognizes the centrality of ASEAN** in its Indo-Pacific strategy.
- While collaborations with bigger powers have provided a greater platform to expand India's diplomatic footprint, its **relationship with island nations will shape India's role in the Indo-Pacific**. Due to the geographic proximity

of island state to India, their foreign policy choices will have a direct impact on our security environment.

Initiatives by India:

- In April 2019, India set up an **Indo-Pacific wing** in the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA). The division is meant to integrate under one Indo-Pacific umbrella, the ASEAN, the IORA, and QUAD.
- An **Oceania division** was created in the MEA in September 2020 to bring India's administrative and diplomatic focus on the region stretching from western Pacific to the Andaman Sea.
- **SAGAR (Security and Growth for All in the Region)** vision was launched in 2015 to focus on sustainable use of oceans and maritime security by providing humanitarian help to maritime neighbours and counter non-state actors in the Indian Ocean.
 - It is an recognition of the increasing importance of **maritime security, maritime commons and cooperation**.
 - Its key relevance merges when seen in conjunction with India's other policies impacting maritime domain like Act East Policy, Project Sagarmala, Project Mausam, India as 'net security provider', focus on Blue Economy, etc.
 - **Mission Sagor-I:** In May-June 2020, INS Kesari provided food aid and medicines to Maldives, Mauritius, Seychelles, Madagascar, and Comoros.
 - **Mission Sagor-II:** In November 2020, INS Airavat delivered food aid to Sudan, South Sudan, Djibouti, and Eritrea.
 - **Mission Sagor-III:** In December 2020, INS Kiltan made its way towards Cambodia and Vietnam, carrying 15 tons of Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) following catastrophic floods.
 - **Mission Sagor-IV:** In March 2021, INS Jalashwa reached Port Anjouan, Comoros to deliver 1000 metric tonnes of rice.

- **Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative (IPOI)** was first suggested by PM Modi during the 14th East Asian Summit. IPOI is anchored on India's 'Act East' (focusing on Eastern Indian Ocean and the Western Pacific) and 'Act West' (focusing on the Western Indian Ocean) policies. India is increasing the area covered by its policy to include Western Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea – this includes neighbours in the Gulf, island nations of Arabian Sea and Africa.
- **Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA)** is an inter-governmental organization established in 1997. It is aimed at strengthening regional cooperation and sustainable development within the Indian Ocean region through its 23 Member States and 10 Dialogue Partners.
- **Relief and Aid diplomacy:** Deployment of four warships for relief operations when Mozambique was hit by Cyclone Idai, Vaccine Maitri.
- **Securing SLOC: The Information Fusion Centre- Indian Ocean Region (IFC-IOR)** was set up in 2018 as the information-sharing hub of maritime data through a collaborative approach to maritime security issues. It is based on the Indian coastal surveillance radar network and Indian coast guard capacity augmentation.
- **Defense forces:** The Indian Navy is aiming to have a 200-ship fleet by 2027, Joint military exercises like SLINEX, Indian Ocean naval symposium, Military logistics agreement like LEMOA, and access to military bases like Sabang, Duqm.
- **Geostrategic:**
 - i. India continues to cooperate with the **Quad countries**, for collective efforts for a free, open, and inclusive Indo-Pacific.
 - ii. India, France, and Australia have held **track I.5 dialogue** to identify security challenges and sustainability issues in the Indo-Pacific region.
- Six nations, including China and Taiwan, are involved in the **dispute over the Spratly Islands**, with vast reserves of oil and natural gas.
- China has vigorously **militarised** some portions of disputed isles, islets and coral reefs; and countries like **Vietnam and the Philippines** are anxious not to be left behind.
- South Korea and Japan face regular **nuclear and missile threats from North Korea**.
- Bilateral pacts can't be a substitute for larger regional agreements.
- Delhi is also **not on the same page as its partners like the US, EU, Japan, and Australia** on emerging digital trade issues.
- Although India has had active military diplomacy recently, it has been affected by the **inability to export weapons** to friendly nations because of **inadequate domestic defense industrial base**.
- India's capacity to lead the region depends on its national capabilities and **plugging its major internal weaknesses especially in the domains of trade and security**.
- Delhi's decision to walk away from RCEP and its new emphasis on Atmanirbhar Bharat has generated widespread concerns about **India's protectionist trends**.

Way Forward:

- There is a need for India to respond to Chinese adventurism and expansionist strategy in Indo-pacific neighbourhood in a holistic manner.
- Most countries count on India to balance out Chinese hegemony in the region. Thus, India needs to leverage its goodwill and growing soft power to strengthen its image as a global power.
- India needs to demonstrate to Russia and other nations that **Quad is not a result of its cooperation with the West**. Instead, it is an **outcome of Chinese aggression in the Ladakh region and in the South China Sea**.
- **Upgrading Indian navy to a blue-water navy:** With China's increased assertiveness in

Issues & Challenges:

- **China:**
 - It not only challenges international maritime laws in the South China Sea, but also confronts Japan over Senkaku Islands.

Indian Ocean and a scramble for bases (even Russian has acquired a base in Sudan recently), India should realize need for strengthening the capabilities of Indian navy to ward off threats.

- India should **continue with the peaceful resolution of maritime disputes** as manifested in its complete acceptance of the Permanent Court of Arbitration's award in favour of Bangladesh contrary to China's rejection of a

similar award in China-Philippines territory dispute in South-China sea.

- Policymakers need to **accord attention to important issues relating to blue economy** such as absorption and application of new technologies, expansion of availability of green financing, and adoption of sustainable but profitable measures for marine litter removal.

HI 170- India- South Korea Relations



After the end of World War II, amid rising Cold War tensions, Korean Peninsula got divided into two separate political units. North Korea (Democratic People’s Republic of Korea) adopted communism and South Korea (Republic of Korea) adopted liberal democracy. While North Korea was backed by Soviet Union, South Korea was supported by the US. Both the countries fought their first war in 1950 and have been at a constant state of war since.

Historical background of India South Korea relations

India and the Korean peninsula share historic relations going back centuries. Korean monk Hong Jiao who visited India in the 8th century left a vivid account of Indian culture in his travelogue ‘Pilgrimage to Five Kingdoms of India’.

India established bilateral relations with South Korea in 1962, upgraded to Ambassador level in 1973. India also played a major role in cease fire agreement during the Korean war (1950-1953). According to former Korean Ambassador to India Kim Joong Keun, India South Korea relations can be divided into three phases:

1. 1973-1990- Budding phase: The bilateral relationship was in initial phase. This phase lacked active engagement between the two countries.
2. 1991-2009- Phase of economic and commercial cooperation

Both the countries started to recognise the potential of bilateral relations. India’s liberal economic reforms aligned with the market driven economy.

3. 2009 onwards- phase of growing strategic partnership (present phase) It is in this phase, that India and South Korea have begun to realise the potential of their relation.
 - In 2009, a bilateral Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CEPA) was signed.
 - In 2011, a civil nuclear agreement was signed.
 - In 2015, during PM Modi’s visit, bilateral ties were upgraded to ‘Special Strategic Partnership’.

Significance of South Korea for India

1. Geo-political significance:

- **China and Indo-Pacific:** South Korea is a key player in the Indo-Pacific region due to its proximity to both China (geographically) and the USA (ideologically).
- **Maritime security:** South Korea has been taking interests in maritime security domain in the Indo-Pacific. For example, it’s participation in Malabar exercise conducted by the QUAD.
- **Projects in third countries:** India and South Korea signed MoUs for collaboration to undertake capacity building programme in Afghanistan. Collaborate on development

projects in third world countries – India and South Korea are likely to undertake capacity building programme in Afghanistan

2. Geo-economic significance:

- Trade and investment: South Korea is an attractive market for Indian service sector. South Korea is also an important source of investment in Indian manufacturing sector, especially electronics.
- Technology transfer: India can exploit Korean expertise in technologies where India lags, such as core technologies (bio-electric, electronics etc) and critical technologies (cyber security etc).
- New areas of cooperation: India can explore closer synergy with South Korea in new areas of economic cooperation such as public health, renewable energy, digital connectivity and so on.

3. Geo-strategic significance:

- South Korea is an important aspect of India's 'Act East Policy' under which India aims to promote economic cooperation, cultural ties and develop strategic relationships with countries in the Asia-Pacific.
- India ASEAN: South Korea is part of ASEAN plus 3 grouping. India can utilise its relations to tilt ASEAN in its favour in issues like RCEP.

Significance of India for South Korea:

1. Geo-political significance:

- US-India-Russia axis: India, being close to both Russia and the US, raise diplomatic interests for the South Korean policy makers.
- Rising importance of Indo-Pacific: Indo-Pacific has become a new theatre of engagement for regional and global powers. India is central to any Indo-Pacific policy of South Korea. Both the countries prefer a multi-polar order in Indo-Pacific as a deterrent against possible uni-polar order of China or a bi-polar order as advocated by USA.

2. Geo-economic significance:

- Market opportunities: India is one of the fastest growing markets for electronic goods such as smart phones, semiconductors,

electric appliances, automobile etc. This would help South Korea to diversify its dependence on Chinese market.

- Investment opportunities: Growing Indian economy presents a good investment opportunity for South Korea.
- Supply chain resilience: India and South Korea can help each other to expand their supply chain which is over dependent on China.

3. Geo strategic significance:

- New Southern policy: India is pivotal to South Korea's 'New Southern Policy' which aims for collective prosperity with ASEAN and South Asia.
- Regional security: With constant threats from North Korea, South Korea is looking for partners to enhance its defence capabilities.

Areas of convergence

1. Economic cooperation:

- Bilateral trade: Trade between the two countries has increased from \$8 billion in 2008 to \$23.7 billion in 2021. In 2018, India-South Korea summit, a bilateral trade target of USD50 billion before 2030 was set which focuses on extensive B2B (business-to-business) interactions.
- CEPA: Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement in 2009. In 2018, they signed a joint statement on Early Harvest Package of the upgraded CEPA. It aims to facilitate negotiations for an upgraded CEPA.
- Presence of South Korean companies in India: Korean majors like Samsung, LG, Hyundai and Kia have invested over \$5 billion in India. Samsung has opened the world's biggest mobile factory in Noida, UP.
- South Korean investment in India: South Korea's total foreign direct investment to India (up to September 2020) was about \$6.94 billion. To facilitate investment from Korea, India has launched a "Korea Plus" facilitation cell under 'Invest India' to assist investors.

2. Geo-strategic convergence:

- India's 'Act East Policy' and South Korea's 'New South Policy' are complimentary to each other. India's objectives are aligned with the '3P community', which stands for a community of People, Prosperity and Peace, goals of New South Policy.
 - During PM Modi's visit to South Korea in 2015, India and South Korea entered into an agreement to upgrade the bilateral relations to 'Special Strategic Partnership'.
3. Defence cooperation:
- In 2020, both the countries signed a 'roadmap for Defence Industries Cooperation'.
 - In 2021, a military logistics agreement was also concluded.
 - Korean defence manufactures in India: Hanhwa Techwin, has partnered with Larsen and Toubro to produce K-9 Vajra artillery guns for the Indian Army at a factory near Pune.
 - Maritime security: South Korea has been taking active participation in military exercises such as Malabar exercise (conducted by India) and other such QUAD initiatives like the 'Sea Dragon' exercise, which have a special focus on the Indo-Pacific region.
4. New areas of cooperation: In 2018, India and South Korea signed 11 MoUs ranging from bio-

economics & bio-technology, Information Technology to MSMEs development.

5. Para-diplomacy: South Korea is also engaged directly with Indian states. For example, MoU between government of Gujarat and Korea Trade Promotion Agency (KOTRA).
6. Cultural cooperation:
- India Cultural Centres were established in Seoul in 2011.
 - Cultural Exchange Programme for the year 2018-2022 was declared to further cultural ties.
 - Korean entertainment industry has found audiences in the Indian market. For example, K-Pop and K-drama.

Issues and challenges

1. Bilateral trade:
- Trade between the two countries remain below its potential. Also, India has a trade deficit of with South Korea (\$8 billion in 2020).
 - CEPA: the negotiations to finalise Upgraded CEPA seem to hit a roadblock.
 - Regulatory bottlenecks: Korean companies have complained of lack of ease of doing business in India. For example, POSCO plant in Odisha was halted.
2. Korea's 'China' dilemma:

Hand-in-hand Prime Minister Narendra Modi said India is a stakeholder in the peace process in the Korean peninsula after holding wide-ranging deliberations with the South Korean President on Tuesday

- Agreement to explore tripartite deals for development programmes in third countries
- Agreement to discuss training programmes in Afghanistan
- Agreement to upgrade the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA), negotiations still on
- Set target of \$50 billion trade by 2030 (presently \$20 billion)
- MoU on railway design and safety research
- MoU on cooperation in Telecom and ICT services
- MoU on Princess Surinatra memorial project in Ayodhya. South Korea will be sending a cultural delegation to U.P.

India is central pillar of 'New Southern Policy'
— MOON JAE-IN

Republic of Korea is indispensable partner in 'Act East Policy'
— NARENDRA MODI

Korean President Moon Jae-in with Narendra Modi and President Ram Nath Kovind in New Delhi. BY ANOOPTRIPATHY

- Korea is heavily economically dependent Chinese market as well as investment.
 - China's assertiveness in the region: China has been pressurising South Korea from engaging with other countries. For example, South Korea was forced to sign the '3 Nos' agreement with China. Under this agreement, Korea agreed to no additional Terminal High Altitude Area Defence (THAAD) deployment; no participation in the U.S.'s missile defence network, and no establishment of a trilateral military alliance with the U.S. and Japan.
3. Regional instability: North Korea has presented itself as a constant threat to South Korea, especially with its nuclear and missile programme.
 4. Geo-political inactivity: Relations
 5. Defence ties: promises in the defence sectors seem to be going nowhere. For example, Defence Industries Cooperation agreement has not seen much progress.
 6. Lack of deep cultural and people to people ties: Indian diaspora in South Korea has not been able to integrate with the Korean society. Also, there is a lack of cultural understanding among the people of both the countries.

Way forward

1. Expand relations beyond economic cooperation: Change in strategic alignment to create new opportunities like defence technology, green energy, artificial intelligence etc.
2. India can help South Korea to withstand pressure from China and North Korea. India and South Korea are both thriving democracies who can be partners in the Indo-Pacific region
3. Political will: Active diplomatic engagement should be complimented by completion of projects and agreements.
4. Both the countries should try to enhance cultural ties with more people-to-people interactions.
5. India should enhance 'ease of doing businesses to streamline investment from South Korea.
6. India needs to focus on its export capacity to Korea in order to reduce the trade deficit.

HI71- India- Pacific Islands Cooperation (FIPIC)

The region of the Pacific Islands in Oceania had long been neglected in India’s maritime strategic thinking. As observed by K.M. Panikkar India restricted itself to land boundaries of the north neglecting vast opportunities and strategic interest served by ocean to its south and east.

However, in recent past, India’s inclination for Indo Pacific region is grounded in the increasing geostrategic importance of the region, due to China’s rise and decline in the US hegemony. Thus, India is on a course correction, evident from the increased emphasis on Indo Pacific region via various forums and engagements, like FIPIC.

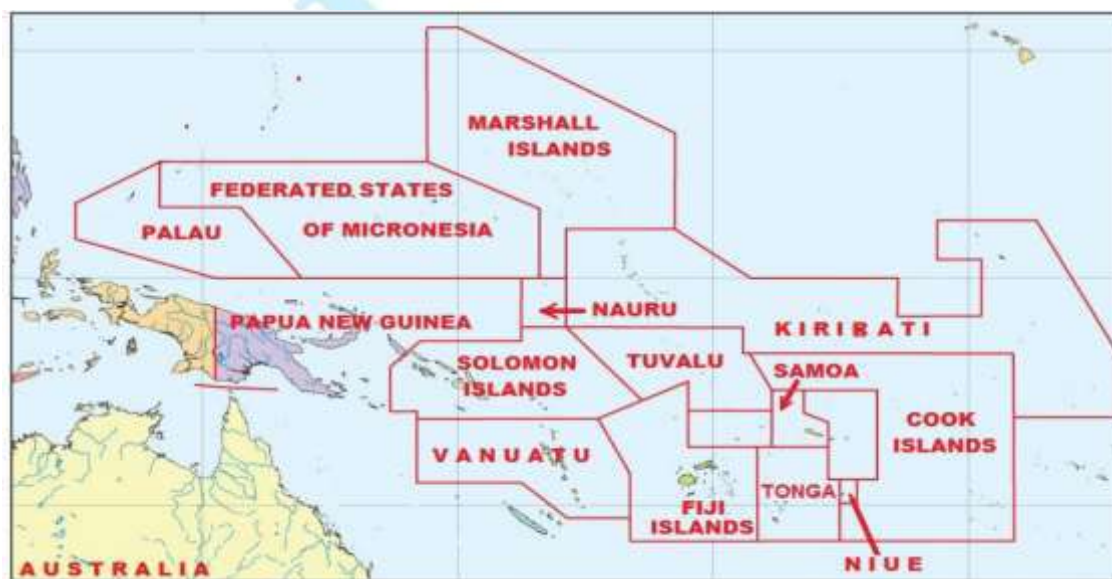
Brief Introduction - FIPIC

- Forum for India–Pacific Islands Cooperation (FIPIC) was launched during the visit of PM Modi to Fiji in 2014, it is seen as a part of India’s extended "Act East" policy.
- After trying to keep pace with China in relations with Africa and Central Asia, India is now trying to match its neighbor's growing footprint in the South Pacific.
- Objectives:

- Provide necessary information and facilitation regarding prospects of Trade and Investment.
- Facilitate meetings between the concerned businessmen from both sides.
- Exchange of business delegations between India and Pacific Islands Countries.
- Online & Offline Match Making Services.
- Organising Events / Trade Fairs.
- **Composition:** Member Countries - India and 14 Pacific Island countries, namely Fiji, Cook Islands, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu.

FIPIC Summits:

- **1st Summit - Suva, Fiji (2014):**
 - PM Modi chose to visit Fiji soon after democracy was re-established in the island country after 8 years.
 - There apart from bilateral meeting, he also met heads of state/government from 14 pacific island states to enhance India's engagement in the region and proposed a regular meeting of FIPIC.
- **2nd Summit - Jaipur, India (2015):**



- PM Modi **invited all the 14 Pacific Islands nations head** of states/head of government to India for the next rounds of talks in 2015 in the city of Jaipur.
- The second summit of the Forum for India Pacific Cooperation (FIPIIC-2) has made significant progress in strengthening India's engagement with the FIPIIC nations.

Significance of Pacific Island countries (PICs) for India and the World.

A. For world: Geo strategic and Geo political importance to world:

- **Key sea lines of communication (SLOCs)**, age-old trade routes between Asia and the Americas.
- **A region of enormous potential** due in part to their steady and bold exit from an era of ANZUS (Australia New Zealand and the United States) influence. It is **No longer the “American Lake”** of the post-war period.

B. For India: the Pacific is the next frontier in fulfillment of its “Act East” policy—a firm step east from Southeast Asia.

- **Geo political importance:**
 - **Hold a crucial 14 votes at international multilateral fora.**
 - 2nd FIPIIC Summit (2015) - member countries pledged their **support for India’s Permanent Membership in the UNSC.**
- **Geo strategic importance:**
 - **To counter China's increasing influence in the region:**
 - a) China is now the **largest bilateral donor in Fiji** and the second largest in the Cook Islands, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, and Tonga. (**Lowy Institute of International Policy report**)
 - b) China’s foray into the South Pacific, which began

as a move to offset Taiwan’s interests in the region, is becoming a cause for concern for India as **its rise is no longer a peaceful**

- c) If not checked can affect interest of India **resulting in Zero sum game**, which now wants to have economic and strategic engagements with the 14 island nations.

- **Better surveillance over the pacific:** Plan to open a space and satellite monitoring station on one of the Fiji Islands, which will help India track its satellite independently over the Pacific.

- **Maritime security:**

- As **China is contemplating a naval base in Vanuatu**, India’s maritime presence in the Pacific Islands may be welcomed by countries such as Australia, New Zealand, the United States, Indonesia, and even France.
- A Chinese base in Vanuatu would have the potential to be turned into a military “intelligence platform” especially due to its vicinity to Australia and New Zealand, both close allies of the United States and part of the Five Eyes Intelligence Alliance.

- **Geo- economic importance:**

- **Vast Exclusive economic zones:** Though these countries are relatively small in land area and

- distant from India, many have large exclusive economic zones (EEZs).
- **Natural resources:** ownership over vast and untapped natural resources as well as the **lion's share of the world's tuna supply**.
 - **Management of fisheries and development of aquaculture** and the "blue economy" are particularly important.

Significance of India for PICs:

To the Pacific, India represents an emerging global power that is not associated with colonial oppression (for example- France), opaque and worrisome investment (China), nor bad in Forum politics (Australia and New Zealand).

- **Geo-economic:**
 - **Grant in aid for development in various sectors:** India has increased the annual "Grant-in-Aid" from USD 125,000 to 200,000 to each of the 14 Pacific Countries for community projects of their choice.
 - **Most of the economies in the region are based on agriculture, fisheries and small-scale industries** and India's capacity in these sectors is even better than Europe and China. (T.P. Sreenivasan)
 - **India is huge market** which can benefit small and medium industries of these pacific countries.
- **Geo-political:**
 - **Independent foreign policy:** The Pacific Islands, dominated by Australia and New Zealand on the one hand and a growing interest from China on the other, is looking around to balance these countries
- **India's frugal innovation and capacity building:**
 - India offered for the **Indian Navy** to provide "direct support and capacity building to island states", especially for coastal surveillance and

hydrographic surveys, like it has done with some Indian Ocean islands.

- **ISRO offers great resources to these islands:** India also pitched for cooperation in the sphere of space, to help in making an inventory of land and water resources; fish zoning; forest resources management; coastal and ocean studies; weather and climate change; and, disaster management support.
- India could assist in establishing a **Space Technology Applications Centre in any one of the countries and enhance support for training** in space applications.
- **Others:**
 - **Support in Disaster management:** India has great experience in dealing with natural disasters, including through human resource development and application of space technology for early warning system and incident response which it can provide to these small countries which are often grappled with disasters.
 - India's help in capacity building through the **Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) scholarships; Training for Pacific Island diplomats.**
 - **Hub of higher education:** Many of these countries send their nationals to India for education through programmes sponsored by the Indian Council of Cultural Relations so, India can be a good place for these countries in **higher education sector** compared to other developed countries.

Achievements / Outcomes and Prospects of Cooperation

- **Trade and Economy:**
 - **Tourism:** extended **visa on arrival** at Indian airports for all the 14 Pacific Island countries,
 - India has increased the annual "**Grant-in-Aid**" from **USD 125,000 to 200,000** to each of the 14 Pacific Countries for community projects of their choice, and

- launched a new Visitors Programme for Pacific Island Countries.**
- During the second summit of FIPIC, India has announced **FIPIC Trade Office** at Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry (FICCI) to promote Trade & Investment opportunities between India & Pacific Island Countries.
 - To further strengthen this initiative, **FICCI has launched Business Accelerator for Forum for India - Pacific Islands cooperation (FIPIC).**
 - **Blue economy:** India proposed to create a network of marine biology research stations on them, held a conference on ocean economy in New Delhi and several goodwill visits by its navy.
 - **MSME:** India announced to support the development of micro, small and medium enterprises and also extend support for purchase of machinery for coconut processing and enhancing rice and sugarcane yields.
 - **Connectivity: Pan Pacific Islands e-network** to improve digital connectivity.
 - **Disaster Management: A special USD one million fund** for adapting to climate change and clean energy.
 - India also proposed setting up an **Institute for Sustainable Coastal and Ocean Research.**
 - **Human resources/Capacity building areas:**
 - India also announced the **setting up of one information technology laboratory in each PIC** help improve local IT infrastructure as well as enable India to fulfil its commitment of tele-medicine and tele-education.
 - On the supply of generic drugs - presently routed through third countries and thus very expensive, **New Delhi offered setting up a pharmaceutical manufacturing plant and distribution centre** in the Pacific Island region. India has offered a Line of Credit for this.
 - Under **Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) scholarships** the number of slots has been doubled from 119 to 238.
 - India has also **expanded training courses for Pacific Island diplomats.**
 - India has trained 43 rural women from eight island countries as **solar engineers,**
 - India now committed to training 70 more women and to provide solar electrification to 2,800 houses - 200 houses in each country.
 - **Cultural sphere:**
 - Prasar Bharti, India's national broadcaster, has **gifted television and radio programmes on culture, entertainment, news, education, in English and Hindi.**
 - Prasar Bharti has also organised a specialised training **programme for local broadcasters.**
 - India is also **supporting the creation of India Centres through e-libraries and supply books** to university libraries.
 - **Space:** cooperation in space technology applications for improving the quality of life of the islands.

Issues & Challenges in relations of India and PICs

- India has **only two diplomatic missions** in Fiji and Papua New Guinea. Also, **neither of our two missions have military attaches.**
- **Increasing competition in the region:** It was quite significant to see Chinese President Xi following Modi's trail visited Fiji on 21 November (just 2 days after Modi's trip) to meet a similar gathering of leaders indicating a struggle for influence between the two Asian giants in the island countries of south pacific.
- **Geographic:** distance is the big barrier, however with improvements in ITC things are changing.

- India is one of the biggest emitters of GHGs in the world and Pacific islands very existence is dependent on the World achieving robust targets with respect to Paris Agreement 2015.

Way Forward (steps needed to further improve relations)

- **India needs to ramp up its development aid to Pacific islands:** With modest investments, India can rack up a lot of goodwill.
- India should take heed of China's lead and **open more diplomatic missions in FICs** (China has seven missions).
- **Increase cooperation in mitigating the impact of climate change:**
 - The PIF countries **face significant development challenges and threats from global warming induced rise in sea levels and extreme weather events.** Transport, communications, renewable energy, health services, fisheries ("blue" economy), and agro-based industries are areas where India can make an impact.
- India needs to **take proactive efforts in nudging the world to achieve Paris Agreement goals** to keep increase of temperature within limits.

As said by **PM Modi** the **partnership "demonstrates that geography is no barrier to productive partnerships of convergent interests and shared challenges.** This is a **partnership of equals, driven by similar aspirations,** in which we will all be more successful by being together".

Thus, India should continue supporting the realization of vision of Pacific regionalism and help it make a shining example of cooperative regionalism that should inspire others around the world.

H172- Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)

Introduction of RCEP

- The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) is a **free trade agreement (FTA) between the ten-member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)** (Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam) **and its five FTA partners** (Australia, China, Japan, New Zealand and Republic of Korea).
- The pact aims to cover trade in goods and services, intellectual property, etc.
- **When was RCEP introduced?**
 - The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership was introduced during the **19th Asean meet held in November 2011**.
- **RCEP came into force on 1st January 2022** with the spirit to strengthen economic linkages and to enhance trade and investment related activities as well as to contribute to minimizing the development gap among the parties.

Objectives of RCEP:

- The objective of launching RCEP is **to achieve a modern, comprehensive, high-quality, and mutually beneficial economic partnership**

agreement among the ASEAN Member States and ASEAN's FTA partners.

- **Facilitation of trade and investment and enhanced transparency in trade and investment relations** between the participating countries.
 - RCEP will eliminate tariffs on 91% of goods as well as introduce rules on investment and intellectual property to promote free trade.
- **Facilitation of SMEs' engagements in global and regional supply chains:**
 - To enable SMEs to leverage on the agreement and cope with challenges arising from globalization and trade liberalization.
- **To provide fair regional economic policies** that mutually benefit both ASEAN and its FTA partners.

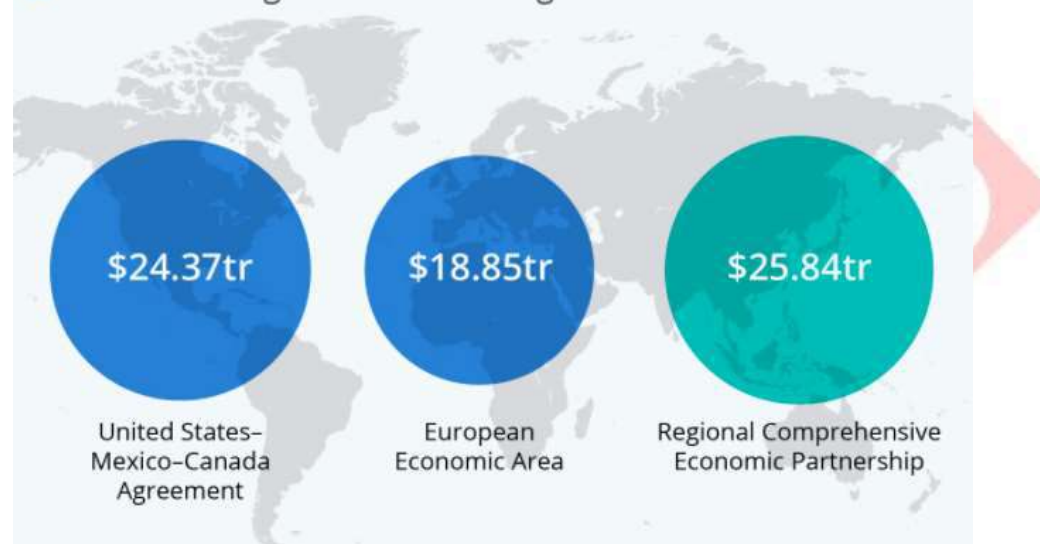
Significance of RCEP for the world and India (possible benefits of joining the grouping)

- **Economic:**
 - **The world's largest trade bloc, covering over 2.2 billion people and accounting for 30 per cent of the world's economy.**



RCEP: Asia-Pacific Forms World's Largest Trade Bloc

Total 2019 GDP of member countries of selected regional free trade agreements



Source: World Bank



statista

- **Protect and promote SMEs (including micro-enterprises)** which make up more than 90% of business establishments across all RCEP participating countries and are important to every country's endogenous development of their respective economy.
- RCEP makes it more likely that firms **will create supply chains in Asia, for Asia.**
- **Geopolitical/geo strategic:**
 - **Collaboration between rivals:** It also marks the first time Japan has had an agreement with China and with South Korea.
 - **To counter USA:** as it is seen as counter to USA led TPP, and it might make US products costly compared to products of the block within the block (15 countries)

What are the differences between RCEP and the TPP?

- There is a **big gap in quality, in coverage, in depth and breadth** and a lot of that is **attributable to a very simple thing: in TPP, countries joined voluntarily, but in RCEP, countries joined it because they had to**, because they are a member of ASEAN or had an existing agreement with ASEAN.
- The **variety among the members in RCEP** is also breathtaking.
 - On any dimension: population size, wealth, landlocked versus archipelago countries, services versus trading goods, imports versus exports, RCEP is really, really diverse.
- Trying to balance all this variety meant that the final agreement in RCEP is, by default, **less ambitious, with more loopholes.**
- It **follows ASEAN's own models**, which is - upgrade at every five to 10 years. ASEAN also has a track-record for bringing **forward deadlines.**

Concerns of India related to the RCEP (Why India withdrawn from RCEP?)

While India was a part of the RCEP’s negotiations, it dropped out in November 2019, citing significant outstanding issues that remain unresolved. However, India has been given the option of joining it later.

- **Trade imbalance with RCEP members:** India’s trade deficit with RCEP countries has almost doubled – from \$54 billion in 2013-14 to \$105 billion in 2018-19, of which China alone accounts for \$53 billion.

INDIA'S TRADE BALANCE WITH RCEP MEMBERS		
RCEP Member	2018-19	2019-20
ASEAN	-21.85	-23.82
China	-53.58	-48.65
South Korea	-12.05	-10.81
Japan	-7.91	-7.91
New Zealand	-0.25	-0.14
Australia	-9.61	-6.93

All figures in \$ billion
Source: Ministry of Commerce and Industry

- **Geopolitical aspect:** India wanted RCEP to exclude most-favored nation (MFN) obligations from the investment chapter especially to countries with which it has border disputes (China), to avoid the benefits giving to strategic rivals.
- **Security concerns:** RCEP would have made the countries of the region even more vulnerable to China’s economic and political coercion. This could have impacted India’s security interests in Southeast Asia by strengthening China economically.
- **Non-acceptance of Indian demands:** India’s demand for strict rules of origin (ROO) (criteria to determine the source country of a product based on which they get tariff

concessions or duties) and an auto-trigger mechanism to impose tariffs when imports crossed a certain threshold were not accepted.

- **Reluctance to move forward on service sector:** Most developed RCEP countries where India can export services, have been unwilling to negotiate wide-ranging disciplines in services that can create new market access for trade in services in this region, where India has an edge.
- **Concern of local industries:** A large number of sectors including dairy, agriculture, steel, plastics, copper, aluminum, machine tools, paper, automobiles, chemicals and others had expressed serious apprehensions on RCEP regarding dominance of cheap foreign goods would dampen local Indian business.
- **RCEP also lacked clear assurance over market access issues** in countries such as China.
- **Negative impact of earlier FTAs on India’s trade balance:**
 - A NITI Aayog report had stated that India’s exports to its FTAs partners have not outperformed exports to the rest of the world and have generally led to greater imports than exports, giving rise to high trade deficits with FTA partners like South Korea, Japan and ASEAN.
- **Differences over data localization:** The e-commerce chapter has some clauses that affect data localization norms in India.
- **RCEP would not have benefitted India much as:**
 - most partner countries already have low import duties however India if joined had to reduce significant duties.
 - India already has bilateral FTAs with ASEAN, Korea and Japan and negotiations are underway with Australia and New Zealand.

What will be the possible implications for India of not joining RCEP?

- **Protectionist image:** Withdrawal from RCEP, call for self-reliance under Atmanirbhar Abhiyan, public procurement giving preference to local

content etc. can be perceived as India taking a protectionist stance in terms of trade policy.

- **Impact on India's export sector:**
 - The move could potentially leave India with **less scope to tap the large market that RCEP presents** —the size of the deal is mammoth, as the countries involved account for over 2 billion of the world's population.
 - **No improvement in local Industry:** as lack of competition from outside make countries lethargic with respect to required reforms.
- **Effect on bilateral ties with RCEP countries:**
 - There are concerns that the decision will hamper India's bilateral trade with RCEP member countries as they would be inclined to bolster trade within the bloc.
 - Also, it could affect India's relation with Japan and Australia with regards to their coordinated efforts in the Indo-Pacific as they may be more inclined to focus on bolstering economic ties within the bloc.
 - It could potentially put on hold the works on informal talks to promote a Supply Chain Resilience Initiative among the three (Ind-Japan-Aus).
- **Burden on consumers** especially when inflation is rising.

Whether India should rethink its decision of withdrawal from RCEP?

Yes, for the reasons discussed below:

- **Flawed argument:** that joining RCEP would wipe out India's manufactures.
 - Because any standard **FTA has a safety valve**, in the form of an **escape clause**, built into it. This means that any import surge that causes injury in the form of losses in output, profits and employment, immediately allows the triggering of temporary protection.
- **Improve quality of domestic industries:** During this period of protection, restructuring of the injured industry will take

place, so that it is ready for international competition after some time.

- **Benefits to consumers from inflation:** as FTA will pave the way for cheaper goods.
- **Potential for service sector:** An agreement like RCEP, with gradual liberalization (both in manufacturing and services) in phases, has considerable potential for India's services sector, especially for software and ICT.
- **India's experience with liberalization is positive:**
 - Since the beginning of India's big trade reforms in 1991, economic growth has been 6% a year in 17 of the last 28 years. In 12 of those years, growth has been close to 8% or higher. This is impressive by any standards, but especially by the standards of the 1960s-70s when growth was in the range of 1-3%.
 - This has **reduced the proportion of people below the poverty line** and has gone down from almost 50% to 20%.
- **Next generation reforms:** Joining RCEP will provide an impetus to the next generation of reforms —those **related to land and labour**.

If India choses to join in future India must ensure:

- If India chooses to join RCEP in the future, it **needs to strengthen its base to gain the most out of the negotiation I.e.,** further macroeconomic reforms - in the ease of doing business index, global competitiveness index, next generation reforms etc.

No, India should not join the grouping as the circumstances under which New Delhi had distanced itself from the RCEP negotiations have hardly improved. (Refer to – question on why India has withdrawn)

- **India already signed India-Australia Economic Cooperation and Trade Agreement (Ind-Aus ECTA),** on April 2, 2022.

Way forward for India (I.e. How India should compensate for the losses of being out of RCEP?)

- India needs to **examine and explore the possibilities of stronger bilateral trade deals** with key countries in the Asian region to offset any trade diversion (from India) that may occur from RCEP members post-implementation.
 - For example, India has launched negotiations **with New Zealand**.
 - India should make positive progress towards trade agreements **with the US and Europe** and **expedite talks with the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) and the India-Southern African Customs Union Preferential Trade Agreement**.
 - a) Since the US has opted out of the TPP and India from RCEP, a strategic move could create an opportunity for both countries for a meaningful engagement through a possible FTA to check China in the region.
- **Restructure existing FTAs:**
 - reviews of its existing bilateral FTAs with some of these RCEP members.
- **Join IPEF on win-win terms:** India has joined three pillars of the US-led Indo Pacific Economic Forum, significantly staying out of the trade pact even as it continues to engage on the track with an “open mind”.

Joining the RCEP could be counter-productive given the existing inefficiencies of Indian producers. These need to be fixed first and for that effective policy instruments need to be adopted to improve the competitiveness of domestic enterprises. In the meanwhile, India must negotiate win-win bilateral trade deals with its key partners by picking low hanging fruits first till the local industry prepares itself for the competition from advanced countries.

Recent trade deals with UAE and Australia offers promise and hope to world that fastest growing major economy of the world is open to trade however on its terms.

HI73- IPEF

WHAT IS IPEF

- Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity (IPEF) is a US-led initiative to bring together **14 countries of the Indo-pacific** for economic engagement.
- IPEF is an **economic initiative** to complement USA's existing security partnerships in the Indo-Pacific region. In other words, it is **the geo-economic component** of USA's Indo-Pacific strategy.
- The initiative is expected to shape **the rules on engagement** ranging from **technology standards to clean supply chains**, based on following **4 pillars**:
 - Fair and resilient trade (connected economy)
 - Supply chain resilience (resilient economy)
 - Infrastructure, clean energy, and decarbonization (green economy)
 - Tax and anti-corruption (clean governance)

WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF IPEF FOR INDIA?

- It can further India's economic **integration with global supply chains**, flow of **technology** and **access to developed markets** like Japan, USA.
- It gives opportunity for India to **shape international standards** and engage with regional economies. E.g., through IPEF's focus on '**connected economy**' and **digital policy**.
- **Exclusion of China** takes care of India's misgivings about economic heft of China such as import glut and rule-of-origin rules in **RCEP**, whose membership India declined.
- It will promote **profit-with-principle** through openness, transparency and sustainability on economic and ecological parameters. It will help India counter **deb-trap diplomacy** in its neighbourhood. E.g., the **economic crisis in Sri Lanka**.
- There is **flexibility on terms of engagement** and negotiation approach which may help address **old constraints of WTO** engagements on trade and trade disputes.

- It **economically complements Quad** (quadrilateral group of countries), which was criticised as all guns but no butter engagement due to its strategic and security role
- It will **complement India's own initiatives** for regional economic cooperation such as **SAGAR** (security and growth for all in the region), **Act East Policy**, Forum for India-Pacific Islands cooperation (**FIPIIC**) etc.

WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF IPEF FOR THE INDO-PACIFIC REGION?

- **Economic Integration**: It diversifies the range of policies and areas of cooperation related to Indo-pacific from security and geo-strategy-heavy focus **towards economic integration** of the Indian and Pacific Ocean economies.
- **Post-pandemic recovery**: IPEF can complement individual and collective efforts towards inclusive recovery. It brings in USA's support for ASEAN member-states along with countries like India which is the fastest growing major economy.
- **Overcoming hesitations**: Countries that are lukewarm to the idea of Indo-pacific or are at fence can be brought on board. For example, Thailand has been extremely cautious about entering into free trade negotiations with the Western countries due to domestic opposition, but as IPEF is not an FTA, Thailand seems keen to be a part of the initiative. Similarly, regional economic integration among BIMSTEC and SAARC countries can benefit from IPEF.

WHAT ARE THE ISSUES & CHALLENGES ASSOCIATED WITH IPEF?

- There are chances of IPEF being hijacked by **USA's economic goals and commercial interests** of its technology companies such as on rules on **digital trade, data localisation** norms etc.
- Similar initiatives like **B3W (Build Back Better World)**, **Blue-dot network** etc. have not proved useful.

- Dynamism in USA's domestic politics induce **doubts over USA's commitment** to initiatives like IPEF. USA's **withdrawal from Paris climate agreement** with change in President is a case-in-point.
 - **Lack of market access** provisions, **climate finance** etc. might reduce IPEF to an **all-pain-no-gain** initiative. E.g., IPEF's focus on **decarbonising supply chains**.
 - Exclusion of China may cause **tensions in economic relationships** through issues such as re-routing and diversion, as **most countries are part of RCEP** which includes China.
 - Critics especially in China tout IPEF as **equivalent of Marshall plan**, along with Quad as the **Asian NATO**. Member's countries' **maritime and land borders with China** may face military conflicts. Increasing militarisation threatens to recreate cold-war rivalries in the Indo-pacific through **development of US-China axes**.
 - It remains unclear what real commitments the US will offer under the specific arrangements under the framework.
 - Countries are joining just to be not left behind or seem **disinterested** rather than showing active interest in associated geo-politics. There is fear among Southeast Asian countries that this will **force them to choose sides** between USA and China
- 3 T framework of **trust, transparency and timelines**, suggested by PM Modi, can help improve the chances of IPEF's success.
- IPEF provides an opportunity for **India to benefit from economic integration** of the Indo-pacific region. The single-biggest challenges would be to **prevent cold-war like rivalries** in the region through meaningful engagement with Russia and China. **(821 words)**

WAY FORWARD

- In light of the challenges faced by IPEF, **following suggestions** can be pursued:
 - **Positive agenda** of inclusive economic cooperation should be the **motto of IPEF** to avoid being drawn into bloc-politics as a **negative response to China's growing power**.
 - **Accommodative stance** on negotiations should be favoured against pursuit of narrow national or commercial interests. E.g., on e-commerce.
 - The economic framework needs to be coupled with substantive measures on **access to finance, technology and market**.

HI 74- India- Russia Relations

PM Modi invoked a Russian proverb to reaffirm India-Russia friendship in a changing world: “An old friend is better than two new ones.”

Indo-Russian relations took root shortly before India's Independence, but **began to blossom only in the 1960s & 1970s** and over time became tested.

Over the past several decades, and particularly at the time of the Soviet Union, Indo-Russian relations had been marked by a high degree of political and strategic trust. As the relationship evolved, it gained strength based on five pillars:

- Similar **political and strategic perceptions** of the world;
- Intensive military-technical cooperation;
- Strong **economic bonds**;
- Deep ties in science and technology; and
- **People-to-people and cultural links**

Brief historical background of India Russia relations

I. Phase I (1947-70):

A. Finding new areas for cooperation.

- While Russia was officially a socialist state, Indian leaders were inclined towards socialism. E.g., planned economy.
- India and Russia **had similar political and strategic outlook** on international issues through the second half of the 20th century.
- Russia **consistently backed India's position on Kashmir in UNSC**.

B. However, relations have been rocky:

- The **origins of this strategic relationship lay in Moscow's growing rift with Beijing from 1959**. The Soviets **not only refused to support China in its territorial disputes with India, but also offered MiG-21s to India**.

- **Role in 1962 War: Nikita Khrushchev**, then Soviet premier, told the Chinese that there was “no place for neutrality” and **put the supply of MiGs to India on hold**. During the war, Moscow shared with Beijing its intelligence on India. **It was the Indian turn towards the US (Nehru asking for support from Kennedy) that led Khrushchev to revert to his earlier stance**.
- **Role in 1965 War:** When Lal Bahadur Shastri travelled to Moscow in May 1965, he was shocked by **Khrushchev's successor Leonid Brezhnev's unwillingness to condemn the Pakistani incursion into the Rann of Kutch**. At Tashkent, Russians leaned on India to revert to status quo ante and return all captured territory.
- **Moscow later tried to improve relations with India (after 1968) because it now sought a treaty of friendship with India**. This desire stemmed from the **Sino-Soviet border clashes along the Ussuri river**.

II. Phase 2 (1970-90): Aligning strategic outlook. (Phase of romanticism)

- India agreed to sign the treaty only when there was a convergence between the US, China and Pakistan on the Bangladesh crisis.
 - **Until then, Moscow had advised India not to precipitate a war**. And New Delhi hoped to change the Soviet stance by inking the treaty.
 - **After the Simla agreement of 1972, they insisted that India should not hold back the 93,000 Pakistani prisoners of war**.

- The **Indo-Soviet Treaty of 1971** gave strategic dimension to India-Russia relations.
- **Serious differences were resolved bilaterally.**
 - For instance, while India never endorsed Soviet intervention in Afghanistan (1979), Russia wanted India to sign NPT.
- **Military-technical cooperation deepened significantly.** Russia has provided India entire production lines on military platforms from aircraft to tanks to submarine fleet.
- **The Soviet Union was, until its collapse, India's largest trading partner.** It was Soviet money and expertise that developed India's domestic industries including metallurgy, mining, and oil & gas.
- Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the Soviet relationship was crucial for India because of its exclusivity.
 - The USSR—unlike the US—would **not provide military equipment or intelligence to Pakistan or China.**
 - Soviet technical and financial assistance as well as trade added layers to the strategic relationship.
- Economic activity declined, cultural cooperation collapsed, collaboration in science and technology slid down, and military-technical cooperation took a precipitous drop.
- **Both countries started looking towards west** to for guidance in moving from a planning-based economy to a market one.
- **Western-oriented trend adversely affected bilateral ties:** to buttress ties with the US -
 - Russia tried to reduce India's profile vis-à-vis Pakistan.
 - Reneged on the cryogenic engine deal with India.
- However, sagacious steps by govts in 1990s, helped India salvage Indo-Russian relations.
 - India was one of a handful of countries that decided to repay to Russia in full its debt to the Soviet Union a billion dollars a year for over a decade.
 - India's significant orders for military hardware helped Russia keep its military industrial complex alive.
- **In 2010**, the Strategic Partnership (2000) was elevated to the level of **“Special and Privileged Strategic Partnership.”**

III. Phase 3 (Post-1990): (Strategic to transactional)

- Collapse of USSR and BoP crisis in India led to crisis in relations. The collapse of the Soviet Union **shrank Russia into a regional power with limited interests outside its periphery.**
- The shock therapy administered to the Russian economy resulted in a disastrous free-fall. This was accompanied by a steep demographic decline.
 - In this context, the Indo-Russian **relationship turned from strategic to transactional - centred on military technology and spares.**

Thus, **Russian policy had always been based on realism and through its prism of geopolitical competition with US and China.**

IV. **Current status of the Relations:** Today, almost three decades since the collapse of the Soviet Union,

- The **military-technical cooperation** between India and Russia has gone up tremendously.
- The **economic dialogue**, after almost a complete collapse, has improved, albeit marginally.
- Cooperation in **science and technology** continues to show growth.
- Cultural cooperation, however, remains minimal.

- There is **increased divergence in political and strategic outlook**. This appears strange, because India and Russia share a common strategic goal of trying to build a 'multipolar' or 'polycentric' international system.

Institutional arrangements for engagements:

A. Annual Summit:

- **Annual Summit meeting between the Prime Minister of India and the President of the Russian Federation** is the **highest institutionalized dialogue mechanism** under the Strategic Partnership between India and the Russian Federation. So far 21 Annual Summit meetings have taken place alternatively in India and Russia.
- The 2021 summit added another step - the **first 2+2 dialogue of Foreign and Defence Ministers** to exchange views on global and regional political-security developments.

B. Government-to-Government:

- **Indo-Russian Inter-Governmental Commission (IRIGC)** is the main body that conducts affairs at the governmental level between both countries. It is divided into two parts:
 - **Trade and Economic Cooperation:** The India-Russia Inter-Governmental Commission

on Trade, Economic, Scientific, Technological and Cultural Cooperation (IRIGC-TEC) is co-chaired by EAM and the Russian Deputy PM.

- **Defense Cooperation:** India-Russia Inter-Governmental Commission on Military & Military-Technical Cooperation (IRIGC-M&MTC) is co-chaired by Russian and Indian Defence Ministers and meets annually.

C. Business-to-Business:

- Indian businesses actively participate in the prestigious **St. Petersburg International Economic Forum (SPIEF)**. Accordingly, CII and SPIEF Foundation have entered into a MOU for regular institutionalized B2B interactions and exchanges.
- **Eastern Economic Forum** is another important platform for engagement between businesses of both sides.

D. Security Council Cooperation:

- India and Russia maintain close cooperation between the Security Council secretariats led by NSA from the Indian side and Secretary of the Russian Security Council from the Russian side.

Significance of Russia and India for each other:

Significance of Russia for India	Significance of India for Russia
<p>Political:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • India and Russia share common objective of multipolar world. Russian support in UNSC on Kashmir issue is critical for India. <p>Geostrategic:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Russia has supported India's bid for permanent seat in UNSC. It has been favouring India's entry to Nuclear Supplier Group. Both countries coordinate each other over various forums including BRICS, SCO, G20 etc. <p>Defence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High dependence of India: Russia's share of Indian defence imports remains at 62 percent between 2013-2017. 	<p>Political:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • India's balanced position in accordance with its policy of multilateralism is critical for ongoing crisis in Ukraine. • India as a leader of global south remains significant as her position can be adopted by the other countries of the global south. <p>Geostrategic:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Russia views India as a key balancer against China specially in Central Asia, backyard of Russia where China is rapidly increasing her presence. • India's good relations with the USA and west can help Russia in negotiating better terms in the aftermath of the war.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Russia is the only country that can share cutting-edge military technology with India. <p>Regional security:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Russia can help to stabilize situation in Afghanistan that can have internal security implications for India. <p>Energy:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> India cannot ignore the fact that Russia remains, and will remain a pre-eminent nuclear and energy power. Eight years after India's foreign collaborations in civil nuclear energy were legitimised, Russia remains the only foreign country involved in nuclear power production in India. <p>Space technology:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Russia is key partner who helped India in development of the space sector. The former Soviet Union launched India's first two satellites, Aryabhata and Bhaskar. It has provided India Cryogenic technology to build heavy rockets. 	<p>Military industry:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> India's continued order for military platforms has helped Russia keep its military industrial complex alive. India is great market for Russian arms. India in a way funds research of military technology in Russia. <p>Economic:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the face of Western sanctions, Russia is looking for new partners in Asia. India becomes particularly important here. From military orders to oil and diamonds, India is emerging as a key buyer and hence key support of Russian economy even in the wake of adversity.
--	--

Defense and security co-operation.

Defense cooperation is an important pillar of the India-Russia strategic partnership. The **India-Russia Inter-Governmental Commission on Military Technical Cooperation (IRIGC-MTC)**, set up in 2000, oversee the complete range of issues of military technical cooperation.

A. The major weapon systems acquired or contracted from Russia include:

- Su-30MKI** multi-role fighter aircraft,
- Il-78 tanker aircraft** to be used as platform for Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS),
- Mi-17-IV military transport helicopters, **R-77 air-to-air missiles,**
- Kilo class/type 877E submarines,** frigates,
- Aircraft carrier - INS Vikramaditya,**
- MiG-29K,** including MiG-29KUB version for use on aircraft carrier INS Vikramaditya,
- Ka-27PL (Ka-28 version) and Ka-31 helicopters;**

- T-90 tanks,** fire control radar, air and sea surveillance radar, combat radar, aircraft radar, anti-tank and antiship missiles,

B. Joint production with Russia:

- Brahmos** supersonic missiles,
- K-52 helicopters,**
- AK 203 rifles,**
- Construction of Project 11356 frigates.**

C. Transfer of critical platforms:

- Russia leased to India INS Chakra,** a nuclear-powered submarine thrice,
- S-400** missile defense system,
- 5th Generation Fighter Aircraft** – Russia is helping India to develop critical technologies for this system

D. Military exercise:

- The **INDRA** series of exercises, **PASSEX** etc.

Why India values its defense relationship with Russia?

- Russia is one of **India's largest defense suppliers:**

- More than 70% of India's military platforms are of Russian origin.
- The heavy weaponry given by Russia has helped to deter adventurism on the part of India's potential adversaries as well as to project power.
- Russia is the **only country with which India has a joint mechanism for transfer of high technology and joint production.**
- **Russia has never imposed sanctions or embargoes:** New Delhi fears sanctions from the West, and especially from the US, e.g., imposed sanction after nuclear tests. By contrast, India never apprehended any sanction from Russia.
- **The financially reasonable:** Russian equipment remains available at a **reasonable price** - "at comparable level of Western quality with 30-35% lower cost".
- **Exclusive access to sophisticated Russian technologies:** Since the Cold War, Russia has been supplying India with **high tech material** it denies to other countries.
 - E.g., leasing INS Chakra, technologies for 5th Gen fighter aircraft, Brahmos etc.
- **Technical assistance, transfers of technology and co-development:** While India has for decades attempted to develop a military industry of its own, Russia has assisted the country more than any other in this direction.
 - Russia has **helped India build factories to assemble licensed MiG-21, Su-30MKI, etc.,** the joint development of the BrahMos missile.
 - Russia has also **assisted India in the development of its first Indian nuclear-armed submarine (SSBN), INS Arihant.**
- **Till recently Russia avoided sharing sensitive technology and weapons to adversaries of India** for example to Pakistan and China.

'Indo-Soviet Treaty on Peace, Friendship and Cooperation 1971':

A. Features of the treaty:

- **Peace:**
 - **Each Party shall respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other party** and refrain from interfering in the other's internal affairs.
 - **Halt the arms race and to achieve general and complete disarmament**, including both nuclear and conventional, under effective international control.
- **Friendship:**
 - That **they shall not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other party.**
 - **In the event of either Party being subjected to attack or a threat thereof, the High Contracting Parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to remove such threats** and to take appropriate effective measures to ensure peace and the security of their countries.
- **Cooperation:**
 - The treaty **condemned colonialism and reclaimed for their complete elimination.**
 - The treaty aims to **maintain regular contact with each other on major international problems** affecting the interests of both countries by means of meetings and exchanges of views.

- **Time Period:** This treaty is **concluded for the duration of twenty years** and will be automatically extended for each successive period of five years unless either High Contracting Party declares its desire to terminate.

B. Significance of 1971 Treaty:

- It was **diplomatically and strategically among the most significant documents signed by India** after Independence.
- It **immensely contributed to this country's ability to successfully meet one of the greatest security challenges** it has faced in the past seven decades.
- **It helped India realize a very great strategic opportunity** i.e., the break-up of Pakistan.
- **Treaty helped India outsmart 3 powers at the same time** – USA, China and Pakistan.
 - **Assurance given in Article IX** - 'In the event of either Party being subjected to an attack or a threat thereof, the High Contracting Parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations to remove such threat and to take appropriate effective measures to ensure peace and security of their countries'.
 - This **gave India the confidence that the US and China would not consider directly and militarily intervening in the conflict.**
 - The Soviet Union stood by India. When the US sent its aircraft carrier fleet to the Bay of Bengal, Soviets too sent their submarines. This prevented direct action by the US.
- **By developing friendly relations with Bangladesh, India reduced the security threat from both sides.**
- **The treaty cemented Indo-Soviet relations for coming years:** It created a positive sentiment for the Soviet Union in Indian decision makers and added to the relationship, especially in the security sphere.

Areas of convergence and Indo-Russia cooperation.

A. Political:

- **Multilateral world order:** both countries have great interest in keeping the world away from unilateral or bilateral world order. To further this aim India and Russia are cooperating in various forums like BRICS and SCO.

B. Economic:

- Both countries share **common interest in decoupling the world economy from dollars influence and develop some alternatives.**
- Both countries aim to achieve bilateral investment of US \$ 50 billion and bilateral trade to US \$ 30 billion by 2025.
 - Bilateral trade during April 2020-March 2021 amounted to USD 8.1 billion. Indian exports amounted USD 2.6 billion while imports from Russia amounted USD 5.48 billion.

- **Energy: The Russian economy is heavily reliant on energy export with oil and gas comprising about half of the government's revenue, whereas India is dependent for her 80% oil and gas requirements.**

- Rosneft Oil Company and Oil and Gas Public Sector Undertakings of India in implementing the Vankorneft, Sakhalin-I and Taas-Yuryakh projects in Russia, and Nayara Energy Limited's oil refinery in India.
- India has emerged as a major importer of Russian oil after Western sanctions over Ukraine crisis.

- India having **demographic dividend** when there is a **demographic decline for Russia's growth in the long term.**

C. Defense and security:

- **Both countries are worried due to emergence of Taliban rule in Afghanistan** as Russia fears it could lead to increase in extremism via Central Asian neighbors, similarly India is concerned about increased terror activity/insurgencies in J&K.
- **India faces significant security challenges on two fronts** – western border- Pakistan and northern and eastern border – China which demands **high end defence equipments to deter any misadventure** from Russia or Pakistan.
- **However, as Indian industry is nascent, Russia provides great option** for India in military equipments.

D. Cultural:

- There are 20 educational institutions across Russia that teach Indian languages. Latest figures suggest that about 11,000 Indian students are studying in Russia, primarily in medical and technical courses.
- The number of tourists from Russia to India has been on the rise, and in 2017 it was the eighth largest source of foreign arrivals to India.

E. Nuclear Energy:

- Russia is an important partner in peaceful uses of nuclear energy and it recognizes India as a country with advanced nuclear technology with an impeccable non-proliferation record.
- In 2014, DAE and Russia's Rosatom signed the Strategic Vision for strengthening cooperation in peaceful uses of atomic energy between India and Russia.
- Kudankulam Nuclear Power Plant (KKNPP) is being built in India with Russian cooperation.

F. Space cooperation:

- Russian State Space Corporation 'Roscosmos' and the Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO) are collaborating for various projects including a human spaceflight programmes and satellite navigation.
- Four Indian astronauts have already undergone generic space flight training in Russia as part of the Gaganyaan programme, India's first manned space flight mission.

21st India-Russia Summit, December 2021

- **First Indo-Russia 2+2 Dialogue:** It is the first 2+2 meeting between the foreign and defense ministers of the two countries.
- **Agreement for Military Cooperation:** The two countries also signed an agreement for military technology cooperation for the next decade, from 2021 to 2031.
- Discussion was held on **Reciprocal Exchange of Logistics Agreement.**
- India underlined its goal of becoming Russia's defense development and production partner from just a buyer.
- **Agreement for Kalashnikov Rifles (AK203)** under a joint venture in Amethi, Uttar Pradesh.
- **Singing of Military Protocol:** The two countries also signed the Protocol of the 20th India-Russia Inter-Governmental Commission on Military & Military Technical Cooperation (IRIGC-M&MTC).
- **Go Ahead With S-400 Air Defense System Deal:** India asserted that it follows an "independent foreign policy", hinting at the US' CAATSA.
- **Discussion on Geopolitical Hotspots:** The situation in Afghanistan and the Middle East has wider repercussions including for Central Asia.
- Both the countries proposed greater engagements in Central Asia and the Indian Ocean Region.

Prominent roadblocks in Indo-Russia relations?

A. Geo-political:

- **Changing geopolitical realities causing strain in the relationship:**

- for example, **Russia views Quad as Asian NATO**, while **India needs Quad to contain China in Indo pacific**.
- **Washington's parallel rivalries with China and Russia** have complicated matters for New Delhi.
- **India's tense relations with China, will complicate India's partnership with Russia**, which is coming closer to China particularly after Western sanctions over Ukraine.
- China will attempt to drive a wedge between New Delhi and Moscow since isolating India in the larger Asian region suits Beijing's larger game plan.
- **An aggressive China will push India towards the U.S., and such a pro-U.S. tilt will invariably create hurdles in**

India-Russia relations in the longer term.

B. Russia's rapprochement with Pakistan:

- In 2014 **Russia removed its arms embargo against Islamabad**.
- In 2015, Moscow **agreed to sell 4 Mi-35M helicopters to Pakistan** and welcomed Islamabad to join the SCO.
- In 2016, Russia **announced the first-ever "mutual special drills in mountainous terrain"**. Russia-Pak Military Exercise "**Friendship 2016**" (Location shifted from Gilgit-Baltistan to Cherat in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the aftermath of URI Attack).

C. Issues in Defense relations:

- **Time and cost overrun** is another concern for India military.
- **Effort by India to diversify arms supply** is a significant strain India-Russia defense relation.

What is the CAATSA, and could it apply to India?

CAATSA is a law that came into effect in the US in 2017, and was **meant to punish countries having deep engagements with Russia, North Korea, and Iran using economic sanctions**.

- It said countries having a "significant transaction" with Russian intelligence and military agents will be subject to at least five kinds of sanctions.
- **Section 231 of the law notifies 39 Russian entities**, including all the major defence companies like Rosoboronexport, Sukhoi Aviation, Russian Aircraft Corporation MiG, transactions with whom could invite sanctions. Almaz-Antey Air and Space Defence Corporation JSC, who have made the S-400 system, are in this list.
- In July 2022 the US House of Representatives has passed by voice vote a legislative amendment that **approves waiver to India against the punitive CAATSA sanctions for its purchase of the S-400 missile defence system** from Russia to help deter aggressors like China.

D. Connectivity challenge:

- There is **no direct sea or land connectivity between India and Russia**. This to a certain extent held back trade potential between the two countries.
- **Long distance** through sea **increases the cost** of importing goods from Russia. For instance, importing Russian crude oil is not possible unless Russia offers discount to match the cost of buying oil from Gulf.

- Despite the sincerity shown by both countries the trade potential is yet to be materialized.
- **Russia comprised just 1% of India's total trade, India accounts for a minuscule 1.2% of Russia's overall trade**.
- Bilateral trade continues to hover around USD 10-11 bn annually, whereas Russia-China trade is around \$ 84 bn.

E. Economic linkages:

Way Forward:**A. Understand Russian limitations and bid for the right moment:**

- **Russia is in a relatively vulnerable position at the moment. This compels it to overlook its concerns** over - Chinese inroads into its Central Asian neighbourhood, and Chinese demographic challenge to its sparsely populated Siberian Far Eastern territories.
 - In the long run these concerns will resurface. Russia has always had a sense of itself as a great power. It is unlikely to accept as a permanent condition a junior status to an ascendant China. India should bid for that moment.
- **Avoid raising Pakistan continuously:**
 - Russia has the sovereign right to choose its friends. Nor should Delhi assume that Russia's current orientation - warmth to China and hostility to the West- is a permanent one. **(C Rajamohan)**
- In the meanwhile, New Delhi will have to **enhance its multifaceted relationship with Moscow** if it wants to reduce Russia's seemingly growing dependence on China.
- India needs to pursue its **multi-alignment strategy** to tackle any western pressure to reorient its relations away from Russia.

B. Economic relations:

- **Need to balance economic relations:**
 - **if the emphasis continues to be on sectors such as** defence, hydrocarbons and nuclear power, it would result in Russia gaining more.
 - To ensure a balance, sectors such as IT/ITES, pharmaceuticals and healthcare where India has considerable strength should also be encouraged, apart from seeking Russian investments in India in areas including defence manufacturing to push the 'Make in India' programme and in infrastructure and space technology to take forward the

Smart City and Digital India initiatives respectively.

- **Expedite negotiations of proposed India-Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) FTA.**
- **Trading in local currencies.**

C. Connectivity:

- **Expedient implementation of the INSTC project** would be major steps towards better connectivity and trade facilitation.
- **In addition, Chennai- Vladivostok Maritime Corridor** or the Northern Sea Route, connectivity will play an important role in the development of our relations in future.
- **Setting up pipelines for direct gas delivery** from Russia to India,
- **Operationalisation of the proposed \$1-billion fund through India's NIIF and the Russian Direct Investment Fund** for investment in infrastructure and technology projects.

D. Defense relations

- Russia should **ensure timely servicing of military platforms in India.** Defense contracts should be delivered in a timely manner and joint production should start on time. This will boost confidence of Indian military by making battle-ready.
- **Conclude India-Russia bilateral logistics agreement-** the Reciprocal Exchange of Logistics Agreement (RELOS) etc., soon.

For New Delhi, located in an **unstable and virtually friendless neighbourhood, friendship with Russia is important** notwithstanding the structural limits to such a friendship. It will, therefore, take a **great deal of diplomatic agility** to stay the course as there is much that Delhi and Moscow can do with each other through a **practical relationship that focuses on give and take wherever possible.**

The two sides must also carefully manage the inevitable differences that arise. For some this might sound "transactional", but **in the dynamic world that confronts India and Russia,**

“transactional” is any day better than “sentimental” because today mutual interest, not ideology or sentimentalism, drives the international relations.

ForumIAS

HI 75- Russia- Ukraine Crisis

Russian President Vladimir Putin, earlier this year, **ordered a military operation in Ukraine sending shockwaves across the globe.** He warned that any interference by other nations would result in "consequences they have never seen."

While **tensions between Russia and Ukraine, a former Soviet republic, have existed for some years,** they began to spiral out of control in recent times. The Russia-Ukraine conflict has **not yet seen the 'light at the end of the tunnel'** but it is seen to be spreading. This conflict can of course cause uncertainty around the world, either directly or indirectly.

Brief historical background of Russia- Ukraine relations:

I. 10th century to 19th century:

- **Origin:** The modern nations of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus all **claim their cultural ancestry to Kievan Rus** - a mediaeval principality that was located in the Kievan Rus' region.
- **Capital:** Until the invasion by Mongols, **Kyiv was the capital** of Rus until 1240. **Moscow then became the capital** of the

principality of Muscovy and, later, the Russian Empire.

- **Annexation of Ukraine by Imperial Russia (1783):** Ukraine was annexed by Imperial Russia in a largely bloodless event. The **Ukrainian Cossacks**, who had been semi-independent since the early seventeenth century, **were eager to join the Russian Empire**, and the tsar was happy to have them.

II. Early 20th century:

- **Suppression of Ukrainian culture and language:** was started in the 19th century by the Russian Empire. This was done in an attempt **to assimilate Ukrainians into Russian culture.**
- Ukraine resisted and witnessed brief period of **independence between 1917 to 1919.**

III. The Soviet era:

- **Soviet Union:** In the Soviet-Ukrainian War (1917-1921), the **Ukrainian Bolsheviks defeated the national government in Kyiv** and established the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR). **Ukraine SSR then joined hands with Russia** to become the



founding member of the Soviet Union in 1922.

- **Ukraine - the bread basket of the USSR:** because it had rich soil that was perfect for farming.
- **Crimea handed over to Ukraine (1954):** Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** handed over Crimea to Ukraine SSR. This move effectively transferred power over the strategically important region from Russia to Ukraine SSR.
 - The transfer was part of Khrushchev's vision for a politically unified Soviet Union. It marked the **culmination of centuries of conflict and competition** between Russia and Ukraine over the territory.

IV. Post-Soviet era:

- Ukraine became **independent in 1991** after the disintegration of USSR.

V. 21st century:

- **Orange Revolution (2004):** A series of political protests took place in Ukraine in response to the **elections of Viktor Yanukovich**, who was **supported by Russia**.
- **Euromaidan protests:** In 2013, Viktor Yanukovich **suspended signing the EU Association Agreement** and instead chose closer ties with Russia. The decision not to sign the agreement sparked Euromaidan protests.
- **Russia annexed Crimea from Ukraine** in 2014 and now **invaded Ukraine** in 2022.

Causes behind the Russia - Ukraine crisis:

- **Historical and cultural ties:** Due to strong blood and fraternal relations, Ukraine is still considered part of Russia in the Russians psyche.
 - In fact, history records **Kyiv once being the capital of the Soviet Union** a long time ago.
- **Role of NATO:**
 - Since the fall of the Soviet Union, NATO has been seen as **increasingly 'greedy' and**

extending its power to the territories of the former Russian colonies.

- **NATO's attitude** of being never satisfied with the 12 countries during the establishment of NATO in 1949 **is the cause of this conflict;** to date, 32 countries have joined NATO which is seen to be growing.
- **Rising Fascism and Nazism in Ukraine:** The groups like **Avo Fighters**, who aspire to fight for white supremacy, anti-immigrant, anti-Islam etc. are also anti-Russia.
 - This group is **used to raise anti-Russian sentiment and attack two pro-Russian provinces** namely Donetsk and Luhansk.
- **Concerns related to Russian Diaspora:** in the context of rising anti-Russian groups in Ukraine. E.g., approximately 8 million ethnic Russians live in Ukraine.
- **Immediate cause:** Ukrainian President requested US President to **allow Ukraine to join NATO in January of 2021.**
 - This infuriated Russia, which began deploying soldiers to the Ukrainian border for "training exercises".
- **Geopolitical circumstances:**
 - **USA's declining hegemony:** The way USA withdrawn from Afghanistan and her reluctance in engaging in conflict in far fledged areas gave enough confidence to Russia to take such a bold step.
 - **Rise of China:** USAs changing attention towards China & Indo-Pacific and rise of China as a partner also contributed in Russia's decision.
- **Protecting Superpower image:** as Ukraine joining NATO would have been a major blow to Russia's international prestige.

Cold war:

- The Cold War was a period of geopolitical tension between the United States and the Soviet Union and their allies, bringing the two global superpowers to the brink of nuclear war. The Cold War was a rivalry between the Western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc that began after World War II.

Why is it called the cold war?

- The Cold War is called so because there was no large-scale, direct fighting between the two superpowers, but they got into major regional conflicts known as proxy wars. These conflicts were driven by the ideological (the Western Bloc's capitalism and the Eastern Bloc's communism) and geopolitical struggle for global influence.

Is the world witnessing a 'New Cold War'?**A. Yes: (Arguments for)**

- **Growing distrust between 'USA & allies' vs 'Russia-China':** is being observed in various international engagements. **"We are entering a new stage of confrontation,"** said **Dmitry Suslov**, an international relations specialist in Moscow. .
- **Withdrawal from various treaties by USA and Russia:** ending the **détente phase** being observed since end of Cold War. E.g., Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty.
 - **New START Treaty:** is now the **only restraint** on the number and types of U.S. and Russian nuclear weapons — and it **expires in 2026**, with little hope of renewal.
 - US in 2019 **abrogated the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty** over U.S. claims of Russian violations and Chinese arms buildup.
- **Indo-Pacific - a new theater:** Widening involvement of USA and her partners in its naval exercises around China's coast and the **strengthening of the Quad** – a security alliance of the US, Australia, Japan and India.
 - **AUKUS:** and a US-Japan, then an Australia-Japan agreement on military cooperation further tend to deepen the trust deficit.
 - **New defense deals:** between Japan and the UK and France may presage further NATO linkages into Asia region.
- **Brewing Taiwan crisis:** The US under Biden administration has shifted its focus toward Taiwan.
- **Chinese revisionist tendencies to dislodge USA as a global hegemon:** China insists on claims in the **South China Sea** (in contravention to a UNCLOS ruling) and **warned Taiwan** over its assertions to be a self-governing democratic island.
 - Chinese endeavours tend to push the US out of the Pacific but to displace it entirely as the unipolar global hegemon.
- **Technological competition:** US efforts to impose a **ban on the Chinese tech giant Huawei**, greater trade and investment controls on China etc.

Characteristics of the 'New Cold War':

The New Cold war is different from the cold war of the Soviet era in following manner:

- **Non-ideological struggle:** Unlike the Soviets, Mr. Putin is not trying to wage a global ideological struggle, nor is he bankrupting his country in a costly arms race.
- Unlike 1962, it is **not the threat of nuclear war but of a major land war** that now looms over Europe. But the feeling that Russia and the US are entering a new version of the Cold War has become inescapable.
- **Changing actors:** 'Russia is not the USSR' of old cold war however **new axis**

is developing between **'Russia-China-Iran-North Korea'**.

- This time, the United States and its allies would have to contend with Russia along with the rising powers of China, Iran and North Korea.
- By comparison, the **old Cold War years were far simpler**, and for the most part the **rules were a lot clearer** - if one side intruded into the other's space, there was the **ever-present threat of all-out mutually assured destruction**.
 - So, it never happened, even though war came uncomfortably close more than once. However, **now the boundaries are very vague**, no-one knows where the red lines run.

However according to **some experts**, the **cold war never ended** and this is just the next phase of the old cold war. In the last 30 years, the **Cold War has continued to shape the world and trigger global conflicts**.

This is because the **root causes of the tensions between Washington and Moscow have not changed much** since the Cold War. And this has had its imprint even in Afghanistan, Syria, Lebanon and ultimately in Ukraine.

Russia & Ukraine crisis - Consequences on World Order:

- **Emergence of 'Block politics'**: EU-USA vs Russia-China axis will **further lead to emergence of cold war like situation** where each will be playing proxy wars in different parts of the world.
- **Militarization of Europe**: An arms race could start again in Europe and elsewhere (like Taiwan). Countries will try to **raise their military strength** for protecting themselves against external threats.

- **Nuclear proliferation**: Several analysts pointed out that Russia might not have attacked Ukraine if it still possessed nuclear weapons (that it handed over to Russia in 1994).
 - Many countries in East Asia (Japan, South Korea and Taiwan) are reconsidering their approach to nuclear weapons in the light of Chinese aggression.
- **UN credibility being questioned**: for its failure to rein-in superpowers and their aggressive behaviour.

Can this war give birth to 'China led - unilateral world order'?

A. Yes: (Arguments for)

- **China - the primary beneficiary**: of the sanctions against Russia. The **Yuan benefits from the decline of the Ruble** and similar scenario may unfold if China **were to invade Taiwan**.
- **Increased dependence of Russia on China**: Sanctions-hit Russia will need China for larger engagement in the world trade and to benefit Russian economy more than ever.
- **Russia's attack on Ukraine has given breathing space to China**:
 - China benefits as the **world is distracted with Russia** and not focusing on them. This enables it to take a bit of pressure off China.
 - It **helped China relax slightly on the Indo-Pacific front**, a crucial region for Beijing's political and economic competition with the Western world.
 - China may be a 'difficult powerhouse' on the world stage as it **can be seen more like a 'benign actor'**.
- **Economic benefits for China**:
 - Under economic sanctions, Russia will have to turn even **more to the China to sell oil, gas, and other commodities, even at lower prices**.

- Russia, as an isolated country, will increase its imports of goods and equipment from China => **increasing China's share of Russian imports** significantly.
- China's **Cross-Border Interbank Payment System (CIPS)**, an **alternative financial tool** can benefit to move from the US dollar to the Chinese yuan.

B. No: (Arguments against)

- As the US and its allies **won't be putting its boots on the ground, the damage caused materially to the USA will be negligible.**
- **War might strengthen USA:**
 - **Economically:** War might **drive US defense industry and oil exports** in the wake of sanctions on Russia and Iran – major producers of oil in the world.
 - **Geo-strategically:** war has **united USA and its allies as well as entire Europe** which was falling apart during the Trump era.
 - There are **talks of coalition of democracies** taking on autocracies => it can give the USA the role of leadership.
- **The USA has not diverted its attention from Indo Pacific:** E.g., the USA has launched the **Indo-Pacific Economic Forum (IPEF)** along with 13 other countries.

World's response to Ukraine-Russia war:

- **USA and its allies (EU, UK etc.):**
 - **Solidarity with Ukraine and resistance against the incursion** of Russian forces into Ukrainian territory, **offering support of various kinds** — from the supply of arms, intelligence, cash and logistics and training of Ukrainian troops,

- **Imposing severe sanctions** intended to “cripple” the Russian economy.
- Western troops have not been directly involved in combat so far **but mercenaries of Western provenance are actively engaged.**
- **Weakening Russia is the hidden agenda** of the Ukraine war. US President **Biden** has **vowed to stand with Ukraine “as long as it takes”.**

● **Position of China:**

- China **refused to condemn the Russian invasion** of Ukraine, repeated Russian reasoning about the war, opposed economic sanctions against Russia, and abstained or sided with Russia in UN votes on the war in Ukraine.

Way forward for world:

- **Diplomatic solution to the conflict:** India believes a solution can be found through **dialogue under the Normandy format and the Minsk Agreements.**
- **Recognize Ukraine buffer state:** The eastward expansion of NATO is the reason for Russian aggression.
 - He had advocated that **NATO/US should shift their policy to recognize Ukraine as a Buffer State** between Russia and NATO, rather than attempt to absorb Ukraine into NATO.
- The West can end the war by **assuring Russia of the ‘security guarantees’** it had demanded in the draft NATO-Russia Agreement.
- **End the Cold War Mentality:** by **engaging with all major stakeholders on multiple forums** and making efforts to strengthen global institutions.

India's role in the crisis:**India's response to the crisis:**

- India has opted for the **policy of 'Strategic ambivalence'** - an extension of Indian philosophy of non-alignment with any but **multi-alignments with all**.
- It **expressed displeasure but did not outrightly condemn** the intervention. India has called for an **'immediate cessation of violence'**.
- India **abstained from voting in all resolutions brought against the Russia**.
- India urged all stakeholders to **work towards a safe and sustainable solution based on international norms and principles**.
- India **did not blame any side** but **provided humanitarian relief and assistance** to people rather than arms to them.
 - For instance, **India sent 90 Tonnes of humanitarian assistance** to Ukraine

Consequences for India:

- **Difficulty in balancing relations with both Russia and USA:** India need both Russia and the US and siding with one of these countries could cost India its relationship with the other.
- **May jeopardize India's relationship with the EU:** As India has taken a different position, and even increased imports of oil from Russia when sanctions are imposed by the west to not give breathing space to Russia.
- **Strengthening of Russia-China axis:** Ukraine conflict is resulting in breakdown of Russia-West ties and strengthening Russian opposition to the concepts like Indo pacific, Quad etc.
 - It is bringing Russia and China closer; however, these concepts are central in India's relations with USA.
- **Sanctions may impact India's Investment in Russia:** India's plans in Russia's energy sector and in the development of its Far East policy, in general, would become problematic.
 - This is due to the reluctance of the private sector to fall afoul of the complex US sanctions and **exclusion of Russian banks from the SWIFT**.
- **Defense ties with Russia:** Russia remains the major arms supplier of India. As per SIPRI data, Russia contributed **46% of India's total arms imports** in 2017-21 (69% in 2012-16).
- **Shift in US' focus:** The crisis might cause a readjustment of US attention away from the Indo-Pacific. US support is being considered vital in countering Chinese aggression, especially in the maritime domain.
- **Inflationary Impact:** war will increase price of crude (WTI) which has already crossed US\$ 100/barrel and will raise India's oil import bill. This will adversely impact Fiscal and Current Account Deficits.

Way forward for India:

- India should **resist the external pressures and protect its 'national interest'**, while pushing for a diplomatic solution to the crisis.
- India needs to **continue a strategic autonomy approach** (all alignment approach) and have **geopolitical pragmatism**.
- **Reduce dependencies in critical sectors:** India requires indigenous scientific, technological, cyber, space, energy and defense manufacturing capabilities.

The world must heed the advice of **Winston Churchill** – “**Never let a ‘Good Crisis’ go to waste**” and thus start reflecting on **reforms needed in the institutions of global governance like UNSC** to ensure that differences and conflicts do not lead to full-fledged war and instead resolved sitting across the table.

The world needs to **stick to the UN Charter**, international laws and respect for sovereignty & territorial integrity of all nations and **adopt Indian principle of ‘Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam’** and behaving like a one family to think for the whole humankind not for narrow national interests.

HI76- NATO

The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** is in **global headlines** due to the ongoing **Russia-Ukraine conflict**.

Brief Historical background

At the end of WW II, as **battered European nations started to rebuild their economies**, it was believed that an economically strong, re-armed, and integrated Europe was critical to prevent the westward expansion of communist USSR. Thus, the **US embarked on a programme to supply economic aid** to the continent on a massive scale.

I. Pre-Cold War:

- **Marshall Plan (European Recovery Programme):** was given by US Secretary of State George C Marshall. It promoted the idea of **shared interests and cooperation between the US and Europe**.
 - **USSR declined participation in Marshall Plan:** and discouraged eastern European states in its sphere of influence from receiving American economic assistance.
- **Events:**
 - **Greek Civil War (1946-49):** The US and UK worked to thwart the Soviet-backed communist takeover of Greece.
 - **Turkey's resilience:** West threw their weight behind Turkey as it stood up to Soviet pressure over control of the **Bosporus Strait and Dardanelles Strait**.
 - **Czechoslovakia coup (1948):** sponsored by Stalin's government => led to the installation of a communist regime in a country sharing borders with both Soviet-controlled East Germany and the pro-West West Germany.
 - **Soviets blocked West Berlin (1948-49):** to force the US, UK, and France to give up their post-war

jurisdictions in the country, leading to a major crisis.

- The US and European nations were now convinced of the need for a 'collective security' solution.
 - **Treaty of Brussels (1948):** was signed by Belgium the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, and the United Kingdom. It is considered as a **precursor to NATO**.
 - This treaty established a military alliance, later to become the **Western European Union agreement**.
 - **Vandenberg Resolution (1948):** was passed by the US Congress advising the President to seek US and free world security through support of 'mutual defense arrangements' that operated within the UN Charter but outside the UNSC. (Rationale: Soviet veto in UNSC would thwart 'collective defense' arrangements.)
 - It was the stepping stone to NATO.
 - **North Atlantic Treaty (1949),** was signed in Washington DC as a result of the talks for the military alliance.
 - It included the 5 'Treaty of Brussels states': United States, Canada, Portugal, Italy, Norway, Denmark and Iceland. Later other nations joined.
 - **Warsaw Pact: (1955):** was signed by the **Soviet and its satellite states** as a formal response, firmly establishing the two opposing sides of the **Cold War**.
- #### II. During Cold War:
- NATO maintained a holding pattern with **no actual military engagement** as an organization. On 1 July 1968, the **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty** was opened for signature.
 - **Complementary aims of the Alliance - 1978:** NATO countries officially defined two

complementary aims of the Alliance - to maintain security and pursue détente.

- **Dual Track policy - 1979:** In light of a build-up of Warsaw Pact nuclear capabilities in Europe, ministers approved the **deployment of US Cruise and Pershing II theatre nuclear weapons in Europe.**
- **Dissolution of the Warsaw Pact - 1991:** removed the de facto main adversary of NATO. This resulted in a **strategic re-evaluation of NATO's** purpose, nature and tasks.

III. **Post - Cold War:**

- The **first post-cold war expansion of NATO** came into the reunification of Germany in 1990, when former East Germany became part of the Federal Republic of Germany and the alliance.
- **1999:** NATO saw **first military engagement** in the Kosovo War, where it

waged bombing campaign against Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

- The conflict was resolved in when **Yugoslavian leader Slobodan Milosevic agree to NATO's demand** by accepting UN resolution 1244.

What is NATO?

- The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** is a **political and military alliance** of 28 European countries and **two countries in North America** (United States and Canada).
- It was **set up in 1949** by the US, Canada, and several western European nations to ensure **their collective security** against the **Soviet Union**. It was the **US's first peacetime military alliance** outside the western hemisphere.
- **NATO** is headquartered in **Brussels, Belgium.**

Members Countries:

- There are currently **30 member states.**
- **Original members:** were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States.
- **Members who joined later: Greece and Turkey (1952), West Germany (1955, from 1990 as Germany), Spain (1982), the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland (1999), Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia (2004), Albania and Croatia (2009), Montenegro (2017), and North Macedonia (2020).**
 - France withdrew from the integrated military command of NATO in 1966 but remained a member of the organization, it resumed its position in NATO's military command in 2009.
 - Recently, **Finland and Sweden** have shown interest to join NATO.

NATO's eastern expansion

European countries' membership by year



Alliances of NATO:

- **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)** is a 50-nation multilateral forum for dialogue and consultation on political and security-related issues among Allies and partner countries.
- **Mediterranean Dialogue** is a partnership forum that aims to contribute to security and

stability in NATO's Mediterranean and North African neighborhood.

- **Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI)** is a partnership that aims at long-term global and regional security by offering non-NATO countries in the broader Middle East region the opportunity to cooperate with NATO.

'Collective defense' doctrine:

- Collective defense means that an **attack against one Ally is considered as an attack against all Allies**.
- The principle of collective defense is enshrined in **Article 5 of the Washington Treaty**. **NATO invoked Article 5** for the first time in its history after the **9/11 terrorist attacks** against the United States.
- Collective defense measures have been taken on several occasions, including in response to the situation in Syria and the Russian invasion of Ukraine.
- NATO has standing forces on active duty that contribute to the Alliance's collective defense efforts on a permanent basis.

Difference between Collective Defence and Collective Security:

- Collective Defense is a limited or group system involving only some states who come forward to join hands against a common enemy.
 - Collective Security is a global system involving all the states of the world.
- In Collective Defense, the threat to security is known in advance, in Collective Security the threat to security is sudden.
 - Any war or aggression by any one state against any other state is covered under the system of collective security.
- Collective Defense admits Advance Planning, Collective Security does not.

Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO):

The CSTO emerged from signing the Collective Security Treaty 1992, Tashkent (Uzbekistan).

- **Aim:** To strengthen the national and collective security of its members through military-political cooperation, coordinating foreign policy and establishing cooperation mechanisms.
- **Member States:** Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan
 - **Observer States:** Afghanistan and Serbia
- The CSTO, a **Russia-led Eurasian security bloc**, has acquired considerable traction in recent years due to the rapidly changing regional security situation in the Eurasian region.
 - The annual **CSTO Summit was held in Moscow** on May 16, 2022. Even though Armenia currently chairs the CSTO, the Summit was held in Kremlin, Moscow.

Significance of NATO in present world order:

- **Collective security:** NATO directly contributes to the peace, prosperity, and liberty of the people of the world by acting

against terrorism, piracy, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and cyber warfare.

- **Territorial integrity and security:** It guarantee the territorial integrity, political independence and security of the member states.
 - It aims to prevent and manage crises, stabilize post-conflict situations and support reconstruction.
- **Geo-political agenda setting:** While NATO plays important roles in the areas of collective security, its **continued global significance lies in its centrality in international politics** as it seeks to develop a “**community of common values**” (i.e., countries that cherish democracy and human rights).
 - E.g., **Modernization and integration of former Warsaw Pact** and Balkan countries into the political fabric of NATO.
- **Humanitarian:** As the **war in Ukraine** continues, NATO is more relevant now than it has been in decades. NATO plays a role in **distributing military and humanitarian aid** to Ukraine, and the alliance will be influential in the outcome of the war.
- **Transatlantic link:** NATO also embodies the transatlantic link whereby the security of North America is tied to Europe’s.
- **Democratic process:** NATO promotes democratic values and encourages consultation and cooperation on defense and security issues to build trust and, in the long run, prevent conflict. NATO is committed to the **peaceful resolution of disputes**.

Achievements of NATO

- **Global network:** NATO has created a global network of more than 40 countries and other partners around the globe—ranging from the **African Union to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**. This network provides NATO support in its crisis management operations.
- **Ukraine War:** NATO has publicly **denounced the Russian invasion** of Ukraine and NATO member countries and allies have provided substantial aid to Ukraine. The United States has contributed roughly **\$54 billion to Ukraine**.
- **Cold War:** With the end of the war, NATO worked to further maintain peace. They

established the **North Atlantic Cooperation Council** and, in 1997, NATO encouraged bilateral discussion between the United States and Russia through the Founding Act.

- It helped in **protecting and promoting democratic values** and enables members to consult and cooperate on defense and security-related issues and solve problems.

Failures of NATO:

- **Afghanistan:** After 9/11, NATO had a considerable presence in Afghanistan and their forces were crucial in their support of the Afghan government.
 - However, after Taliban took over in 2020, both **NATO and American troops were withdrawn from Afghanistan** results into fall in Afghan government.
- **Right-Wing Nationalism:** across Europe, discontent with international institutions like NATO and the EU grows. The Challenge before NATO is to combat and address their criticism and unify a divided Europe.
- **Russian aggression:** Despite supposed verbal promises to Russia that it would not expand to the east, NATO has admitted several former Warsaw Pact members since the fall of the Soviet Union. Now, with NATO members bordering Russia and the promise of further expansion, Russia feels increasingly threatened.
- **Funding Issue:** All NATO Defense Ministers agreed in 2006 to a commitment that 2% of their countries GDP would be allocated towards defence spending. However, the majority of NATO members do not meet their goal.

Issues faced by NATO

- **Greedy expansionism:** In the 1980s, the leaders of Western powers had assured that NATO would not expand into the East. On the contrary, it has kept expanding and now has 30 member states in place of the original 12.
- **Territorial Conflicts:** The eastward expansion of NATO is the reason for Russian aggression. There is presence of NATO and US troops in former Soviet States like Lithuania, Estonia etc.

- **Lack of reliability:** Emmanuel Macron, the French president, warned European countries that they can no longer rely on America to defend NATO allies. “What we are currently experiencing is the **brain death of NATO,**”
- **Destruction by NATO:** NATO’s involvement in **Kosovo** is well known. Over 500 civilians lost their lives due to NATO’s indiscriminate bombing in the Kosovo campaign.
- **China issue:** Divergence among NATO countries, its view on China was seen as mixed, while it did deliberate on China’s rise, it presented both a challenge and an opportunity.
- **Russia-Ukraine conflict:** 8 Russian diplomats were expelled from Brussels where the Russian mission to NATO was present. Russian President stated displeasure in NATO’s expansion into Ukraine which in the end led to the present Russia-Ukraine conflict.
- **Mismanagement of funds:** Various activities of NATO divert funds from social programmes that could otherwise be used to improve the lives and livelihood of the people.
 - **Funds for Social Development:** Expenditure towards NATO activities **diverts funds from vital programmes** that could otherwise be deployed to improve the lives and livelihood of the people.

Should India engage with NATO?

A. Yes: It will benefit India

- Engagement with NATO could **facilitate productive developments against terrorism, changing geopolitics, the evolving nature of military conflict, the role of emerging military technologies, and new military doctrines.**
- **On a bilateral front,** each of the members of NATO can support in **strengthening India’s national capabilities.** It would be easier for India **to deal with the military establishments of its 30 NATO member states.**
- **As North Atlantic Alliance** has been **engaging both China and Pakistan** in bilateral dialogue, reaching out to NATO would add a key dimension to India’s growing engagement with US and Europe.
- **Geo-strategic position** and unique perspectives on various issues, was relevant to international security and can be an important partner in informing the alliance about India’s own region and beyond.
- **NATO’s view on China was seen as mixed;** while it did deliberate on China’s rise, the conclusion was that China presented both a challenge and an opportunity. **Russia and China** have intensive bilateral engagement with Europe, India cannot afford to miss out.
- **Asian century:** For the European and NATO members to play any role in the Indo-Pacific, will need partners like India, Australia, and Japan.

B. No: Issues in active engagement with NATO:

- **Non-alignment** after the Cold War years has been more and more relevant.
 - **E.g.,** After the Cold War years, NATO built partnerships with many neutral and non-aligned states.
- Most of the NATO members are already well-established partners of India.
 - **E.g.,** India has military exchanges with many members of NATO — including the US, Britain, and France.
- **Divergences over Taliban:** In Afghanistan, **NATO saw the Taliban as a political entity,** which was not in line with India’s stance. This was almost two years before the Taliban announced an interim government in Afghanistan in September 2021.
- **Complicate India- Russia relations:** India’s worry that joining NATO will upset Russia-India relations.

- As **engagement with Quad and a closer alliance** with the US have already strained India-Russia relations.
- India's reliance on Russia during the Cold War years due to the political divide between the west.
- After the end of the Cold War, the India-Europe tie could not be strengthened due to a **lack of high-level political interest**.

India **maintains a distance from the NATO** alliance due to various reasons. However, recently India held its first political dialogue with the NATO in Brussels in 2019. India NATO alliance will be in line with India's present policy of 'multi-alignments'. **Deepening ties between China and Russia** calls for India's application of **Strategic Autonomy**.

Way Forward:

- **NATO should engage with Russia** or else be prepared to witness another military alliance in opposition to NATO being formed by **Russia-China and allies' nexus**.
- **Reviving American leadership:** There is a critical need for reviving strong, reliable American leadership.
- **Restoring European Defense Strength:** Allies must contribute equitably to the Alliance and 2% of GDP is a fair **premium for the 'whole life insurance benefit' of Article 5's** collective defense commitment.
- **Transparent:** NATO should be more transparent by making public more of its assessments of the capabilities that defense budgets acquire.
- **Spending on national cyber security and intelligence**, for example, could well be included as part of national defense expenditures for NATO purposes.
 - NATO and the EU both require airlift and **intelligence-surveillance-reconnaissance capabilities**; so, if a European ally acquires these with EU assistance, they should be available for both NATO and EU operations based on a national decision.
- **Streamlining NATO Decision-Making:** The challenges facing NATO today demand more flexibility in executive decision-making. As a core principle in preserving NATO cohesion, consensus decision-making must remain the basis for major NATO actions.
- **Partnership:** NATO should shift the focus of its partnership efforts from individual states to **regional international organizations**.
 - Beyond the EU, NATO could **seek partnerships with the African Union, the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council**, etc.
 - Other bodies could benefit from NATO's experience in building a durable political institution and framework for regional military cooperation.
 - The European Union is the most natural partner and NATO should do much more to **support ongoing EU operations to contend with migration from Africa and the Middle East**.
- **Dialogue with India would further enhance the cooperation among NATO countries** and India's geo-strategic location shares a unique perspective and enhances international security in India's own region and beyond.

NATO, despite the identity crisis and differences, remains relevant, as it has the **capability to deter and defend its members from outside actors and tackle new domains**. While doing so, NATO should ensure that the shared democratic values remain intact.

HI77-India- United Kingdom (UK)

India and UK are bound by strong ties of shared history and culture. The relationship is rooted in India's colonial history with the British and the relationship shared by both countries even after India's independence. After Independence, India remains part of Commonwealth and it has played a crucial role in shaping India-Britain relationship.

UK PM David Cameron's first visit in July 2010 saw the relations elevated to '**Enhanced Partnership for the Future**', and during his second visit in February 2013, it was agreed to have a '**stronger, wider, deeper partnership**'.

Brief Historical background of India- UK relations

East India Company (1600–1857)

- **Trade was established between England and Mughal India in 1600** when Elizabeth I granted the newly formed East India Company a royal charter.

Republic of India (Post 1947):

- India decided to **remain in the Commonwealth of Nations** after becoming a Republic. Both Britain and India have since pursued quite **divergent diplomatic paths**.
- In particular, **India became a major force within the Non-Aligned Movement**, which initially sought to avoid taking sides during the Cold War. **This contrasted with Britain's position as a founding member of NATO**, and key ally of the United States.
- After becoming India as republic, **Queen Elizabeth II has visited India three times**. The first time was in 1961, then in 1983 and after that in 1997.
- The bilateral relationship was **upgraded to a strategic partnership in 2004**.

Significance of UK for India.

Geo strategic:

- **Important partner in Indo-Pacific:**
 - UK and India's interest converge in Indo Pacific. For example, Britain's

policy titled 'Global Britain in a Competitive Age'.

- The UK now has **seven 'permanent points of presence' in the Indian Ocean** (Bahrain, Oman, Kenya, Brunei, Singapore, Diego Garcia and Qatar).
- **UK's one of two new littoral strike groups would be deployed in the Indo-Pacific** and that the first operational mission of HMS Queen Elizabeth, the Royal Navy's new aircraft carrier, will cover the Mediterranean, Middle East and Pacific.

• **To preserve international rule-based order:**

- as the UK believes in liberal institutionalism and democratic ways of resolution of conflicts.
- Also, the UK is one of the five permanent members of the UNSC.

Geo economic:

• **Trade and investment:**

- Trade between India and UK touched **\$15.5 billion with a \$2 billion trade surplus in favour of India**.
- While UK ranks **18th as a trading partner of India** and **third after Mauritius and Singapore as an investor in India**.
- **Tourism:** The **UK ranks number two in the world in terms of tourists visiting India**. Around 500,000 Indians visit UK every year and approximately 400,000 UK tourists visit India.

Geopolitical:

- **Multilateral cooperation:** India and UK cooperate at the EU, G-20 and UN. UK supports India's inclusion in UNSC as a permanent member.

Science and Technology:

- **UK is a key partner of India as number of joint research with joint funding are being conducted** which include projects in nano science, biotechnology, telecom, solar energy use and weather forecasting etc.

Diaspora:

- Currently **1.5 million Indians lives in UK** contributing a great part of Indian diaspora there.
- **Major attraction for Education:** Indians studying in higher education in UK are the second largest segment of foreign students in UK after China

Significance of India for UK

Theresa May in 2016 while on visit to India said, **"It [the visit] matters now more than ever. India is the fastest-growing major economy."** May had previously referred to India as a **"key strategic partner"** in the aftermath of Britain voting to leave the European Union.

Geo-Economic:

- **Trade and Investment:**
 - India is the **second largest foreign investor in the UK.**
 - The **growth of India's multinational companies contributed greatly to UK's business and economy.** As of 2019, Indian companies in the UK generated over 48 billion pounds. Also, they have **employed more than 105,000 people in the UK.** For example, TATA group.
 - **In 2017, UK Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson said: "We in the**

UK are the beneficiaries of reverse colonialism."(It is a phenomenon, where non-Western countries impact the West, has been commented on by sociologist **Anthony Giddens)**

- **India is a sweet spot of global economy:** India has emerged as one of the **"fastest growing economies in the world,"** and **became 5th largest economy of the world recently.**

- **Ageing population of the UK:** India is enjoying demographic dividend which can aid UK in her development plans.

Geo strategic:

- **To balance China:** India can be robust partner of UK in containing aggressive and expansionist policies of the China in Indo-Pacific which can be threat to free and fair navigation and trade in this region.
- In the event of **USA's flip flops with regard to their allies and UK's exit from the EU, UK needs middle powers like India to navigate in the choppy waters of international affairs.**
- **India is a leader of global south:** India is important for any western developed country to push/ negotiate any issue at global high tables from trade related issues at WTO to Climate related reforms or cyber security to data localization.

Achievements of India - Uk relations.

Economic:

- **Trade and investment:**
 - For example, in 2005, the Joint Economic and Trade Committee (JETCO) was inaugurated in New Delhi aimed at boosting two-way bilateral investments.
 - **The Access India programme:**
 - **a unique scheme set up to help many more UK SMEs export to India.**

- India hopes that the Access to India programme **will not only encourage British SMEs to export to India but also inspire them to manufacture in India** fulfilling the aims of the Make in India initiative.
- Following the trade delegation of 2013, **total UK goods and services exports to India increased by 14% from January to September 2013.**
- In 2020, both sides agreed to establish an '**Enhanced Trade Partnership**', which is the first step towards a free trade agreement.

Geostrategic:

- **Defence:**
 - A **bilateral Defence Consultative Group (DCG)** meeting has taken place annually between the top officials of the Defence Ministry since 1995.
 - **Regular capacity building exercises:** Ajeya Warrior (army-to-army biennial exercise), the Konkan (joint navy-to-navy annual exercise) and the Indradhanush (joint air-to-air exercise) happens between India and UK.

Science and Technology:

- Science and Technology **Joint investment in UK-India research has grown from less than £1 million in 2008 to over £200 million in 2020.**
- The **UK-India Newton-Bhabha programme** aims to provide with more than £400m for joint research and innovation by 2022.

Growing people to people Relations:

- The year **2017 was declared as UK India year of Culture.**
- The 2011 census records approximately **1.5 million people of Indian origin in the UK contributing 6% of the country's GDP.**
- In 2017 almost one million Britons visited India.
- Also, there has been a **gradual mainstreaming of Indian culture** and absorption of Indian cuisine, cinema, languages, religion, philosophy, performing arts, etc. in the UK.

Civil Nuclear Cooperation:

- India and UK signed a Civil Nuclear Cooperation Declaration on 11 February 2010.

Education:

- The **UK-India Education and Research Initiative (UKIERI)**, launched in 2005 has been a success in collaborations for schools and higher educational institutions including joint research.

Climate change:

- India and UK launched a global **Green Grids Initiative at COP26 in 2021**, to help deliver India's vision of One Sun One World One Grid to build a global green energy grid, primarily focusing on solar and wind energy.
- **Supporting 3rd World Countries:** Through the **Global Innovation Partnership**, India and UK have agreed to co-finance up to £ 75 million to support the transfer and scale up of climate smart sustainable innovations to third countries.

Prospective areas of Convergence.

Climate change:

- **In mitigation and prevention of climate change related extreme events:**
 - For example, Ind-UK **working with the Mahatma Gandhi**

National Rural Employment Act to build flood defences and river structures to encourage aquifer replenishment, and together with India's Ministry of Earth Sciences, we are gathering

- land, sea and atmospheric data to help deliver a decisive step forward in monsoon forecasting.
- **On electric mobility:** for example, a major joint venture between UK's EO Charging and India's Yahhvi Enterprises will deliver world-class smart charging infrastructure for electric vehicles across India, which will help to address air pollution and make cities more livable.
 - **In development of Renewable energy:**
 - And on finance, the UK has committed **240 million pounds** of anchor capital in the **Green Growth Equity Fund** — its first investment going to Ayana Renewable Power, which is developing **800MW** of solar generation capacity.
 - Around a third of UK's electricity comes from renewables — including from the largest offshore wind capacity in the world. On the other hand, India is also ramping up Solar capacities so sharing best practices and technologies can help each other.
- **Rally to commemorate the first death anniversary of Burhan Wani.**
 - **Pro-Khalistan rallies.**
 - Britain had become a **“haven for fugitives from justice”**.
 - Example, Vijay Mallya, Lalit Modi, Nirav Modi etc.
 - **Hand in glove support to Pakistan:**
 - **Vivek Katju:** British have always sought to absolve Pakistani official institutions and agencies of using terrorism as an instrument of state policy.
 - **Visa issues:** e.g., U.K. excludes India from relaxed student visa rules.
 - **UK is an active participant in Belt and Road Initiative** of China for which India raised sovereignty issues.
 - **Defence:** The UK does not have a government-to-government framework for arms sales to India, relying instead on commercial-led transactions.

British concerns:

- **Demands around opening up of financial and legal services in India.**
- Another test of the relationship will be the aftermath of the International Court of Justice's advisory opinion on the **Chagos Islands, where India supported the claim of Mauritius.**
- **India being Protectionist:** No Free Trade Agreement, despite a good bilateral relationship and occurrence of BREXIT, both the countries have not been able to conclude a Free trade agreement.
- **Illegal Migrants:** There are more than 1 lakh of illegal Indian immigrants in the UK. The UK government has put pressure to send them back but both the countries have not yet signed the migration and mobility agreement.

Other issues:

- **Different stand on Russia Ukraine conflict:** The U.K has openly criticized the Russian invasion while the same is not being

#Note: For other points please refer Significance of UK and India for each other as these points can be used as a prospective area of convergence. For example, geostrategic – maintaining rule based international order etc.

Issues and challenges.

Indian Concerns:

- **Britain being soft on “anti-India activity”** has irked Indian establishment from time to time leading to India issuing stern statements. For example:

done by India. This hasn't impacted their bilateral relationship till now but it may emerge as a future bottleneck.

Brexit analysis.

What is Brexit?

- Brexit - or "British exit" - **refers to the process of the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community.**
- Following a **referendum in 2016, Britain became the first country to leave the EU in January 2020** after 47 years of membership.

Impact of Brexit on EU:

- **May lead to further disintegration:** The Brexit vote may strengthen anti-immigration parties throughout Europe. They could force an anti-EU vote in their countries.
- **Negative impact on the currency- euro: the euro may depreciate.**
- **May lead to fiscal issues:** Without the UK's annual contribution, the EU budget would lead to more fiscal protectionism.
- **EU's reputation and soft power:** Brexit would seriously threaten the EU's global standing and soft power status and its ability to play a greater role in contemporary world order.
- **May increase her dependence on the USA:** the more weakened the EU the more vulnerable it is.

Impact of Brexit on India:

Key opportunities for India:

- **Services Sector:** In sectors such as IT, R&D, architecture and financial services, India may gain in both the markets but particularly in the UK.
 - For example, in the IT sector, India's competitor in the EU, particularly in the lower segment of services, is Poland. Now, because Poland will have restrictions on the free movement of professionals in the UK, that may be to the advantage of India.
 - **Easy market access especially for service sector** – till now many Indian firms have used UK as a gateway to Europe and in the process, India became 2nd largest source of FDI for UK. With the UK moving out of EU, it might not be as attractive to Indian firms as before. However, the UK government would not like to miss out Indian investment and will thus try to attract Indian firms by offering more incentives such as tax breaks, easy regulations and opening up markets.
- **May lead to favorable trade deals for India:** Brexit also opens the opportunity for India to sign trade deals separately with both the EU and the UK.
 - A well-negotiated bilateral trade deal between the UK and India has the potential to increase bilateral trade by 26%.
- **Might lead to cheaper imports:** The UK's currency is expected to remain weaker, so it would be less expensive for Indian firms to import from their subsidiaries in the UK.
- **Education:** In the post-Brexit world, Indian students studying in the UK might get a more level playing field compared with other EU students who were until now enjoyed an advantageous position.

Challenges for India:

- **Barriers for Indian manufacturers:** Indian companies who have based their headquarters either in the UK or the EU to serve both the markets may face some challenges.
 - These include restrictions on the movement of professionals, reaching rules of origin thresholds for zero tariffs, ensuring the correct regulatory approvals for the final products, and potential delays at borders.
- **Adverse impact on IT sector of India:** According to reports, deepening recession risks and unhedged exposure of the British Pound on account of Brexit might impact IT demand, affecting revenues of Indian IT companies in the UK by almost 10 per cent.
- **Immigration issues:** Companies with operations throughout the EU will now have to reassess their workforce mobility, along with expansion plans and operations.

Commonwealth of Nations

- The Commonwealth of Nations, simply referred to as the Commonwealth, is a **political association of 53 member states**, the **vast majority of which are former territories of the British Empire**.

Brief history:

- The Commonwealth **dates back to the first half of the 20th century with the decolonization of the British Empire** through increased self-governance of its territories.
- It was **originally created as the British Commonwealth of Nations** through the **Balfour Declaration at the 1926 Imperial Conference**.
- The current Commonwealth of Nations was formally constituted by the **London Declaration in 1949**, which modernized the community and **established the member states as "free and equal"**.

Composition:

- The Commonwealth is a **53-nation forum**.



Role:

- Member states have no legal obligations to one another but are **connected through their use of the English language and historical ties**. The Commonwealth Charter defines their **shared values of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law**.
- The Commonwealth's objectives were first outlined in the **1971 Singapore Declaration**, which committed the Commonwealth to the **institution of world peace; promotion of representative**

democracy and individual liberty; the pursuit of equality and opposition to racism; the fight against poverty, ignorance, and disease; and free trade.

- To these were added **opposition to discrimination on the basis of gender by the Lusaka Declaration of 1979**, and **environmental sustainability by the Langkawi Declaration of 1989**.

Issues with the commonwealth:

- In recent years, the Commonwealth has been **accused of not being vocal enough on its core values**.
 - For example, **allegations of a leaked memo from the Secretary General instructing staff not to speak out on human rights** were published in October 2010.
- The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting 2011 considered a report by a Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) panel which asserted that the organization had lost its relevance and was decaying due to the **lack of a mechanism to censure member countries when they violated human rights or democratic norms**.
- Former British Foreign Secretary **Sir Malcolm Rifkind**, a member of the EPG, who told a press conference: **"The Commonwealth faces a very significant problem. It's not a problem of hostility or antagonism, it's more of a problem of indifference**. Its purpose is being questioned, its relevance is being questioned and part of that is because its commitment to enforce the values for which it stands is becoming ambiguous in the eyes of many member states.

India's role & contribution:

- India's contributions to the Commonwealth's objectives have been particularly **notable in two areas**:
 - **promoting trade and development cooperation** among members (including support for small islands, developing and least-developed countries), and **collective measures by members against the removal of democratically elected governments by unlawful means**.
- India has been involved in every major part of the Commonwealth network of institutions, and it is one of its **top sources of funds, experts, and training**.
- In the 2015–2016 fiscal year, **India was the fourth-largest contributor to the Commonwealth's budget and the third-largest funder of its joint office** at the United Nations in New York.
- **In 2009, India doubled its contribution of approximately \$2 million to the Commonwealth Media Development Fund** and an annual contribution of \$80,000 to the Commonwealth Small States Office at the UN.
- Further, **India provides 16–20 percent of the consultants and experts in the Commonwealth technical assistance program** (the most of any member, after Britain).
- It **ranks first among member states in providing facilities and venues for Commonwealth training programs**.
- In addition, India has **often provided expert members to Commonwealth election monitoring groups** wherever such assistance was requested by the member governments concerned.
- The post-Brexit environment presents an **opportunity for Indian-UK cooperation to remap the Commonwealth for the two countries' mutual benefit**.
- **PM Modi attended the CHOGM 2018**, first time since CHOGM 2011 that a PM of India has attended the summit. Indian PM didn't attend the CHOGM in 2013 and 2015.

Reforms needed in the Commonwealth to align it to the changing dynamics of international politics:

- As per **Prof. CSR Murthy** the following steps are needed:
 - The Commonwealth could be **redesigned to work at the level of viable regions and with multispeed mechanisms**. e.g., Subgroup of Asia Pacific countries. There are eighteen such countries.
 - The Commonwealth could **provide a discrete, viable platform to bring together Asian and South Pacific countries on security and economic issues**.
 - The advantage of forging such a subgrouping is that it would not include the United States, whose presence may otherwise send alarm bells ringing in Beijing.
- Former foreign secretary **Krishnan Srinivasan** once argued that **India should be more invested in the Commonwealth** because **“above all, in the Commonwealth, when India speaks, everyone listens,”** unlike in the **Nonaligned Movement**.

What role should India play in reviving the commonwealth?

As per **C Raja Mohan** - India could play a key role in its revival:

- For a Britain that is reinventing itself politically after Brexit, the Commonwealth has become an important forum to recalibrate London's international relations.
- **For a rising India, the Commonwealth is the most natural theatre to demonstrate its credibility as a “leading power”**. With a globally dispersed membership - from the Caribbean to the South Pacific and Southern Africa to East Asia - the Commonwealth can easily reinforce India's expanding international footprint.
- Central to a new Indo-British partnership would be an **equitable framework for bilateral burden-sharing**.
- Negotiating favorable terms is far more important for Delhi than proclaiming that the Commonwealth is a colonial relic. **The debate on the Commonwealth can't be about its past. It must be about its future.**
- **Avoid roles that are of little strategic consequence today**. E.g., pushing democracy and human rights down the throats of other states.
- **Focus on bringing greater economic prosperity** through an enhanced trade and investment relationship.
- **Direct its aid and assistance to a few major priority areas** rather than spreading its resources on a range of issues.
 - India can significantly increase its levels of economic assistance, give more to the maintenance of the Secretariat, boost the current efforts on capacity building, and above all, open its economy to facilitate trade liberalization across the Commonwealth.

Conclusion:

Reviving the Commonwealth is not about India taking over from Britain. It is about reordering the relationship between Delhi and London.

In the words of **Harsh Pant**, a **nation that is seeking to play the role of a “leading power” in the global arena, New Delhi should not shirk this responsibility** as the Commonwealth will be one platform where Chinese presence will not hinder Indian ambitions.

Way Forward (steps required to further strengthen relations)

- **Britain should immediately stop anti India activities on its soil:** The argument that Britain was an open society that had to allow such activity to take place didn't work, as India was a "robust democracy" but didn't interfere in internal affairs of friends and allies.
- **Britain should be clear in her policy against terrorism as it started to knock her doors:** The British have to be told that the game that

they have played for the past seven decades of equating India and Pakistan has to come to an end and that they should focus on stopping Pakistani support of terrorism and not be that country's apologists.

- **Economics: The Ind-UK free trade agreement** is required to take the relationship to the next level.

#Note: For more points refer – Roadmap 2030 given in the table below:

Roadmap 2030:

Political:

- **Enhance high level & ministerial contacts** to further improve bilateral institutional mechanisms.
- **Promote Track 1.5 and Track 2 Dialogues** between our think tanks and academic institutions on various aspects of our strategic relations.
- **Enhance India-UK engagement within the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA)** framework as UK is a Dialogue Partner in IORA.
- **Enhance convergences and work together on the broader Indo-Pacific Agenda** to maintain peace, stability, safety and security in the Indo-Pacific region, and explore the potential for cooperation under the Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative (IPOI).
- **Strengthen cooperation and coordination at multilateral fora** such as G-20, WTO etc.

Economics:

- Increase exchanges and cooperation in the **services sector**.
- **Encourage UK companies to invest in India's manufacturing sector** taking advantage of the Production Linked Incentive Scheme.
- **Remove barriers to trade** through a balanced and beneficial market access package under the ETP including.

Defence and security:

- Expand cooperation under the Defence and International Security Partnership (DISP) agreed in 2015.
- Promote freedom of navigation and open access, and improve maritime cooperation.
- Promote international security and stability in cyberspace.

Health:

- **Develop the India-UK partnership on Vaccines, Therapeutics and Diagnostics** and **expand the UK-India Vaccines Hub** to develop distribution policy, clinical trials, regulation, research and innovation related to Covid-19, helping guarantee equitable global supply by April 2022.

Culture and people to people contact:

- **Implement the comprehensive Migration and Mobility Partnership.**
- Explore partnership around the **future of work**.
- **Implement 'India-UK Together' ('SAATH-SAATH'** in Hindi) to celebrate India's 75th anniversary of Independence.

In the words of **David Cameron**, former PM of the UK **"Our ties with India have remained close throughout history and continue to go from strength to strength – through mutual respect as equals, through cooperation, trade, and of course through the one-and-a-half million Indian diasporas living in Britain today who bring our two nations closer, to the benefit of both."** This all will further **"enrich the firm bond of friendship between the world's oldest democracy and its largest."**

However, Britain is yet to do what most other Western powers have done. It is to recognize that India's rise is in their own national interests. Britain has remained somewhat hesitant to align with India on the regional issues in the Subcontinent and beyond. This needs to be changed sooner than later to make the most out of bilateral relations.

HI 178- India- France relations

“There is some self-interest behind every friendship. There is no friendship without self-interest. This is a bitter Truth” — Chanakya

India and France on 15 Sep 2022 agreed to enhance their cooperation in the Indo-Pacific, including through trilateral partnerships with Australia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), in areas such as maritime security, trade and climate action.

PM Modi’s visit to France on 4 May 2022 also provided crucial opportunity to survey the international strategic landscape and take stock of the bilateral India France relationship.

Introduction

Though France and India are poles apart geographically, culturally, historically and politically they share close affinity and warmth. Both are democracies, sharing common values of freedom, human rights, secularism, rule of law, tolerance and multilateralism in international political and financial structure.

Historical background

- In 1998, the two countries entered into a **Strategic Partnership** which is emblematic of their convergence of views on a range of international issues apart from a close and **growing bilateral relationship**.
- The strategic partnership is anchored on the solid bedrock of **deep and consistent mutual trust, abiding faith in strategic autonomy, unwavering commitment to international law**, and belief in a multipolar world shaped by reformed and effective multilateralism.
- The **areas of Defence & Security Cooperation, Space cooperation and Civil nuclear cooperation** constitute the principal pillars of our **Strategic Partnership with France**.
- In a **post-pandemic world, facing global geopolitical challenges**, India and France reaffirmed their commitment to prepare for the future together by further deepening their cooperation, expanding it in new domains to

meet emerging challenges and broadening their international partnership.

Significance of France for India:

A. Geo-Economy:

- **FDI: France has emerged as a major source of FDI for India** with more than 1,000 French establishments already present in India. France is the **11th largest foreign investor** in India with a cumulative investment of USD 10.06 billion from April 2000 to December 2021 which represents 1.76% of the total FDI inflows into India according to statistics provided by the DIPP.
- **French infrastructure companies are looking forward to major opportunities** in Indian projects including in smart cities and renewable energy.
- SNCF, the French railways and the Indian Railways have established a **Permanent Indo-French Railway Forum**. They have been cooperating in the studies for the feasibility of semi-high-speed upgrade of Delhi-Chandigarh section and station development study of Ambala and Ludhiana.
- **AFD, the French Agency for Development** has extended a loan of Euro 100 million to the Government of India for its **Smart Cities Mission**.
- French side has been actively **cooperating with various programmes in especially three Smart Cities, viz. Chandigarh, Nagpur and Puducherry**.
- France ranks **25th among countries supplying India**, with a 1% market share, and is its 15th-largest customer.
- The aviation, chemicals and pharmaceuticals industries represent a significant portion of French exports to India.
- France is among **India’s leading foreign investors**, with foreign direct investment stock of €5.5 billion at the end of 2018 (6th-largest G20 investor).

- France is cooperating with India as part of its **“Smart Cities” programme**. French companies in the sustainable urban development sector are already working in more than twenty cities (metro, water supply, etc.)

B. Cultural:

- India was a guest of honour at the **Paris Book Fair in 2021**, while France will be a guest of honour at the New Delhi World Book Fair in 2022.
- Both are committed to the **shared values of democracy, fundamental freedoms, rule of law and respect for human rights**.
- There exist vibrant **bilateral cultural and educational linkages** as also growing **people-to-people contacts**.

C. Strategic:

- France was one of the first countries that **accommodated India’s position after the 1998 Nuclear Tests**.
- France is also part of **India-France-Australia Trilateral Dialogue** that supports free, open and inclusive Indo-Pacific.
- The six Scorpene submarines built at MDL in Mumbai illustrates the level of transfer of technology from France to India, in line with the "Make in India" initiative.
- France's resolve to expand strategic cooperation with India came nearly two months after the unveiling of a **new security alliance (AUKUS)** by Australia, the UK and the US that had infuriated the French government.
- France also **opens the pathway for deeper engagement with European** global issues, especially after uncertainty in the region due to BREXIT.

D. Space:

- France space agency, CNES, will support scientific experiment plans and will provide French equipment, consumables, and medical instruments for Indian astronauts use.

- **TRISHNA is the third joint satellite mission of India’s space research organization ISRO and France’s CNES**.
- GSAT-II was launched from French Guiana in December 2018.
- France, along with the U.S. and Russia (formerly the Soviet Union), has remained one of India’s closest space partners.
- **France is a major supplier of equipment and components** for the Indian space programme.

E. Civil Nuclear Cooperation:

- The **French Atomic Energy Commission (CEA)** offered technical cooperation to India on civil nuclear innovation in 1950, which materialised in 1951, with the two countries signing a **bilateral agreement** “for the research and construction of beryllium-moderated reactors”.
- Following India’s **1974 peaceful nuclear explosion**, France emerged as the only western country to commend the event, pointing to it as a reflection of India’s advancement in the nuclear sector.
- Much before the nuclear accord, France’s support to India was already seen in its continued supply of fuel to India’s **Tarapur Nuclear Plant** after the US and Canada terminated their agreements in protest of the 1974 peaceful nuclear explosion
- France also openly opposed US sanctions on India after the 1998 nuclear tests, and helped in creating a positive environment during India’s negotiations with the IAEA.

F. Political:

- France has been a continued supporter of India’s claims to permanent membership in the **United Nations Security Council (UNSC)**.
- France has also been a great supporter of India for membership to all the four multilateral export control regimes, namely, the Wassenaar Arrangement (WA), the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), the Missile

Technology Control Regime (MTCR), and the Australia Group (AG).

- France's support was instrumental in India's accession to the WA, MTCR and the AG.
- India will require the **support of France for maintaining the stability and security of the Indo-Pacific region and countering the growing Chinese aggression.**

G. Science and Technology:

- France agreed to support India's "Make in India" initiative and further transfer of technology to India. The sixth **Scorpene submarine, INS Vagsheer**, was launched in April 2022.

H. Defense:

- India also buys **defence equipment from France**, the most famous of them being **Rafale aircraft and P-75 Scorpene project.**
- **Major Arms- exporting nations:** French arms exports increased by 59% — from 6.4% of the global arms exports between 2012-2016 to 11% between 2017-2021. India was the largest recipient of these arms-exports between 2017-2021, accounting for 29% of the total exports.

I. French presence in the Indo-Pacific

- **Islands of Réunion and Mayotte** (Mozambique channel) in the Indian Ocean and New Caledonia and French Polynesia in the South Pacific.
- **France the largest EEZ in the world** (11 million sq. km.)—62 % of which is in the Pacific and 24 % in the Indian Ocean.
- **Military presence in Djibouti and Abu Dhabi**

J. Covid 19 Cooperation:

- France had sent 120 ventilators, 50 thousand serological tests and 50 thousand nose/throat swabs as aid. France also announced a 200-million-euro loan to India to help the vulnerable sections most severely affected by the pandemic.

- In the second wave, France provided 18 oxygen plants till date to hospitals across India which will fulfill oxygen requirements for 10 years.
- France also supplied over 100 tonnes of Liquid Medical Oxygen to the state of Maharashtra through the French industrial gas producer Air Liquide.
- Besides this, P2G assistance also came in from several French companies, including Airbus.

Significance of India for France

A. Cultural:

- An **Indian Cultural Centre**, named **Vivekananda Cultural Centre**, is being opened in Paris.
- The **International Day of Yoga** has been organized by the Embassy of India in Paris and other cities of France since 2016 and have received wide acclaim and press coverage.
- **Indian government has also offered five scholarships for study of Sanskrit in India to French nationals.** Various other bilateral programmes of cultural cooperation are under implementation.
- The **Namasté France cultural festival** was held in France from 15 September to 30 November 2016. The festival saw more than 80 events presented in more than 40 cities in France and proved to be a great success.

B. Clean Energy:

- India invited France to participate in its initiative to make India a Green Hydrogen Hub under its National Hydrogen Mission.

C. Political:

- The **Indian Ocean holds importance for France as it controls the Reunion Islands.** Both countries have concluded a Joint Strategic Vision for cooperation in the **Indian Ocean Region in 2018.**

D. Indian Diaspora in France

- There are more than 1 lakh NRIs in France, chiefly originating from the former French colonies.

- A good number of Indian origin persons also live in the French Overseas Territories of Reunion Island, Martinique, Guadeloupe and Saint Martin. Most of them were taken to these territories as indentured labourers during colonial times.

paracetamol (API) after having lifted export restrictions on these lifesaving drugs.

- Over 2500 Indians had been repatriated from France and a similar number of French citizens were repatriated from India to their home countries through special flights.

E. COVID-19 Cooperation:

- India supplied France with nearly 2 million hydroxychloroquine tablets and 36 MT of

Achievements of India - France relations:

Economy

- According to the '**Business France Annual Report 2020**', a public operator supporting French investors in India and Indian investors in France, there are around 200 subsidiaries of Indian businesses established in France, where they employ more than 6,000 people.
- Nine investment decisions from India were recorded in France in 2020, creating 496 jobs, 39% more than in 2019.
- Investments made by HCL Technologies on its sites in the Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes region and in the Paris, region were responsible for 340 of these jobs (70%) and all jobs recorded in engineering and business services.
- Among Indian investments in 2020, three were in IT services, while the pharmaceuticals/biotechnologies and hospitality sectors were each responsible for two projects.

Space sector

- A **joint stamp was released** to commemorate 50 years of bilateral space cooperation during the visit of PM Modi to France in April 2015.
- Building on the historical linkages in the arena of civilian space, both India and France issued a "**Joint Vision for Space Cooperation**" during the visit of President Macron to India (March 2018).
- **ISRO and CNES** will realize their third joint satellite mission – **TRISHNA** which is meant for ecosystem stress and water use monitoring as also accommodation of a French instrument of **India's OCEANSAT – 3 satellite**.
- The jointly developed **Megha-Tropiques satellite**, which observes clouds and water vapours over the tropical region continues to be in good health and provides valuable scientific data.
- A **joint Ka-band propagation experiment** is also under implementation.
- As part of ongoing bilateral cooperation **between ISRO and Arianespace, GSAT-II was launched from Kourou (French Guyana) in December 2018.**

Civil Nuclear Cooperation

- An **agreement on civil nuclear cooperation** was signed between India and France on 30 September 2008 during the visit of then PM to France.
- In 2010, the **General Framework Agreement and the Early Works Agreement** between NPCIL and M/s AREVA for the implementation of EPR for the **Jaitapur Nuclear Power Project (JNPP)** were signed.

- **EDF and NPCIL signed** a revised MoU on 22 March 2016 for the construction of six EPR units at Jaitapur of 1650 MWe each.
- During the visit of President Macron to India (March 2018), **NPCIL and EDF concluded an Industrial Way Forward Agreement**. Discussions between EDF and NPCIL have been ongoing with the objective of expeditious realization of the project.

Space

- India and France have been cooperating in the space domain for many years now.
- ISRO and CNES (the French space agency) have **conducted joint research programmes and satellite launches**.
- Examples of joint Indo-French satellites: **TRISHNA, Megha-Tropiques, etc.**
- India and France have signed an agreement for the cooperation on **Gaganyaan Mission**.

Economic Cooperation

- Both **India and France have important bilateral investments & trade and commercial cooperation**.
- There are **more than 150 Indian companies operating in France** (including sub-subsidiaries), employing more than 7,000 persons.

S&T and Education

- The **Indo-French Centre for the Promotion of Advance Research (CEFIPRA)** based in New Delhi established in 1987 is playing a major role by funding joint proposals for research in sciences and **evaluation existing research projects**.
- **Several other bilateral cooperation programmes** exist including an Indo French Ministerial-level Joint Committee on Science and Technology, established in 2016, whose first meeting was held in New Delhi in June 2018.
- It is **estimated that there are about 10000 Indian students in France**. Encouraged by offer of courses in English medium in the French institutes of higher education, especially in the field of business management, about 3,000 new Indian students come to France every year.
- The **two sides encouraged their respective Universities and academic institutes** to increase the number and quality of student exchanges with the aim of reaching the number of 25,000 students by 2025.

Climate, Clean Energy and Sustainable Development

- **India and France reiterate their continued support to the objectives of the International Solar Alliance**.
- **Both nations also agreed to explore opportunities to jointly work on energy transition pathways including under G7 to accelerate the deployment of renewables and access to affordable and sustainable energy**.
- Both sides are eager to **foster cooperation on decarbonized hydrogen**.
- Both sides will work together to set up **industrial partnerships** to reinforce their own solar energy production capacities in order to supply Asian and European markets, with an integrated supply chain.

- The **"Indo-Pacific Parks Partnership"** adopted by both nations, displays both sides' common ambition to promote a sustainable approach in the Indo-Pacific region through the **development of protected areas and natural parks**.
- **India and France agreed to bilateral roadmap on Blue Economy and Ocean Governance** and committed to accelerating its implementation.

Strategic

- Both sides reaffirmed the commitment to the success of the strategic **Jaitapur EPR project for access to reliable, affordable and low carbon energy**.
- Both sides expressed their willingness to coordinate actively in the run up to the third edition of the **"No Money for Terror"** international **Conference to be hosted by India in 2022**.
- The two sides also agree to work together for more secure and sovereign **5G/6G telecom systems**.
- The signing of the **logistics sharing agreements** with France and the U.S. have brought the Djibouti, Abu Dhabi, Réunion Islands, Mayotte and Diego Garcia military bases within India's strategic reach.

Indian Diaspora

- The two sides signed a **Migration and Mobility Partnership Agreement** which aims to facilitate temporary circular migration based on mobility and the encouragement for a return of skills to the home country.

Security cooperation

- **India and France regularly conduct joint military exercises. These include Varuna (Naval), Garuda (Air Force) and Shakti (Army).**
- Both countries have also undertaken **'joint patrolling' in the Indian Ocean Region** to back their stance of open Indo-Pacific.
- Both are striving towards **maritime domain awareness** in the Indian Ocean region.
- **France has emerged as India's second largest arms supplier after Russia.**

Science and Technology:

- India and France share strategic partnership in the space domain. Both concluded a **Joint Vision for Space Cooperation in 2018**. They are also cooperating in satellite navigation and related technologies.

Climate Change:

- **Tackling Climate Change:** The cooperation between them can be helpful to achieve the goals of the **Paris Agreement** and in implementing the **Glasgow Climate Pact**.

Defense

- An agreement for building **six Scorpène submarines** in India with French help was signed in 2005.
- **Technology sharing and acquisitions of short-range missiles and radar equipment** were concluded.

Cyber security and Digital Technology:

- The two countries have several convergences in their respective positions on digital sovereignty, privacy and data protection.

- The **Indo French Roadmap on Cybersecurity and Digital Technology** was signed between the two countries during PM Modi's visit to France on 22 August 2019.
- The roadmap lays down areas of cooperation such as **cybersecurity, fight against cybercrime, regulation of Artificial Intelligence, protection of personal information, digital governance etc.**
- There exists an **MoU between ANSII and Cert-in on exchange of information** signed in 2019.
- In the field of Exascale computing, Atos in collaboration with CDAC has developed "**PARAM-Siddhi-AI**", India's fastest supercomputer.
- The **fourth India-France Cyber Dialogue** was held on 13 October 2021 in the virtual mode. The Indian side proposed an Action Plan which is under consideration at the French side.
- TCS plans to launch **TCS Global Innovation Hub (called Pace Port)** in Paris as an advanced research and co-innovation center, in October 2022.

Energy Sector:

- An agreement was signed about a decade ago for **building six EPR (European Pressurized Reactors) nuclear power reactors** with a total capacity of 9.6 GW for which negotiations have been on-going between the Nuclear Power Corporation of India (NPCIL) and Areva.
- On **green energy**:
 - The **International Solar Alliance** is set in motion jointly by India and France.
 - France offered an extra \$861.5 million by 2022 for **solar projects** in developing countries.

Tourism:

While there are only about 20 flights a week between India and France, there are four times as many to Germany and 10 times as many to the U.K. So, the number of flights between India and France have to be increased.

Environment:

- India and France had launched the **Indo-French Year of the Environment in January 2021** to strengthen cooperation on these issues and ensure coordination ahead of these multilateral events.

Prospective areas of Convergence

- **Territorial integrity:** On Afghanistan, India and France expressed serious concern on the humanitarian situation and violation of human rights and reiterated strong support for a peaceful, secure and stable Afghanistan, emphasizing respect for its sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity and non-interference in its internal affairs.
- **Cybersecurity:** In an increasingly digitalized world, India and France have strengthened cooperation between their cyber security agencies.
- **Counter terrorism:** Counter-terrorism cooperation is a corner stone of the Indo-French strategic partnership, particularly in the Indo-Pacific region. They **strongly condemned all forms of terrorism including use of terrorist proxies and cross-border terrorism.**
- India and France will jointly support progress of the Intergovernmental Conference on an **international legally binding instrument under the UNCLOS on the conservation and sustainable use of marine biological diversity of areas beyond national jurisdiction (BBNJ)**, a key step to ensure protection of the high seas.
- **Climate Change:** India and France are fully committed to pursuing the implementation of the

Partnership Agreement on Migration and Mobility, which entered into force on 1 October 2021.

- France also intends to work concertedly with India at the **Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS)**, over which it will preside from 2020 to 2022.
- **Maritime security:** France and India intend to coordinate their action at the **Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA)** and undertake, along with interested States, a joint project for reinforcing assets for combatting piracy and all kinds of maritime trafficking in the Southern Indian Ocean.

Why France can be natural partner of India in Indo-pacific?

- India and France have converging interests in the Indo-Pacific -diplomatic, strategic and economic.
- **Global positioning:** France has unique global positioning. It is in the Indo-Pacific, with its 12 overseas territories, stretching from Wallis and Futuna in the East Pacific to French Southern and Antarctic Lands in the western Indian Ocean. These overseas territories **give France a border with every continent, and more significantly, with four of the five oceans.**
- **World's Exclusive Economic Zone:** France has an 8% share of the **world's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ)** – more than any other. The underlining fact of 90% of French EEZs being in the Indo-Pacific makes France one of the major stakeholders in the region.
- **Coastline:** India, with a coastline of over 7,400 km, has an EEZ of 2.37 million sq km, while France with a coastline of just over 3,300 km, has an EEZ of 4.5 million sq km. That means, France has 90% more EEZ than India with a coastline that is half its size.
- The vulnerability of these overseas territories to geopolitical, social, economic or environmental crises is a major cause for concern for the French government.
- **Contribution to GDP:** Compared with mainland France, the average individual contribution to GDP of the overseas territories is 40% lower, while the beneficiary share in social

benefits is thrice as much and the unemployment rate twice as high. It has the potential to increase in the coming years considering their strategic value.

- **India's definition and interests in the Indo-Pacific stretch** from the west African coast in the Indian Ocean to the South China Sea and Indonesia. It's three core interests – trade, energy security and resources – run from the Malacca Strait to the Persian Gulf.
- **Indian Ocean channels** carry two-thirds of the world's oil shipments, a third of the bulk cargo and half of all container traffic. The Indian Ocean littoral has the potential to be the leading source of global growth and it is here that Indo-French geo-strategic interests converge.
- **China's threat:** Like France, India also finds Chinese activities in the Indo-Pacific – more specifically in the Indian Ocean – a threat to its security and interests. China has for years been building ports, road and rail links and other infrastructure in Sri Lanka and Myanmar, edging closer to the Indian coast.
- **France wanted to work with all actors and countries of the Indo-Pacific** on the construction of an “alternative model to the Chinese model”, respecting the sovereignty of its partners.
- France is the only non-neighboring country with which India conducts coordinated patrols, an indication of its level of trust in France. Both nations stepped up collaboration in Indian Ocean, signing agreements that give reciprocal access to each other's military facilities and conduct maritime security operations and joint naval drills.
- **Active European Player: France is the biggest and most active European player in the region with its overseas territories, military personnel and around 1.5 million French citizens living there.**

France's Indo-Pacific Strategy 2022

French Indo-Pacific Strategy document 2022 pointed out following pillars and objectives:

Defence and Security:

- Ensuring and defending the integrity and sovereignty of France, the protection of its citizens, territories, and EEZ.
- Contributing to the security of regional areas by promoting military and security cooperation.
- Preserving, alongside its partners, access to common areas in a context of strategic competition and increasingly restrictive military environments.
- Participating in the maintenance of strategic stability and military balances of power through international action based on multilateralism.
- Anticipating security risks brought about by climate change.

Economy, Connectivity, Research and Innovation:

- Ensuring diversification of supply of strategic goods and reducing dependencies.
- Promoting and enforcing existing international standards in order to establish a fair competitive framework.
- Meeting needs in terms of connectivity and infrastructure.
- Supporting efforts of French companies in the Indo-Pacific region.
- Deepening partnerships in research and innovation.

Multilateralism and Rule of Law:

- Promoting multilateralism in countries in the Indo-Pacific region.
- Contributing to the strengthening of regional centers of cooperation.
- Fostering strong involvement towards better visibility of the EU.
- Recognizing the central importance of the rule of law and the primacy of the Law of the Sea.
- Promoting the rule of law, particularly when it comes to international human rights law, environmental and social standards, rules of international trade and freedom of navigation, all while ensuring respect for the sovereignty of nations.

Climate Change, Biodiversity, Sustainable Management of Oceans:

- Increasing partner-involvement in the region in fighting climate change and in making progress on energy-transition.
- Fostering the strengthening of actions for the preservation of biodiversity.
- Developing partnerships for ocean protection.
- Contributing to improving natural-disaster response.
- Enhancing the use of the skills of French territories, and regional cooperation on all of these issues.

- India and France have built one of the **premier strategic partnerships** for advancing peace, stability and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific region.
- They share a vision of a **free, open and rules-based Indo-Pacific region**, based on commitment to international law, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, freedom of navigation and a region free from coercion, tensions and conflicts.
- India-France partnership will safeguard interests, protect the commons and uphold international law and multilateralism.

- India is an exciting, rapidly growing, stable, rule-based, market-driven and democratic frontier of economic opportunities, located at the very heart of the dynamic Indo-Pacific region
- As a part of their partnership for the Indo-Pacific, France and India agreed to establish an Indo-Pacific Trilateral Development Cooperation Fund to support sustainable innovative solutions in the region.

Issues & Challenges

- **Stalled Projects:** Many projects that have been negotiated between the countries have not been operationalized. For instance, the **Jaitapur nuclear project** has been stalled and is facing a lot of domestic impediments.
- **Free Trade with EU:** Despite having good relations, **France and India don't have a free trade agreement between them.** Further, no progress is being made on the **India-EU Broad-based Trade and Investment Agreement (BTIA)** as well.
- **Different stand on Russia Ukraine conflict:** France has openly criticized the **Russian invasion.** India has a more restrained stance on the conflict. The difference in the response hasn't impacted their bilateral relationship till now. However, if the conflict gets prolonged, then it might impact the India-France relationship as well.
- **Business:** While the governments share a robust relationship, the business relationships are weak. Bilateral trade is less than half of India's trade with Germany.
- **Political:** France's commitment to **Belt & Road Initiative** is in stark contrast to India's stand as well; hence the strategic differences between the two nations.

Way Forward

- India can leverage its good relations with France and **convert the idea of India-EU BTIA into reality.**
- Both the Indian PM and the French President have a good relationship with the President of Russia. Therefore, they **can jointly work to bring the war in Europe to an end.**
- Both countries should **create better options for small countries in the Indo-Pacific**

region and enable them to make sovereign and free choices. They should neither be subjected to domination nor caught in a binary power rivalry.

- A **joint working group** can be created to expeditiously complete the stalled projects by duly addressing the reasons hindering their completion.
- India and France are fully **committed to pursuing the implementation of the Partnership Agreement on Migration and Mobility**, which entered into force on 1 October 2021. Both sides will continue to work jointly to increase the mobility of students, graduates, professionals and skilled workers while strengthening their efforts to combat irregular migration.
- **Developing a shared understanding of the security challenges and developing certain rules of the road involving major space players in the Indo-Pacific is critical.**
- Developing a common understanding of the **cyber security challenges and "promoting cyber norms and principles"** so as to effectively counter cyber threats and enable a "peaceful, secure and open cyberspace" was also agreed by India and France.
- The India-France relationship is primarily driven by government-to-government level relations. It needs people-to-people and business-to-business relations to deepen the ties.

France is a crucial partner of India, and plays a key role in terms of India's strategy in the Indo-Pacific, honouring climate commitments, combatting challenges to the global tech order and rebuilding resilience in multilateralism. By reinforcing shared values and commitments to these challenges, the France-India partnership can be taken to a new level this decade.

HI 79-India Germany Relations

“Technological and economic power house like Germany would be useful in the path of building a 'new India' by 2022” - PM Modi

India and Germany have a '**Strategic Partnership**' since 2001, which has been further strengthened with the Intergovernmental Consultations (IGC) at the level of Head of Governments. This has allowed for a comprehensive growth of cooperation and the identification of fresh areas of engagement.

India sees Germany as an important partner in trade, a provider of technology and means to clean energy, and as a partner on the UN stage. On the other hand, India is amongst a select group of countries with which Germany has such a dialogue mechanism.

Brief Historical background.

I. During World War I:

- India as a part of British Indian Army was ordered to contribute soldiers to the Allied war effort.
- Whereas, **Pro-independence activists within the colonial armies sought German assistance** in procuring India's freedom.

II. During World War II:

- The Allied war effort **mobilized 2.5 million volunteer troops** from British India.
- **Subhas Chandra Bose**, a prominent Indian independence activist, made a determined effort to obtain India's independence from Britain by seeking military assistance from the Axis powers.

III. Post - World War II (Post-Independence):

- **India:**
 - **India became one of the first nations to end the State of War with Germany after World War II and did not claim war reparations from Germany** (Although 24,000 Indian soldiers died).

- **India maintained diplomatic relations** with both West Germany and East Germany and **supported their reunification in 1990.**

• **Germany:**

- **Condemned India for liberating Goa from Portuguese rule** in 1961 (supported Portugal's dictatorial regime under Salazar against India)
- Germany was **critical of India** for intervening in the **1971 Bangladesh Liberation War.**
- **Germany rejected India's 1998 nuclear tests** by saying it was the wrong decision taken by India.

Significance of Germany for India:

- **Economic & Trade Relations:** Germany is **India's 6th largest trading partner** (Bilateral trade in 2021: **\$28 billion** – a 19% increase over 2020).
 - It is the **4th largest economy in the world** (GDP: \$3.5 trillion; Contribute 20 % of EU budget). Germany is the **7th largest foreign direct investor in India.**
 - **Germany as a market:** is the **most populous country in Europe** (82 million) and an area of 357, 000 sq. kms.
- **Global cooperation:** Germany and India both favour **UNSC reforms** within the **framework of G-4.**
 - **Germany supported India's bid for NSG membership.**
 - It is also an important participant in the **International Solar Alliance.**
- **Defense cooperation: India-Germany Defense Cooperation Agreement 2006:** Germany decided to facilitate export of military equipment as well as technology sharing with India.
 - Germany can be important partner to **help India diversify its defense imports.**

- **Capacity building:** India must leverage Germany's expertise in engineering and translate this into gains for Indian manufacturing.
 - Germany's vocational education system is top-notch and lessons from it should be used in the **Skill India programme**.
- **Geopolitical:** The current churn in world order and dynamism of US-China-Russia relations demand that India gives due weightage to European middle powers like Germany.

Significance of India for Germany:

In recent times, a **euphoria has been witnessed in Germany to have greater relations with India**.

In 2019, the German Parliament passed a **resolution on boosting ties with India**. The reasons may include:

- **Increasing burden of EU on Germany:** Germany, as the natural leader of Europe, is struggling to cope with deepening challenges within EU, like Russia-Ukraine crisis, Brexit, Refugee crisis etc.
 - It is under pressure to take larger responsibilities for regional stability and contribute more to the maintenance of the global order.
- **India - an anchor in Indo Pacific:** where, unlike UK and France, **Germany has no sovereign territories**.
 - Thus, Germany needs India for ensuring **freedom of navigation and power projections** in Indo Pacific.
 - Germany wants to engage with India as part of its **fledgling Indo-Pacific policy**
- Amidst the current unpredictability of the **US security policies**, the **increasing assertiveness of the Sino-Russian political axis**, Germany is looking to diversify its global partnerships beyond the Euro-Atlantic space.
- **China's threat:** Germany's concerns about China's threat to the **liberal international order**, including the challenge of BRI. It is beginning to pay serious attention to the expansion of China in the Indian Ocean.
- **Indian willingness to elevate engagements with Europe:** by ending its prolonged strategic

indifference beyond just bilateral relations with Berlin.

Achievements of India-Germany relations:

- **Trade and Investments:** Germany is India's biggest trade partner within the EU and Germany has invested \$ 12 billion in India between 2000-19.
 - There are more than 1700 German companies operating in India, providing over **4 lakh jobs**.
 - **'Make in India Mittelstand' (MIIM) Programme:** over 135 German Mittelstand and family-owned companies (SMEs) declared investment of more than 1.2 billion Euros.
- **Defence and security:**
 - **India-Germany Defence Cooperation Agreement (2006)** provides a framework for bilateral defence cooperation.
- **Science & Technology:** Under **'India and Germany S&T Cooperation Agreements - 1971 & 1974'**, over 150 research projects and 70 universities partnerships are being done.
- **Cultural relations:** Over 1.7 lakh people of Indian origin live in Germany and 21000 Indian students are pursuing various courses in Germany.
 - Since 2015, multiple **teaching modern Indian languages** in German educational institutions has become a norm.
- **Green partnership:** India and Germany have established a **green partnership** based on trade, technology, skill development, sustainability etc.
 - E.g., **Indo-German energy forum, environmental forum, partnership on urban mobility** etc.

Prospective areas of Convergence

- **Trade and economy:** Germany is looking to **reduce its dependence on Russian and Chinese markets** and India provides an attractive alternative due to its size and growing economy.
- **Geopolitical:** Both India and Germany have shown some **reluctance in the anti-Russian movement** due to strategic autonomy.
 - Germans are wary of the Chinese rise and **sees India as a counter to China, especially in the Indo-Pacific Region**.

- **G4 Grouping:** Both support each other's permanent candidature to the UNSC, along with Japan and Brazil.
- **Defence and Security:** Both can cooperate and push for adoption of 'Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism'.
- **Science & Technology:** India Germany have High Technology Partnership Group (HTPG) for identifying specific opportunities under the "Make in India" programme.
- Both decided on cooperation in the Field of **Artificial Intelligence and Digital Transformation.**
- **Environment & Climate change:** Germany solar expertise alongside soft loans for India's solar projects shows Berlin's support for New Delhi's emission mitigation targets.
- **Common values:** Indo-German Strategic Partnership is based on **common values of democracy, free trade and a rule-based international order, opposition to expansionist tendencies, autocracy etc.**

6th Ind-Germany Intergovernmental consultations 2022:

Joint Statement: 6th India-Germany Inter-Governmental Consultations (2022)

- **Partnership for Green and Sustainable Development:** Fund green projects in India under the public, private and PPP models. Germany to invest at least €10 billion.
- **Triangular Development Cooperation:** It will directed at projects in third countries. The initiative will provide avenues to work together in the **Indo-Pacific, Africa** and beyond.
- **Migration and Mobility Partnership:** Facilitate the movement of a larger number of Indian students and professionals to Germany. This will lead to a larger trade in services.
- **Renewable Energy Partnership:** It focuses on innovative solar energy and renewables. It will address challenges for electricity grids, storage and market design to **facilitate green energy transition.**
- Develop an Indo-German **Green Hydrogen** roadmap.
- Establish cooperation on '**Agroecology and Sustainable Management of Natural Resources**'. It will benefit the rural population and small-scale farmers in India.

Issues & Challenges:

- **Different priorities:** Europe has been preoccupied with its own integration, India on its neighborhood and the major powers. Europe and India have **remained 'loveless' after the Cold War.**
- **Different stand on Ukraine Russia war:** India has not only avoided blaming Russia but also increased oil import from Russia when Germany along with its western partners have imposed sanctions on Russia.
- **Strategic Partnership is limited** by the insignificance of German geopolitical influence in Asian affairs. Also, there is **no coherent strategy on Indo Pacific.**
- **No bilateral investment treaty:** Germany has a **Bilateral Trade and Investment Agreement (BTIA) with India via EU =>** can't negotiate independently.
- **Economic slowdown:** of Germany, especially after Covid 19 and Ukraine War.
 - **Protectionism of India:** Germany is particularly skeptical about India's trade liberalization measures; it bats for more liberal labor regulations.

- **Human rights issues:** Germany along with other European countries **want India to go easy in J&K** and their comments on the issue irks Indian establishment.
- **Only low-profile engagements:** despite many convergences. Intergovernmental Consultations (IGC) have been held **once every two years since 2011**.

Way Forward:

- IGC's **frequency may be made annual to bring greater pace in consultations.**
- **Fast-track clearances:** for German investments but there is a need to **cut red tape and ease business procedures.**
- Early finalization of an **India-EU BTIA** is important to deepen the relations.
- Sharing responsibilities and **increased cooperation in Indo pacific** as well as **climate change domain.**

Current geopolitical scenario presents a sweet spot for India-Germany relations. Indo-German relations have the capacity to provide a **new template for understanding between developed and developing worlds.** However, both should wake up to *dosis realitaet*, or "dose of reality", of various issues concerning the relationship.

HI80- India- EU relations

“India and the EU are political and economic poles in an increasingly multi-polar world. Our ability to work together, therefore, can shape global outcomes.” - S. Jaishankar

The EU and India are **“natural allies”** whose edifice is built upon ‘committed democracies’. Their relations date to the early 1960s, with **India being amongst the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with the European Economic Community.**

- **1st India-EU Summit - Lisbon (2000):** marked the watershed in the evolution of the relationship.
- **5th India-EU Summit - The Hague (2004):** the relationship was upgraded to a **‘Strategic Partnership’**.
- **EU-India Leaders’ Summit - Porto (2021):** affirmed not only shared interests but also shared **“principles and values of democracy, freedom, rule of law and respect for human rights”**.

European Union (EU):

The **EU** is a **supra-national political and economic union of 27-member states** that are located primarily in Europe.



Origin:

- The origin of EU lies in the **‘European Coal and Steel Community and the European Economic Community’**.
- Established through **Maastricht Treaty (1993)**;
- **Treaty of Lisbon (2009)** amended significant provisions regarding the legal structure of the EU.

Aims of EU: are laid out in **Article 3 of the Lisbon Treaty:**

- **Promote peace**, its values and the well-being of its citizens.
- Offer **freedom, security and justice** without internal borders, while also taking appropriate measures at its external borders to regulate asylum and immigration and prevent and combat crime.
- **Establish an internal market;** establish an **economic and monetary union** whose **currency is the euro**.

- achieve sustainable development based on balanced economic growth and price stability and a highly competitive market economy with full employment and social progress.
- **promote social justice and protection**, equality between women and men, and protection of the rights of the child.
- **enhance economic, social and territorial cohesion** and solidarity among EU countries
- respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity

Features of the EU:

- The EU has often been described as a **sui generis political entity** (without precedent or comparison) combining the characteristics of both a federation and a confederation.
- **Customs Union**, the cornerstone of EU, paved the way to establishing an **internal single market** based on standardized legal framework and legislation.
 - It **applies to all member states** in only those matters **where the states have agreed to act as one**.
- EU policies aim to
 - ensure the **free movement of people, goods, services and capital** within the internal market;
 - **enact legislation in justice and home affairs**;
 - **maintain common policies** on trade, agriculture, regional development and foreign affairs.
- Passport controls have been abolished for travel within the **Schengen Area**.

Institutions of the EU:

- **European Council**: Sets the general political directions and priorities of the E.U.
- **Council of the EU**: Brings together ministers of member Governments'. Its approval is required for any proposal to enter into law.
- **European Parliament**: 705 directly elected representatives. It shares with the Council of the EU equal legislative powers to amend, approve or reject European Commission proposals for most areas of E.U. legislation.
- **European Commission**: Only institution empowered to propose legislation, serves as the 'Guardian of the Treaties'. It consists of an executive cabinet of public officials. Manages and directs the Commission's permanent civil service.

Significance of EU for India:

- **Regional Integration**: Learning from EU model (discussed in the box below) and as the largest country in South Asia, India can show leadership for bringing neighboring countries on one platform and resolve bilateral and regional differences.
- **Trade**: EU as a block is **India's 2nd largest trading partner**, accounting for €80 billion worth of trade in goods in 2019 (**11.1% of total Indian trade**).
 - Also, EU is the **biggest foreign investor in India**, 22% of total FDI inflows. (Nearly 70bn euro)
 - EU is important for high value exports from India, e.g., diamond exports, agricultural exports.
 - Europe's investment and technology is also critical for growth of Indian economy.
- **Indo-Pacific**: Stronger engagement with Europe will help India to better respond to the security challenges of this vast region.
- **Governance model**: India learns and tries to emulate EU's policies on issues like human rights, privacy, data protection, etc.
- **Science and Technology**: EU is one of the leaders in science and technology which can be

harnessed by India in dealing with day-to-day challenges of governance. For example,

- EU is supporting the **Mobilize Your City (MYC) programme** in India currently in three pilot cities to reduce their urban transport-related Green House Gas (GHG) emissions.
- Also, both have official mechanisms in fields such as Digital Communications, 5G technology, Biotechnology, artificial intelligence etc.

Significance of India for EU:

- **Trade and economy:** India is EU's 10th largest trade partner. Also, with **India becoming 5th largest economy of the world** and a **country with huge market**, EU accords great significance to India.

- **Climate change:** The EU wants to be the first carbon-neutral region in the world by 2050. India and EU are among the largest emitters, Thus, **partnership with India is critical to achieve Paris climate goals.**
- **White-collar jobs:** Most countries in Europe have a large proportion of aging population. To sustain its job market and ensure growth, India labor becomes critical for Europe.
- **Open Sea Lanes of communication:** Around 80 percent of the goods entering the EU transit through the Indian Ocean, and hence **India is critical for the security of transit routes and freedom of navigation.**
- **Rule of Law:** India is the only large country in Asia with democratic credentials. EU needs India to nudge other countries in Asia to follow 'rule of law'.

EU – a model for Regional Integration:

Since the early 1950s, the EU has been a pioneer in regional integration. Unique characteristics of the EU make it a **model for the world with respect to regional integration:**

- **Community method: Visionary politicians** who conceived of a new form of politics based on the **supranational "community method"** rather than the traditional balance-of-power model.
- **Visionary leadership:** Leadership generated by the **Franco-German axis**. Despite many problems, Paris and Berlin have been and remain the driving force behind European integration.
- **Pooling sovereignty:** The **political will to share sovereignty** and construct strong, legally based, common institutions to oversee the integration project.
- **Consensus approach:** A consensus approach combined with **solidarity and tolerance**. The EU moves forward with any policy only when there is broad consensus, with exemptions if necessary. It provides significant financial transfers to help poorer member states catch up with the norm, e.g., Greece.
- **Historical reconciliation:** (France vs Germany) is a critical element in developing the necessary political will for cooperation and, ultimately, integration.

No other regional body is near the EU in terms of political or economic cooperation, let alone integration. (Except ASEAN in economic domain)

EU & the Indo-Pacific:

EU Strategy for Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific 2021 is a testimony that the EU is stepping up its strategic engagement with the vital Indo-Pacific region.

- **'Alternative investment model':** can be offered by EU to the countries of the region **a sustainable, transparent model for preserving their sovereignty**, and an alternative to other models, such as China's.

- **Chinese 'cheque book diplomacy'** has been a concern for countries in the Indo-Pacific.

- **Provider of stability:** Stronger European engagement along with **like-minded middle powers of the region like India, Australia, New Zealand** etc., will help to better respond to the security challenges of this vast region.
- **Connectivity:** The EU can provide transparent and sustainable alternatives from

economic as well as environmental perspectives, to address the immense connectivity and infrastructure needs of the region:

- **E.g., EU's Global Gateway initiative – 2021** (to raise 300 billion euros to build sustainable links); **Connectivity Partnership** between EU and India.
- **Chinese projects, like BRI**, are pushing the region into unsustainable debt traps, like Sri Lanka.
- **Action on global challenges:** Such as climate change, biodiversity protection and health resilience. The EU can provide **green finance** to achieve ecological transitions in a just manner.
- **To uphold the rule based international order and freedom of navigation in Indo-Pacific:**
 - The EU aims to contribute to the region's stability, security, prosperity and sustainable development, in line with the principles of democracy, rule of law, human rights and international law.

Major areas of cooperation and convergence: India & EU:

- **Economic ties:** India's bilateral trade with EU amounted to **\$116.36 billion** in 2021-22 (annual growth of 43.5%).
 - Currently EU is **India's second largest trading partner after US**, and the **second largest destination for Indian exports**.
 - There are **6,000 European companies in the country** that directly and indirectly create 6.7 million jobs.
 - The **India-Nordic Summit** focused on **green technologies and industry transformation** that are vital for sustainable and inclusive growth.

- **Security cooperation:** Over 90% of trade of both India and EU are seaborne.
 - There is increasing India-EU cooperation on implementation of the **'European code of conduct on arms export'** to India's neighbourhood, **cooperation in co-development and co-production of defense equipment**, including India's participation in PESCO.
 - **Joint military and naval exercises** reflect their commitment to a free, open, inclusive and rules-based order in the Indo-Pacific.
 - The first **maritime security dialogue in 2021** focused on cooperation in maritime domain awareness, capacity-building, and joint naval activities.
- **Counter-terrorism:** South Asia and EU faces similar challenges of terrorism.
 - India and the EU are committed to enhance counter-terrorism cooperation, as formulated the **'Joint Declaration on International Terrorism of 2010'**.
 - India and EU have **identified state-sponsored, cross-border terrorism in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region as an area of mutual interest**.
 - There is also **collaboration on the issue of designating groups and individuals as terrorists**.
- **Environment and Climate Change:** The India-EU Joint Working Group on Environment has met annually since 2007.
 - The **EU-India Action Plan Support Facility Programme (APSF)** provides technical assistance in five priority sectors: waste, water, climate change, air pollution and chemicals.

- In 2016 Indian and European leaders agreed on an **EU-India Clean Energy and Climate Partnership (CECP)**.
- In 2018, the EU joined efforts with the **International Solar Alliance**, headquartered in India.
- The **'green strategic partnership'** between India and Denmark aims to address climate change, biodiversity loss and pollution
- **Science and technology:**
 - **Science and Technology Joint Steering Committee:** It focuses on areas such as healthcare, Artificial Intelligence, and earth sciences.
 - In 2020, there was an agreement for **R&D cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy** between the European Atomic Energy Community and the Government of India.
- **China:** There is also **ambiguity on the EU's strategy in tackling the rise of China**. For instance, Its muted response during the **Galwan clash**.
- **Geoeconomics:** India and EU are often found **on opposite sides on trade negotiations at WTO**.
 - **EU opposes India's agricultural subsidies**, invoking peace clause (protects a developing country's food procurement programmes against action from WTO members in case subsidy ceilings are breached).
 - **Increased technical barriers to trade by EU** with respect to Indian goods, also **Sanitary and Phytosanitary measures** are used to prevent Indian agricultural products.
 - **Impediments in the movement of working professionals** in the EU.
 - **Differences regarding 'base year' for calculating agricultural subsidies** to get accurate picture of agricultural subsidies. In absolute terms, EU gives much more farm subsidies compared to India.

Issues & challenges: India & EU:

- **Economic relations:** While **negotiations on FTA have been moving at a very slow pace** since it started in 2007, trade figures remain underwhelming.
 - India accounts for **1.8% of the EU's trade** in goods, falling well behind **China that constitutes 16.1%**.
- **Geopolitical disagreements:**
 - **Ukraine crisis:** India's reluctance to explicitly condemn Russia whilst **increasing economic cooperation with it**, has been one area of disagreement. **India called out the EU's double standards** (EU purchased 45% gas imports from Russia in 2021).
 - **Human rights issues:** The **EU's criticism over human rights** in India, like:
 - **Lack of safe working environment for human rights defenders and journalists**, as well as the "difficult situation" faced by women and minority groups.
 - **Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA)**, which, as EU claims, is fundamentally discriminatory in nature against Muslims and dangerously divisive.
 - **Abrogation of Article 370, FCRA (Amnesty International issue) and the UAPA** are other issues of concern for Europe.

India-EU Broad-based trade and Investment Agreement

It is a proposed **agreement between India and the EU to promote bilateral trade by removing barriers to trade in goods and services** and investment across all sectors of the economy.

- Both parties believe that a comprehensive and ambitious agreement that is **consistent with WTO rules** and principles would **open new markets and would expand opportunities** for Indian and EU businesses.

- Negotiations for an EU-India **Broad-based Trade and Investment Agreement** were begun in 2007, but were put on hold in 2013 and again resumed in 2021.

A. Europe's concerns:

- **Protectionism:**
 - Protectionist moves such as a **higher duty on imported vehicles, ban on cotton export** and stipulating a **local sourcing norm for telecom equipment** are a concern of the EU.
 - The EU is demanding the **opening of sectors such as retail, finance and insurance.**
- **Data:** EU is seeking **unrestricted cross-border flow of data** between itself and India.
- **Discriminatory 'buy national' practices:** EU claims that Make in India and Atmanirbhar Bharat initiatives by India aim to favor domestic manufacturing and **discourage imports and thus "significantly affect market access for EU firms"**.
- **Public procurement:** Transparency and non-discrimination in public procurement.
- **Technical barrier to imports:** Review of any technical barrier to trade ICT products, medical devices, toys, alcoholic beverages, polished diamonds, agricultural products, food, and steel with India.

B. India's concerns:

- **Impractical demands:** for example, labour and environmental standards expected by the EU.
- **Liberal labor market:** India wants easier access for its working professionals in European markets.
- **Sanitary standards:** Phytosanitary standards for Indian agricultural imports in EU is also a concern.
- **Data secure status:** India is demanding 'data secure status', that would make it easier for European companies to outsource business to India.

However, there has been a **progress with EU over preferential access to Indian textiles** in return for lower import duty on cars and wines and spirits.

Way Forward

- **BTIA negotiations:** The two sides need to **find a common ground** to agree upon and then implement BTIA to further bolster their bilateral trade.
 - It is **important for India to overcome its siege mentality**, commit to institutional reform, and confront domestic vested interests.
- **Geopolitical:** **EU must clarify its stand on China's aggressiveness** on its neighbors. EU can no longer afford to prioritize trade over China's aggressive military posture and human rights abuses.
 - On its part, **India needs to take into account Europe's sensitivities over Ukraine** crisis.
- **Counter-terrorism cooperation:** India and the EU should work together to agree on a definition of terrorism and on the completion of the **Comprehensive convention on international terrorism (CCIT)**.
 - **Geoeconomic:** Both India and EU have a vital role in the proper **functioning of WTO** and they should work together to **overcome the crisis of the dispute settlement system.**
 - **Technology Transfer:** Germany has a lead role to play in helping out India in terms of renewable energy projects and other green energy options for a de-carbonised development path.
 - **Digital economy and cyber security:** EU and India should deepen cooperation to protect fundamental freedoms in cyber space and the free flow of data.
 - **Global order:** To maintain the rules-based global order, it is vital that the EU and India implement effective multilateralism and global economic governance.
 - **EU need to avoid its double standards with respect to human rights** and take into

consideration genuine concerns and efforts of Indian government.

- E.g., Europe does not apply the same standards for China's flagrant human rights violations in Xinjiang.

If the **Great Himalayan barrier and post-Partition geography** have made it hard for **India to develop connectivity** with inner Asia, **Delhi has been reluctant to walk through the open door in Europe**. India and the EU should not let divergences overwhelm many areas of convergence among them.

Correcting this imbalance is the first step towards a more purposeful Indian engagement with Eurasia. The proactive **resumption of the ambitious India-EU free trade and investment agreement in 2021** is a step in the right direction.

HI81- India and West Asia



West Asia is a part of **India's extended neighbourhood**. It forms the western margin of the Asian Continent. The region is also referred to as **Middle East**. It consists of countries like Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, UAE, and Yemen.

The region's economy is driven largely by its **enormous oil reserves**. It occupies a unique geographical position connecting the continents of Africa, Asia and Europe. It is also strategically located on one of the busiest sea routes in the world, that is, **Suez Canal** – connecting Indian Ocean with Atlantic Ocean. **Persian Gulf**, one of the most important Oil-routes also lie in West Asia

Despite of the fact that the it is considered the centre of the Islamic world; the region has been geopolitically divided on sectarian (**rivalry of Iran and Saudi Arabia**) and also religious lines (**Israel and the Arab world**). Rich oil and mineral reserves,

geopolitical disunity and a strategic location bring complexity in maintaining relations with the region.

Historical background

India and West Asia have **historic and civilizational** relations going back centuries. Since ancient times India had had good economic relations, trading spices, jewellery, textiles, pearls, dates etc. as well as good cultural ties with the region.

After independence, despite being a **passive** player in the region India maintained healthy relations with the region. During the **Cold War years**, India maintained close economic cooperation with both Saudi Arabia and Iran, the rival poles in regional geopolitics. **After the Cold War**, this **bi-directional** approach became **tri-directional policy** to accommodate three main players of the region – **Israel, Iran and Saudi Arabia**. Initially India did not engage actively with all the countries fearing backlash from rival nations. For example, India did not establish diplomatic relations with Israel until

1992 due to aggressive stand of the Arab world against Israel.

India adopted a '**Look West Policy**' in **2005** whereby India looked to maintain '**non-aligned**' relations with individual countries. Since 2015 India has actively engaged with major players in the region such as UAE, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Iran individually. This '**de-hyphenation**' of foreign policy helped India to maintain cooperative relations with individual countries despite their rivalries with each other.

India has strong interests in the region encompassing economic, diplomatic, diaspora, cultural, maritime spheres.

Significance of West Asia for India

1. Geo-political interests

- **Gateway to Central Asia:** West Asia is crucial for India's connectivity with mineral rich landlocked Central Asian region. For example, India- Iran Chabahar port connecting India and Afghanistan.
- **Gateway to Europe:** West Asia lies at the centre of India-Europe maritime as well as road connectivity.
- To counter balance China and Pakistan: Closeness with West Asian countries could play an important role in countering the China-Pakistan Axis in Central Asia.

2. Geo-strategic interests

- **Energy reserves:** With 60% of total crude oil reserves of the world West Asia plays a significant role in India's energy security.
- **Maritime cooperation:** West Asia is an integral part of India's maritime interests in the Indo-Pacific. The sea boundary not only forms an important sea route for vessels but also an important domain of Naval activity.
- **Indian Diaspora:** There are around 11 million Indians in West Asia. Six West Asian countries (UAE, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and Bahrain) accounted for nearly 70% of all Indians who live abroad.

3. Geo-economic interests:

- **Labour export and remittances:** India is the largest recipient of foreign remittances from West Asia. India received \$38 Billion (more than half of total remittances) in remittances from the region in 2017. Therefore, the role of remittances from West Asia is significant in India's GDP growth.
- **Trade:** West Asia is an important export destination for Indian goods and services. For example, Saudi Arabia is India's fourth largest trading partner with bilateral trade at \$27.48 billion in 2017-18.
- **Investment:** West Asia is an important source of investment in India. For example, The UAE-India Infrastructure Investment Fund aims at a target of 75 billion U.S. dollars to support investment in India's infrastructure. As the countries in the Gulf region are looking diversify their investment into sectors like renewable energy, technological innovation, space commerce etc. It presents a great opportunity for India
- **New opportunities in the Gulf:** The Gulf states have embarked on massive economic diversification and are investing in a variety of new projects including renewable energy, higher education, technological innovation, smart cities, and space commerce.

4. Regional security

- **Regional stability:** West Asia has close to proximity to regions like Iraq- Syria and Afghanistan which have witnessed political turmoil. In this context, cooperation with West Asia is necessary to **counter radicalisation and spread of terrorism**.
- West Asian countries enjoy political influence not only in Central Asian region but also in the Western Indian Ocean. For example, the UAE was the previous chair of the Indian Ocean Rim Association

(IORA).

5. Cultural interests

- With the 3rd largest Muslim population in the world, India has deep cultural ties with the West Asian region.

Areas of convergence and achievements

1. **Energy Cooperation:** West Asia accounts for more than 70% of India's energy needs - contributing over 60 per cent of India's total imports of crude oil and over 85 per cent of India's LNG requirements. In 2021-22, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and the UAE accounted for 53.5% of India's total Crude oil import, with **Iraq being the biggest supplier**.
2. **Trade and investment:** India and West Asia have made great strides in economic cooperation. Today the West Asian region accounts for over a **sixth** of India's total merchandise trade.
 - Apart from this, India also has made commitments in the region such various **India-Palestine agreements** worth \$50 million.
3. **Diplomatic cooperation:** Initiatives such as **I2U2 (India, Israel, the US, the UAE)** have strengthened the diplomatic ties between West Asia and India.
4. **Cultural cooperation:** India has good **people to people** relations with the region. Apart from the contribution of the Indian diaspora, India has exported its culture in the form of pilgrims, Bollywood, cricket and so on.
5. **Defence cooperation:** India has deep defence ties in the region. This is evident from India's foreign base in **Duqm Port** (Oman), **Israel** is the **2nd largest** defence supplier to India, various exercises with West Asian countries like **Al Najah (Oman), Desert Flag (UAE), Al Mohed Al Hind (Saudi Arabia)** etc.
6. **Regional Connectivity:**
 - **Chabahar port** – a joint initiative of India and Iran. India has constructed Chabahar port in Iran and rail-road

corridor connecting it further to **Zaranj-Delaram** highway in Afghanistan.

- **Ashgabat Agreement** – it is a multimodal transport agreement between Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Iran, Pakistan, India and Oman to create a transport corridor connecting Central Asia and Persian Gulf.
 - **International North South Transport Corridor (INSTC)** - it is ambitious multimodal transport project connecting India and Iran to Europe and Russia through Centra Asia.
7. **Agricultural cooperation:** Initiatives such as India-Israel **Three Year Work Programme Agreement** on Agricultural cooperation.

India's Look West Policy

Complimentary to its 'Look East Policy', India adopted the 'Look West Policy' in **2005**. It is India's foreign policy commitment to engage actively with its extended neighbour in the west. Initially India kept a '**safe political distance**' from West Asia, but since 2015 India has intensified its engagement. This is evident from increased official visits between West Asian countries and India. For example, in July 2017, PM Modi became the 1st Prime Minister of India to visit Israel; similarly, PM Modi's Palestine visit was the first visit by an Indian Prime Minister.

Pillars of Look West policy:

1. **Secular and non-aligned policy:** India will not align itself with any one pole of the sectarian (Iran-Iraq) or religious (Israel and the Arab world) rivalries.
2. Commitment towards closer people to people, government to government and business to business relations.
3. The policy should be driven by economic considerations and not political rhetoric.
4. **Maritime diplomacy:** It plays an important part considering role of seas routes in India's energy security.
5. **Multi-dimensional approach:** India will not limit its engagement to only energy sector but will expand the horizon of its engagement into

sectors such as defence cooperation, agriculture, trade and so on.

India's relations with important countries in the region

UAE (United Arab Emirates)

India established diplomatic relations with the UAE as early as 1972. After the visit of India's Prime Minister in 2015, India-UAE relations have found a new energy. This was complimented by the Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi's visit as the chief guest at India's Republic Day in 2017.

- **Economic relations:**
 - UAE is India's **third largest trade partner** after China and the US. The merchandise trade between the two countries was valued at **\$53 billion** for the FY 2021-2022.
 - It has been one of the top suppliers of crude oil, accounting for 8% of India's oil imports.
 - In 2017, India and the UAE have signed **Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA)**. It is a comprehensive agreement which will cover various aspects such as Trade-in Goods, Rules of Origin, Trade-in Services, Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT), Sanitary and Phytosanitary (SPS) measures, Dispute Settlement, Movement of Natural Persons, Telecom etc. This will provide market access to the India goods and services especially the pharmaceutical sector.
- **Diaspora:** Around 3 million Indians live in the UAE who as declared by PM Modi are brand ambassadors of India.
- **Defence Cooperation:** Both the countries look forward to cooperate in order to counter radicalisation in the Gulf region. India-UAE also have a joint military exercise name '**Desert Eagle**'.
- **Geostrategic relations:** India and the UAE both are a part of new formed I2U2 group.

India and Saudi Arabia

India and Saudi Arabia have traditionally enjoyed close ties with each other. In 2010, India and Saudi Arabia

upgraded their relations to **strategic partnership** by signing **Riyadh Declaration**.

- **Oil imports:** Saudi Arabia has been an important oil supplier to India. It was the 3rd largest supplier for FY 2021-22. India fulfils 32% of its LPG requirements from Saudi imports.
- **Indian expatriates:** Indian community is the strongest expatriate community in Saudi Arabia with more than 2.6 million Indians living there.
- **Investment:** Saudi Arabia has promised \$100 billion worth of investments to India in the next two years.
- **Cultural ties:** India and Saudi Arabia have strong cultural links dating back to centuries ago. Also, Haj pilgrimage forms an important aspect of India- Saudi relations.
- Formation of **India-Saudi Strategic Partnership Council** shows seriousness of both the countries. The council will coordinate on important strategic issues. It will be led by leaders of both the countries. India is only the 4th country to form such a strategic partnership with Saudi Arabia after the UK, France and China.
- India and Saudi Arabia are exploring other spheres of cooperation such as space technology, digital financing, banking sector, defence cooperation among others.

India-Israel relations

Although India recognised Israel in 1950, they did not have diplomatic relations until 1992. Even after that India-Israel relations were slow to pick up. This has changed drastically in the last few years. India has shed its passive policy with Israel and has been engaging proactively.

- **Economic relations:** India is Israel's **third largest trade partner** in Asia and **seventh largest** globally. Israeli companies have invested in India in energy, renewable energy, telecom, cyber security etc.
- **Diplomatic ties:** India adopted a '**de-hyphenation**' policy, that is, its relations with Israel and Palestine are independent of each other. This was evident by PM Modi's

visit to Israel (first ever India Prime minister visit to Israel).

- **Defence Cooperation:** Israel is India's **second largest defence supplier**, in turn, India is the largest destination of Israel's defence exports (**41% of Israel's defence exports are to India**). Some notable defence Equipements imported from Israel are **Phalcon AWACS** (Airborne Warning And Control Systems) and Heron, Searcher-II and **Harop** drones, **Barak** anti-missile defence systems and **Spyder** quick-reaction anti-aircraft missile systems.
- **Cooperation in agricultural sector:**
 - In **water use efficiency** such as Israel's expertise in drip irrigation technology.
 - **Technology transfer** from Israel in farm mechanisation, horticulture, dairy farming etc.
 - "Three-year work programme agreement" was signed in 2021.
- **Innovation and technology:** For example, setting up of, India-Israel Industrial R&D and Technological Innovation Fund (I4F).

India Iran relations

India and Iran also share deep historic and cultural ties with each other. They were bordering countries till 1947. In 1950, both the countries established diplomatic relations. India-Iran relations have suffered due to largely due to US led Western sanctions on Iran and subsequent pressure on India. Despite roadblocks, Iran remains one of the most important partners for India.

- **Energy cooperation:** Oil imports from Iran constitutes as big component of India-Iran relations.
- **Infrastructure projects:** India and Iran have signed various bilateral as well as multilateral infrastructural projects such as **Chabahar port, International North South Transport Corridor**, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India (**TAPI**) gas pipeline, **South Pars gas field** and **LNG** project, **Chabahar-Zaranj** railway project etc.

- **Indian investment:** various Indian companies have invested in Iran, especially in Iran's energy sector. For example, Indian companies such as ESSAR, OVL, etc have a presence in Iran.
- **Connectivity and Chabahar Port:** Connectivity is another important aspect of India-Iran bilateral ties. Chabahar port remains an important investment of India in Iran. Chabahar port lies in the Oman Gulf and will help India bypassing Pakistan and reach Afghanistan.
- **Strategic importance:** India sees Iran as key to counter balance Pakistan. India needs to improve its closeness with Iran in order to contain Pakistan from its western border. It also necessary to deny Pakistan weaponizing its strategic location against India.
- **Counter terrorism:** India and Iran both find convergence in their endeavour to deal with terrorism.

Chabahar Port

Chabahar port is an ambitious project undertaken by India in joint partnership with Iran. Chabahar port lies in the south-eastern Iran in the Gulf of Oman. The Chabahar port actually contains two separate ports called **Shahid Kalantari** and **Shahid Beheshti**. Indian firm **India Ports Global Limited** took over operations at the Shaheed Beheshti Port.

BRIDGING THE GAP

<p>Indian presence in Chabahar is expected to offset Chinese presence in Pakistani port of Gwadar</p>	
<p>○ COST CUTTER The port will be used to ship crude oil and urea, greatly reducing India's transportation costs</p>	
<p>○ AFGHAN CONNECT A railway line, to be built by Ircon International, will connect Chabahar port to Zahedan on Afghan border</p>	
<p>○ BIGGER LINK The port will link to International North-South Transport Corridor that will connect India with Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and other Central Asian trading partners</p>	

Significance of Chabahar Port:

- I. Chabahar port is considered as a gateway to Central Asia, Europe and Russia.

2. It gives India access to Afghanistan, while bypassing Pakistan.
3. According to the Ministry of Commerce, Chabahar port, along with INSTC, offers 30% cheaper imports than the Mediterranean-Suez route.

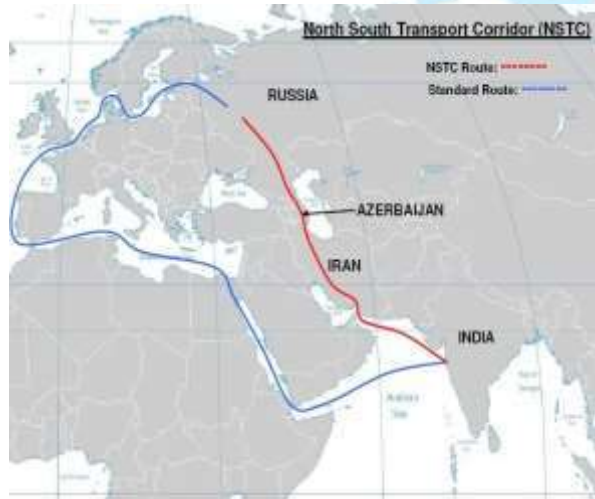
Ashgabat Agreement

Ashgabat agreement was signed by Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Iran, Pakistan, India and Oman to build a multimodal transport corridor which would connect Central Asia to Persian Gulf. Since Central Asian Countries are landlocked it would provide them access to the Indian Ocean Sea route. While India would benefit in the way of market access to Central Asia as well as import of minerals like Uranium from Kazakhstan.

International North South Transport Corridor

INSTC was originally signed in 2000 between India, Iran and Russia. The idea was to connect India to Russia via Iran. Later 10 more Central Asian and West Asian Countries were added. It should be noted that Pakistan, Turkmenistan and Afghanistan are not party to the agreement.

INSTC is a 7,200-km-long multi-mode network of ship, rail, and road routes, it is estimated that it would reduce the carriage cost between India and Russia by about 30% and bring down the transit time from 40 days by more than half.



Issues and challenges in India-West Asia relations

1. **India's diplomatic passivity:** India, in the past, failed to actively pursue West Asia due to policy ambiguity. India was unable to separate its relations with individual countries. For example, it did not actively engage with Israel out of fear of distancing the Arab world.
2. **Political instability in the region:** Central Asian region is perhaps one of the most instable regions in the world. Frequent civil wars (Syria-Iraq), proxy wars (Yemen war) and threats such as Islamic State (ISIS) have destabilised the region. The involvement of extra regional powers such as the US and Russia complicates the situation further.
3. **China's influence in the region:** Aggressive Chinese foreign policy driven by China's deep pockets hinders Indian interests in the region.
 - Chinese companies, both public and private, have made **huge investment** in oil and energy sector in the region. For example, China has announced a \$65 billion investment deal with Saudi Arabia, with Israel it has signed various agreement ranging from technology to agriculture, and so on.
 - Chinese influence is not just limited to economic relations. Countries are looking for Chinese political support in absence of the US and Russia. For example, China was among the first countries to recognise Bashar-al-Assad regime in Syria, similarly it recognised Taliban rule in Afghanistan. China even vetoed US backed resolution against Syria at UNSC.
4. **Rise of Turkey:** Turkey has been playing an important role in regional politics. It was a key player in war against the ISIS. Being the land of the Caliph has been contending to be the leader of the Islamic world in the 21st century.
 - Turkey-China-Pakistan axis – China and Turkey have openly supported Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. There has been increased

- military cooperation among the three countries.
- Issues related to Kurds: Kurds are ethnic minority living in Turkey, Syria and Iraq. They have been demanding a separate nation, Kurdistan. This has created instability in the region.
5. **Pakistan factor:** India has viewed West Asia from the prism of its Pakistan strategy. This trust deficit has dragged India from realising full potential of the region.
 6. **Kashmir issue:** Many West Asian countries have often voiced their criticisms of India's policy in Kashmir. This has not been received well by India as it considers its policy to be an internal issue. For example, **Organisation of Islamic Cooperation**, of which many West Asian countries are members passed a Pakistan sponsored resolution against India striking down Article 370.
 7. **Poor treatment of Indian Diaspora:** Indian diaspora in West Asia is majorly uneducated and unskilled or semi-skilled labour which is easier to exploit. India has also raised the issue of oppressive systems like '**Kafala**' (migrant cannot legally leave the country or even change his job without the permission of his sponsor) an '**Nitaqat**' (reservation for Saudis in private jobs) prevalent in West Asia.
 8. **Internal rivalry within the region:** India finds it difficult to manoeuvre around different rivalries in the region.
 - **Israel-Iran-Saudi Arabia axis** – The rivalry between Jewish state of Israel and the Arab world led by Saudi Arabia. While the Arab world is itself divided on sectarian lines – Shia sect led by Iran and Sunni sect led by Saudi and Iraq.
 - **Israel-Palestine issue** - Alleged illegal settlement by Israel in **West Bank** and **Gaza strip** has complicated the issue further. This is a sensitive issue which makes it difficult for India to maintain relations with both the countries.
 - Tensions between Qatar and Saudi Arabia: the 2017 blockade of Qatar by Gulf countries like Bahrain, the UAE led by Saudi Arabia hampered the geopolitical stability. Qatar even threatened to leave GCC (Gulf Cooperation Council)
 9. **Crossing between religion and geopolitics:** Religion has always shadowed India's relation with Islamic countries. For example, recently Nupur Sharma's remarks sparked an aggressive diplomatic reaction from West Asian countries.
 - Some analysts have warned against growing radicalisation in both the regions, India as well as West Asia, which may hurt religious sentiments in both the countries.
 10. **Security threat:** Situation in West Asia directly affects security situation in India
 - Rise of terror groups in the regions like Islamic State
 - Taliban rule in Afghanistan pose one of the greatest security and threat to the region
 - Many West Asian countries are accused of funding terror groups like Al-Qaeda.
 11. **US sanctions:** Sanctions by the US under its **CAATSA law (Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act)** hinders India's involvement with Iran. Despite special waivers being given to India, such sanctions have adversely impacted Indian interests.

Way forward

1. **Going beyond oil** – India should **diversify its trade portfolio** with West Asia. Oil imports not only form the bulk of India's trade with West Asia but also create trade deficit for India. Therefore, India should focus more on non-oil items which are favourable for India exports such as Basmati Rice, Textiles, Pharmaceuticals etc.
- **GCC-India Free Trade Agreement-** the proposed FTA will open up such new avenues and enable India to minimise the trade deficit.
2. **Expand diplomatic engagement-** UAE, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Qatar and Kuwait -

together accounted for more than 90 percent of India's total trade volume with West Asia. Indian needs to engage with countries like Bahrain, Jordan, Libya.

3. India should also find new sectors to exploit economic relations such as medical tourism, renewable energy, R&D etc.
4. **Exploiting Khaleeji capitalism** – India should work to attract investment especially in long gestation projects like infrastructure, ports, roads etc.
5. **Proactive diplomatic engagement:** India needs to actively engage with countries with not just high-ranking official visits but aggressive back-channel diplomacy as well. The opportunity created by improving regional ties such as Abraham Accords, improving diplomatic relations between Israel and Arab world should be exploited by India.
6. **Indian investment in the region:** Indian companies should be encouraged to invest in infrastructural projects in West Asia as it presents a lucrative market.
7. **New visions of cooperation:** Economic relations should be augmented with engagement in other spheres such as
 - **Defence cooperation** – engagement through military exercises can be increased
 - **Technology cooperation** – India must enhance science and technology transfer and space cooperation
8. **Cultural sphere:** India's soft power is an unexploited foreign policy tool. In this context, presence of Indian diaspora
9. Further India should boost its '**energy sovereignty**' by moving away from fossil fuel based economy. It should enhance its capacity in terms of renewable energy.

HI82- I2U2

“I2U2 is a significant development in which India’s partnership can prove to be a “game changer.” - Former Israel NSA

India adopted a specific **Look West policy in 2005** for deepening her engagement with the West Asian countries **considering them as ‘extended neighbours’**. I2U2 is **continuation of India’s Look West Policy**

The first I2U2 summit was held in July, 2022 to conceptualize and jointly promote investments in mutually identified areas.

I2U2:

I2U2 is a grouping of **India, Israel, the UAE, and the US**, and is also referred to as the **‘West Asian Quad’**.



- **Origin:** I2U2 was first mooted as the **‘International Forum for Economic Cooperation’** during the foreign ministers’ meet of the four countries held in Oct 2021.
- **Aim:**
 - To discuss **common areas of mutual interest**
 - To strengthen the **economic partnership in trade and investment** in our respective region and beyond.
 - It intends to **mobilize private sector capital** and expertise to help **modernize the infrastructure, low carbon development pathways for industries, improve public health, promote the development of critical emerging green technologies.**

Abraham Accords 2020:

- The **Israel–UAE normalization agreement** is officially called the **Abraham Accords Peace Agreement**.
- It was initially agreed to in a **joint statement by the US, Israel and the UAE** in August, 2020.
- **UAE:** became the **third Arab country, after Egypt (1979) and Jordan (1994)**, to agree to formally normalize its relationship with Israel as well as the **first Persian Gulf country** to do so.
- **Israel:** agreed to **suspend plans for annexing parts of the West Bank**.

The agreement, thus, normalized what had long been informal but robust foreign relations between the two countries.

Significance of I2U2 for India:**A. Geo-political:**

- **More flexibility in foreign policy:** West Asia is regarded as India’s extended neighborhood and India will have **more freedom to interact with Israel and its Gulf partners** because of the ‘West Asian Quad’’.
 - **Regional Diplomacy:** I2U2 platform supports India’s goal to move beyond bilateralism and **consolidation of India’s Middle East Policy**.
- **US affirmation:** for I2U2 underlines that US perceives India as a potential partner to contribute in the peace and prosperity in the region while US aims to undo Trump’s policy towards the region.
- **Deepen India-UAE linkage:** as I2U2 **enhances UAE’s position in the region’s geopolitics** and assists them in getting an edge in the Persian Gulf, a vital maritime route for oil transit.
- **Resolve West Asian crisis:** In addition to the **Abraham Accord** and the recent

Negev Forum, the I2U2 can help India bridge the difference between Israel and Arab countries.

B. Geo-strategic:

- **Diversify defense imports:** I2U2 will be help India overhaul and diversify its defense imports whilst Israel is a dependable ally in the defense sector (India makes up **42% of Israeli arms exports**).
- **After QUAD, India's inclusion in the 'I2U2' strengthens its global position.** Such developments align India with other major powers like Russia, Europe and China to address its national and regional concerns strategically.
- **Integrated regional policy:** The four-nation meeting suggests that India is now ready to move beyond bilateral silos towards an integrated regional policy.

C. Geo-Economic:

- **I2U2 allows India to engage deeply in West Asia's economic strengths** and improve trade relations. E.g., Long term funds
 - **Skills and employability of Indian labor force** can be enhanced to match the standards of West Asian markets. E.g., India International Skill Centers (IISC)
- **Energy security:**
 - The UAE is one of the **India's top oil exporters** whilst Indian oil and gas companies, now, have a stake in Abu Dhabi's hydrocarbon resources.
 - **Solar cleaning technology agreement 2021:** **India, UAE, Israel** signed a pact to produce **robotic solar cleaning technology** in India for a **project in the UAE** by an Israel-based company, Ecoppia.
- For the I2U2, **India remains a valuable market** because of its massive consumer market and also an **investment destination**.

Convergence of I2U2 & India's West Asia policy:

- Both I2U2 and Look West policy **recognize Arab region as a significant region** for India's foreign policy.
- It is the **success of Look West Policy that has positioned India in an advantageous position in the I2U2** as its relations with the OIC have improved while **remaining a balancer in the region**.
- They synchronously aim at **fulfilling India's national interest without getting involved in the regional politics** of the Arab world. (E.g., by not taking sides between the Arab world - Israel or Saudi Arabia or Iran)
- I2U2 aims to **deepen economic ties and trade partnership** with West Asia in the areas of energy and oil and to **create scope of multilateral investment and cooperation**. The foundation was laid by the Look West Policy in previous decades.
- India's strategy of engaging with the area **bypassing Pakistan's geopolitical boundaries reverberates in both**.
- According to analysts, the newly formed alliance will **complement the Look west policy agenda to contain Chinese influence** in Asia and the Middle East.

Therefore, the **I2U2 further strengthens India's Look West Policy** to position Indian influence in the region by **collaborating with UAE and Israel on economic, oil, energy, and defense matters**. Additionally, partnering with the US other than in the Indo-Pacific allows the Indo-US ties to crescendo.

Key outcomes: 1st I2U2 leaders' summit 2022:

- **Sustainable energy:**
 - The meeting focused on the **food security crisis and clean energy**.
 - The leaders talked about **creative strategies for long-term**, more diversified food production and food

- delivery networks that are **better able to handle global food shocks**.
- **AIM for Climate ('Agriculture Innovation Mission' for Climate):**
 - It is a joint initiative of the **USA and UAE** launched on the eve of CoP26 in November 2021.
 - By bringing participants together to dramatically **expand investment in climate-smart agricultural and food system innovation** over five years (2021 – 2025), it aims to **address both global hunger and climate change**.
 - **Food Security:**
 - For the purpose of creating a number of **Integrated Food Parks** around India, the **UAE will invest \$2 billion**.
 - India will provide the project with the necessary acreage and would make it **easier for farmers to participate** in the food parks.
 - **Private businesses** from the USA and Israel will be requested to **contribute their knowledge and provide creative ideas** that improve the project's overall sustainability.
 - **Modern climate-smart technologies** will be used in these parks to decrease food waste and spoilage, conserve fresh water, and use renewable energy sources.
 - By **increasing crop yields**, these investments will aid in reducing food insecurity in South Asia and the Middle East.
 - **Clean Energy:**
 - I2U2 Group will progress a **hybrid renewable energy project** in Gujarat - including **battery energy storage technology** in addition to **300 MW of wind and solar power**.
 - The \$330 million project's feasibility study was supported by the U.S. Trade and Development Agency.
 - **Private sector participation:** It intends to mobilize private sector capital and expertise to:
 - help **modernize infrastructure**
 - develop **low carbon pathways** for our industries
 - improve public health
 - promote the **development of critical emerging and green technologies**

Potential areas of convergence:

- **Sustainable development:** I2U2 grouping's strategic vision, and strong commitment to uphold sustainable development and shared economic progress are potential zones.
- **Food security:** The **disruption of global food supply chain due to Russia-Ukraine War** has cascading effects worldwide. Here, I2U2 grouping's concerted efforts to ensure food security would provide **impetus in stabilizing the evolving distortions**.
- **Increase commerce:** There is need to increase commerce, collaboration in the energy sector, coordination of key common interests, and climate change mitigation in Asia and the Middle East.
- **Counter-Terrorism:** is a great zone of convergence, especially when **US policies are aligned with India's strong campaign against terrorism and CCIT**.
 - E.g., designating Jaish-e-Mohammad chief Masood Azhar as global terrorist by UNSC signifies a new level of diplomatic cooperation between India and the USA.
- **Maritime security:** There is also need to focus on collaboration in maritime security and without any military overtones.
- **Energy security:**
 - With the Russian-Ukrainian war posing new challenges, working together on **natural gas pipeline projects** can be an important area of convergence.
 - There is need to **strengthen clean technology collaboration** like the advanced hybrid renewable energy project in Gujarat.

Issues & Challenges (or Reasons for India's growing activism in the Middle East):

- **Internal conflict in Arab world:**
 - **Iran-Saudi:** The Shia-Sunni conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia is also going on which is also running through Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen.
 - The situation might lead to the creation of two groups: a) **China, Pakistan, Russia, Iran and Turkey** and b) **India, Israel, USA and UAE** with competing interests.
- **Energy security:** India's energy growing demands are fulfilled through imports from oil rich countries especially from Middle-East crude oil and natural gas exporters. By 2032, over 91% of the country's energy needs are expected to be imported.
 - Crude oil imports grew from around 40% in 1990 to 60% in 2021.
 - Major suppliers include: Iran, UAE, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia, as well as Iraq.
- **Crucial Bilateral relations:**
 - **Israel:** Looking at American continues support to Israel, **India has been linked with Israel in the post-Cold War period.** Israel has been very important to India due to technical, intelligence, and military support.
 - **Iran:** development of the strategic **Chabahar port** is the centerpiece of Iran relations. India, Iran and Afghanistan signed a trilateral agreement providing for transport of goods among the three countries through the port.
- **Geo-Strategic concerns:** Considering India's maritime security Strait of Hormuz and the Persian Gulf are a very important zones for international trade.
 - **Counter-Terrorism:** Middle-east has been alleged to be the hub of international terrorism. To combat international terrorism India has taken several steps in collaboration with Arab countries.



- **Growing Chinese footprints:** in the West Asia can have strategic implications for India:
 - Haifa port and Ashdod port of **Israel** are being fast expanded by China.
 - **UAE:** UAE was one of the first countries that got Huawei's (Chinese MNC) assistance for its **5G project**.
- **Pakistan factor:** Pakistan is actively engaging with the Middle-east nations - **using the platform of OIC and is trying to get support on Kashmir issue.**
- **Protecting interests of India diaspora:** Nearly 8.5 million Indians reside in the GCC states and their safety and security is a priority for New Delhi.
- **Churn in the world order:** Hands-off policy cannot work for ensuring a counter-balance mechanism in Middle-east:

- Engagement ensures **implementation of India's autonomous foreign policy** and create its own niche the world order.
- **Balance the Russia factor** is also a crucial challenge from a geopolitical perspective.

Way Forward

- **Proactive engagement:** India needs to play a more active role in I2U2 especially as far as cooperation with West Asia is concerned.
 - To secure the fundamental interests of India: **energy security, food security, workers, trade, etc.**
- **Balancing Act:** India, in I2U2, must **navigate these 'diplomatic landmines' very cautiously**, reassuring other partners in West Asia. E.g., Iran is crucial for engagements with Afghanistan and Central Asia.
 - **We can learn from Egypt** which has friendly relations with major powers of West Asia.
- **Mutual Cooperation and consensus building:** within I2U2 is essential to ensure the success of the grouping.

I2U2 is an ideal example of how 'mini-laterals' which can reshape West Asia's geopolitical landscape. In recent years, India's footprint in the region has grown substantially, making the **I2U2 alliance a natural next step for India** to further consolidate those ties.

I2U2 has huge potential, and its composition provides **ample opportunities for win-win cooperation**. Although the group should not spread itself too thin, I2U2 can expand by advancing cooperation in new areas in the future. The participation of India in the **I2U2 underlines a new tenacity in India's Middle East policy**.

HI83- India- Israel Relation

“The formula for success of India Israel relations is “I2 T2” i.e., “Indian talent, Israeli Technology” - Netanyahu (Ex PM Israel)

“‘I’ for ‘I’ is India for Israel, and ‘I’ with ‘I’ is India with Israel. Indians feel that ‘Israel’ means ‘a real friend’”- PM Modi.

In a video message (January 2022) on the completion of 30 years of full-fledged diplomatic relations between India and Israel, Prime Minister Modi said the people of both the countries always shared a special relationship. He said: **“This day holds importance in our relationship as full diplomatic ties were established between the two countries 30 years ago. A new chapter between the two countries had begun. It was a new chapter but history between us is age-old,”**

India established full diplomatic ties with Israel only in 1992, even though it had formally recognized Israel in 1950. Scholars consider establishment of full diplomatic relations with Israel as one of **India’s most significant foreign policy responses to the end of Cold War.**

Why India took nearly 45 years to establish diplomatic relations with Israel?

India’s hesitation with Israel in the post war era was **due to a set of domestic and international factors:**

- Nehru found **similarities between partition of subcontinent and of Palestine and Israel’s formation was against India’s long held view against religion as the basis of state.**
- **Antagonization of Muslim minority at home and Arab states in the region** were other factors behind India’s policy.
- **India’s energy dependence on west Asia and expected backing or neutrality of Arab states on Kashmir against Pakistan** were also factors prohibiting a normal relation.

Significance of Israel for India.

Defense cooperation:

- **Israel is India's third-largest source of arms.** As per SIPRI Report for 2013-17, Israel accounted for 11% of India's arms imports in 2013-17, after Russia and the USA.
- **Technology transfer:** Proposals for joint ventures under the Make in India initiative including transfer of technology as well as joint R&D in defense and security fields.
- Israel has been giving key weapons systems to India, including missiles; **it has given us those weapons which we could not directly buy from the US for ideological reasons.**
- During the **1962 Sino-Indian war**, when **Israel gave India military aid.** Israel also aided India during the two wars with **Pakistan in 1965 and 1971.**
- **Israel was willing to continue and even step up its arms sales to India after other major countries curbed their technological exports following India's May 1998 nuclear tests.**
- Israel provided India with **much-needed imagery of Pakistani positions using its UAVs during the Kargil War in 1999** and supplied hardware through special planes, when India was planning to undertake a limited military strike against Pakistan in June 2002 as part of **Operation Parakram.**
- In the late 1990s, a crucial defense deal was the Indian **purchase of Barak I**, an air-defense missile, **bought specifically for its capability to intercept US-made Harpoon missiles deployed by Pakistan.**
- **India's imports of unarmed aerial vehicles (UAVs)** have almost all been from Israel. Of 176 UAVs purchased from Israel, 108 are Searcher UAVs and 68 are Heron UAVs.
- **In April 2017, India and Israel signed a \$2 billion deal for an advanced medium-range surface-to-air missile system**, which will provide the Indian army the capability to shoot down aircraft, missiles and drones at ranges of up to 70 km.

- In September 2016, tests were conducted of the jointly developed Long Range Surface-to-Air Missile with a range of 70 km, intended to equip three guided-missile destroyers of the Indian Navy.
- India successfully tested the Israeli-made SPYDER quick-reaction surface-to-air missile in 2017. The Indian Air Force (IAF) is planning to deploy this system on its western border.

Geopolitical:

- Israel also positioned itself as a conduit for India to explore economic and trade opportunities with the US in the post-Cold War era.

Counter terrorism:

- Israel is key partner in information sharing to techniques/doctrine of counter terrorism.

Economic and Commercial Relations:

- India is Israel's third largest trade partner in Asia after China and Hong Kong.
- From US\$ 200 million in 1992 (comprising primarily trade in diamonds), bilateral merchandise trade stood at US\$ 5.02 billion (excluding defense) in 2016- 2017. Trade in

diamonds constitutes more than 53% of bilateral trade.

- Israel was India's 38th-largest trading partner. The trade balance stood in India's favor at \$1.10 billion (Rs 7,370 crore) in 2016-17.

Energy security:

- Stakes for public sector Indian oil and gas companies in the huge gas reserves in the Mediterranean Sea off the Tel Aviv coast could also be one attraction.

Agriculture:

- India has benefited from Israeli technologies in horticulture mechanization, protected cultivation, orchard and canopy management, nursery management, micro-irrigation and post-harvest management, particularly in Haryana and Maharashtra.
- 22 of the proposed 26 centers of excellence in agriculture are being developed in India with Israel's help to showcase the latest technology to Indian farmers.

Technologies of Israel in Agriculture sector.

Food tech startups:

- In fields like stem-cell research, tissue engineering, cellular agriculture, and nanotechnology.
- **Insect farming:** grasshopper-infused protein powder; it sources the mineral-rich insect from a commercial-grade farm in Israel. Insect farming is significantly more sustainable than livestock rearing.
- **Packaging:** biodegradable packaging for the food and beverage industry, aiming to reduce the amount of plastic that ends up in landfills.

To reduce transport in agriculture:

- **modular smart farms** that incorporate artificial intelligence to grow fresh vegetables in urban areas like restaurants and residences to cut down our reliance on transport in the agriculture sector, thus reducing CO2 emissions.

In health sector; healthy alternatives:

- Sugar reduction solution designed to retain the taste, texture, and appearance of the real thing.

To improve decision making of farmers:

- Submillimeter resolution aerial imagery and in-depth technical analysis to help farmers better manage their fields.

Monitoring of crops:

- Use of artificial intelligence to analyze the multi-layers of farm data to monitor and predict crop development. **Computer vision technology** optimizes agriculture efficiency and enhances seasonal yields.

Pathbreaking innovations in other areas:

- like the **firewall, the USB flash drive and the Pill Cam** (a capsule endoscopy) are among the most celebrated achievements.

Water Management:

- Technologically-adept **Israel has developed water-management technologies, located as it is in a semi-arid region** with limited sources of fresh drinking water. Similarly, India also faces grave problems of water scarcity specially in **leeward side of the monsoon-Marathwada and Vidarbha in Maharashtra, Rayalaseema in Andhra Pradesh etc.**
- Adaptive irrigation service to optimize the watering process, incorporating machine learning, big data, and cloud-based software to enhance agricultural output in soil.

Significance of India for Israel.

- **Defense and security:**
 - **India is Israel's largest buyer of military hardware.**
 - **India reciprocated during the six-day war in 1967 by providing Israel with spare parts for French-made Mystere and Ouragan aircraft** as well as AX-13 tanks (also French-made).
- **Geopolitical:**
 - **India as a leader of third world countries and having 2nd largest Muslim population in the world** is crucial for Israel in any future resolution of Israel-Palestine conflict.
- **Economics:**
 - Israel can reap the benefits in trade and commerce with India's rise as 5th largest economy of the world and a country with huge market.

Areas of Convergence and Achievements.

- **Defense:** (please refer to points provided above under "Defense cooperation")
- **Counter terrorism:**
 - **Joint Working Group on Counter-Terrorism.**
 - Cooperation in the areas of border management, internal security and public safety, police modernization and capacity building for combating crime, crime prevention and cybercrime were established by the committee.
- **Agriculture:**
 - There was a **five-to 10-fold increase in crop yields with an accompanying 65 per cent reduction in use of water and noticeable decrease in the use of pesticides and fertilisers**, according to a December 2014 report on the **Indo-Israel Agriculture Project.**
- **Water Management:**
 - Technologically-adept **Israel has developed water-management technologies, located as it is in a semi-arid region** with limited sources of fresh drinking water.
 - Israel is known as the **land of innovations in water management.**
 - **Almost 62 per cent of the**

irrigation water used in Israel comes from recycled and brackish water. Such recycling endeavors has relevance in India.

- On June 28, 2017, the Union cabinet approved a memorandum of understanding (MoU) with Israel on the National Campaign for Water Conservation in India.
- **Israeli drip irrigation technologies** and products are now widely used in India. Recently, an Indian company Jain Irrigation acquired 100% stakes of an Israeli drip-irrigation company, Naandan.
- **Tourism:**
 - India has been attractive tourist destination for Israeli's.
 - Israel has broken its tourism record of Indian arrivals reaching a an all-time high of 31 percent growth in 2017.

Issues & Challenges in India Israel relations.

- The **structural differences between Indian and Israeli worldviews notably on Iran**, India enjoys good historical cultural and economic relations with Iran whereas Israel considers Iran as existential threat.
- The **absence of explicitly shared enemies** (beyond an abstract notion of global terrorism) limits any stronger strategic rapprochement.
- **From Indian Side** - We don't walk the talk. **Delivery deficit.** Decision making is very cumbersome (**Red tapes**).
- **From Israeli Side** - **Israel doesn't have the size/scale.** e.g., 25 research centers in India are nothing considering the scale of challenge.
- **Trade relations are not harnessed fully:** for example, FTA has been pending for more than a decade and trade is confined mainly to defense and diamonds.

- **India's human rights dilemma:** India faces difficulty in raising human rights issues against Israel's actions against Palestinians.
- **Israel's ties with China:**
 - China is Israel's third largest trading partner globally and largest trading partner in East Asia.
 - According to a **report from the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission, "Israel ranks second only to Russia as a weapons system provider to China** and as a conduit for sophisticated cutting-edge military technology."
 - This might become a concern for India in future.

Way Forward (steps required to further improve relations)

- **Military-security cooperation:**
 - It would have to **go beyond cash-and-carry mode and encompass joint research, development, production and possible exports to third parties.**
 - **Public or private Indian groups would have to invest in sensitive military and non-military technological companies in Israel** with the explicit purpose of getting these technologies into India.
- The Israeli government has proposed measures such as **"offering export insurance, liberalizing the aviation sector and granting longer-term visas"**.
 - The aim is to boost Israeli exports to India by 25 per cent over the next four years and tourists to 80,000 annually.
- India needs to **work with Israel on the commonalities** like counter-terrorism, border management, dry land farming, irrigation and Water management, **while maintaining differences at the multilateral level** so that both nations can

realise the true potential of bilateral relationship.

Pragmatism, not political pieties from the right or left, should determine India's engagements with Israel and the Middle East.

As middle east is grappled by multiple fissures-between Israel and Iran, Riyadh and Tehran, the Sunni and Shia, Saudis and Qataris, and between the Kurds and everyone else, domestic political pieties, on the left and right, are the last thing India needs in navigating the Middle East minefield.

However, **India's approach of treating Israel like a "mistress"—happy to engage intimately in private, but hesitant to acknowledge the relationship in public, is a thing of past now and rightly so** after de-hyphenation of Israel Palestine relations which will take the relations certainly to the new heights.

Israel -Palestine issue

Historical background of Israel Palestine issue

The Israeli–Palestinian conflict is one of the world's most enduring conflicts, beginning in the mid-20th century.

- The Israeli–Palestinian conflict **has its roots in the late 19th and early 20th centuries**, with the **birth of major nationalist movements among the Jews and among the Arabs**, both geared towards attaining sovereignty for their people in the Middle East.
- The **Balfour Declaration** was a public statement issued by the British government in 1917 during the First World War announcing support for the establishment of a "national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine.
- **Public declarations of claims to a Jewish homeland in Palestine**, including the **First Zionist Congress of 1897** and the **Balfour Declaration of 1917**, created early tensions in the region.
- Following World War I, the **Mandate for Palestine included a binding obligation for the "establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people"**.

Tensions grew into open sectarian conflict between Jews and Arabs.

- The 1947 United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine was never implemented and provoked the **1947–1949 Palestine War**.
- Following the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel on 14 May 1948, the **Arab League decided to intervene on behalf of Palestinian Arabs**, marching their forces into former British Palestine, beginning the main phase of the **1948 Arab–Israeli War**.
- **The 1967 Six-Day War** exerted a significant effect upon Palestinian nationalism, as Israel gained military control of the West Bank from Jordan and the Gaza Strip from Egypt.
- **The current Israeli-Palestinian status quo began following Israeli military occupation of the Palestinian territories in the 1967 Six-Day War**.

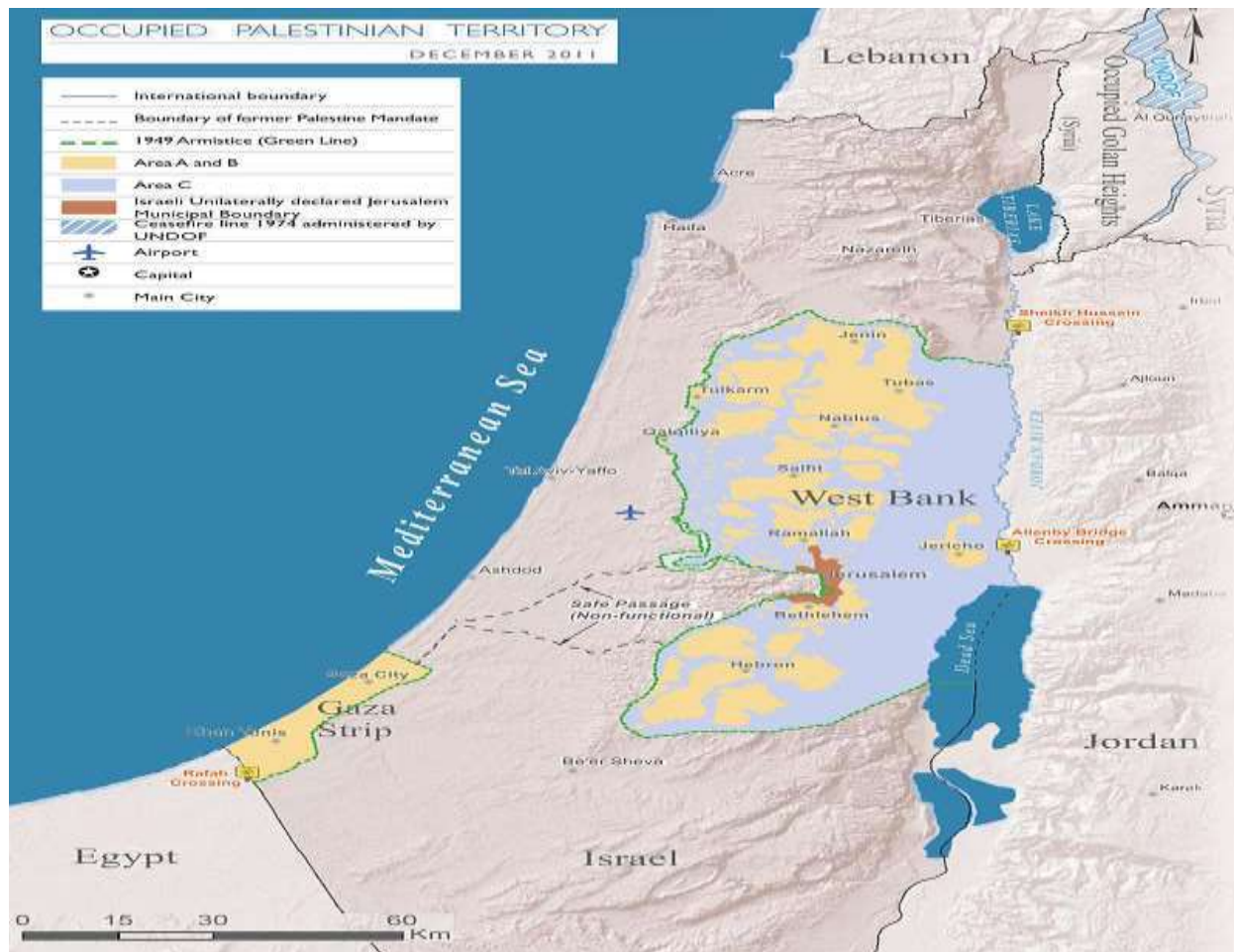
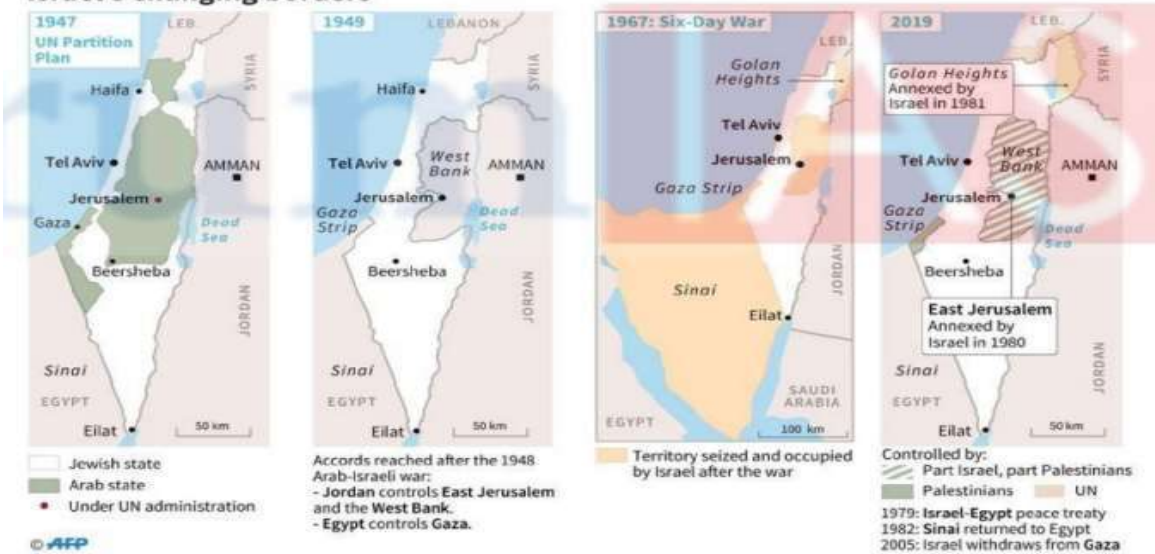


Figure 1: Occupied Palestine territory by the Israel.

Figure 2: Israel's changing borders since 1947.

Israel's changing borders



Causes of Israel - Palestine conflict

- **Issue of territorial claims:**
 - Root cause is **birth of both the religions**- Judaism and Islamism has taken place **at the same place** i.e., Jerusalem.
 - This gives each side a claim on that place and territories surrounding it.
 - Palestinians are Arabs who live in the land that is currently occupied by Israel. They refer to this region as Palestine and want to establish an independent nation separate from the Israeli influence.
- **Geo-Strategic:**
 - **Support of western world to Israel** so that they can have some sort of control in the Arab world rich in oil and natural gas resources.
- Apart from the above two major reasons recently **other factors like – use of terrorism by Palestinians, increased expansionist activities by Israel, political instability in the Israel etc. are causes behind recent rise of the conflict.**

India's stand- Evolution of India's foreign policy on Israel Palestine issue

India's policy on the longest running conflict in the world **has gone from being unequivocally pro-Palestine for the first four decades, to a tense balancing act** with its three-decade-old friendly ties with Israel. **In recent years**, India's position has also been perceived as **pro-Israel**.

Phase I – 1948 to 1992 - Pro Palestine.

- **In 1948, India was the only non-Arab-state among 13 countries that voted against the UN partition plan of Palestine** in the General Assembly that led to the creation of Israel.
- At the 53rd UN session, **India co-sponsored the draft resolution on the right of the Palestinians to self-determination.**
- **In the 1967 and 1973 wars, India lashed out at Israel as the aggressor.**

- **In the 1970s, India rallied behind the PLO** and its leader Yasser Arafat as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Phase-II- 1992 to 2014- Intense balancing act.

- **The opening of an Indian embassy in Tel Aviv in January 1992** marked an end to four decades of giving Israel the cold shoulder, as India's recognition of Israel in 1950 had been minus full diplomatic ties.
- For two-and-a-half decades from 1992, the India-Israel relationship continued to grow, mostly through defense deals, and in sectors such as science and technology and agriculture. **But India never acknowledged the relationship fully.**
- **There were few high-profile visits**, and they all took place when the BJP-led NDA-I under Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee was in office. Israel is Hindutva's ideal of a "strong state" that deals "firmly" with "terrorists". Even back in the 1970s, the BJP's forerunner Jana Sangh had made the case for ties with Israel.
- **In 2000, L K Advani became the first Indian minister to visit Israel, and in the same year Jaswant Singh visited as Foreign Minister.** That year, the two countries set up a joint anti-terror commission. And in 2003, Ariel Sharon became the first Israeli Prime Minister to visit India.
- **During the UPA's 10 years in office, the balancing act intensified.**

Phase – III- 2014 onwards- Pro Israel.

It was during NDA-2 that the government under Prime Minister Narendra Modi decided to take full ownership of the relationship with Israel.

- The first indication of the new phase came with an **abstention by India at the UN Human Rights Council on a resolution welcoming a report by the HRC High Commissioner.**

- In 2016, India abstained again at on a **UNHRC resolution against Israel**. But the big change was the status of the historic city that both Israel and Palestine claim.
- **A visit by PLO chief Mahmoud Abbas in 2017** became the occasion for New Delhi to signal the **substantive shift**.
 - Until then, in various statements, with its support for a two-state solution, India had always included a line in support of East Jerusalem as the capital of a Palestinian state.
 - **The reference to East Jerusalem went missing in Modi's statement during Abbas's visit.**
- In February **2018, Modi became the first Indian Prime Minister to visit Israel**. His itinerary **did not include Ramallah**.
 - The word then was that India had "de-hyphenated" the Israel-Palestine relationship, and would deal with each separately.

Is it true that, in recent times India's Palestine policy has taken a significant turn?

Yes: (refer pro phase- III- pro Israel points)

Talmiz Ahmad, a former diplomat noted:

- Crucial point that's missing is that East Jerusalem should be the capital [of a future Palestinian state]. Earlier, this used to be the mantra from India. Therefore, we are simply giving lip service to the two state solution without mentioning that East Jerusalem is the core part of that two state solution".
- Ambassador Ahmad also noted the **different approaches India took to the rocket firing and Israeli strikes**.
 - "There is a **specific condemnation on the rocket fire from Gaza, but a similar condemnation is not specifically directed at the Israeli side**. And then, there is this loose talk on casualties, but fails to mention the disproportionate use of force by Israel.

No: as

- **India reiterated its strong support for the just Palestinian cause and its unwavering commitment to the two state solution.**
- India has, **also called for the eviction process to be stopped and status quo ante to be restored at the Al Aqsa compound.**
- **At the UNHRC's 46th session in 2021, India voted against Israel in three resolutions:**
 - one on the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people, a second on Israeli settlement policy, and a third on the human rights situation in the Golan Heights.
 - **It abstained on a fourth**, which asked for an UNHRC report on the human right situation in Palestine, including East Jerusalem.
- In February 2021, the International Criminal Court claimed jurisdiction to investigate human rights abuses in Palestinian territory including West Bank and Gaza and named both Israeli security forces and Hamas as perpetrators. Prime Minister Netanyahu wanted India, which does not recognize the ICC, to take a stand against it on the issue, and was surprised when it was not forthcoming.

India's De-hyphenated Policy.

- In international politics, **de-hyphenation means dealing with two countries, having adversarial relationship between them, in an independent manner- on their own merit**. This would mean building a relationship with one, ignoring the complexities of its relations with the other.
- The de-hyphenation is actually a **careful balancing act**, with India shifting from

one side to another as the situation demands.

- For instance, even as it abstained at UNESCO resolution against Israel in December 2017, India voted in favor of a resolution in the General Assembly opposing the Trump administration's recognition of Jerusalem as the Israeli capital.

Significance:

- It allows India to base its relations purely on the national interest instead of emotions or ideals etc.
- It helps countries to avoid zero-sum diplomacy and pushes them to look for common areas where both can work to improve relations.

Issues & Challenges in resolution of conflict.

- The major reason is **no compromise by either party to take a step back from their stand/demands**, for example,
 - **Palestine wants:**
 - Israel to withdraw from pre-1967 borders and establish an independent Palestine state in West Bank and Gaza.
 - **Israel should stop all expansion** of settlements before coming to peace talks.
 - **Palestine wants Palestine refugees who lost their homes in 1948 to be able to come back.**
 - **Palestine wants East Jerusalem as the capital of the Independent Palestine state.**
 - **Israel's demands:**
 - **Sovereignty over Jerusalem.**

- **The right of return of Palestine refugees only to Palestine** and not to Israel.

- **Power asymmetry:** Israel being much more powerful doesn't want to compromise and instead wants Palestine to accept the reality.

Way Forward (steps required to resolve the issue permanently)

- **One-State Solution:**
 - A one-state solution is based on the premise that it is highly unlikely that today's 400,000 Jewish settlers in the West Bank will leave voluntarily or be evacuated forcibly.
- **Autonomy to Palestine:** Former Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin proposed the idea of administrative autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza shortly after coming to power in 1977.
 - Self-rule for the Palestinians meant that Israel would be responsible for security and foreign policy while ideologically retaining a claim to Judea and Samaria (West Bank).
- **Three-state confederation** - The idea of a confederation between Israel, Palestine (West Bank/Gaza) and Jordan has been debated ever since 1948.
- **Trump's Middle East Peace Plan:**
 - Israel keeps the vast majority of Jerusalem as its sovereign capital;
 - Palestinians get no right of return - The plan lays out three options for these refugees: Absorption into the State of Palestine (subject to the limitations provided below);
 - Local integration in current host countries (subject to those countries consent); or
 - The acceptance of 5,000 refugees each year, for up to ten years (50,000 total refugees), in individual Organization of Islamic

Cooperation member countries who agree to participate in Palestinian refugee resettlement.

- **Redraw borders mainly between Israel and the West Bank:**
 - The proposal redraws borders to effectively give Israel more land in the Palestinian-controlled West Bank, in exchange for “land swaps” that include two areas in the Negev Desert.
 - Doesn't allow for Palestine to create a fighting force to defend itself.
- **Two-State solution:**
 - The solution would establish an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel — two states for two peoples.
 - In theory, this would win Israel's security and allow it to retain a Jewish demographic majority while granting the Palestinians a state.
 - the two-state solution calls for dividing Jerusalem into an Israeli west and a Palestinian east par.

India's dehyphenisation has been based on a realisation that India's largely pro-Arab stance in West Asia has not been adequately rewarded by the Arab world. India has received no worthwhile backing from the Arab countries in the resolution of problems it faces in its neighbourhood, especially Kashmir.

India's relationships with Palestine and Israel are totally separate, and should be weighed on their own merits. The former is about principled support for a cause; the latter is based on national interest. India should continue this policy.

HI 84- Syrian Conflict

“Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere” - Dr. Martin Luther King

Syria is a **Western Asian country located in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Levant**. It is bordered by the Mediterranean Sea to the west, Turkey to the north, Iraq to the east and southeast, Jordan to the south, and Israel and Lebanon to the southwest.



The Syrian civil war is an **ongoing multi-sided civil war** in Syria **fought between the Syrian President Bashar al-Assad** (backed by Russia and Iran) **and** anti-government rebel groups (backed by the US, S. Arabia, Turkey, and others in the region).

What began as protests in 2011, as part of the wider **2011 Arab Spring protests**, against the four-decade rule of the Assad family quickly **escalated into a full-scale war in which lakhs of Syrians have been killed** and millions have been displaced.

Arab Spring:

- It was a **wave of ‘pro-democracy protests and uprisings’** that took place **in the Middle East and North Africa** beginning in 2010 and 2011, challenged some of the region’s entrenched authoritarian regimes.
- It **1st started in Tunisia in 2010** against unemployment and spread across Arab region, thus it was named **‘Arab Spring’**.
- The wave began when protests in Tunisia and Egypt toppled their regimes in quick succession, inspiring similar attempts in other Arab countries.
- However, not every country saw success in the protest movement and demonstrators were often met with **violent crackdowns by their countries’ security forces**.



Significance of Arab Spring:

- It **raised important issues of common masses** such as unemployment and the call for an economic reform, a government reform, and personal freedom.
- **Promotion of democracy:** Its mission was to deal with issues like political corruption, human rights, dictatorship, and absolute monarchy and overrun the incumbent governments.
- **Forms of protests:** It took many forms including peaceful demonstrations, strikes, protest, rallies, and social media advocacy.

Limitations of Arab Spring:

- The uprising **could not a unify Arab people** despite their common concerns.
- Although the protest movements in 2011 were unique in their interconnected struggle, **the push to end corruption and improve citizens' quality of life did not end** with the Arab Spring.
- **Protests continued for years to come**, and an additional wave of protests took place in the Arab world in the late 2010s and early 2020s.
- **Unintended consequence:** in countries like Syria, it **resulted in civil war** and huge humanitarian crisis.

Causes of civil war in Syria:

- **Sectarian divide & Minority Rule:** with the divisions between the ruling minority Alawite elite (a Shiite religious minority) and the country's Sunni majority (which led the protests)
- **Economic disparity:** Before the beginning of civil war from 2006 to 2010, **Syria suffered its worst drought in modern history.**
 - Drought on top of preexisting economic disparities and corruption charges led to the first non-violent pro-reform protests, in 2011, riding the wave of Arab Spring.
- **Concentration of Power:** in the minority ruling family, and the one-party system left few channels for political dissent, which was repressed.
 - Civil society activism and media freedom were severely curtailed, effectively killing the hopes of political openness for Syrians.
- **Violent crackdown by Government:** The harsh military crackdown escalated tensions, and quickly protests turned into a civil war and armed insurgency.
- **Population Surge:** Syria's rapidly growing young population was a **demographic time bomb waiting to explode.** The country had one of the highest-growing populations in the world.
- **Social Media:** Although the state media was tightly controlled, the proliferation of satellite TV, mobile phones, internet and social media became critical to the activist networks that underpinned the uprising in Syria.

Major actors involved in Syrian civil war:

The **government's key supporters have been Russia and Iran**, while **Turkey, Western powers and several Gulf Arab states have backed the opposition** to varying degrees during the conflict.

- **Russia:** had military bases in Syria before the war - launched an **air campaign** in support of Assad in 2015 that **has been crucial in turning the tide of the war in the government's favour**.
 - The Russian military says its strikes only target "terrorists" but activists say they regularly kill mainstream rebels and civilians.
- **Iran:** is believed to have **deployed hundreds of troops and spent billions of dollars to help Assad**. Iran is showing **Shia solidarity** as Assad is a Shia.
 - Thousands of Shia Muslim militiamen armed, trained and financed by Iran - mostly from **Lebanon's Hezbollah** movement, but also **Iraq, Afghanistan and Yemen** - have also fought alongside the Syrian army.
- **The West - US, UK and France:** initially provided support for what they considered "moderate" rebel groups. But they have **prioritized non-lethal assistance since**

jihadists became the dominant force in the armed opposition.

- A US-led **global coalition** has also carried out air strikes and deployed special forces in Syria since 2014 to **help an alliance of Kurdish and Arab militias called the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF)** capture territory once held by IS militants in the north-east and stop the jihadist group rebuilding.
- **Turkey:** is a major supporter of the opposition, but **its focus has been on using rebel factions to contain the Kurdish YPG militia**, accusing it of being an extension of a banned Kurdish rebel group in Turkey.
- **Saudi Arabia:** which is **keen to counter Iranian influence**, armed and financed the rebels at the start of the war, as did the kingdom's Gulf rival, **Qatar**.
- **Israel:** meanwhile, has been so concerned by what it calls **Iran's "military entrenchment" in Syria** and shipments of Iranian weapons to Hezbollah and other Shia militias that it has conducted air strikes with increasing frequency in an attempt to thwart them.

Kurdish Question:**Who are Kurds?**

- The Kurds are the **world's largest stateless ethnic group**. With an estimated population of **25-35 million** (equaling Canada's and Australia's).
- As partition of Ottoman empire did not materialize in a Kurdish state, the Kurds made **repeated attempts at establishing a de facto 'Kurdistan'** with defined national borders — and in the process attracted massive repression.
- They live in the highlands of southern and eastern Turkey, northern Iraq, the northeastern Syria, northwestern Iran, and parts of south Armenia, and are a minority in each of these countries.

MAIN KURDISH AREAS IN MIDDLE EAST

- **Religious orientation:** The majority among the Kurdish people today are Sunni Muslim, but there are adherents of other faiths too, including Sufism and other mystical practices.
- **Language:** They speak a language that is related to Persian and Pashto, although local dialects differ.

Kurds – Complex equation with US, Turkey, Syria and ISIS:

- As the ISIS swept across Syria and Iraq, **the only fighters who were able to resist the onslaught were the Syrian Kurdish militias**, the most powerful of which was the People’s Protection Units, known by its Kurdish initials, YPG (Syrian Democratic Forces).
- **USA’s Support to Kurds to counter ISIS:** In 2014, as the US joined the war against ISIS, it found in the YPG a helpful regional ally.
 - The Kurds, backed by the Americans, **forced Daesh (ISIS) out of northern Syria**, they took over the re-captured land along the Syria-Turkey border, home mainly to ethnic Kurds, Arabs, and some other groups.
- **Turkey’s concerns:**
 - The **YPG has close links with the Turkey’s PKK** (Kurdish party), and for Erdogan’s regime, this **seemed like a serious security threat** of an armed insurgency in Turkey for independence.
 - In 2019, Trump decided to withdraw forces from Syria, and within 3 days, Turkey and its Syrian Arab allies **launched an assault on Kurdish-held territory in Syria**.

Who is in control of the country now?

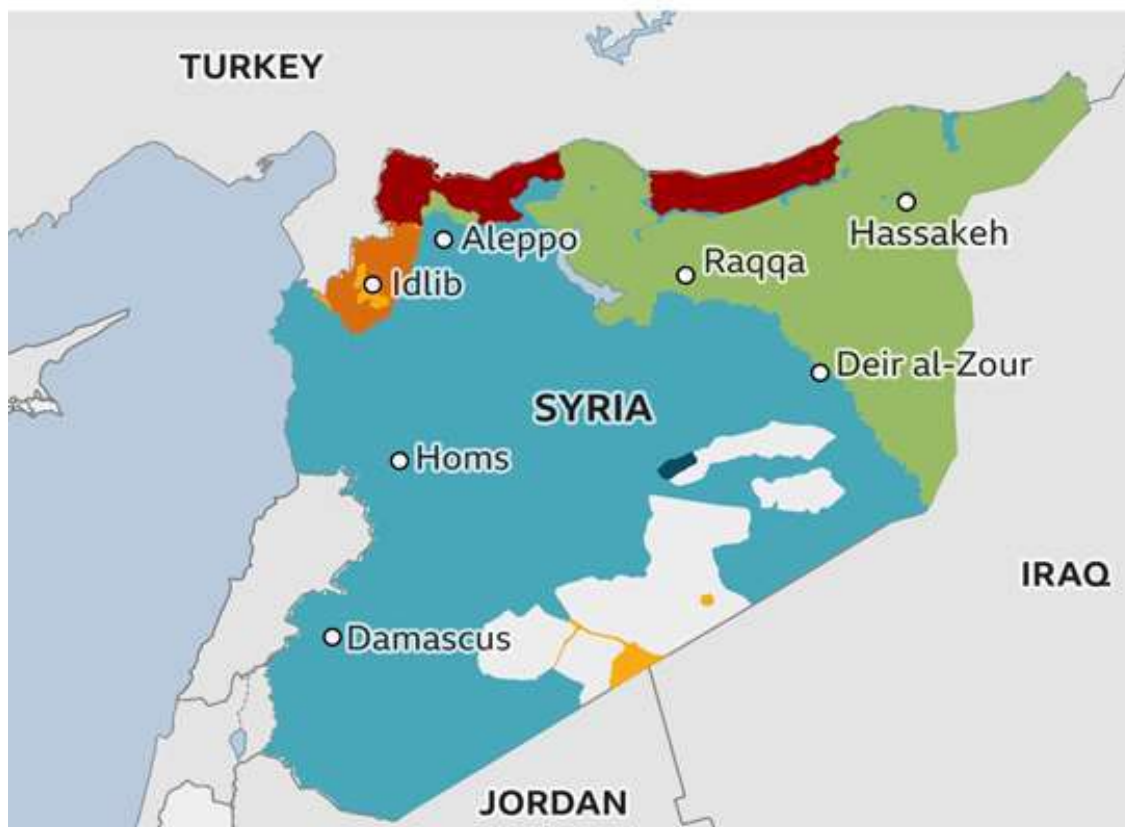
- The **government has regained control of Syria’s biggest cities**, but **large parts of the country are still held by rebels, jihadists and the Kurdish-led SDF**. There have been no shifts in the front lines for two years.
- The last remaining **opposition stronghold** is in the north-western **province of Idlib** and adjoining **parts of northern Hama and western Aleppo provinces**.

Who controls what in Syria

Feb 2021



- Kurdish forces
 - Turkish-backed Syrian rebels and Turkish military
- Syrian government
 - Jihadist forces
 - Syrian rebels
 - Islamic State group



Humanitarian crisis in Syria due to civil war:

Eleven years of war have inflicted immense suffering on the Syrian people.

- More than half of Syria's pre-war population of **22 million have fled their homes.**
 - Nearly **7 million are internally displaced** (some living in tented camps) and another **7 million are refugees or asylum-seekers abroad.**
 - Neighboring countries (Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey) now **host over 80% of them** and have struggled to cope with one of the **largest**

refugee exoduses in recent history.

- As of February 2022, **15 million people inside Syria need humanitarian assistance.**
 - Syria has endured vast **aerial bombardments, chemical weapons attacks and modern-day sieges** => leading to starvation and shameful restrictions on humanitarian aid (**UN war crimes investigators report 2021**)
- In the past 2 years the humanitarian crisis has been compounded by an unprecedented economic downturn (triggered by strict US

sanctions) and the Lebanese economic crisis. The poverty rate has reached an unprecedented 90%.

- **Impact of Covid 19 pandemic:** Already dilapidated health infrastructure was further inflicted damage by attacks on medical facilities and personnel. Such attacks have left only half of the country's hospitals fully functional.
- **Cultural impact:** Much of Syria's rich cultural heritage has also been destroyed. **All six of the country's UNESCO World Heritage sites** have been damaged significantly.
 - E.g., destruction of the ancient city of **Palmyra**.

Reasons behind non-resolution of conflict.

- **No consensus among UNSC - P5:** The **UN-backed attempts** to mediate a conflict-ending political transition in Syria have been **stymied by differences among veto-wielding P5 of the UNSC** and other powers.
 - Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey aligned with the United States against the Assad regime, while Iran joined Russia in backing it.
- **Disagreement on transitional governing body:** A 2012 multilateral document known as the **Geneva Communiqué** calls for “**a Syrian-led political process,**” beginning with the establishment of a transitional governing body “formed on the basis of mutual consent.” But multiple rounds of peace talk to implement these principles have yielded little.
- **Assad himself:** has no interest in negotiating his own political demise and **retains Russia's and Iran's backing**, while the possibility of Assad staying on in a transition is anathema to the opposition.

India's stand on Syrian conflict:

India's friendly relations with Syria **stood the test of time** when the Syrian crisis broke in 2011.

- India took its **principled stand in resolving the conflict in a non-military and through an inclusive Syrian-led political**

process, which has been much appreciated by the Syrian Government and people alike.

- India has **not joined the call for an end to the Assad-led Baath Party rule over Syria**.
- India's calculated response to the Syrian crisis is a **reciprocity gesture to Damascus for its continued support to India over the Kashmir question**.
- **India continued to maintain its Embassy** even during the peak of the crisis while **Syria continued to unconditionally support all Indian candidatures at the international platforms**.
- In 2018, **India delivered humanitarian aid** worth \$ 6 million in the form of pharmaceuticals and food stuff.

What are the prospects of peace in Syria?

It **does not look like Syrian civil war will end anytime soon**, but everyone agrees a political solution is required.

- UNSC has called for the **implementation of the '2012 Geneva Communiqué'**, which envisages a transitional governing body "formed on the basis of mutual consent".
- **'Geneva II Process'** is a UN-mediated peace process. This process is also an opportunity to warring parties to come together on one platform and sort out Syrian issue.
- As the **major powers have agreed in principle on maintaining Syria's territorial integrity and achieving a "lasting cease-fire"** they should work through their respective local allies to de-escalate the conflict.
- As the conflict entered its 12th year, **"a military solution is an illusion"** and that a **political solution "is perfectly doable if the will is there"**.

A decade after the uprising that sparked the war, Syria is still mired in low-level conflict, political instability, economic turmoil and the worst humanitarian crisis. **It is high time that all parties**

develop consensus to allow peace to prevail in Syria.

Only after normalcy is returned, a congenial environment can be created for the safe return of migrants. So, **peace in Syria is not only important for Syrian people but also Europe and America where most of the Syrian refugees reside.**

HI 85- Iran & US Relations

Iran and the US have had **no formal diplomatic relations since 1980**. Instead, informally Pakistan serves as Iran's protecting power in the US, while Switzerland serves as the US' protecting power in Iran.

Due to Trump administrations continuous hostility and **withdrawal from JCPOA in 2018**, Supreme Leader of Iran Ali Khamenei banned direct talks with the US. However, since the coming of Biden Administration to the power, relations between the two are changing for the better.

Brief Historical background

- **Until the outbreak of World War II, the US had no active policy toward Iran.**
 - However, Iran's long border with the then Soviet Union, and its position as the largest, most powerful country in the oil-rich Persian Gulf, made Iran a "pillar" of US foreign policy in the Middle East.
- **When the Cold War began, the US was alarmed by the attempt by the Soviet Union to set up separatist states** in Iranian Azerbaijan and Kurdistan, as well as its demand for military rights to the Dardanelles in 1946.
 - This fear was enhanced by the loss of China to communism, the uncovering of Soviet spy rings, and the start of the Korean War.
- **In 1953, the Iran's government under Mohammed Mossadeq was overthrown in a coup organized by the CIA and MI6.**
 - Many liberal Iranians believe that the coup and the subsequent U.S. support for the shah proved largely responsible for his arbitrary rule, which led to the "deeply anti-American character" of the 1979 revolution.
- **The 1979 Revolution:**
 - It significantly changed the relations of Iran with USA, relations never improved instead further deteriorated till Barack Obama's 2nd term.
 - Revolution ousted the pro-American Shah and replaced him with the anti-American

Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

- Khomeini, who referred to America as the "Great Satan".
- **1980s: Iran Iraq War:**
 - American intelligence and logistical support played a crucial role in arming Iraq in the Iran–Iraq War.
 - The Reagan Administration pursued several sanction bills against Iran; on the other hand, it established full diplomatic relations with Saddam Hussein's government in Iraq.
- **Bush Administration:**
 - After 9/11, in 2002, US President Bush gave his **"Axis of evil" speech**, describing Iran, along with North Korea and Iraq, as an axis of evil and warning that the proliferation of long-range missiles developed by these countries constituted terrorism and threatened the United States.
 - The speech caused outrage in Iran and was condemned by reformists and conservatives.
- **Obama Administration - Attempts at rapprochement**
 - **2009:** the beginning of the festival of Nowruz, **Obama spoke directly to the Iranian people in a video** saying, "The United States wants the Islamic Republic of Iran to take its rightful place in the community of nations. You have that right—but it comes with real responsibilities"
 - **2013: Iran's President Hassan Rouhani visited the US to address the UNGA**, shortly after he assumed office, was hailed as progress in the countries' relationship.
 - **2015: JCPOA was agreed.** (Discussed below in detail)
 - **The Obama administration agreed to lift sanctions on Iran** that had devastated their economy for years. **In return Iran promised to give up their nuclear capabilities** and allow workers from the UN to do facility checks.

Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA):

The Iran nuclear agreement, formally known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), is a **landmark accord reached between Iran and P5+1** (5 permanent members of the UNSC + Germany).

- The basic premise was that **in exchange for Iran undertaking various (verified) restrictions and actions to slow its Nuclear Technology and Power program**, the other signatories would, in essence, **allow (via the relief from sanctions) Iran to trade with the rest of the world again**.
- As part of the deal the **International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)** would be allowed **unrestricted access to Iran's nuclear sites** in order to verify compliance with the deal's provisions.
- Under the agreement Iran agreed to completely eliminate its stock of medium enriched uranium, reduce the stock of low enriched uranium by **98%**.

However, the deal has been **in jeopardy since US withdrew from it in 2018**. In retaliation for the U.S. departure and for deadly attacks on prominent Iranians in 2020, including one by the US, Iran has resumed some of its nuclear activities.

Significance of JCPOA:

JCPOA could probably be considered as the most important deal signed in the world in the last two decades because:

- Being a **product of multilateralism**, the deal gathered not only world powers, but also the whole world around a diplomatic axis.
- Proponents of the deal said that it would help **prevent a revival of Iran's nuclear weapons program** and thereby reduce the prospects for conflict between Iran and its regional rivals, including Israel and Saudi Arabia.
- The multilateral diplomacy among Iran and world powers **provided a win-win condition**; in other words, it produced common understanding, balance in

commitments and tangible guarantees from all the parties involved.

- Moreover, the **UN Security Council officially supported the deal in resolution 2231, elevating the JCPOA to international law level**.
- It **can halt vicious cycle of nuclear proliferation**: for example, Iran acquiring nuclear weapons could be used as an excuse by her rivals to acquire nuclear weapons.
- The deal, in addition to security-related functions, **can play a role in speeding up the world economy** which is hit by the Coronavirus pandemic, by expanding economic ties between Iran and European countries.

Reasons behind the failure of JCPOA:

- **Withdrawal of USA from the deal and Unilateral economic sanctions against Iran:**
 - Despite verified compliance by Iran with the terms of the deal, the United States withdrew from the JCPOA and resumed coercive economic measures in order to seek 'a better deal' in 2018.
- One of the major concerns of Trump administration was the nuclear deal with Iran **overlooked other contentious issues such as Iran's controversial ballistic missile programme and its expanding network of proxy militias** threatening security across West Asia.
 - President Trump wanted these issues included in a renegotiated 'Big Deal'.
- As per few analysts, Trump's decision suggests this might be less about atomic weapons and **more about overthrowing the Islamic Republic**.
 - By mounting massive economic sanctions.
- **To strengthen Iranian opposition groups** working to oust the Iranian theocracy and **Iran's regional rivals** — Israel, Saudi Arabia and the UAE — to push back against Tehran's expansionism.
 - **Strong Jewish diaspora in USA had En-bloc voted for the Trump** on the promise of further improved ties with the Israel.

US withdrawal from JCPOA:

Despite verified compliance by Iran with the terms of the deal, the United States withdrew from the JCPOA and resumed coercive economic measures in order to seek 'a better deal' in 2018.

A. Implications for the world

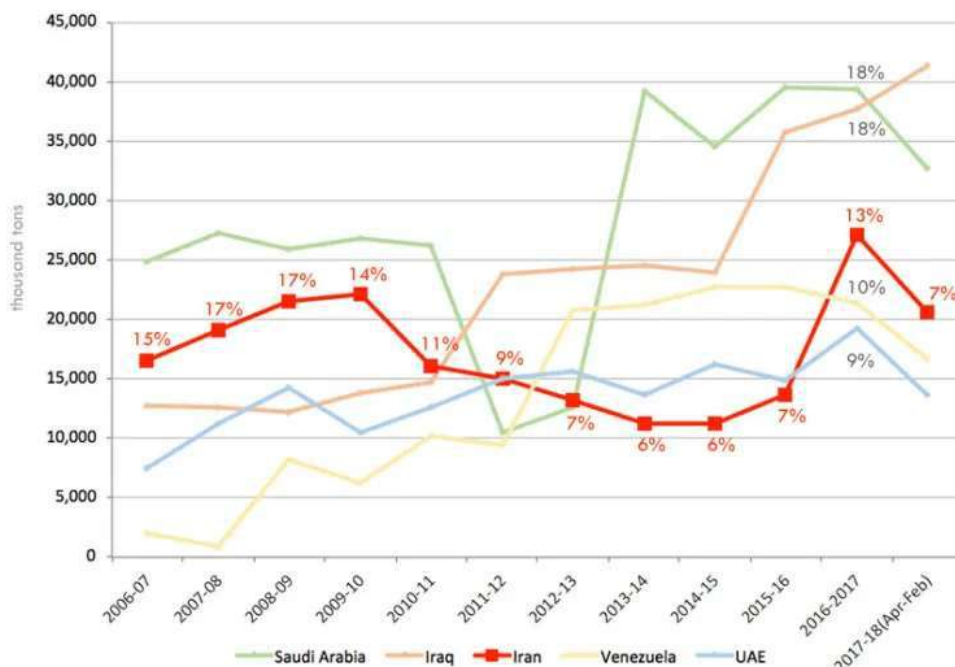
- **Geo-political:**
 - The US move is **unilateral, and this will further erode US hegemony in the global order.**
 - **Intensification of the multiple conflicts which are ravaging West Asia.** E.g., proxy wars in Syria, Lebanon, and Yemen.
 - **Complete disregard to multilateralism and international law:** Undermines international institutions like IAEA (IAEA observations had suggested Iran's compliance to deal)
 - **May lead to nuclear proliferation.**
- **Geo-economic:**

- It may lead to a **Global trading system** - to reduce dependence on the US dollar.
- **Increase in oil prices:** as Iran is 3rd largest producer of crude oil in OPEC countries.

B. Implication for India:

- **Geopolitical:**
 - **China- Iran axis:** will create more space for China in Iran and the region, which will be worrisome for India.
 - **Rules-based order:** India has long been advocator of a "rules-based order" that depends on multilateral consensus and an adherence to commitments made by countries on the international stage and must stick to them despite adversarial behavior of some countries.
- **Economic:** It led to rise in oil prices as Iran is India's third-largest supplier of crude oil after Saudi Arabia and Iraq.

INDIA'S TOP SOURCES OF OIL IMPORTS (2006-18)



Source: Ministry of Commerce, India

- **Connectivity projects:**
 - **Chabahar:** U.S. sanctions could lead to slowing down of the project.
 - **INSTC:** Sanctions will affect international north south corridor as banking and insurance companies dealing with the INSTC plan may decide to adhere to U.S. restrictions on trade with Iran.
 - This may impact India's trade and accessibility plans in Afghanistan, central Asia etc.
- **Diaspora and remittances:** Increase in conflict in the Gulf in the backdrop of deteriorating US- Iran relations, would also have an impact on the approximately **eight million Indians who reside and work in the region.**
 - If the situation forces them to quit their jobs and head home to India, **the country would lose around \$40 billion** they transfer home every year.

Role of EU:

- As part of its efforts to salvage the deal, the European signatories of the JCPOA created their **European Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV)** in order to facilitate the continued European trade that helped to form the economic inducement for the reciprocal Iranian actions with regards to their nuclear program.
- The most recent attempts by European countries, and in particular France, to salvage the JCPOA have **involved France offering \$15 billion in credit along with the promise of the United States lifting its sanctions.**
 - In exchange Iran promises to return to compliance with the JCPOA's guidelines with regards to enrichment and storage caps of fissionable material (uranium), and unspecified moves to deescalate tensions in West Asia.

Present status of JCPOA

- Since the change in Presidency, USA has moderated its stance and indicated its willingness to negotiate new deal.
- The United States and Iran have held eight rounds of indirect talks in Vienna since April 2021 aimed at reinstating the pact that lifted sanctions against Tehran, in exchange for restrictions on its nuclear program.

Way Forward

- **India should use diplomatic tools** at its disposal to help de-escalate US-Iran tensions.
- **Restoring Diplomatic Relations:**
 - For example, Barack Obama did restore diplomatic relations with Cuba in 2015.
 - Directly appealing to the Iranian leaders and calling for dialogue between the two countries.
- **Revival of nuclear deal** can ensure that the concerns of all countries are duly addressed.

India's strategy to balance - achievements and challenges:

India is walking the tightrope of trying to seek a balance between Iran and US relations.

- India **values its relations with the US** and has been assisted in **multidimensional engagements and efforts. E.g., Counter terrorism efforts, Trade, defense ties etc.**
 - E.g., **American gestures** of acting against the Pakistan-based terrorist leader **Masood Azhar at the UN.**
- **Iran emerged the top buyer of Indian tea in 2019.** The tea deals were made possible by an **Indian rupee-based payment system** set up by both countries in order to circumvent economic sanctions imposed by the US.
 - In 2019, **Iran joined India in criticizing Pakistan for sheltering terrorists** being used to carry out attacks on their territories.

- **India decided to abide by the sanctions on Iran** and has reduced its import from Iran nearly to Zero, due to:
 - **US gave assurance that the Chabahar port project in Iran, which is of importance to India and Afghanistan would not be impacted by the sanctions**
 - Further, **India got waivers from USA's CAATSA act** which was aimed at economic sanctions against those countries having significant economic relations with Iran, Russia and North Korea.

Challenges in India's Strategy to balance:

There are **greater chances that India might not be able to keep both the partners happy and hence suffer with respect to both the countries.**

- **Iran is increasingly tilting towards China** with respect to developing her oil and gas fields, other infrastructure projects etc.
- While India may not have ignored Tehran completely, its **efforts to solidify political relations have almost been negligible** compared to the efforts it has put up into the Arab world.
- **We cannot expect the USA to provide waivers** every time such a situation arises.

Steps required for India to deal with USA and Iran divergences:

- **New Delhi should aggressively promote the cause of the Chabahar port** in Washington, by convincing the USA that Chabahar is not only fulfill India's interest but also of US interest.
- For example, if India loses Chabahar, Iran may be tempted to link the port with China's BRI, an outcome that is undesirable for the US and its nascent Indo-Pacific strategy.
- **India should continue to seek waivers from US secondary sanctions** when it comes to the purchase of crude petroleum, and increase purchase of US shale oil, as well as softening India's positions on US tariffs, in return for sanctions waivers.

Keeping changing geopolitical realities in mind, specially caused by the **Russia's prolonged war with Ukraine** and emerging Russia-China-Iran axis, **Washington needs to soften its approach towards Iran.**

The USA must acknowledge the fact that it has achieved nothing by withdrawing from the JCPOA and instead found itself isolated. To **reengage with Iran, not only US will benefit but also for the betterment of the entire world** as any efforts towards non-proliferation would lead to peace and prosperity of the world.

HI86- India- Central Asia Relation

“India’s history is the story of invasion from a north-westerly direction,” and this explains why Central Asia continues to be seen more as the source of threats than of opportunities (2010).” Robert D Kaplan

Why in the news?

Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi hosted the first India-Central Asia Summit in virtual format on 27 January 2022, which was attended by Presidents of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Republic of Uzbekistan. This first India-Central Asia coincided with the **30th anniversary of establishment of diplomatic relations between India and Central Asian countries.**

Involvement with Central Asian region will be a game changer for India in her development story.

Introduction:

After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, India established official ties with the five former Soviet

Republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan; so, did China. In recent years, both India and China have come up with different strategies to strengthen their respective ties with these resource-rich economies, collectively called the **Central Asian Republics (CARs)**. China’s strategy is the ambitious **Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)**, and India’s, the **‘Connect Central Asia’** policy. China’s proximity with the CARs, its have driven its progress faster than that of India’s.

Central Asia Region:

- **Central Asia Region** stretches from the Caspian Sea in the west to China in the east, and from Afghanistan in the south to Russia in the north.
- It includes five countries namely **Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan** which are collectively referred to as the **Central Asian Republics (CARs)**.



Figure 1: Central Asia Region (CAR)

Historical background

- Ancient kingdom of Kushan had territory in parts of both regions, India and in central Asia.
- In Medieval ages, Muslims rules in India had their origin in Central Asia.
- After the Second World War, Central Asia became part of USSR. India had good diplomatic engagement with the region due to friendly ties with USSR.
- India has had a long history of cultural and commercial relations with Central Asia, facilitated by its geographical proximity to India and the passage of the **Silk Route** through them.
- **Buddhism was central to this connection in ancient times.** Many rulers of medieval India had their roots in Central Asia, including the Mughals.
- The present Central Asian Countries came into existence after the **disintegration of the USSR in 1991.**

Significance of Central Asia for India

Geopolitical significance

- Central Asia holds great geopolitical importance. Central Asia is the gateway to Europe and Russia. From Chabahar, India will have access to Russia and Europe through Central Asia. With this, the Central Asian nations surround Afghanistan from all sides.
- After establishing its military base in Farkhor of Tajikistan, India became the fourth country (after America, Russia, and Germany) to establish a military base in Central Asia.
- **India-Pakistan:** The vulnerability of India to link directly with the region comes from its apprehension from Pakistani strategy to obstruct India and at times to cut off New Delhi from the region
- **India-China:** India-China is equally significant in geopolitical terms in defining New Delhi's relationships with Central Asian Republics. Since China shares a long land border with the republics of Central Asia and has established very good diplomatic relations with them in 1992 Beijing enjoys leverage in relationship with the CARs.
- **India-US:** The U.S. from the very beginning was in favor of a larger role of India in Central Asia. The support has grown even more with

America's withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2014. It is also true that the US to sustain its economic interests in Central Asia bypassing Russia, Iran and China looks to link India with Europe through Central Asia thus providing new investment opportunities for the U.S and to undermine Chinese and Russian influence through Indian counter.

Geoeconomic significance

- **Mineral and Energy Security:** Central Asian is rich in energy resources, including, oil, coal, and natural gas. Kazakhstan is the **largest producer of uranium.** Uzbekistan also has large uranium reserves.
- TAPI gas pipeline project is being brought from Turkmenistan to India (Afghanistan and Pakistan also in the project) funded by Asian Development Bank. This project will decentralize energy supply and cooperate in achieving energy security. India and Kazakhstan have an agreement for the supply of uranium.
- Along with this, India will also get the benefit of resources of the Caspian Sea from here, such as the **Satpayev oil block agreement.**
- **Trade and Investment:** The Central Asian countries provide trade and investment opportunities in multiple sectors like IT, Pharmaceuticals, Tourism etc.

Cultural importance

- Indian culture has great importance in these countries. India's cultural soft power is visible in this region in the form of cinema, cuisines, yoga etc.

India's 'Central Asia Policy'

The '**Connect Central Asia Policy**'(CCAP) of India was first unveiled by the then Minister of State for External Affairs, E. Ahmed on 12-13 June, 2012 in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan (Das, 2012).

Objectives of the policy:

- The purpose of this policy is to fast-track India's relations with Central Asian Republics.
- The policy calls for setting up universities, hospitals, information technology (IT) centers, an e-network in telemedicine connecting India to the CARs, joint commercial ventures, improving air

connectivity to boost trade and tourism, joint scientific research and strategic partnerships in defense and security affairs.

- The policy includes elements such as high level visits, strategic partnerships, comprehensive economic engagement, partnership in the development of energy and natural resources.
- The idea was to bypass the Russians and have a more independent relationship with the region.

Agreements signed as part of Central Asia Policy:

1. India-Uzbekistan:

- **Economic and Strategic ties:** Enhance strategic, economic and energy ties along with reviewing key regional issues including the situation in Afghanistan.
- **Joint Working Group on Counter Terrorism:** To intensify security cooperation and exchanges for combating terrorism, promoting regional integration and advancing stability in the region.
- **Defense and cyber security:** Enhance cooperation in the fields of defense and cyber security.
- **Uranium supply contract:** Implement the contract which was signed in 2014 for supply of 2,000 metric tonnes of the Uranium from mineral rich Uzbekistan to India.
- **Strengthening cooperation:** In the areas of information technology, agriculture and energy.

2. India-Kazakhstan:

- **Agreement on Defense and Military:** Both nations will form joint working group 56 India's Expanding Interests in Central Asia (JWG) on counter terrorism, defense training, exercise and production of defense equipment.
- **MoU on Cooperation on Physical Cultural and Sports:** It was signed between India's Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports and Kazakhstan's Ministry of Culture and Sports.
- **MoU on Technical Cooperation in the field of Railways:** It was signed between

India's Ministry of Railways and Kazakhstan Temir Zholy.

- **Agreement on Transfer of Sentenced Persons:** It will facilitate swapping of prisoners from both countries to serve their remaining sentence in home country.
- **Agreement on supply of Uranium to India:** Kazakhstan the world's largest producer of uranium will supply a total of 5,000 tonnes of the natural uranium to India during the 2015-19.

3. India-Turkmenistan:

- **MoU on Supply of Chemical Products:** It was signed between the India's 'Rashtriya Chemicals and Fertilizers Limited' and the Turkmenistan's Turkmenhimiya'.
- **MoU Foreign Service Institutes of both nations:** It was signed between Foreign Service Institute of the Ministry of External Affairs of India and Institute of International Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkmenistan.
- **Agreement on Cooperation in the field of Sports:** It was signed between Union Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports of India and State Committee for Sport of Turkmenistan.
- **Programme of Cooperation in Science and Technology:** It was signed between both governments for the period of two years viz. 2015-2017.
- **MoU on Cooperation in Yoga and Traditional Medicine:** It was signed between respective entities of both governments.
- **MoU on Cooperation in the Field of Tourism:** It was signed between respective entities of both governments.
- **Agreement in the field of Defense:** It was signed between respective entities of both governments.

4. India-Tajikistan:

- **Programme of Cooperation (POC) in the field of Culture:** It was signed between

Ministries of Culture of India and Tajikistan for the years 2016-18. It envisages cooperation in the field of culture between both nations through exchange of expertise for protection, preservation and promotion of cultural heritage.

- **Exchange of Note Verbale (NV) on setting up of Computer Labs:** It conveys the intention of India to set up computer labs in 37 schools in Tajikistan.

5. India-Kyrgyzstan:

- **Agreement on Defense Cooperation:** It was signed to deepen cooperation between both countries in matters relating to security, defense, military education and training. It also covers provisions to conduct joint military exercises, exchange of military instructors, exchange of experience and information and observers etc.
- **MoU and Cooperation in the field of Elections:** It was signed to deepen cooperation in matters relating to legislation on elections and referendums. It also covered the rights of elections process stakeholders, modern systems and technologies as well as other issues of election administration.
- **MoU on cooperation in the sphere of Standards:** Seeks to strengthen and

enhance technical cooperation in the fields of conformity assessment, standardization and sharing of expertise on mutual trade. It also aims at exchanging necessary information and expertise in this regard between the two parties. Signatory parties are Ministry of Economy of Kyrgyzstan and **Bureau of Indian Standards (BIS)**.

- **Agreement on Cooperation in Culture:** To deepen cultural cooperation between both countries in areas such as preservation of cultural heritage, theatre, youth festivals and organization of folk arts. It also seeks to boost cooperation in the publishing and translation of literature, culture, sports and physical exchange of archival materials, geography, history etc.

Efforts made by India to enhance engagement in the Central Asia

I.Connectivity:

- **International North South Transport Corridor (INSTC):** India, Iran and Russia in 2000 launched INSTC to develop a new trade route that would help in cutting the costs and time in moving cargo between Russia and India.



Figure 2: International North South Transport Corridor (INSTC)

It is a 7,200-kilometre multi-modal project with thousands of kilometers of all-weather highways. Many countries have now come on board which include Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Central Asia, and several European countries.

2. Chabahar port initiative: In 2003, India and Iran announced the development of the Chabahar port. This was launched to serve as an alternate route to Central Asia. But repeated US sanctions on Iran for its suspected nuclear programme meant that Indian firms were reluctant to participate in the projects, leading to cost and time overruns.



Figure 3: Chabahar port connectivity

3. Ashgabat Agreement: The pact was signed in 2011 by Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Iran, Oman and Qatar and aimed at developing the shortest trade route between the Central Asian republics and

Iranian and Omani ports. India joined the Ashgabat agreement in 2018 to diversify its connectivity options with Central Asia.



Figure 4: Connectivity map under Ashgabat Agreement

4. Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline: It was launched to transport natural gas from Turkmenistan to India with transit through Afghanistan and Pakistan. However, it has

been stalled since 2006 due to a lack of support from Pakistan.

5. India became member of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). SCO is a Eurasian political, economic, and security organization, the creation of which was announced on 15 June 2001 in Shanghai, China by the leaders of

China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.

6. India became member of **Eurasian Economic Union (EEU)**. EEU is a political and economic union of states located primarily in northern Eurasia. Central Asia is one of the largest beneficiaries of Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) program. India provides higher education at marginal cost to Central Asian students when compared to European and American universities.

7. Technological and Human resources

- **Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC):** India launched ITEC programme to provide assistance to the CARs countries in the area of IT, Management, journalism, diplomacy, entrepreneurship, and banking.
- **Connect Central Asia policy:** It was launched in 2012 and aimed to enhance India's political, economic, historical and cultural connections with Central Asia.

8. Defense

- **Strategic Partnership Agreements (SPA):** India signed the SPA with three of the five CARs—Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan—to stimulate defence cooperation and deepen trade relations.
- **Multilateral and bilateral forums/organizations: Initiatives** like Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in India (CICA) have helped India to maintain regular channels of communication with the CARs.

India's relations with important countries in the region

Kyrgyzstan:

1. India extended a credit line of **\$200 million** for the support of development projects. It also signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) on **High-Impact Community Development Projects (HICDP)**.
2. India trade is largest with Kazakhstan, with a turnover of USD 851.91 million in 2018-19.

Kazakhstan:

1. In 2008, Kazakhstan supported India in obtaining an exemption to allow civil nuclear cooperation with the **Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG)** countries.
2. Later, India and Kazakhstan signed a civil nuclear deal for the supply of 2,100 tonnes of uranium to India until 2014.
3. India and Kazakhstan held the first-ever joint military exercise in 2016. Held annually since then, this exercise was renamed as **KAZIND** in 2018. This exercise focuses on countering insurgency and terrorism in an urban and rural environment.

Armenia:

India also supported efforts for a peaceful solution to the **Nagorno-Karabakh conflict** between Azerbaijan and Armenia under the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's (OSCE)** Minsk group.

Uzbekistan:

- The trade with Uzbekistan is the second-highest, with \$328.14 million. This accounted for just 0.04% of India's total trade.
- India and Uzbekistan have signed several trade agreements. India is among the 45 countries to which Uzbekistan provides the **most favored nation (MFN) status**.
- India signed a uranium supply agreement with Uzbekistan as well.
- In 2018, India and Uzbekistan agreed to expand cooperation in the areas of counterterrorism with the joint military exercise, military education and military medicine.

Tajikistan:

- In 2002, India and Tajikistan signed bilateral defense agreement, under which India refurbished Ayni, a disused Soviet airbase.
- The overall military cooperation with the region is mostly limited to military education, infrastructure and training.
- India imports mainly include precious and semi-precious stones, chemicals, iron and

steel, machinery, mineral oils copper goods, plastic goods, wool and leather.

- Exports include coffee, tea, spices, apparel and clothing, pharmaceutical products and electrical and mechanical equipment.

Prospective areas of Convergence

Security:

Terrorism, drug trafficking and radicalization have been a matter of concern for India and Central Asian countries alike. This has especially become a major concern in the context of the **Taliban taking over control of Afghanistan**.

Agriculture:

- Central Asia has huge cultivable areas lying barren and unproductive.
- Uzbekistan alone offers an enormous opportunity for the cultivation of pulses.
- Large quantities of pulses including kidney beans from the region are brought over by Turkish firms and are re-exported to India.
- Spices trade and horticulture also provide opportunities for improving trade relations.

Construction:

- The construction sector in Central Asia is experiencing significant growth.
- Kazakhstan, in particular, has created a competitive market for investments in this sector.
- Due to the economic growth, several areas within the region are becoming attractive for the construction business in residential, non-residential and civil engineering segments of the market.
- These are significant opportunities for Indian companies dealing with financial services, construction, engineering and management.
- Additional focus can also be given to connectivity projects.

Textile industry:

- Though Central Asia's traditional sericulture and cotton textile industries have declined over the past years, they are becoming a major economic source for the rural population in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan.
- After India and China, Uzbekistan is the third-largest producer of silk to the global market.
- Cooperation in silk manufacturing is one of the many opportunities present in Central Asia.
- High-quality cotton production from all Central Asian countries can be a boon for Indian textile industries.
- Both sides can consider setting up integrated textile plants in the region to manufacture good quality cotton and blended fabrics.
- This initiative could be a profitable venture due to Central Asia's location near the lucrative European markets.

Tea industry:

- Despite Indian tea's popularity, the exports have dropped since 2012 because of competition from Kenya and Sri Lanka.
- This can be addressed by setting up tea blending and packing factories in Central Asia to offer high-quality Indian teas to the region.

Defence Cooperation:

- Joint manufacturing in defence sector can be promoted.
- The India-Uzbekistan military medicine agreement can be expanded to other Central Asian republics.
- Joint training can be promoted
- India-Central Asia Defence Expo can be organized.

India China rivalry in central Asia-

Both India-China is competing in Central Asia region in the following manner:

China:

- Since 1991, Beijing has expanded its commercial footprint in Central Asian countries.

- While investing to buy hydrocarbons, China is flooding the markets with finished goods without any regard for the region's indigenous industries and factories.
- Most of the investments from China come with Chinese workers and security personnel.
- The presence of Chinese security personnel has increased manifold after the 2016 bombing of the Chinese embassy in Kyrgyzstan
- China's BRI investments lack transparency and are accused of bringing in debt traps for countries.
- Less resource-rich countries like Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan already owe China an estimated USD 4 billion and USD 1.38 billion in loans respectively.
- These countries are forced to transfer greater control over the assets to China if they defaulted in the repayment of the loans
- This led to Beijing gaining the geostrategic advantage at the cost of food security of these countries
- Thus, the Central Asian countries are looking towards countries like India to balance China's growing influence.
- While China's increased engagement in the region has provided economic opportunities for these countries, it has provoked mistrust among its civil societies.
- This provides an opportunity for India to increase investments in the region.
- China launched a new '5+1' dialogue arrangement with all five CARs in July 2020. China was late to work with the CARs in this new format, having only engaged with the countries at the bilateral and multilateral levels going back to 2004. The first '5+1' meeting focused on COVID-19, trade and investment.

India:

- **India has proposed that such a summit be held every two years and is also willing to** bankroll a secretariat based here to push the various cooperation proposals forward.
- India hosted the first virtual meeting of the India–Central Asia Summit involving the heads of states in the '5+1' format. It was held just two days after China held its meeting at the same level. The major focus of the summit was developments in Afghanistan and the development of the Chabahar Port in Iran, a rival port to Gwadar Port in Pakistan being built with Chinese investment.
- India has characterized their Central Asian relations as engagement through the 'Extended Neighborhood' policy.
- The most important aspect of the religious ties would be a revival of the 'Naqshbandi', which is an Indo-Islamic way of life that emerged with the interactions of the Mughal empire in India with the Sufi mysticism of Central Asia.

Issues & Challenges

There are many hurdles in ensuring a good India-Central Asia relation which are given below:

1. **Connectivity: Lack of direct access to Central Asia is a major issue.** India to reach Central Asia, the shortest route goes via Pakistan and Afghanistan. Pakistan's hostility with India remains problematic for India to connect Central Asia.
2. **Political instability:** The unstable situation in Afghanistan and a highly problematic India-

Pakistan relation have deprived India from the benefit of relations with Central Asia.

3. **Chinese presence:** central Asia is part of **Silk Road Economic Belt (BRI) initiative.** India could not match the deep pockets of China.

4. The **Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI)** and **Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI)** pipelines projects are not moving smoothly due to Pakistan and Afghanistan.



Figure 5: TAPI Project

5. There is growth of **radicalism** in recent times especially among the youth.
6. **Instability in Afghanistan, Pakistan and strained US-Iran relation**, which creates a volatile security scenario discourages investment in the region. The Ukraine crisis at present could cause instability in the region.
7. India does not have **institutional mechanisms** to connect with Central Asia like the **India-Africa forum**.
8. **Trade has been conducted with Central Asia through China**, which is time consuming and expensive.
9. **Unrealized trade potential** due to limited connectivity to the region. India's trade with region stands approx.
10. **Scramble for Oil and Gas in the region**, where several global players already have significant presence, **constraints India's options as a late comer**.
11. **Drug trafficking**– Tajikistan is gateway for Afghan drugs to Central Asia. This money is used for funding terror activities against India.
12. **Energy**: The growth of energy demand has forced India to diversify sources beyond the volatile Gulf. Central Asia is one of these sources. However, oil and gas diplomacy

were hampered by the lack of connectivity and infrastructure.

13. **Religious Extremism/Political Islam/Terrorism**: There are mounting security concerns in Central Asia and South Asia over rising cross-border and state sponsored terrorism; religious extremism/political Islam and ethnic unrest, radiating out of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Terrorism is gaining prominence in the range of non-traditional threats in Russia, India and Central Asian states.
14. The Afghanistan issue and the recent de-facto takeover of Taliban over the country is a destabilizing matter for the region, and both India and the CARs are stakeholders in the Afghani peace process.

Other issues:

Deteriorating India-Iran ties:

- Due to delays and US sanctions, India has been cut out of Chabahar-Zahedan line project and an Iranian gas field project, Farzad B.
- This has deteriorated bilateral ties with Iran.
- India has lost Iran's trust, making it difficult to promote future joint infrastructure projects, which is vital for India-Central Asia connectivity.

US Sanctions:

1. The usual seaport for Indian businesses trading with Central Asia has been Bandar Abbas in Iran.
2. However, its use has been restricted due to the US sanctions on Iran, resulting in lower trade volumes.
3. Despite instructions from the RBI, Indian exporters were not issued BRC (Bank Realization Certificate) by Indian banks for the transit of goods via Iran for the destination to a third country even though the exporter already received payment in foreign currency.
4. Therefore, trade volumes have been significantly affected by these unilateral sanctions.

China Factor:

- China has made huge inroads into Central Asia through its BRI, large-scale investments and infrastructure projects.
- The BRI investments and loans to Central Asian countries have increased trade between the regions exponentially.
- However, the Central Asian Republics receive a very little benefit because of China's import of raw materials and flooding of over-produced goods.
- These countries are suffering from debts due to these factors, creating very little potential for Indian investors and exporters.

Way Forward

- **Engaging with major players like US and Russia** will go a long way in stabilizing the region.
 - Using **soft diplomacy to enhance people to people connect** can counter India's lack of economic capability. India can **strengthen its outreach through programs** like the **Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC)** and the **Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR)**.
 - An **India-Central Asia Forum Summit** should be launched similar to the India-Africa Forum Summit to pay attention to the issues of mutual concern and to come up with solid suggestions.
 - **Media outreach** and collaborations can play a critical role in facilitating the required information in both regions.
 - **Scholar exchange programmes** between the educational institutions and think tanks should happen at regular intervals. For expanding **people-to-people contact between India and Central Asia**, a visa-free regime is required.
 - **Deepening engagement through summits and trade agreements.** India-Central Asia summit is a welcome step. India needs to shift the focus from an import-oriented approach to establishing a manufacturing base in Central Asia.
 - **Renewed push to inter regional projects** like TAPI, INSTC, etc. would go a long way. India shall **maximize the use of multilateral platforms like SCO** to further its interests in the region.
- Digital connectivity can be strengthened via cooperation in the IT sector. Promotion of software exports using Uzbekistan as a hub would help India access the Russian market.
 - India can create an Air Corridor, like the one it has with Afghanistan.
 - India can take efforts to expeditiously finalize the **Free Trade Agreement with Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU)**, which includes Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia.

India-Central Asia ties have the potential to raise India's stature in the international system. India's increased presence in the region would ensure stability, security, economic growth and development. This, in turn, would enable India to realize its energy needs and address security concerns. Thus, giving equal importance to India's extended neighborhood is vital for realizing its aspiration of becoming a major power.

HI 87- India- Africa

The connections between India and Africa **goes back to billions of years, when the west coast of India was geographically joined to Africa.** In 'recent' centuries, the peoples of the two parts of the world have interacted at the levels of economics, politics, and socio-cultural practices.

Brief Historical background:

A. Pre-Independence:

- Economically, there have been trade transactions in both natural and human resources.
 - Some of the natural resources include **cotton, spices, and other foodstuffs.**
 - The **human resources became items of trade** especially when African slaves crossed the Indian Ocean to parts of Asia, including India.
- Politically, India, just like many African countries, was **once a former British colony**, for over two centuries.
 - India's fight for independence, led by the likes of **Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, among others, leading to India's independence**, inspired many African nationalists.
 - The then newly independent Indian government also **helped African nationalist movements** to achieve their goals.

B. Post-independence

- **Political support:** PM Nehru made it his government's priority to **create friendly, cooperative, and mutually constructive relationships** between India and African countries (upon their gaining of independence).
 - To achieve that, he encouraged and fully supported African nationalist movements and political parties.

- **AICC resolution on South Africa, 1952:** called for the **removal of all remaining forms of colonialism** from Asia and Africa.
 - It called on Indians in Africa to **underscore African interests**, and went on to urge on both communities to **cooperate in non-violence.**
- **Asian-African Conference (1955):** where India was one of the key organizers, was **held in Bandung, Indonesia.** At that conference, India and the other NAM members committed themselves to:
 - **Promote trade and economic development** and cooperation in the Asia-African region.
 - Enhance the development of **cultural cooperation** between the Asian and African countries, which had been hampered by centuries of colonial rule.
 - Promote the extension of **human rights and self-determination** for the African countries.
- **NAM and India-Africa Relations:**
 - **NAM became an important factor in bringing India and the countries of Africa closer.**
 - India in the first **Non-Aligned summit** welcomed the liberation movements of several African colonies.
 - **India continued to persuade France** to grant freedom to **Algeria**, and Britain to Cyprus.
 - **India criticized Portugal** for its indifference towards the freedom of its dependent peoples.
 - India also **opposed the minority regimes of Portuguese Africa**

(especially in Angola and Mozambique) and South Rhodesia.

- **India severed diplomatic ties and imposed economic sanctions on South Africa** once the Apartheid system was launched by the National Party in that country.

Significance of Africa for India:

- **Geopolitical:** Countries on the eastern coast of Africa abutting the Indian Ocean – from South Africa to Somalia – fall under India’s maritime strategic neighbourhood.
 - India’s drive into Africa is guided by a desire to seek support for the early reform of the UNSC.
- **Geo economic:** Over half a dozen countries in Africa are **among the fastest developing economies** including Rwanda, Senegal, and Tanzania, making it **one of the growth poles of the world**.
 - African continent has a **population > 1 billion** with a combined **GDP of 2.5 trillion dollars**, which makes it a huge market.
 - **Natural resources:** in Africa can be instrumental for New Delhi to fuel its growing economy.
 - **Food security and energy security:** Africa with huge agricultural land, rich in crude oil and natural gas can ensure energy security and food security for India.
 - **Significant opportunities for the private sector of India in Africa:** For example, digital penetration, Pharmaceuticals, solar etc.
- **Defence and security:** Africa is important to **curb terrorism- intelligence sharing etc., and piracy off the coast of East Africa**.
 - Africa is also important for India’s defence industry **to provide low-cost military equipment's in future**.

Significance of India for Africa:

- **Institution building:** India stands as a **model for African countries for democratic transition**. strong democratic institution building.
- **Socio-economic growth:** Indian expertise in IT and ITeS, education, health sectors is critical for Africa for development of its relatively backward human resource.
 - Since 2008, **India’s duty-free tariff preferential scheme for Least Developed Nation** has benefited 33 African states.
 - India is the **5th largest country investor** in the continent.
- **To ensure Peace:** Contribution of Indian armed forces through IPKF and **training security personnel** is critical for peace and security in Africa.
 - India is the **largest contributor to UN-mandated peacekeeping** and other operations in Africa.
- **Leader of third world:** Being a leader of global south India is crucial to secure interests of African countries at global forums like- WTO.
 - For example, **India has regularly provided legal assistance to African countries with respect to their WTO disputes** against the developed countries.

Areas of Convergence and Achievements:

A. World order: just, representative & democratic

- India —the world’s largest democracy representing one-sixth of humanity, and Africa — with more than a quarter of UN members, cannot be kept out of the decision-making table.
- India and Africa have voiced their support **for expanding both permanent and non-permanent membership of the UN Security Council**.
- **To ensure multilateral world order:** as interests of developing countries and LDCs can be protected only in multilateral order based on consensus of each nation.
- E.g., India has played a crucial role in **strengthening electoral mechanisms**

and the process of elected government at national level in African countries.

- ECI has continuously engaged and partnered with African countries in generating innovative ideas and practices in election management.

B. Geo-Economic: As Africa provides good opportunity for India to invest, similarly India with huge middle class provides good market for African goods.

- Trade with Africa increased from \$7.2 billion in 2001 to **\$66.7 billion in 2020**, making India the **continent's 4th largest trading partner**, according to AfriExim Bank.
- Around 8% of Indian imports are from Africa and around 9% of Africa's imports are from India.
 - The investment of India's public and private sector enterprises are increasing in Africa, making it the **5th largest investor in Africa. (2019-20)**
- **The CII-EXIM Bank Conclave on India-Africa Growth Partnership** was launched in 2005 to encourage the development of private investment from India in African countries.

C. Peace & Security:

- Today, **over 6,000 Indians currently serve in five peacekeeping operations** in Africa.
- In the past it has **offered to train African security personnel** at the various defense training academies.
- **Africa-India Field Training Exercise-2019, called AFINDEX-19**, a ten-day exercise has been a significant development.
- **To keep oceans open and free:**
 - There is convergence between **Indian Navy's 2015 Maritime Strategy document** and the African Union's **2050 Africa Integrated Maritime Strategy (AIMS 2050)**.

- **Addressing non-traditional threats (HADR, drug trafficking, piracy, etc.)** in the Indian Ocean Region.
- **Lucknow Declaration (2020)** appreciated that **AU's vision for peace and security in Africa coincides with India's vision of SAGAR** (Security and Growth for all in the Region).

D. Environment and climate change

• **Addressing the challenge of Climate Change:**

- The adverse effects of climate change threaten to **derail the gains made by decades of economic growth in India and Africa**. (E.g., SDGs; Africa's Agenda 2063)
- Both India and African countries **fall under the category of 'pre-2020'** as both signed the Paris agreement on 22 April 2016.
- Both need to **work collectively to ensure developed nations provide financial resources** as agreed in the Paris agreement to assist developing countries for mitigation and adaptation.

• **Other**

- India-supported programme - **Solar Mamas**: It is group of rural women solar engineers from Africa who have been trained to install, use, repair and maintain solar lanterns and household solar lighting systems in their villages.
- **Light up and power Africa initiative**: the African Development Bank and the International Solar Alliance (ISA) partnered to scale up solar energy in Africa.

Achievements of India-Africa relations:

- **Climate change:**

- Under ISA, India pledged a **concessional credit line of \$2 billion to Africa over five years** for the implementation of off-grid solar energy projects.
- Over 25 countries from Africa have signed and ratified the **ISA Framework Agreement**.
- **Ocean safety:**
 - Naval cooperation continues to grow strong with **regular port visits, transfer of hardware and logistical support, naval intelligence, and patrolling of Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs)** being undertaken.
 - **Indian Navy raised the first batch of naval officers of Mozambique**, while IN will 'jointly develop' naval facilities Seychelles and Mauritius.
 - **Indian navy has been undertaking constabulary duties in the Gulf of Aden**, where it has successfully escorted over 2,400 vessels.
- **Economic:**
 - **The 'Supporting Indian Trade and Investment for Africa' (SITA) initiative:** To build trade and investment linkages between India and five countries in East Africa, namely Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania.
 - **EXIM bank's Focus Africa policy (2002)** to deepen trade ties with African countries.
 - **Line of Credits:** LOCs are provided through EXIM Bank to African countries. **Overall, India has provided 181 LOCs to 41 African countries for a total of US\$11 billion.**
- **Social:**
 - **Pan African E network initiative:** It seeks to enable **African capacity building through e-learning and online medical consultations**. This seeks to overcome the barriers to learning and promotes public health in the continent.
 - **Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme:** Africa is biggest beneficiary of India's ITEC program. It aims at capacity building, skill development, transfer of technology and sharing of experiences with the partner countries.
- **Other:**
 - **Vaccine Maitri initiative:** India supplied 24.7 million doses of Made of India Covid vaccines to 42 countries in Africa.
 - **TEAM 9 Initiative:** Techno-Economic Approach for India Africa Movement (TEAM) 9 initiative to enhance cooperation by **transfer of critical technologies from India to the region.**

India Africa Forum Summit:

- The India–Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) is the **official platform for the African-Indian relations**.
- It is **held once every three years beginning in 2008**.
- India by consistently holding India- Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) in places like New Delhi (2008), Addis Ababa (2011) and New Delhi (2015) has already forged ties with the **54 African states through the African Union (AU)**.

Key Outcomes of Third Summit:

- **Sustainable Development:** The summit calls for India and Africa working together towards an inclusive economic growth to eradicate poverty and allocate resources for sustainable development.
- **Agriculture:**
 - Increase cooperation in improving farming techniques through appropriate and affordable technology, improving crop varieties and other measures.
 - They also decided to jointly work towards evolving efficient methods of water management and irrigation.
- **Energy Access:** Both will strive to intensify cooperation in renewable energy sources.

- **Blue Economy:** Greater cooperation through training, capacity building and joint projects for sustainable economic development of the Indian Ocean Resources.
- **Education & Skill Enhancement:**
 - India pledged to provide 50,000 scholarships to African students over a five-year period and set up institutions of higher learning in Africa.
 - India proposed to cooperate in education and training in areas such as: information technology, agriculture, engineering, small and medium entrepreneurship, health and science.
- **Peace & Security:**
 - India has promised to intensify its efforts to keep peace in Africa.
 - This will be possible through supporting African efforts in diverse fields, such as, peace keeping training, maritime and space security, countering terrorism and sharing best practices in dealing with cybersecurity.

Asia Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC):

- It is an initiative announced by India in partnership with Japan in 2017. The corridor draws on Indian and Japanese strengths to focus on four areas:
 - Development Cooperation Projects,
 - Quality Infrastructure and Institutional Connectivity,
 - Enhancing Skills, and
 - People-to-People Partnership.
- **Agriculture, health, infrastructure and human resource development** are the proposed areas of development cooperation.

Is Asia-Africa Growth Corridor the answer to China's BRI?

A. Yes:

- **Response to BRI:** Starting with India and Japan and then expanding to ASEAN and Africa, the AAGC is commonly portrayed as a response to China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).
- **Transparent unlike BRI:** Fearing both an overdependence on Chinese trade and debts from grand infrastructure projects, states are weary that Beijing's revisionism will call upon strategic concessions as it seeks to carve its place in the Indo-Pacific.
- **Connectivity:** The AAGC offers a benevolent alternative to the BRI that holds significant potential for regional connectivity on a state-to-state level.
- **Reduce dependence on China:** Investing in strategic infrastructure projects such as

ports, rails, and telecommunications would find receptive customers in countries seeking to minimize their dependence on individual trading partners like China.

- **Regional support:** With infrastructure projects providing local employment, both India and Japan's investments in foreign economies can garner greater regional support for their vision

B. No: (how it can't be the alternative to BRI-)

- **Power projection:**
 - Despite increased military and technological cooperation between Japan and India, both countries are at a disadvantage with regards to power projection across Asia and Africa whereas security plays a key role in BRI.
- **Consultative:**
 - AAGC is a consultative initiative which is essentially a sea corridor unlike OBOR, which entails development of land.
 - AAGC is said to link Africa with India and other countries of South-East Asia and Oceania.
- **Bottom-up approach:** The initiative is considered to be a "distinct initiative" which would be profitable and bankable, borne out of a bottom-up process, unlike the 'government - funded model' of the OBOR project.

- **Centrality of people:** The AAGC is built on the pivot that rather than excessive emphasis on trade and economic relations, the centrality of people in Africa needs to be brought to the fore front.
- **Human resource:** Lower levels of education amongst the bulk of the Indian

population stand in the way of India contributing in any meaningful way.

- These challenges weaken both countries as they seek to project strength in their neighborhoods.

India's relations with important countries/regions.

South Africa.

India and South Africa established a strategic partnership in March 1997. 2022 marks 25 years of our Strategic Partnership.

A. Areas of Cooperation:

- **Bilateral trade and investments**
 - **India is South Africa's fifth-largest export destination, and fourth-largest import origin and is the second-largest trading partner in Asia.**
 - In 2016, both countries set a target of doubling bilateral trade and investment to \$20 billion by 2021.
- **Indian community in South Africa**
 - South Africa is **home to the highest number of Indian Diaspora in the African continent**, with a total strength of 1,218,000 thereby constituting 3 percent of South Africa's total population.
- **Partnership in multilateral fora's:** Both countries have worked together in multilateral institutions in order to achieve greater autonomy and **ensure that the agenda of 'South' is prioritized.**
 - **BRICS-** Both India and South Africa remains committed to work together to enhance intra-BRICS trade, investment, and financial cooperation.
 - **IBSA-** India and South Africa appreciates the work carried out by the IBSA Facility for Poverty and Hunger Alleviation (IBSA Fund), in sharing experiences, expertise, and capacities with developing countries in a South-South Cooperation framework.

B. Issues & Concerns:

- **Economic:**
 - **Low bilateral trade:** for example, it stands at about US\$ 10.7 billion.
 - **The continuous decline in exports and imports:** India's exports & imports to/from South Africa plummeted from 2013 & 2011 onwards respectively.
 - **Lack of direct flights:** Business travelers in both countries have often complained the lengthy travel via other countries to reach South Africa as a barrier in trade and investment.
- **Concentrated & Small Investments:**
 - South African investments in India are small in number and are concentrated in sectors like banking, financing, and healthcare.
- **Divergence of views on Nuclear issue:** South Africa is the world's first state to have voluntarily renounced nuclear weapons. It is also a party to the NPT and the CTBT.
 - They would like India to be a party to these treaties too. India is not ready to sign the treaties in their current format as it finds them discriminatory.

India-South Africa partnership is progressive and forward looking. Our rich culture and people-to-people contacts lends character and quality to India-South Africa ties.

Rwanda: Rwanda is looked upon as a gateway to the East African market. Its business-friendly policies have attracted impressive foreign investments.

- Rwanda has received US\$ 400 million as LOCs in the last few years. Many Rwandans have also benefitted from India's training and scholarship programs.
- The importance of bilateral relations is borne out by the fact that in January 2017, the two countries elevated their ties to the level of a Strategic Partnership. During the visit, Modi announced two more LOCs: US\$ 100 million for industrial parks and a similar amount for agriculture and irrigation.
- Considering the importance of animal husbandry in that country, Modi gifted 200 cows to a farm in Rwanda. This was a contribution to Kagame's **Girinka Program** (one cow per poor family).

Uganda: PM's visit to Uganda in 2018 was one by an Indian Prime Minister after 21 years. The highlight of the visit was the address to the Ugandan Parliament, the first ever by an Indian Prime Minister.

- Over the years, defence cooperation, particularly training and capacity building has attained great significance. There is an Indian military training team in Jinja since 2010.
- Two new LOCs were also announced: one for US\$141 million in the power distribution sector and one of US\$ 64 million for agriculture and dairy production.
- Uganda is also home to over 30,000 Indians with whom PM interacted.

Benin: The country — situated between Nigeria and Togo — is one of India's key trading partners in West Africa.

- India has emerged as the largest trading partner of Benin with two-way trade crossing US\$ 800 million. Around 100 Indian or Indian-owned companies are operating in Benin.
- India is implementing a US\$ 42.6 mn LoC for upgradation of water supply schemes in 103 villages in Benin. President announced fresh

LoC worth US\$ 100 million for developmental projects in Benin.

- Extension of e-visa facility to Benin. It will give a major boost to India-Benin business relations.
- India also offered to extend free tele-education courses to 15,000 Beninese students and tele-medicine courses to 1000 doctors and paramedics in Africa.
- In addition, the two sides discussed defence and security cooperation and India offered further training assistance to Benin to expand its anti-piracy capacity.

Gambia: India is privileged to be a trusted partner for The Gambia in its growth and prosperity.

- India built the National Assembly Building of The Gambia under our concessional financing arrangement.
- India offered The Gambia a grant of US dollars 500,000 in support of skill development and cottage industry project.
- In addition, the two sides also signed and exchanged a MOU on Cooperation in the field of Traditional Systems of Medicine and Homeopathy.
- Gambia is a member of ISA -> collaboration on solar energy and help in combating climate change.
- India also agreed to offer training in the fields of judiciary, police, administration and technical expertise, as per Gambia's request and in line with the priorities of The Gambia.
- India is among the top trading partners of The Gambia. Our bilateral trade in 2018-19 crossed US\$ 200 million, representing an increase of nearly 100% in last two years.

Gabon: Gabon is an important partner for India.

- Both India and Gabon are currently serving as non-permanent members of the UNSC.
- Bilateral trade reached US\$ 1.12 billion in 2021-22.
- A number of Gabonese nationals pursue scholarship / training programmes offered by India under the Indian Technical and

Economic Cooperation (ITEC) and ICCR schemes.

Senegal: Senegal is the current Chair of the African Union.

- India-Senegal bilateral trade reached US\$ 1.65 billion in 2021-22.
- India has offered a total of 16 Lines of Credit amounting to US\$ 350 million and Buyer's Credit of about US\$ 305 million in various sectors.
- India's capacity building training programs under ITEC are popular in Senegal.
- India and Senegal are celebrating the 60th anniversary of establishment of diplomatic relations.

Egypt: India and Egypt, two of the world's oldest civilizations, have enjoyed a history of close contact from ancient times. Ashoka's edicts refer to his relations with Egypt under Ptolemy-II.

- In modern times, Mahatma Gandhi and Saad Zaghloul shared common goals on the independence of their countries, a relationship that was to blossom into an exceptionally close friendship between President Nasser and PM Nehru, leading to a **Friendship Treaty** in 1955.
- The year 2022 is of particular significance since it marks the 75th anniversary of diplomatic relation between India and Egypt.
- **Geopolitical:** Both countries have cooperated closely in multilateral fora and were the founding members of Non-Aligned Movement.
- **Trade & investment:** The India-Egypt BTA has been in operation since March 1978 and is based on the MFN clause and the bilateral trade has increased more than five times in last ten years.
 - The volume of trade exchange between India and Egypt increased by 75% in 2020-22 to reach \$7.26bn.
 - Around 50 Indian companies are working in Egypt with total investments of \$3bn in different sectors. These companies provide

direct jobs for nearly 38,000 Egyptians.

- **Wheat export from India:** Russia-Ukraine conflict has threatened Egypt with a shortage for wheat, 80% of which is imported from Russia and Ukraine. In April 2022, Egyptia removed a long pending Non-Tariff Barrier to Indian wheat. In May India 61,500 metric tons of wheat was cleared by India for Egypt.
- **Defence Relations:** Egypt and India enjoy cordial defence relations.
 - There was close cooperation between the Air Forces, with efforts at jointly developing a fighter aircraft in 1960s. IAF pilots had also trained Egyptian pilots from 1960s until 1984.
 - Training: Egyptian and India officers are given training in India and Egypt resp.
 - Exercises: The first ever IAF-EAF Joint Tactical Air Exercise, Desert Warrior, was held in October 2021.
 - Aircraft Transits: Egypt regularly provides transit facilities to IAF and IN aircraft ferrying to/ from Russia, Europe and the USA.
 - Defence Exhibitions. Indian DPSUs and private firms participated in the first Tri Services Defence Exhibition (EDEX-2018) organized by Egyptian Armed Forces in Cairo in December 2018.
- **Cultural Relations:** The Maulana Azad Centre for Indian Culture (MACIC) has been promoting cultural cooperation between the two countries, through regular activities such as Hindi, Urdu and Yoga classes; seminars; film shows; exhibitions and participation in local cultural activities.

Issues & Challenges – India Africa relations:

- **Timely implementation of projects:** The biggest challenge for Indian LOC-funded initiatives in Africa is ensuring effective and

timely implementation of projects, and ensuring that there is no pilferage of funds.

- The Joint Monitoring Mechanism with African Union, as promised by PM Modi in 2015, is crucial for improving India's delivery mechanism.
- **Trade relations:**
 - Lack of proper financing mechanisms and limited access to trade-related project finance has been exacerbated by a stringent regulatory environment.
 - High shipping costs and high cost of insurance in exports to African countries.
 - Limited market information and knowledge.
- **The Third Scramble:** A recent study, *Engagement of External Powers in Africa: Takeaways for India* showed, **Africa experienced a sharpened international competition.** This is known as 'the third scramble'.
 - A dozen nations from America, Europe and Asia have come forward to assist Africa in resolving the continent's political and social challenges.
 - In return, they **get benefits from Africa's markets, minerals, hydrocarbons and oceanic resources**, and thereby an opportunity to expand their geopolitical influence.
 - It created competition and contestation involving traditional and new players, especially the United States, the European Union (EU), China, Japan and India.
- **The increased presence of China:** China has successfully used the pandemic to expand its footprint by increasing the outflow of its vaccines.
 - **Unfortunately, India's 'vaccine diplomacy' faced challenges** like COVID-19 second wave, shortage

of vaccine raw materials from the U.S., etc.

- **Geopolitical tensions** in Asia and the imperative to consolidate its position in the Indo-Pacific region have compelled India to deviate from India-Africa relations.
 - Instead, India **concentrated on its ties with the United Kingdom, the EU, and the Quad powers**, particularly the U.S.
- **Pending summits:** The third India-Africa Forum Summit was held in 2015. The fourth summit, pending since last year. The summit is not even pushed in a virtual format.

Highlight growing involvement of China in the Africa:

Chinese influence in Africa is high on the global agenda, as China within a few decades has become key political and economic power in the continent.

- The CPC's **long-term strategic objective is to displace the US** as the world's most powerful country and create a new world order favorable to China's authoritarian brand of politics, or its "socialist market economy."
 - Others argue that loans and aid from China have an underlying agenda: to make African states dependent on China and make them more compliant in international contexts, where China is dependent on the voices of these states, such as within the UN, or in issues such as Taiwan and Hong Kong.
 - A third group sees China's operations in Africa as rather favorable, with infrastructure being expanded and modernized.
- A. **Economic:** Within a few decades, China has emerged as Africa's biggest bilateral trading partner, Africa's biggest bilateral lender, as well as one of the biggest foreign investors in the continent.
- Chinese companies have entered almost all African markets.
 - Today there are more than 1,000 of them operating in Africa;

- Some one million people of Chinese descent reside in the continent.
- In 2019, total Chinese FDI to Africa amounted to USD 44 billion (4th largest)
- Chinese goals: access natural resources; export markets; sufficient economic and political stability for China to safeguard its commercial interests.

B. **Focus on Lending:** A decade of rock-bottom interest rates has triggered a global search for yield, yet not enough private capital has been flowing to Africa.

- African countries often **cannot afford to build the infrastructure** they need to support their growing populations.
- Moreover, many of them lack access to international capital markets and banks. In this vacuum, China has emerged as Africa's largest bilateral lender.
- It is estimated that **62% of African bilateral debt is owed to Chinese creditors**. Chinese credits to Africa amounted to USD 148 billion in 2019.
- Chinese loans to Africa have helped finance large-scale investments with potentially significant positive effects for growth. At the same time, **large lending flows have resulted in the build-up of debt-service burdens**.
- **Debt burden to China** as percent of GDP, Djibouti ranks first with 100 percent of GDP, followed by the Republic of Congo (28 percent), Niger (23 percent), Zambia (20 percent), Ethiopia and Zimbabwe (13 percent each) and Angola (12 percent).

C. **China as a Political Factor in Africa:** The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) held its first ministerial conference in Beijing in October 2000. The forum's objectives include the promotion of political cooperation, and creating a favourable environment for China-Africa business and trade. Unstated objectives are:

- diplomatically isolate the democratic Republic of China (Taiwan) by persuading African countries to sever diplomatic relations with this nation.

- Another is to influence attitudes towards Hong Kong.
- Achieve compliance with China's further geopolitical aspirations.

India's policy towards Africa	China's policy of Africa
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • India looks to engage with Africa meaningfully, focusing much on its core competencies like HR development, training and skill development, IT, ITES, education and healthcare services. • The fascination for India's support for democratic practices, processes, institutions and people to people engagement is high in Africa. • India has developed a close bilateral partnership with the African countries that is consultative and based on the principles of equality and transparency. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China who focuses majorly on developing manufacturing capacities and infrastructure in Africa. • China's economic model of engagement with Africa looks attractive and has also paid rich dividend in recent years. • Chinese projects are decided by China with little say to African govts. These projects are veiled under secrecy and loans come with high interest rate.

India's comparative advantage over China in Africa

- India has developed a **close bilateral partnership with the African countries** that is consultative and based on the **principles of equality and transparency**. While Chinese projects are veiled under secrecy, loans come with high interest rate.
- India also has an **advantage of language and cultural affinity**. English is far more prevalent among the people in African countries than any other language, making it much easier for Indian to interact with African people.
- Moreover, over **3 million strong Indian diaspora** in Africa also proves to a crucial **strategic asset for India** to further its relations with African countries. But China is yet to develop people-to-people relations with Africa due to lack of such historical momentum.

Way forward:

- **More engagement between India and Africa:** For mutual benefit, Africa and India should remain optimally engaged. For instance, conducting the fourth India-Africa Forum Summit, Allocating fresh financial resources for grants and concessional loans to Africa, etc.
- **Enhanced economic relations:** The promotion of economic relations demands a higher priority. India needs to impart 21st-century complexion (the third scramble and global competition) into India's African policy.
- **Tackling China in Africa:** Increased cooperation between India and its international allies is key to tackle China, both in Asia and elsewhere. For instance, the recent India-EU Summit has identified Africa as a region where a partnership-based approach will be followed. This will limit Chinese plans in Africa.

10 Guiding Principles for India-Africa engagement, as articulated by PM Modi during his address to the African nations:

- **Increased Engagement:** Africa will be at the top of our priorities. We will continue to intensify and deepen our engagement with Africa.
- **Development partnership:** Our development partnership will be guided by your priorities. It will be on terms that are comfortable to you, that will liberate your potential and not constrain your future.
- **Open trade:** We will keep our markets open and make it easier and more attractive to trade with India. We will support our industry to invest in Africa.
- **Digital Revolution:** We will harness India's experience with the digital revolution to support Africa's development; improve delivery of public services; extend education and health; spread digital literacy; expand financial inclusion; and mainstream the marginalised.
- **Agriculture:** Africa has 60 percent of the world's arable land, but produces just 10 percent of the global output. We will work with you to improve Africa's agriculture.
- **Climate change:** Our partnership will address the challenges of climate change.
- **Security & Peace:** We will strengthen our cooperation and mutual capabilities in combating terrorism and extremism; keeping our cyberspace safe and secure; and, supporting the UN in advancing and keeping peace.
- **Open and Free Oceans:** We will work with African nations to keep the oceans open and free for the benefit of all nations. The world needs cooperation and competition in the eastern shores of Africa and the eastern Indian Ocean.
- **No geopolitical competition:** As global engagement in Africa increases, we must all work together to ensure that Africa does not once again turn into a theatre of rival ambitions, but becomes a nursery for the aspirations of Africa's youth.
- **Global Order:** Just as India and Africa fought colonialism together, we will work together for a just, representative and democratic global order that has a voice for one-third of humanity that lives in Africa and India.

India is among the African continent's oldest and most consistent development partners, and the country has gained tremendous goodwill in the region. **Unlike many Western countries that carry the baggage of colonialism or China, which has been severely criticised for its debt-trap diplomacy, disregard for local laws and lack of local employment creation in Africa, India enjoys good ties with the African states.**

HI88- India- Latin America Relations

The Covid pandemic has hastened the reshaping of global order, with the US relinquishing its global position in an increasingly multipolar world where China continues its ascendance. In this context, the Latin American region, once firmly under the US' sphere of influence, has been courted by numerous extra-hemispherical actors, including India.

Octavio Paz, the Mexican Nobel Laureate and Ambassador to India in the 1960's, said "India did

not enter me through my mind but through my senses." It appears Latin America and India have a 'sense' about each other but their minds are still to be made up.

As External Affairs Minister wrapped up a visit to Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay, we take an in-depth look at India's ties with Latin America.

Latin America:

Latin America consists of the entire continent of South America in addition to Mexico, Central America, and the islands of the Caribbean whose inhabitants speak a Romance language such as Spanish, Portuguese, and French.



Brief Historical background

A. Phase I: 1947 - 1991:

India's ties with Latin American have been longstanding.

- Mexico was the first Latin American country to recognize India after its independence in 1947.
- When Fidel Castro ousted the Batista regime in Cuba in 1959, India was one of the first countries to recognize the new

government, set-up an embassy in Havana and establish diplomatic relations.

However, relations between India and Latin America did not gather momentum throughout most of India's post-independence history.

- India and Latin American nations were both colonies of European powers. After achieving independence, both adopted socialist policies, which did little to enhance relations.

- Many **Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) countries** joined the **Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)**.
- India also supported LAC countries against US interventions in the UN and other multilateral gatherings, but this did **not address the deficit in relationship**.

B. Phase II: Post-1991:

Following **liberalization of the Indian economy**, Latin American governments and their private sectors saw **opportunities in India's growing market**.

- Indian industries also discovered that some, middle-income countries of **Latin America offered better markets than those of North America and Western Europe**.
 - **India's top 10 trading partners in LAC:** Venezuela, Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Colombia, Argentina, Peru, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, and Panama.
- There has been an upward swing in the relations between **India and Mexico**. Both countries, in **2016**, upgraded bilateral relations to **'strategic partnership'**.
- Brazil has historically been the cornerstone of India's relations with Latin America, but recently there is a dip in bilateral trade.
 - However, India has invested billions of dollars in Brazil's hydrocarbon reserves and crude imports.

Significance of Latin America for India:

A. Geo-economics:

- **Highest FDI:** LAC netted \$134 billion FDI in 2021, according to UNCTAD' World Investment Report 2022, one of the highest for any region in the world.
- **Bilateral trade:** between India and Latin America surged from a few hundred million dollars in the 1990s to 42 billion USD in 2013.
 - India's exports to Latin America increase by an impressive 48% to a record 18.9 billion dollars in 2021-22.

- **India is currently Mexico's 9th most important global trading partner.** After the US, India is Mexico's largest supplier of automobiles.

- Latin America is very **rich in minerals such as copper, lithium, iron ore, gold, and silver**.
 - It provides India an opportunity to increase investments for their extraction as well as for their imports at cheaper rates.

B. Geostrategic: The India-Latin America relations are increasingly acquiring strategic orientation.

- Building upon New Delhi's maiden dialogue with a troika of foreign ministers of the **Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC)** in July 2012, the two sides are exploring possibilities of forging an **India-Latin America and Caribbean Dialogue Mechanism** similar to that of the **India-Africa Forum Summit** that started in 2008.
- It is crucial for India to achieve its geostrategic calculations like **NSG membership**, and various other negotiations like climate change, terrorism, trade etc.

C. Geo-political:

- The region is also critical to **multilateral diplomacy** and the quest for reforming the global governance **architecture, including the reform and expansion of the UNSC**.
- **China's emergence in the region:** as Latin America's economic and strategic partner, and India need to begin expanding its own footprint in the region.

D. Energy Security:

- Latin America has **20% of global reserves** in countries like E.g., Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico and Cuba). India sources about **15% of its crude oil** from Latin America countries.
- Latin America has also emerged as an **important source of hydrocarbons for**

India in the last few years, with the region contributing around **10% of India's energy imports**.

- It is also an important partner in the India led **International Solar Alliance**. India is set to step up **collaboration with Brazil for eco-friendly ethanol**.

E. Food Security:

- Latin America region is **5 times the size of India** with only half as much population.
- India can **utilize this fertile land to improve agriculture** and reduce its imports costs, as India is currently importing pulses and oil seeds from many of African and Southeast Asian countries at very high costs.

Significance of India for Latin America

A. **Geoeconomic significance:** India is among **Latin America's top 5 largest export destinations** for products like crude petroleum oil, minerals like copper and gold, and vegetable oil.

- **Investment:** Indian investments in the region are estimated between \$12-16 billion in the region's value-added sectors, including in pharmaceuticals, IT, automobiles and manufacturing.
 - **27 Indian pharmaceutical companies have invested in the region** and operate **13 manufacturing units**.

- **Indian investments have created large number of jobs.** Between 2005 and 2015, for every million dollars invested in Colombia, India created 24.6 jobs.
- **India's IT companies employ more than 38,000 people in Latin America**

- **Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA)** was signed with **MERCOSUR** in 2004 (details in box below).
- **Development Assistance** – India had recently announced 14 million US dollar grant for community development projects in **CARICOM** & 150 million line of credit for solar, renewable energy and climate change related projects.
- **Healthcare:** The presence of India's **low-cost, high-quality drugs also helps reduce the cost of public healthcare in Latin America.**

B. **Global Partnership:** India is cooperating with Brazil at platforms like **BRICS, IBSA** which has provided an alternative platform for developing countries and reduces their dependence on existing institutions controlled by west.

C. **Military Cooperation:** India's **DRDO** and **Brazilian aircraft company Embraer** have collaborated to develop and produce airborne radar platforms.

MERCOSUR

- MERCOSUR is a **trading bloc in Latin America** comprising Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay.
- **It was formed in 1991** with the objective of **facilitating the free movement of goods, services, capital and people** among the four member countries.
- It is the **3rd largest integrated market** after the **European Union (EU), North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)**.
- **Aim:**
 - **to create conditions and mechanisms for negotiations** by granting reciprocal tariff preferences
 - to negotiate a free trade area between the two parties in conformity with the WTO rules.

Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA):

- A **Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA)** was signed in **New Delhi on January 25, 2004** as a follow up to the MERCOSUR Framework Agreement.

- **Aim:** to expand and **strengthen the existing relations between MERCOSUR and India** and promote the expansion of trade **by granting reciprocal fixed tariff preferences** with the ultimate objective of creating a free trade area between the parties.

Pacific Alliance:

- The Pacific Alliance is a trade bloc formed by **Lima Declaration 2011**.
- It comprises four countries: **Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Peru**.
- **Objectives:**
 - Build in a **participatory and consensual way** an area of deep integration to move progressively **towards the free mobility of goods, services, resources and people**.
 - **Drive further growth, development and competitiveness of the economies** of its members, focused on achieving greater well-being, overcoming socioeconomic inequality and promoting the social inclusion of its inhabitants.
 - Become a platform of **political articulation, economic and commercial integration and projection to the world**, with emphasis on the Asia-Pacific region.

CARICOM:

- It is an organization of **15 Caribbean nations and dependencies**, established in **1973**.
- **Objective:** To promote **economic integration and cooperation** among its members, to ensure that the benefits of **integration are equitably shared, and to coordinate foreign policy**.
- It is an **official UN Observer**. (Headquarters: **Georgetown, Guyana**)
- **15 Members:** of CARICOM include Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, and Trinidad & Tobago.



India's relations with important countries of LAC: (Brazil covered in another Handout)

A. India-Mexico relations:

- **Political and Bilateral Cooperation:** Both countries established a **'Privileged Partnership'** in **2007**.

- In 2015, both countries agreed to work towards achieving a **'Strategic Partnership'**.
- India gives 20 scholarships to Mexico under the **Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC)**

Programme and Mexican diplomats are also given **training at Forest Survey of India (FSI)**.

- **Economic and Commercial Relations:** India is the **10th largest trading partner of Mexico** and the trade balance has remained in favor of India for 8 years.
 - Mexico is currently **India's largest trading partner** (\$10.11 billion) in **Latin America**.
 - **India's Exports:** In 2021, exports to Mexico from India reached \$5.931 billion; Products: Vehicles and auto parts, organic chemicals, electrical machinery and electronic equipment, aluminum products, readymade garments, iron and steel products and gems and jewellery.
 - **India's Imports:** In 2021, imports from Mexico were at \$4.17 billion; Products: Crude oil, mineral fuel, fertilizers, etc. Crude oil occupies 75% of the export basket from Mexico.
- **Security:** Both countries share a **common concern** over growing traditional and non-traditional security challenges, particularly the rise of global terrorism.
- **Cultural ties:** The **Gurudev Tagore Indian Cultural Centre** has been functioning in Mexico since 2010.
- In 2022, India and Mexico signed an **agreement for cooperation in space**, focusing on areas ranging from trade and investment to health and pharmaceuticals.

B. India-Argentina relations:

- **Political relations:** In 1943, India opened a **Trade Commission in Buenos Aires**, which was later converted into one of the **first Embassies of India in South America in 1949**.
 - Argentina had established a Consulate in Calcutta in the 1920s, which was **transferred to Delhi as an Embassy in 1950**.

• **Bilateral relations:**

- The meeting of the **India-Argentina Joint Trade Committee (JTC)** took place after a gap of 29 years in 2020.
- **ISRO-CONAE (Argentine Space Agency) Joint Committee** was formed under the Agreement on cooperation on the 'Peaceful Uses of Outer Space' between India and Argentina signed in 2009.
- **'India-Argentina Business Council (IABC)'** as the bilateral business chamber was launched in 2020.

• **Economic relations:**

- **India became 4th largest trading partner** of Argentina in 2021. The India-Argentina bilateral trade registered a **historic peak of \$5.7 billion** in the year 2021 (\$1.4 billion Exports from India and \$4.3 billion imports by India).
- Major exports by India: petroleum oils, agro chemicals, yarn-fabric-made-ups, organic chemicals, bulk drugs and two-wheelers.
- Major imports by India: vegetable oils (soya bean and sunflower), finished leather, cereals, residual chemicals and allied products and pulses.

• **Education & Development Co-operation:**

- A MoU is operational between the Jawaharlal Nehru University of India and FLACSO of Argentina for exchange of professors, students and semesters.
- A proposal for setting up a **Chair in Oriental Studies in the University of Cordoba** is under consideration.
- India extends over **40 Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC)**

scholarships to working professionals from Argentina every year. During the pandemic, 26 Argentines underwent **e-ITEC courses**.

- The **Professional Courses for Foreign Diplomats (PCFD)** is conducted by the Sushma Swaraj Institute of Foreign Service, MEA.

C. India-Chile relations:

• Bilateral Agreements:

- India and Chile have signed Agreements/MoUs covering various fields of cooperation such as Sports, S&T, Antarctica, Defence, Air Services, Agriculture, New and Renewable Energy, Education, Outer Space, Geology and Mineral Resources.
- In 2016, an Agreement on the expansion of the **India-Chile Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA)** was signed in New Delhi.

• Trade and Economic relations:

- India's exports to Chile have been growing steadily since 2009, with the exception of a slight decrease in 2014, when a new carbon tax on diesel vehicles in Chile adversely affected motor vehicle exports from India, but this sector has seen a big recovery.
- Chilean exports to India have also increased, though there was a slump in 2015 and 2016 due to the impact of low copper prices, the major export item in Chile's basket.

• Cultural Relations:

- There are a large number of **local Yoga schools** (Kundalini Yoga, Iyengar Yoga, Bikram Yoga etc.) and practitioners.

- There are also quite a few **Chileans who have learned Indian classical dance and music**, some of whom run their own schools.
- Organizations such as **ISKCON, Brahmakumari Samaj, and Art of Living** are also flourishing.

D. India-Peru relations:

• Commercial relations:

- Peru remained the **4th leading trade partner of India in LAC region**, while India is **Peru's 9th largest global trading partner**.
- Trade between India and Peru is growing, with **trade crossing the \$3 billion mark** in 2017-18.
- **Main Exports:** automobiles, motorcycles and three-wheelers, polyester and cotton yarns, pharmaceuticals, iron and steel products, plastic products, rubber, pipes for oil and gas industry, Tyres, pipes etc.
- **Main imports:** gold, copper, synthetic filaments, phosphates of calcium, fresh grapes, fish flour, etc.

• Cultural relations:

- The **AYUSH Information Cell**, set up with the help of Ministry of AYUSH, is **promoting Ayurveda** and other Indian traditional systems of medicine.
- A three-day workshop on "Healthy Aging through Traditional Systems of Medicine and Ayurveda" was held in Lima from 23-25 October 2019 in association with the Peruvian Ministry of Health.
- The **International Day of Yoga (IDY)** has been celebrated every year since 2015.

Caribbean Islands:

The history of the Caribbean reveals the significant role the region played in the colonial struggles of the European powers since the 15th century. In 1492, Christopher Columbus landed in the Caribbean and claimed the region for Spain.

Significance of Caribbean Islands:

- **Economic diversification:** Sustainable use of ocean resources, known as the “blue economy,” offers potential for economic diversification, while preserving the region’s environment, as well as further development of other sectors with potential for growth.
- The Caribbean is a diverse region with significant **economic potential and growth opportunities**.
- **Tourism potential:** With its stunning scenery and vibrant cultures, the Caribbean is one of the world’s top tourist destinations.

Challenges:

- **Economic slowdown:** The **Caribbean economy contracted 8.6%** in 2020, and by 12.6% excluding Guyana. While many **jobs are affected, poverty is on the rise**.
 - Due to Covid 19 Pandemic, the Caribbean has been badly **impacted by the near halt in the tourism sector**.
- **Climate Change:** Caribbean countries are extremely vulnerable to climate change and natural disasters.
 - **Extreme weather events are common:** It experienced 9 hurricanes at Category 3 and above in 2019-2020. E.g., Major hurricanes include **Irma and Maria in 2017** and **Dorian in 2019**.
 - In 2021, the **eruption of the La Soufrière volcano in Saint Vincent** and the Grenadines has required mass evacuations, and is having widespread impacts on the country’s people, infrastructure, and economy.
- **Limited Natural Resources:** Trade plays a very significant role in the development of Caribbean economies.
 - Some islands like Anguilla, Bermuda, and the Cayman Islands **heavily rely on tourism and financial services** to earn foreign,
 - The majority of Caribbean nations **make money from exporting raw materials**, and manufacturing goods to international markets.
 - In the long-run, this can be a problem because of the limited number of resources that these nations possess.

Issues & Challenges**A. Geo-Political**

- **Regional politics:** Rivalries between countries like Brazil and Argentina for regional dominance affects India’s relations with the region.
 - E.g., India and Brazil are part of the **G4** seeking the UNSC membership, Argentina is part of the **Coffee Club** (in opposition to expansion of UNSC).
- **Lack of cohesion and integration:** compared to ASEAN or the European Union

- **India transacts business bilaterally** and occasionally engages in dialogue at regional level.

- Others: A **lack of application, insufficient diplomatic attention**, linguistic unfamiliarity, absence of a diaspora, etc.

B. Geo-Economic:

- **Lack of FTA:** between India and Latin America puts each other at a disadvantage in comparison to China, South Korea and the US, all of which have FTAs with Latin American countries.

- **India's global investments:** In recent years several hurdles to business have been removed, but still needs to improve in Ease of Doing Business.
- In 2015-16, Latin America accounted for less than 3 percent of India's exports and just over 5 percent of India's imports worldwide. The composition of trade makes it **vulnerable to global economic and technological trends.**
- **Others:** Inconsistent trade trend alongside higher trade and non-tariff barriers, poor investment incentives.

C. Connectivity Issue:

- **Physical connectivity**, a vital element for future growth of trade, was the other obstacle identified, specifically the high cost of transport. **India, unlike China, has no direct shipping services to this region.**
- **Indian companies shipping to Brazil cannot automatically access all other countries** and markets in the region, given problems of infrastructure and connectivity.

D. Financial constraints:

- India, unlike China, is **still to consider participation in Latin American financial institutions** like the Inter-American Development Bank, etc.
- **Scattered Indian lines of credit** have fructified into a few projects, dwarfed by more ambitious ventures financed and executed by other players. Bilateral banking connections are non-existent.

E. Countering Chinese Expansion in the Region:

India footprint in Latin American countries is still dwarfed by China's immense presence in the region.

- Many Latin American governments resent Chinese imports, which flood their markets at the cost of local businesses. They are also worried by their growing dependence on Chinese investments.

F. Other Issues:

- **Lack of cultural connection:** There has also been a lack of cultural, linguistic and

diaspora connections between the two regions in the past.

- **Poor institutional presence and market intelligence:** may be the reason for some setbacks.
- **No settled Indian origin industrialists or businessmen** with the heft to act as nuclei in Latin America for their erstwhile compatriots, or catalyze investment from there into India.
- **Language barrier:** Indians lack of proficiency in **Spanish and Portuguese** is a major disadvantage for Indian companies.

Way ahead:

- **Political will:** is needed for a higher profile engagement with Latin America by Indian diplomacy.
- **Delineation of the areas and forums of engagement**, postulation of priorities and interlocutors on both sides, a **shared collective memory, follow up on deadlines for projects, are essential if India wants to achieve success in Latin America.**
- There is scope for **more cooperation in outer space, nuclear energy, maintenance of defense hardware, cooperation on terrorism.**
- The lack of institutional memory on both sides calls for **verification of vital facts and updated statistics.**
- **'Cultural approximation'** is essential if populations on both sides are to gain a more authentic appreciation of each other's realities.
 - It will also help create the necessary workforce as economic and commercial relations grow, not to mention tourism.

It is imperative that **India considers the region as a priority** keeping in mind the PRC's activities which is gradually turning Latin America into a dependent region. **Latin America's desire to look forward to India** with its reciprocation especially after the latter demonstrated its **support during the**

pandemic could foster far meaningful ties in the near future.

India-Latin America relations have come a long way over the past several years. **By capitalizing on the growing momentum and budding progress between them, India and Latin America can build a strong, sustainable partnership** and usher in a new, unprecedented era of cooperation.

HI 89- India- Brazil Relations

India and Brazil are celebrating 74 years of diplomatic relations in 2022. They share a close and multifaceted relationship based on **shared democratic values, common global vision and a commitment to development.**

Besides **bilateral** relationship, two countries cooperate in South-South cooperation forums like BRICS, IBSA etc. and also in **multilateral** bodies like the UN and WTO etc.

Brief Historical background

A. Pre- Independence:

- **India's links with Brazil go back five centuries.** Portugal's Pedro Alvares Cabral is officially recognized as the **first European to "discover" Brazil in 1500.**
- Cabral was sent to India by the King of Portugal after the return of Vasco da Gama from his pioneering journey to India.
- During the Portuguese Empire, **chilies were traded from the New World to India and cows were sent the other way,** amongst other trades.

B. Post - Independence:

- In 1948, Brazil was the **first Latin American nation to establish diplomatic relations with India.**
- **Brazil supported Portugal's claim for Goa:** The decolonization process of the Portuguese occupied Goa became a major source of tension between the two nations.
- **Pakistan factor:** Brazil opposed India's operation Vijay 1999. In 2009, Brazil approved the sale of 100 MAR-I Anti-radiation missiles to Pakistan despite India's protests.
- **21st century reset:** Since the turn of the century, Brazil has been India's closest partner in a region where its presence remains limited.
 - Under the ebullient **leadership of Lula da Silva, who came to power in 2003 in Brazil identified India as a priority**

state in his inauguration speech itself.

- In 2006, India-Brazil relations were elevated to a **Strategic Partnership**, thereby heralding a new phase in bilateral ties.

Significance of Brazil for India:

A. Global politics

- **South-South Cooperation:** Being a victim of colonialism and neo-colonialism, both countries favour deeper cooperation among the members of the Third World.
- **Plurilateral engagements:** Regular meetings between the leaders of both countries including at the fora such as **IBSA, BRICS, etc.**
- **Multi-polar world:**
 - Both are **critical of unilateral actions** of the Western nations, e.g., NATO bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999, US's aggression against Iran etc.
- **Democracy & rights:** Both countries are thriving democracies and as such are vocal for democratic rights of people across the world.
- **Soft power:** Brazil can act as a gateway to project India's soft power in South America. This can attract tourists from all over South America to India, bring in forex reserves.

B. Geo-economics:

- **Trade:** India and Brazil are on their way to realize the target of \$15 billion in bilateral trade which was announced in 2020.
 - **Imports:** from Brazil include crude oil, gold, vegetable oil, sugar and bulk mineral and ores.
- **Investment:** The Brazilian companies have invested in automobiles, IT, mining, energy (Indian oil and gas sector), biofuels, footwear sectors etc. in India.
- **Energy:** Brazil has also joined India-led **International Solar Alliance** to give a push to renewable energy in the developing countries.

- **Agriculture & Food Security:** Brazil is among the largest producer of agricultural products like coffee, soybean, crop-based ethanol, sugarcane, corn, beans, fruits, vegetables etc. Thus, it can play a crucial role in **India's food security**, in addition to **manoeuvring inflation cycles**.

- **Sugar subsidy:** Brazil has also agreed to **solve the matter of the Indian Government's sugar subsidy in a bilateral way**, instead of using the WTO
- **Animal Husbandry:** Recognized the **common genetic heritage in cattle in India and Brazil** and agreed to collaborate in assisted reproductive technology that is expected to help increase dairy production in India.
- **A Center of Excellence for Breed Improvement of Animals** is being set up in Haryana, with Brazilian assistance

C. Cultural Relations:

- Brazil is covered under the Scholarship scheme of the **Indian Council of Cultural relations (ICCR)** and is also covered under the AYUSH Scholarship Scheme.
- A **Cultural Exchange Programme (CEP)** for the years 2020-2024 was signed during the President Bolsonaro visit to India in 2020.

Significance of India for Brazil:

A. Geo-economic:

- **Trade:** India exports products worth over **\$4 billion to Brazil**. Major Indian exports to Brazil include agrochemical, synthetic yarns, auto components and parts, pharmaceuticals and petroleum products
- **India signed a Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA)** with **MERCOSUR** in 2004. **MERCOSUR** is a regional grouping comprising Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay.
- **Bilateral Investments:** Indian companies have invested in such sectors as IT,

Pharmaceutical, Energy, agri-business, mining, engineering and automobiles.

- **Market:** Brazil provides a huge market for India's **export diversification** drive in agricultural products.

B. Geo-Strategic:

- **Security and Cooperation:** India and Brazil established a **strategic dialogue mechanism in 2006** to cover regional and global issues of mutual concern.
- **Minerals:** Brazil is also rich in **mineral resources** like gold, bauxite, iron ore, tin diamond, Platinum copper etc. which India struggles to meet from domestic production.
- **ONGC Videsh** is involved in hydrocarbon exploration in the Brazilian waters. It recently made a significant discovery of natural gas there.

C. Cultural relations:

- The first classical Indian art form to come to Brazil was Bharatanatyam; Odissi, Kathak and Kuchipudi followed.
- Brazil has a strong community of **Yoga and Ayurveda practitioners**. E.g.,
 - **Brazilian Association of Ayurveda (ABRA)** is a non-profit association with offices in 9 states of Brazil and has members all over Brazil.
 - **International Congress on Ayurveda 2018** took place in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
- **Mahatma Gandhi** is highly regarded in Brazil and the government and NGOs are trying to inculcate the philosophy of non-violence among students, youth and police.
 - **Filhos de Gandhi (Sons of Gandhi) organization** is very popular in Salvador, Brazil and takes out street processions wearing Gandhian attire every year.
- **Indian cinema is also popular among the Brazilian people**. Brazilian Post issued a commemorative stamp in 2014 on "**100 years of Indian Cinema**".

- **Indian Community in Brazil:** is estimated to be around 5,000 people, with the majority

of them living in Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Manaus.

South-south cooperation:

South-South Cooperation is a **broad framework of collaboration among countries of the South** in the political, economic, social, cultural, environmental and technical domains.

- Involving two or more developing countries, it can **take place on a bilateral, regional, intraregional or interregional basis.**
- Developing countries **share knowledge, skills, expertise and resources** to meet their development goals through concerted efforts.
- **Guiding Principles of South-South Cooperation:**
 - **Manifestation of solidarity** among peoples and countries of the South that contributes to their national well-being.
 - **National and collective self-reliance** and the attainment of internationally agreed development goals, including the **2030 SDG.**
 - **Respect for national sovereignty, national ownership and independence,** equality, non-conditionality, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual benefit.
- **Objectives of South-South Cooperation:** According to the **Buenos Aires Plan of Action (BAPA)**, the objectives include:
 - **Strengthen the capacity of developing countries** to identify and analyze together their main development issues.
 - Increase the quantity and enhance the quality of **international development cooperation** through the pooling of capacities to improve the effectiveness of the resources devoted to such cooperation.
 - Create and strengthen existing **technological capacities** in developing countries in order to improve effectiveness and to improve the capacity of developing countries.
 - **Increase and improve communications** among developing countries, leading to a greater **awareness of common problems** and wider access to available knowledge.

Areas of Convergence and Achievements (Geopolitical- G4, IBSA, BRICS, etc., Economic, climate change, cultural, defense, etc.)

- A. **Geopolitical** (Besides deeper and proactive engagements on different initiatives discussed earlier)
- **IBSA (India - Brazil - South Africa Dialogue):** is a tripartite grouping (India, Brazil, South Africa) for promoting cooperation among these countries. **Aim:**
 - **Consultation and coordination on global and regional political issues,** such as, the global governance reforms, WTO/Doha Development Agenda, climate change, terrorism etc.

- **Trilateral collaboration on concrete areas/projects** for the common benefit of three countries;
 - **Assisting other developing countries** by taking up projects in the latter through IBSA Fund.
 - **BASIC bloc (Brazil - South Africa - India - China)** to coordinate responses to climate change.
- B. **Geo-economics:**
- **Poverty reduction:** Both India and Brazil can learn from each other's best practices e.g., **Bolsa Familia** social security programme in Brazil and **Aadhaar based cash transfers** in India.
 - **Cooperation in Bio-fuels, Oil & Gas:** '**National Biofuel Policy**' of India and '**Renova Bio**' Programme' of Brazil have

some common objectives related to increase in the current blending percentage of bio-fuel with Petrol and Diesel.

C. Security:

- **Defence:**
 - Under 'Defence Cooperation Agreement' 2003, a 'Joint Defence Committee (JDC)' has been set up.
 - Indian and Brazilian Navies are also coordinating the technical aspects related to **White Shipping Information** through a data sharing agreement.
- **Cyber Security:** An MoU on cooperation in the area of Cyber Security between **CERT-In** and its counterpart agency was signed in 2020.

D. S&T Cooperation:

- The '**Agreement on S&T Cooperation**' between India and Brazil was signed in 2006.
- A **Program of Scientific and Technological Cooperation (PoC S&T)** for the period 2020-2023 was signed in 2020.
- **Space Cooperation:**
 - **Framework agreement for peaceful use of outer space** in 2004
 - **Agreement on inter-institutional cooperation** between the space agencies, collaborating in Data sharing and satellite tracking of Indian satellites.
 - As part of the **UNISPACE+50 (50th Anniversary of first UN Conference on Space)** initiative, ISRO organized an 8-week long training programme on nanosatellite building.

E. Environment: Two sides signed MoU:

- **Implementing Arrangement Establishing Cooperation in Augmentation** of a Brazilian Earth Station for Receiving and Processing Data from **Indian Remote Sensing (IRS) Satellites.**

- MoU on Cooperation in the Establishment of a consultation mechanism on **mobility and consular issues.**

Issues & Challenges

- **Economic Cooperation:** The relationship between India and Brazil is **limited as a buyer-seller relationship** which needs to be changed.
 - India Brazil **bilateral trade is declined due to presence of complementary goods and industries** in other country.
 - Brazil has been a **critic of Indian Government's production & export subsidy** to farmers.
- **Civil and political unrests in Latin America:** This desists India to expand its presence in the region, apart from discouraging business prospects.
- **Lack of regional approach:** Brazil **lacks strategic vision towards the Indo-Pacific region** while India also does not have a dedicated **South America Policy.**
- **China Factor:** China with its deep pockets has emerged as the **largest trading partner of Brazil.** The bilateral annual trade between China & Brazil stands at **\$110 billion**, over 13 times that of India-Brazil trade.
- **Lack of People to people contact:** alongside dormant civil societies, researchers, scientists etc. There is no student exchange program between the two economies.
- **Others:**
 - **Connectivity issue:** There is **no direct air connectivity** between the two countries.
 - **Climate Change:** India is committed to combating global warming while **Brazil has rejected scientific studies on climate change.**

Way ahead:

- **Global Governance:** Both India and Brazil emerging economies have the potential to push to **reforms in Global Governance**.
 - Both economies can cooperate on multilateral forums such as **IBSA, BRICS, G77, WTO, UN, etc.** to ensure **just, equitable and rule based multilateral world order**.
- Improving bilateral relations by **creating an environment conducive to trade and investment** by reducing red-tapism.
 - An **FTA** favorable to both countries can be worked out in this direction.
 - Establishing **2+2** mechanisms for deeper cooperation between two economies.
 - The **Bilateral Investment Treaty** needs to be concluded on a priority basis to boost investments.
- There is need that India **utilize Brazil's expertise in Hydropower generation** to realize the objectives of its **New Hydroelectric Policy 2019**.

India and Brazil are two major emerging economies and had vast potential for bilateral cooperation, but also to **strengthen each other in international forums and advance the interest of the developing world at large**. The two sides must agree to take steps to further **expand and diversify trade and investment flows** and deepen cooperation in agriculture, dairy sector, renewable energy, space research, etc.

HI90- India- South East Asia Relations

Introduction

On 16 June 2022, India hosted the Special ASEAN-India Foreign Ministers Meeting. The occasion also marked the 30th anniversary of the establishment of dialogue relations between India and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and 10 years since the development of their strategic partnership.

The leaders called for greater emphasis on trade growth, investment enhancement, defence and security, physical and digital connectivity, climate and sustainability action and greater exchanges among their citizens. At the same time, they exchanged views on developments in the region and elsewhere.

Historical background

Ancient connect:

India's relations with the countries of "Southeast Asia" date back to antiquity. Early Indian texts referred to Southeast Asia as **Suvarnabhumi** (land of gold). Trade and the transmission of the Hindu and Buddhist religions were key elements of India's early interaction with Southeast Asian lands.

Pre-Independence:

Politically, Indian nationalist leaders viewed the anticolonial struggles in Southeast Asia as being indivisible from their own struggle. India's struggle for independence from British rule was viewed in Southeast Asia with great interest.

1947-91:

In 1950s India mediated in the conflict between the French and the North Vietnamese following the **Geneva Accords in 1954**. China made diplomatic and commercial gains in Southeast Asia at India's expense.

The reasons for divergence of interests:

- **Domestic preoccupation:** India remained preoccupied with its domestic problems and the conflict with Pakistan over Kashmir, while the Southeast Asian nations remained concerned with the threat of Communist insurgency and potential Chinese and Vietnamese expansionism.
- **Economic policies:** SE Asian countries were experiencing robust economic growth through openness to foreign investment and multinational

enterprise, India could muster only what was derisively called the "Hindu" rate of growth of around 5 percent.

- **ASEAN 1967:** While India remained somewhat uninterested in joining ASEAN, its leaders also ruled out Indian membership on the ground that it was not "geographically included in Southeast Asia." More importantly, India's nonaligned outlook, with a tilt to Moscow over cold war issues, conflicted with ASEAN's pro-U.S. stance.
- **Suspicion:** In the 1980s, India's naval modernization program caused some apprehension in Southeast Asia.

1991-2014:

India adopted "**Looks East**" policy to overcome mutual neglect relations with ASEAN. The focus of India's look east policy and India-ASEAN ties has been in the economic arena.

India's relations with ASEAN have been facilitated by New Delhi's participation in a number of common regional forums.

- In 1992 India became a sectoral dialogue partner of ASEAN.
- In 1995 India was made a full dialogue partner by ASEAN.
- India was invited for the first time to summit level talks with ASEAN in Cambodia in November 2002, and at the second ASEAN-India Summit in Bali in October 2003, India signed a Framework Agreement for creating an ASEAN-India free trade agreement (FTA) in a decade.
- In 1996, India joined the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), the first multilateral security organization in the Asia-Pacific region under ASEAN leadership. ASEAN acknowledged the importance of India as a counterweight to China.

ASEAN: An Introduction

ASEAN, acronym for **Association of Southeast Asian Nations**, is an international organization that has **10-member countries** in Southeast Asia: **Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam.**

- ASEAN was established **August 8, 1967**, by member countries Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Singapore. The precursor of ASEAN was the Association of South East Asia, which consisted of the Philippines, Thailand, and the Federation of Malaya.
- The most recent addition to ASEAN is Cambodia, which joined in 1999. Since its conception with five countries in 1967, ASEAN has doubled in membership.
- The ASEAN region has a population of more than 600 million and covers a total area of 4.5 mn sq km.

Purpose of ASEAN: ASEAN was formed during the Cold War to promote stability and cooperation in a politically turbulent region.

- Promote economic and cultural exchange among its member countries,
- maintain peace and stability in Southeast Asia, and
- establish relationships with foreign powers with similar aims.

Decision making process: ASEAN creates and implements policy based on a system of consultation and consensus. Consultations occur between governments before a proposal is brought to discussion, and a proposal is only passed after there is consensus from all member governments.

Fundamental Principles

The **Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC)** in Southeast Asia, signed at the First ASEAN Summit on 24 February 1976, declared that in their relations with one another, the High Contracting Parties should be guided by the following fundamental principles:

- Mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, and national identity of all nations
- The right of every State to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion, or coercion
- Non-interference in the internal affairs of one another
- Settlement of differences or disputes in a peaceful manner
- Renunciation of the threat or use of force

- Effective cooperation among themselves

Political Cooperation

The TAC stated that ASEAN political and security dialogue and cooperation should aim to promote regional peace and stability by enhancing regional resilience. Regional resilience shall be achieved by cooperating in all fields based on the principles of self-confidence, self-reliance, mutual respect, cooperation, and solidarity, which shall constitute the foundation for a strong and viable community of nations in Southeast Asia.

Strengthening of ASEAN

- The end of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union at the end of the 1980s allowed ASEAN countries to exercise greater political independence in the region, and in the 1990s ASEAN emerged as a leading voice on regional trade and security issues. For example,
 - ASEAN adopted a declaration to resolve disputes in the South China Sea,
 - Promoted dialogue on regional security by establishing the ASEAN Regional Forum, and
 - Worked to resolve the conflict in East Timor.
 - In 1992 members reduced intraregional tariffs and eased restrictions on foreign investment by creating the ASEAN Free Trade Area.
- To signal ASEAN's commitment to international diplomacy, human rights, and democratic values, its member countries signed the **ASEAN Charter in 2007**.
 - This charter increased the frequency of ASEAN summit meetings, and established the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights.
- ASEAN projects center on economic cooperation, the promotion of trade among ASEAN countries and between ASEAN members and the rest of the world, and programs for joint research and technical cooperation among member governments.
- The organization has a declared objective of establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Southeast Asia - Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone (SEANWFZ).



Figure 1: India-ASEAN countries.

Forums led by ASEAN

- **ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF):** Established in 1994, the ARF is an important platform for security dialogue in the Indo-Pacific. It provides a setting in which members can discuss current security issues and develop cooperative measures to enhance peace and security in the region.
 - o The ARF is characterized by consensus-based decision-making and frank dialogue. It comprises 27 members – 10 ASEAN members, 10 Dialogue partners (includes India) and 7 others from the region.
- **East Asia Summit:** The EAS is the Indo-Pacific's premier forum for strategic dialogue. It is the only leader-led forum at which all key Indo-Pacific partners meet to discuss political, security and economic challenges facing the region, and has an important role to play in advancing closer regional cooperation. More details of it are given in the box below.
- **ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting (ADMM) Plus:** ADMM Plus is an annual meeting of Defence Ministers of 10 ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) countries and eight dialogue partner countries - Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand, Republic of Korea, Russia and the United States.

About East Asia Summit (EAS) (ASEAN+6+2)

It was established in **2005**. It is a premier forum in the Asia-Pacific region dealing with issues relating to security and defense with the following features:

- **Members:** It comprises the ten member states of the ASEAN countries along with 8 members Australia, China, Japan, India, New Zealand, the Republic of Korea, Russia, and the United States. India is a founding member of the East Asia Summit. (In short **ASEAN + 6, USA, and Russia**).
- **Priority Areas:** There are six priority areas of regional cooperation within the framework of the EAS which are a) Environment and Energy b) Education c) Finance d) Global Health Issues and Pandemic Diseases e) Natural Disaster Management and f) ASEAN Connectivity.
- **Significance:**
 - The members of the EAS together represent 54% of the world population and account for 58% of the global GDP.
 - It is usually held just after the second ASEAN summit of the year when the ASEAN also meets its dialogue partners.
 - They also meet for ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting (ADMM) Plus meet.

India-ASEAN relations

India-ASEAN bilateral relationship started evolving since India introduced '**Look East Policy**' in 1990s. This initiative was further transformed to '**Act East Policy**' in 2014 mainly to develop economic and strategic relations with the nations of Southeast Asian countries.

In 1992, India has emerged as a sectoral Partner of ASEAN followed by **Dialogue Partner in 1996** and a **Summit-level Partner in 2002**.

In 2015, India has also set up a separate Mission to ASEAN and the East Asia Summit in Jakarta in 2015 with a dedicated Ambassador to strengthen engagement with ASEAN and ASEAN-centric processes.

India and ASEAN region are celebrating **30th Anniversary** of their ASEAN-India Dialogue Relations in 2022. The year is embarked as '**ASEAN-India Friendship Year**'. The year also witnessed a few key bilateral visits and meetings.

Mechanism of Engagement

- **Plans of Action:** As a reflection of the interest of ASEAN and India to intensify their engagement, the **ASEAN-India Partnership for Peace, Progress and Shared Prosperity**, which sets out the roadmap for long-term ASEAN-India engagement, was signed at the 3rd ASEAN-India Summit in 2004 in Vientiane. PoA envisages cooperation in a range of sectors as well as

capacity building programmes in the political, economic and socio-cultural spheres for deepening and intensifying ASEAN-India cooperation.

- **Delhi Dialogue:** Delhi Dialogue is India's premier annual track 1.5 international conference bringing together dignitaries, senior officials, business leaders, scholars, academicians and eminent persons of India and ASEAN to discuss ways to further strengthen the ASEAN-India Strategic Partnership. Launched in 2009, eleven editions of the Dialogue have been held so far and the 12th one just concluded on 16-17 June 2022.
- **ASEAN-India Centre (AIC):** At the Commemorative Summit held in 2012, the Heads of the Government recommended establishment of ASEAN-India Centre (AIC) to undertake policy research, advocacy and networking activities with organizations and think-tanks in India and ASEAN, with the aim to promote the ASEAN-India Strategic Partnership.

Areas of Cooperation

Political Security Cooperation:

- Faced with growing traditional and non-traditional challenges, politico-security cooperation is a key and an emerging pillar of our relationship.
 - o Rising export of terror, growing radicalization through ideology of hatred, and spread of extreme violence define the

landscape of common security threats to our societies.

- o India in partnership with ASEAN seeks to craft a response that relies on coordination, cooperation and sharing of experiences at multiple levels.

Economic Cooperation:

India-ASEAN trade and investment relations have been growing steadily, with ASEAN being India's fourth largest trading partner.

- **Trade:** India's trade with ASEAN stands at US\$ 81.33 billion, which is approx. 10.6% of India's overall trade. India's export to ASEAN stands at 11.28% of our total exports.
- **Investment:** FDI from ASEAN to India (2000-2018) inflows into India from ASEAN - US\$68.91 billion (18.28% of investment flows), while FDI outflows from India to ASEAN countries (2007 to 2015) - US\$38.672 billion.
- **FTA:** The ASEAN-India Free Trade Area has been completed with the entering into force of the ASEAN-India Agreements on Trade in Service and Investments on 1 July 2015.
- **ASEAN India-Business Council (2003)** for enhancing private sector engagement from India and ASEAN for business networking and sharing of ideas.
 - o **Socio-Cultural Cooperation:** India has been organizing a large number of programmes to boost People-to-People Interaction with ASEAN, like Students Exchange Programme, Special Training Course for ASEAN diplomats, Exchange of Parliamentarians, ASEAN-India Network of Think Tanks, ASEAN-India Eminent Persons Lecture Series, etc. The 2nd edition of the ASEAN-India Workshop on Blue Economy, jointly hosted with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, was held on 18 July 2018 in New Delhi.
 - o **Connectivity:** ASEAN-India connectivity is a priority for India as also the ASEAN

countries. In 2013, India became the third dialogue partner of ASEAN to initiate an **ASEAN Connectivity Coordinating Committee-India Meeting.**

- India is implementing the **India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway and the Kaladan Multimodal Project.**
- A possible extension to IMT Trilateral Highway to Cambodia, Lao PDR and Viet Nam is also under consideration.
- Proposed IMT Motor Vehicle Agreement (IMT MVA) - a critical role in realizing seamless movement of passenger, personal and cargo vehicles along roads linking India, Myanmar and Thailand.
- India has announced a Line of Credit of US\$ 1 billion to promote projects that support physical and digital connectivity between India and ASEAN and a Project Development Fund with a corpus of INR 500 crores to develop manufacturing hubs in CLMV countries at the 13th ASEAN India Summit held in Malaysia in November 2015.
 - o **Funds:** ASEAN Multilateral Division offers project-based financial assistance to ASEAN countries. Financial assistance has been provided to ASEAN countries from the following Funds:
 - ASEAN-India Cooperation Fund of US\$ 100 million to support implementation of the ASEAN-India Plans of Action.
 - ASEAN-India S&T Development Fund (AISTDF)
 - ASEAN-India Green Fund.
 - o **ASEAN-India Projects:** India has been cooperating with ASEAN by way of implementation of various projects in the fields of Agriculture, Science & Technology, Space, Environment & Climate Change, Human Resource Development, Capacity Building, New and Renewable Energy, Tourism, People-to-People contacts and Connectivity etc.

Significance of ASEAN for India	Significance of India for ASEAN
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ASEAN is a major trading bloc. India has much to gain by creating closer economic relations with ASEAN. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • India is a powerhouse in IT and ITeS. With the help of India ASEAN nations can digitize their governance process.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • India can learn from the success of ASEAN despite difference among members and emulate the same in SAARC. • Without ASEAN's cooperation India's principal position of free, inclusive and open maritime order in the entire Indo-Pacific region cannot be materialized. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ASEAN expects greater role from India in the Indo-Pacific to counter balance growing Chinese unilateralism and assertiveness. • India's democratic credentials are a source of learning for ASEAN nations. |
|--|---|

About India's Act East Policy

India's Act East Policy focusses on the extended neighborhood in the Asia-Pacific region. The policy, which was originally conceived as an economic initiative, has gained political, strategic and cultural dimensions including establishment of institutional mechanisms for dialogue and cooperation.

It was launched at the 12th ASEAN-India Summit in 2014 held in Myanmar. The policy is **based on 4 C's** – Culture, Commerce, Connectivity, and Capacity Building.

Objective: To promote economic cooperation, cultural ties and develop strategic relationships with countries in the Asia-Pacific region through continuous engagement at bilateral, regional and multilateral levels.

- **Priority to North East India:** enhanced connectivity to the States of North Eastern Region with other countries in our neighborhood.
- **Economic:** Enhancing economic relations with ASEAN. Ensuring greater infrastructural connectivity and foreign direct investment.
- **Strategic:** It is an effort of India to cultivate extensive economic and strategic relations with the nations of Southeast Asia and further strengthen its relationship with Indo-Pacific.

Comparing Look East with Act East

- **First, the scope of Act East policy is wider.** It focuses on boosting economic co-operation, building infrastructure for greater connectivity, and improving strategic & security ties.
 - On the other hand, **Look East** mainly focused on boosting economic cooperation.
- **Second, the Act East policy was launched to tackle the changing Geo-political scenario.** The aim was curtailing Chinese dominance in the South China Sea and its rising influence over the Indian Ocean Region.
 - However, **Look East** mainly aimed to boost trade and investment relations with Southeast Asian countries. The fall of the USSR has induced India to look for alternate options for sustaining its economic growth.
- **Third, heavy focus is being given to the development of the North East region** under Act East policy. This factor was neglected in India's plans of forging deeper ties with East Asia under the Look East policy.
- **Fourth, Act East Policy focuses more on historical, cultural, linguistic, and religious ties** through more people-to-people exchanges. This factor was also absent under the Look East policy.

Progress made under the Act East Policy

1. **Engagement with ASEAN:** ASEAN-India engagement has become deeper and has scaled new heights. **India is now the 4th largest trading partner of ASEAN.** Southeast Asian countries favor India's increased involvement to counter China's expansionist policies in the region. India has allocated \$1 billion for promoting connectivity at the India-ASEAN Summit.
2. **Cooperation on Regional Initiatives:** India is steering a number of sub-regional programmes and projects such as the BBIN corridor, Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway, Kaladan multimodal project etc.
3. **North-East development:** The Act East Policy focuses mainly on the Northeast region. The Government of Japan has decided to invest around Rs 13,000 Crore in several ongoing, as well as new projects in different states of India's North-Eastern region.
 - o India-Japan Act East Forum was established in 2017. It will identify specific projects for economic modernization of India's North-East region
4. **Security Engagement:** Defence cooperation has increased with East Asian countries. In 2014, India and Vietnam signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) that opened up a line of credit for Vietnam to purchase defense equipment from India.
 - o Since 2015, India has carried out joint maritime-law enforcement patrols and military exercises with ASEAN countries.
 - o Similarly, the first summit of QUAD grouping took place in 2021.
5. **Far East involvement:** Recently, India has reached out to Far East economies especially Russia. India has announced to extend a \$1 billion line of credit towards the development of the Russian Far East. This is important as it is an energy-rich region and would help India's economic growth.

Factors inhibiting the success of Act East Policy

1. **First**, there has been a **growth in China's influence combined with growing China-India tensions.** Both China's direct influence and that of ethnic Chinese in the region are on the rise. Further the civil society is impressed with the way China has handled the pandemic and provided aid to the region.
 - o On the other hand, Sino-India relations are undergoing severe stress as seen in the 2020 Galwan valley clash.
2. **Second**, there is **disappointment in the region with India's economic policies.** Important economic agreements signed between India and East Asian countries are rather scarce. So far, India has only signed a memorandum of cooperation on oceans and fisheries with South Korea.
 - o Further India was the only country to withdraw from the recent Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) deal.
3. **Third**, there is **rising concern in the region with India's approach towards its minorities**, especially Muslims and Christians.
 - o Growing concern about Hindu majoritarianism in India has impacted civil society attitudes in countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore.

India's relations with important countries in the region.

India- Singapore

India-Singapore relations are based on shared values and approaches, economic opportunities and convergence of interests on key issues.

- Following the conclusion of Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA)

of 2005, this robust relationship was elevated to a **Strategic Partnership** in 2015 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations.

- **Defence and Security Cooperation:** In the area of defence,
 - Annual Ministerial and Secretary level dialogues;
 - Staff level talks between three wings of Armed forces;
 - Training of Singapore Army and Air force in India (10th edition in 2019) every year.
- **Science & Technology Cooperation:** ISRO launched Singapore's first indigenously built micro-satellite in 2011; 2 more in 2014 and 6 in 2015. In June 2018, six MoUs were concluded by NTU for research & exchange partnership with NITI Aayog in areas of AI, ML, big data, etc.
- **Economic Cooperation:** Singapore is India's largest trade partner (USD 27.85 billion in 2018-19) in ASEAN. It is the leading source of FDI, among the largest sources of External Commercial Borrowings and Foreign Portfolio Investment.
- **Indian Community:** Ethnic Indians constitute about 9.1 % or around 3.5 lakhs of the resident population of 3.9 million in Singapore. In addition, among the 1.6 million foreigners residing in Singapore, about 21 % or around 3.5 lakhs are Indian expatriates holding Indian passports.

India-Philippines

Both countries aim to integrate India's **"Make in India"** with the Philippines' **"Build, Build, Build"** infrastructure initiative to create immense opportunities for companies and investors on both sides.

- The bilateral trade between the two countries has shown continuous progress, though the IT-BPO segment has remained an important sector in overall trade. The India-Philippines trade has risen to nearly \$2.5 billion, also the presence of Indian companies in the Philippines is rising.

- In recent years, India-Philippines have seen two-way investment growth in infrastructure and energy sectors.
- The Indian investment in the Philippines has grown especially in concrete projects like LNG pipelines, waste management solutions and airport terminals
- Both the countries also agreed to sign a Tourism Promotion Agreement to bring the people of the two countries further closer.
- In 2022, Philippines became the first country to receive **Brahmos missiles** from India.

There is scope to enhance partnership in several areas - from trade, investment, services, agriculture, engineering to new technologies like digital devices, Artificial Intelligence etc. The Indian pharma and healthcare sectors offer immense value to the Philippines.

India-Thailand

India and Thailand, located in each other's extended neighborhood, share a maritime boundary in the Andaman Sea. India's bilateral relations with Thailand are rooted in history, age-old social and cultural interactions and extensive people-to-people contacts.

- **Cultural link:** The shared link of Buddhism is reflected in regular pilgrimages to Buddhist sites in India by a large number of Thai people.
 - Hindu elements can be found among those reflected in Thai architecture, arts, sculpture, dance, drama and literature.
 - The Thai language incorporates Pali and Sanskrit influences.
 - A large Indian Diaspora living and working in Thailand is another important bond.
- Thailand is the second largest economy in the ASEAN. Two-way trade in 2018 totaled US \$ 12.46 billion. In the ASEAN region, Thailand ranks as India's 5th largest trading partner.
- India's 'Act East' policy has been complemented by Thailand's 'Look West' policy in bringing the two countries closer.
- Both countries are important regional partners linking South and Southeast Asia.

- They cooperate closely in the ASEAN, East Asia Summit (EAS) and BIMSTEC groupings as also Mekong Ganga Cooperation (MGC), Asia Cooperation Dialogue (ACD) and Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA).
- There is also a common challenge in the fight against terrorism, narcotics and transnational organized crime.

India-Indonesia

India and Indonesia have shared two millennia of close cultural and commercial contacts.

- **Cultural links:**
 - The Hindu, Buddhist and later Muslim faith travelled to Indonesia from the shores of India.
 - The Indonesian folk art and dramas are based on stories from the great epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata.
- **Political Relations:** During our respective struggles for independence, the national leaderships of India and Indonesia led by Jawaharlal Nehru and President Sukarno

collaborated closely in supporting the cause of Asian and African independence and later laid the foundation of the Afro-Asian and Non-Aligned Movements at the Bandung Conference in 1955.

- Bilateral relations in political, security, defense, commercial and cultural fields have intensified since adoption of “Look East” and “Act East” policies.
- **Economic Relations:** Indonesia has emerged to become the **second largest trading partner of India in the ASEAN region**. Bilateral trade has increased from US\$ 4.3 billion in 2005-06 to US\$ 17.4 billion in 2020-21. India is the largest buyer of crude palm oil from Indonesia. It is an attractive destination for Indian investment in the region.
- The shared culture, colonial history and post-independence goals of political sovereignty, economic self-sufficiency and independent foreign policy have unifying effects on bilateral relations.

India-Vietnam Relations

India and Vietnam, with historical roots in the common struggle for liberation from colonial rule and the national struggle for independence, share traditionally close and cordial bilateral relations.

Mahatma Gandhi and Ho Chi Minh, regarded as the Father of Nation in India and Vietnam respectively, led people in their heroic struggle against colonialism in the two countries.

India was the Chairman of the **International Commission for Supervision and Control (ICSC)**, which was formed pursuant to the Geneva Accord of 1954 to facilitate the peace process in Vietnam.

In December 2020, they have adopted a historic **“Joint Vision for Peace, Prosperity and People”** to guide **India - Vietnam Comprehensive Strategic Partnership**. It includes:

- **Commercial relations:** From a meagre US\$ 200 million in 2000, bilateral trade between India and Vietnam has seen steady growth over the years to reach US\$ 11.12 billion in 2020-21.
 - India’s investments in Vietnam are estimated at around US\$ 1.9 billion.
- **Cultural cooperation:** The **Swami Vivekananda Indian Cultural Centre (SVCC)** was established in Hanoi in September 2016 to promote cultural exchanges.
- **Cooperation in Digital field:** In 2021 both countries signed a Letter of Intent (LoI) on collaboration in the fields of digital media.
 - The LoI envisages sharing of information and experience in establishing policies and regulatory frameworks on digital media and social networks, and conducting capacity building and training programs for media professionals and officials in the two countries.
- **Bilateral Defence engagements: Initiatives in June 2022**
 - ‘Joint Vision Statement on India-Vietnam Defence Partnership towards 2030’.

- A Memorandum of Understanding on Mutual Logistics Support was also inked.
- Soon expected is \$US 500 million Defence Line of Credit extended to Vietnam.
- Vietnam also wanted to acquire Brahmoose missiles from India. But till there is no movement by India much to the disappointment of Vietnam.

Cooperation in Indo-Pacific:

- Underlining the link between prosperity and security, the countries have reaffirmed the importance of maintaining peace, stability, security and freedom of navigation and overflight in the South China Sea,
- Pursuing the peaceful resolution of disputes in accordance with international law, particularly the 1982 UNCLOS without resorting to threat or use of force.
- Full and effective implementation of the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea and work towards early conclusion of a substantive and effective Code of Conduct in the South China Sea.

What are the driving factors behind India's growing maritime engagement with Vietnam?

- To counter an assertive China by strengthening Vietnam's military power.
- Recognizing geostrategic and geo-economic importance of sea lines of communication beyond its geographical proximity like the South China Sea. Almost 55% of India's trade with the Indo-Pacific region passes through the South China Sea.
- To track potential developments in the maritime domain that could affect its national interests.
- Importance of a forward maritime presence and naval partnership to deter potential adversaries, has been recognised by the Indian Navy.

Issues & Challenges

The challenges in India's relations with ASEAN countries

- **Drug trafficking:** Cross country organized crime like drug trafficking between Myanmar, Thailand and Laos forming the Golden Triangle is a serious concern for India.
- **China factor:**
 - The South-China Sea dispute has resulted in many ASEAN nations aligning with China as it is testing ASEAN solidarity.
 - China is trying to increase its presence in the area through its One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative which is opposed by India.
 - Now that India withdrew out of RCEP, China will try to monopolies South East Asian market.
- **Poor direct Connectivity:** Delay in completing infrastructure projects—
 - IMT trilateral highway,
 - Kaladan Multimodal Transit and Transport Project, and
 - Moreh-Mandalay Bus Services, due to various political and financial constraints, has impeded the progress of economic cooperation.
- **Disunity in ASEAN:** Because the key regional leaders are involved in the intricate geopolitics of the region, ASEAN lacks strategic autonomy and must look to multiple leaders rather than just one to advance.
- **Economic challenges** – India has an unfavorable balance of trade with the ASEAN nations.
 - This is mainly due to the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with ASEAN, which has caused an influx of inexpensive imported goods into India.

- o India's domestic producers are also suffering. For example- Cheaper palm oil from ASEAN is hurting local prod producers in Kerala.
- o On the investment front too, India is at the back foot.
- o The RCEP is a key issue of divergence between India and ASEAN due to the latter's decision to withdraw from the trading bloc after eight years of negotiations.

South China Sea (SCS) Dispute

Territorial disputes in the South China Sea involve conflicting island and maritime claims in the region by several sovereign states, namely Brunei, the People's Republic of China (PRC), Taiwan (Republic of China/ROC), Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Vietnam.



Figure 2: South China Sea and claim by littoral states

Significance of South China Sea

- An estimated US\$3.37 trillion worth of global trade passes through the South China Sea annually, which accounts for a third of the global maritime trade.
- 80 percent of China's energy imports and 39.5 percent of China's total trade passes through the South China Sea.
- SCS is estimated to have 11 billion barrels of untapped oil and 190 trillion cubic feet of natural gas.

What is the nine-dash line?

- It is a line connecting the outermost points of maritime features or 'island groups' in the South China Sea".
- Nine-dash line is the basis of China's claim to sovereignty over South China Sea
- China stakes claim to 90% of the South China Sea, and this claim is based on the U-shaped nine-dash line etched on map in the 1940s by a Chinese geographer.

What is the dispute?

- The disputes involve the islands, reefs, banks, and other features of the South China Sea, including the Spratly Islands, Paracel Islands, Scarborough Shoal, and various boundaries in the Gulf of Tonkin.
- There are further disputes, such as the waters near the Indonesian Natuna Islands, which many do not regard as part of the South China Sea.
- Claimant states are interested in retaining or acquiring the rights to fishing stocks, the exploration and potential exploitation of crude oil and natural gas in the seabed of various parts of the South China Sea, and the strategic control of important shipping lanes.
- Maritime security is also an issue, as the ongoing disputes present challenges for shipping.

In 2013, the China began island building in the Spratly Islands and the Paracel Islands region. China's actions in the South China Sea have been described as part of its "salami slicing"/"cabbage wrapping" strategies. Since 2015 the United States and other states such as France and the United Kingdom have conducted freedom of navigation operations (FONOP) in the region

Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) ruling in Philippines v. China Case

In July 2016, an arbitration tribunal constituted under Annex VII of the UNCLOS ruled against the PRC's maritime claims in Philippines v. China. The tribunal did not rule on the ownership of the islands or delimit maritime boundaries. China stated that it did not recognize the tribunal and insisted that the matter should be resolved through bilateral negotiations with other claimants.

On 17 September 2020, France, Germany, and the United Kingdom issued a joint note verbale recognizing the PCA ruling and challenging China's claims.

In January 2022, the United States called China's claims in the South China Sea "unlawful."

Role of ASEAN:

Despite a desire for peace in the South China Sea, differences of opinion among ASEAN member states have hold it back from usefully contributing to resolving the dispute.

- Non-party member states like Laos and Cambodia are dependent economically on China. Thus, it is difficult for the grouping to take a strong position against the issue.
- ASEAN has not been able to develop consensus on Code of Conduct in South China Sea due to internal differences.

What is India's interest in the South China Sea?

India has wider stakes in the South China Sea, as nearly 55% of India's trade with the Indo-Pacific region passes through these waters. So, India's interest is primarily to keep the region's trade routes safe and secure, thereby helping uphold regional stability and freedom of navigation.

So, India has been pushing for a rules-based order in the region, including by means of upholding the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. This is evident as in the recent meeting of the East Asia Summit, India stressed that any Code of Conduct in the South China Sea should be fully consistent with the relevant UN convention and negotiations.

Way forward

- Concept of QUAD must be expanded to include the ASEAN countries and become a **QUAD+ arrangement** (Vietnam and Indonesia have expressed a positive note on QUAD in the region).
- **Strengthening cultural connect** – Tourism can be further encouraged between India and the ASEAN with some creative branding by the two sides.
- **Mekong-India Economic Corridor**, which would link the Indian coast with the uncharted Southeast Asian coast and beyond, is one possible alternative economic corridor built on multimodal connectivity.
- Strengthening land, air, and sea linkages will enhance people-to-people flows, as well as boost business, investment, and tourism.
- No ASEAN country has close military ties with China as they never trusted China for military alliance. India can fill the gap and become a **military Partner**.
- Faster Completion of the existing projects will build trust.

India's relations with Southeast Asia date back a thousand years. There are many cultural, religious and people-to-people linkages between India and the ASEAN countries. Trade and investment ties have also grown since the opening of the Indian economy in the early 1990s. Both ASEAN and India believe that openness, inclusiveness, rules-based order, freedom of navigation and peaceful settlement of disputes lie at the very core of the Indo-Pacific. Relations are good but not optimal. There is little doubt that the ASEAN-India relationship will grow from strength to strength. However, efforts are needed on both sides in this respect.

HI91- Arctic and Antarctic Region

Why in the news?

- The government on 18 March 2022 released India's **Arctic Policy**, with the aim of enhancing the country's cooperation with the resource-rich and rapidly transforming region. The policy also seeks to combat climate change and protect the environment in the region, which is warming three times faster than the rest of the world.
- The **Indian Antarctic Bill, 2022**, was also proposed by the Union government with the purpose of placing forth a body of law to govern a variety of operations on territory in Antarctica where India has established research centers.

Arctic region:

- It is a polar region located at the northernmost part of Earth.
- It consists of the Arctic Ocean, adjacent seas, and parts of Alaska (United States), Canada, Finland, Greenland (Denmark), Iceland, Norway, Russia, and Sweden.



Figure 1: Arctic regions and surrounding countries

Historic cooperation of India with Arctic

- India's engagement with the Arctic dates back to nearly nine decades when it signed the 'Treaty

between Norway, US, Denmark, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Great Britain and Ireland and the British Overseas Dominions and Sweden concerning Spitsbergen' also called the '**Svalbard Treaty**' in February 1920 in Paris.

- India has been closely following the developments in the Arctic region in the light of the new opportunities and challenges emerging for the international community due to global warming induced melting of Arctic's ice cap.
- India launched its first scientific expedition to the Arctic Ocean in 2007 and opened the **Himadri research base in Svalbard (Norway) archipelago** and has been actively engaging in research there ever since.
- **India got elected to Council of the International Arctic Science Committee (IASC) in 2012**, followed by its induction to the Council with observer status in 2013.

Relevance of Arctic for India

Geo economic significance:

- **The region is important as it provides shipping routes that run through it**
- **Mineral Resources and Hydrocarbons:** Arctic region has rich deposits of coal, gypsum and diamonds and also substantial reserves of zinc, lead, placer gold and quartz.
- The Arctic also contains a wealth of hydrocarbon resources.
- **India is the third-largest energy-consuming country in the world, the fourth-largest importer of gas** which caters to almost half of the total gas consumption.
- A recent study based on **NASA and ESA satellite data** showed that the Arctic ice thinned approx. 1.5 meters between 2018-2021. This revelation itself points towards potential commercial ventures like
 - **Tapping the oil & gas reserves, metals, and minerals in the region.**
 - **Working on possibilities to open the Northern Sea Route as a new trade route, etc.**

Geo-political significance:

The region holds immense geopolitical importance as the Arctic is projected to be ice-free by 2050.

For China:

- o The melting Arctic ice is also raising the geopolitical temperatures to levels not seen since the Cold War. In January 2018, China's White Paper on Arctic policy called itself a **'Near-Arctic State'**.
- o It also referred to trans-Arctic shipping routes as the **Polar Silk Road**, identifying it as a third transportation corridor for the **Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)**.
- o China's assertion has been highly contested by the US, which has demolished China's locus standi in the Arctic declaring that "there are only Arctic States and Non-Arctic States.
- o China has made significant investments in the Arctic, primarily in infrastructure and energy sectors and is the only country apart from Russia, to be constructing nuclear ice-breakers.

For Russia:

- o Russia accounts for almost half of the Arctic in terms of area, coastline, population, mineral wealth and hydrocarbons.
- o Even though the **Russian Arctic houses just 1.5 per cent of Russia's population, its contribution to the country's GDP is 15 per cent, and 20 per cent to its exports.**
- o Facing sanctions, Russia is soliciting funding and collaboration for developing infrastructure in the Arctic and the **Northern Sea Route (NSR)**.
- o Russia considers parts of NSR to be internal waters, regulates transit of merchant ships and restricts passage of foreign warships, which is being opposed by the US.
- The opening of the shipping routes and possibilities of increased resource extraction is leading to the big three—US, China and Russia—and NATO, jockeying for position and influence in the region.

- In May 2018, the US re-established the 2nd Fleet, which was created in 1950 (and disestablished in September 2011) for countering Soviet naval forces in the North Atlantic.

Boundary Disputes:

Apart from the strategic contestation, there are unresolved boundaries between the Arctic States. For instance, US has continental shelf overlap with Canada and Russia, while Russia and Canada themselves have differing continental shelf claims.

- US and Canada have not yet delimited their maritime boundaries and they also have differences over North West Passage, part of which Canada considers (like Russia for NSR) as its internal waters.
- Also, Canada and Denmark have a dispute over Hans Island.

Scientific Research, Climate Change and the Environment:

- **Monsoons:** The changes occurring in the Arctic are yet to be understood fully, but it is clear that they have been impacting global weather, climate and ecosystems including the monsoons in India. India's agriculture is directly dependent on monsoons.
- **Rising Sea Level:** From 1971 till 2019, the Arctic snow cover and the extent of Arctic Sea ice have shrunk by 21 per cent and 43 per cent respectively and all regions of the Arctic experienced net loss of land ice.
- **Himalayas:** The Arctic and the Himalayas, though geographically distant, are interconnected and share similar concerns. The Arctic meltdown is helping the scientific community to better understand the glacial melt in the Himalayas, which has often been referred to as the 'third pole' and has the largest freshwater reserves after the North and South poles.

India's draft Arctic Policy**About policy**

India's Arctic Policy, released by the Government of India on **17 March 2022**, fulfills a longstanding need for a clear articulation of a rapidly transforming Arctic, which is warming three times faster than the rest of the world.

Pillars:

The six pillars of the Policy are as follows.

- **Science and Research**
- **Economic and Human Development Cooperation**
- **Climate and Environmental Protection**
- **Transportation and Connectivity**
- **Governance and International Cooperation**
- **National Capacity Building**

Objectives /Significance of the policy:

India's Arctic policy aims to promote the following agenda—

1. Strengthening **national capabilities and competencies** in science and exploration, climate and environmental protection, maritime and economic cooperation with the Arctic region. Institutional and human resource capacities will be strengthened within Government and academic, research and business institutions.
2. **Inter-ministerial coordination** in pursuit of India's interests in the Arctic.
3. Enhancing understanding of the impact of **climate change in the Arctic** on India's climate, economic, and energy security.
4. **Contributing better analysis, prediction, and coordinated policymaking** on the implications of ice melting in the Arctic on India's economic, military and strategic interests related to global shipping routes, energy security, and exploitation of mineral wealth.
5. **Studying linkages between polar regions and the Himalayas.**
6. **Deepen cooperation between India and countries of the Arctic region** under various Arctic forums, drawing expertise from scientific and traditional knowledge.
7. **Increase India's participation in the Arctic Council** and improve understanding of the complex governance structures in the Arctic, relevant international laws, and geopolitics of the region.

Steps taken by India:

- **India initiated its Arctic Research Program in 2007** with thrust on climate change in the

circumpolar north. **The major objectives of the Indian Research in Arctic Region are as follows:**

- To study the hypothesized tele-connections between the Arctic climate and the Indian monsoon by analyzing the sediment and ice core records from the Arctic glaciers and the Arctic Ocean.
- To characterize sea ice in Arctic using satellite data to estimate the effect of global warming in the northern polar region.
- To conduct research on the dynamics and mass budget of Arctic glaciers focusing on the effect of glaciers on sea-level change.
- To carry out a comprehensive assessment of the flora and fauna of the Arctic vis-à-vis their response to anthropogenic activities. In addition, it is proposed to undertake a comparative study of the life forms from both the Polar Regions.
- India launched its first scientific expedition to the Arctic Ocean in 2007 and opened a research base named "**Himadri**" at the **International Arctic Research Base at Ny-Alesund, Svalbard, Norway** in July 2008 for carrying out studies in disciplines like Glaciology, Atmospheric sciences & Biological sciences.
- A number of scientists from different national institutions have participated in our Arctic programme. A sum of over US\$12million has been committed for financial investments in Arctic Studies for the next 5 years. India was elected to the Council of the **International Arctic Science Committee (IASC)** in 2012.
- India which has a significant expertise in this area from its association with the Antarctic Treaty System can play a constructive role in securing a stable Arctic.
- India in its new role as a permanent observer in the Arctic Council is committed to contribute to the deliberations of the council to develop effective cooperative partnerships that can contribute to a safe, stable and secure Arctic.'

What are the gaps in India's approach to Arctic region?

- **Lack of an Articulated Policy:** Even though the **Ministry of External Affairs (MEA)** of the Government of India has listed India's interests in the Arctic to be **“scientific, environmental, commercial as well as strategic”**, till recently India was one among the four of the 13 Observer nations of the Arctic Council that did not have a nationally articulated Arctic Policy.
- **Scientific Orientation:** India needs to go beyond the purely scientific approach in the Arctic. In keeping with its growing stature and consequent say in world affairs, India ought to be better equipped to understand the dynamics of the Arctic geopolitics and governance.
- **Inadequate Funding:** Presently, India's polar research, for Antarctic, Arctic, Southern Ocean and Himalayas, is budgeted under the umbrella **Polar Science and Cryosphere (PACER)** programme of the **Ministry of Earth Sciences (MoES)**.
- **Polar Research Vessel (PRV):** The lack of a dedicated PRV is considered to be a serious impediment in the growth of India's polar activities.
- **Whole-of-Government Focus:** Presently, the National Centre for Polar and Ocean Research (NCPOR), under the MoES, is the nodal agency for India's polar research programme, which includes Arctic studies. There is no nodal body to coordinate all the activities of the Government of India relating to the Arctic region.
- **Awareness and Capacity:** Arctic has largely been ignored in India on the ground that it is far away and does not have a direct impact on India. This has resulted in a lack of national capacity on Arctic issues.

Does India's Arctic Policy Address the Gaps?

- **Scientific Orientation:** India's Arctic Policy has gone beyond the purely scientific approach. While the primary focus is still scientific, the six pillars address all the aspects of Arctic relevant to India, including climate change and environment, economic and human resources and geopolitical and strategic aspects.
- **Funding:** The Policy declares that its implementation will be based on allocation of requisite resources. With the enhancement of a multidisciplinary approach to the Arctic, it is hoped that budgetary support to India's scientific Arctic endeavors will be substantially augmented.
- **Polar Research Vessel:** The intent articulated in the Arctic Policy of acquiring a dedicated ice-class **Polar Research Vessel** will hasten the process and provide impetus to India's Arctic Programme.
- **Whole-of-Government Focus:** The objectives outlined in **India's Arctic Policy** are to be implemented through an Action Plan and a governance and review mechanism consisting of an **inter-ministerial Empowered Arctic Policy Group (EAPG)**.
- **Awareness and Capacity:** In India's engagement with the Arctic, the Policy declares to develop a robust human, institutional and financial base in keeping with the philosophy of **'Aatmanirbhar Bharat'**.

Arctic Council:

- The council was formed in 1991 when the eight Arctic countries signed the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy.

- **Formally established in 1996 by The Ottawa Declaration**, Arctic Council is an intergovernmental forum for promoting cooperation, coordination and interaction between the Arctic States.
- Members include eight countries – **Canada, Denmark/Greenland, Norway, Russia, United States, Iceland, Finland, and Sweden.**
- observer status is granted to non-arctic states. India, China was given observer status in 2013- **Kiruna Declaration.**
- Originally, the council’s main focus was to address environmental issues and the concerns of the indigenous people in the region. Global warming, shorter sea routes, hydrocarbons prospects have added on to the stakes in the region. The approach adopted by the Arctic Council is to regulate shipping lanes, hydrocarbons prospecting and the exploitation of marine resources.
- Council members meet biannually. Chairmanship rotates every two years. Currently, Canada holds the chair.



Figure 2: Arctic Circle and countries surrounding it

India's contribution to the Arctic Council

- The eight members of the Arctic Council, which includes Iceland, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Russia, and the United States, formed the Arctic **Environmental Protection Strategy in 1991** as a framework for

intergovernmental collaboration on environmental protection measures among the Arctic States.

- The **Polar Science and Cryosphere (PACER) scheme** has been approved for continuation from **2021 to 2026**. This conscientiousness qualifies India as an equitable partner to the Arctic Council members and observers.

GANDHINAGAR DECLARATION:

- This declaration emphasizes that the improvement of ecological connectivity is the top priority for the Convention on Migratory Species.
- In **February 2020**, the Government of India hosted the Convention of Migratory Species under the **13th United Nations Environmental Programme Conference of the Parties (UNEP-COP-13)** in Gujarat’s capital city Gandhinagar.
- The convention was used to prepare effective action plans for preventing the killing, taking, and trade of migratory birds traversing the Asian, African, Eurasian and American flyways, and formulate ecological conservation measures applicable to all UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme) member countries
- The **Gandhinagar Declaration** is a significant contribution of India to the Arctic Council.

- **India is a crucial stakeholder in constructing the North-South Transport Corridor**; it contributes to the Russian Far East’s economic development, building maritime links between Chennai and Vladivostok’s ports.
- **India has a co-operation agreement with Finland in environmental protection** and biodiversity conservation, which was signed in November 2020.
- **India and the US have been maintaining an effective Climate and Clean Energy Cooperation Agreement since 2015**. India imports natural gas from Yamal, Russia, and Louisiana, USA, and has stakes in offshore oil and gas fields in the Northern Pacific.
- **India’s leadership of the International Solar Alliance** can help countries generate the cleanest “green” hydrogen using solar energy, reinstating India’s commitment to secure its energy and trade interests in the Arctic region by respecting internationally amenable environmental safeguards.
- In late 2020, **India recorded substantial progress in its climate action pledges** made during the 2015 Paris Agreement and became one of the few countries and the only large economy to do so.

Antarctic Treaty System (ATS)



Figure 3: Antarctica region and surrounding oceans

Antarctic Treaty:

- The Antarctic Treaty and related agreements, collectively known as the **Antarctic Treaty System (ATS)**, regulate international relations with respect to Antarctica, Earth's only continent without a native human population.
- It was the first arms control agreement established during the Cold War.
- The treaty was signed between 12 countries in Washington on 1st **December 1959**.
- **Signatories': Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the UK and the US.**
- **The treaty entered into force in 1961 and currently it has 54 parties.**
- **India became a member of this treaty in 1983.**

Main objectives of the treaty are:

- Promoting scientific research.
- To make the Antarctic Continent a demilitarized zone.
- Neutralizing territorial sovereignty.
- Resolve disputes between claimants over their territories on the continent.
- **Human activities within the continent are regulated through this treaty to ensure safe and environmentally friendly visits by travelers.**
- **The treaty ensures that Antarctica remains free of territorial claim or sovereignty to minimize conflicts or disputes between nations.**
- **It applies to areas south of 60 degrees south latitude, including land and ice shelves.**

Major International Agreements of the Treaty System:

- The 1959 **Antarctic Treaty.**
- The 1972 **Convention for the Conservation of Antarctic Seals.**

- The 1980 **Convention on the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources.**
- The 1991 **Protocol on Environmental Protection to the Antarctic Treaty**

Challenges for the treaty:

- Some global resources are becoming scarce, such as oil.
- Uncertainty as to China's intentions in Antarctica especially fisheries and minerals.
- Climate change is another challenge.

Way ahead:

- More strategic thinking is needed to Antarctica's future.
- **Nuclear testing and the dumping of radioactive waste have been prohibited.**
- **To avoid war from growing, nations are encouraged to exercise caution and collaboration.**
- **Setting magnificent precedence for environmentally responsible practices.**
- **It also ensured the demilitarization of the continent, as well as provisions for collaborative study and possible usage.**
- **It ensures that Antarctica stays free of territorial claims or sovereignty.**

Madrid Protocol:

- The Protocol on Environmental Protection to the Antarctic Treaty (also known as the Madrid Protocol) provides for **comprehensive protection of Antarctica**.
- The Protocol was adopted in 1991.
- The Madrid Protocol unambiguously prohibits mining in Antarctica.
- The Protocol builds upon the Antarctic Treaty and Recommendations adopted by Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meetings to extend and improve the Treaty's effectiveness as a mechanism for ensuring the protection of the Antarctic environment.

Key features of the protocol:

- It designates Antarctica as a **“natural reserve, devoted to peace and science”**.
- **Article 3** of the Environment Protocol sets forth basic principles applicable to human activities in Antarctica.
- **Article 7** prohibits all activities relating to Antarctic mineral resources, except for scientific research.
- The Environment Protocol established the **Committee for Environmental Protection (CEP)** as an expert advisory body to provide advice and formulate recommendations to the ATCM in connection with the implementation of the Environment Protocol. The CEP meets every year in conjunction with the ATCM.

Economic Interest:

- **Tourism:** The region facilitates India's involvement in the management of tourism in the Antarctic. Tourism is growing as an industry; this is because Antarctica has abundant scenic resources.
- **Commercial fishing:** The region is known for sustainable development of fisheries. **Commercial fishing** takes place in the Southern Ocean around Antarctica, started by the Soviet Union in 1967.
- **Minerals** have been found in Antarctica. Only two large mineral deposits have been found: iron ore in the Prince Charles Mountains and coal in the Transantarctic Mountains. Other minerals found in the region includes **Antarctica has large mineral gold, Nickel, platinum and copper**.
- **Petroleum reserves:** There may be **large reserves of Petroleum in Antarctica**.
- **Biological resources:** Marine resources first attracted people to Antarctica and provided the only basis for commercial activity in this region for many years.

Research:

- India signed Antarctic treaty in 1983.
- Innovate scientific research
 - With Himadri station in Ny-Alesund, Svalbard, Arctic, India now belongs to the elite group of nations that have multiple research stations within the Polar Regions.

Environment:

- Help in understanding the phenomenon behind the reversal of winds, Impact of climate change on Antarctica, Ice-melting due to global warming. Understanding phenomena like ozone concentration and Antarctic haze.

Geopolitical:

Not under any territory so world powers might become interested.

Other Relevance of the region:

- The ocean surrounding the continent also supports masses of the world's Sea Life – including 15 species of whale and dolphin, and five species of penguin. The nutrient-rich waters encourage blooms of tiny plankton, the basis of the ocean food chain.

- Antarctica is one of the world's most important 'natural laboratories' – which is why so many scientists brave the cold to work there.

Major Indian Antarctic Programme:

- It is a scientific research and exploration program under the **National Centre for Antarctic and Ocean Research (NCPOR)**.
- **Established in 1998, NCPOR is the nodal agency for planning, promotion, coordination and execution** of the entire gamut of polar and Southern Ocean scientific research in the country.
- **Dakshin Gangotri:** First Indian scientific research base station established in 1984 at Antarctica.
- **Maitri:** It is India's second permanent research station in Antarctica. It was built and finished in 1989.
- **Bharti:** India's latest research station operation since 2012. It has been constructed to help researchers work in safety despite the harsh weather.
- **Sagar Nidhi:** India commissioned the Sagar Nidhi, for research. (2008)

National Centre for Polar and Ocean Research:

- The National Centre for Polar and Ocean Research (NCPOR) was established in Goa as an autonomous research and development institution of the Ministry of Earth Sciences in 1998.
- It is responsible for the country's research activities in the Polar and Southern Ocean realms.
- Purpose: Management and upkeep of the Indian Antarctic Research Bases "Maitri" and "Bharati", and the Indian Arctic base "Himadri".

Indian Antarctica Bill, 2022

Main features of the Bill:

- **Applicability:** The provisions of the Bill will apply to any person, vessel or aircraft that is a part of an **Indian expedition to Antarctica** under a permit issued under the Bill.
- **Requirement of Permit:** No person in an Indian expedition shall enter or remain in Antarctic without a permit or the written authorization of another party to the Protocol.
- **Environmental Protection:** The Bill prohibits drilling, dredging, excavation or collection of mineral resources or even doing anything to identify where such mineral deposits occur — the only exception is for scientific research with a granted permit.
- **Central committee:** The central government will establish a **Committee on Antarctic Governance and Environmental Protection**. The Committee will be chaired by the **Secretary of the Ministry of Earth Sciences**.

Prohibited activities:

The Bill prohibits certain activities in Antarctica including:

- **Nuclear explosion or disposal of radioactive waste,**
- **Introduction of non-sterile soil,** and
- **Discharge of garbage, plastic or other substance** into the sea which is harmful to the marine environment.

Other provisions:

- The Bill specifies penalties for contravention of its provisions.
- It also directs **creating a fund called the Antarctic fund** that will be used for **protecting the Antarctic environment**.
- It also extends the **jurisdiction of Indian courts to Antarctica** and **lays out penal provision for crimes on the continent by Indian citizens, foreign citizens**

Criticisms of the Bill:

- Criticized for its provisioning punishment of even foreign nationals in the Antarctic.
- One of the major questions raised while drafting the Indian Antarctic Bill 2022 was that it might interfere with the Antarctic Treaty signed by countries back in 1983.
- The bill aims at promoting Antarctica as a natural reserve that is devoted to science and peace and to ensure that Antarctica does not become the scene of international discord.

The Indian Antarctic Bill is a milestone in India's engagement with the Antarctic region. It is a necessary step in cementing India's seat at the international forum discussing the regulation of the Antarctic region. It will also help in effective and efficient operations of the Indian Antarctic Program including management of Antarctic tourism and sustainable development of fisheries.

HI 92- Globalisation and Anti-Globalisation

“Globalisation is a fact of life. But I believe we have underestimated its fragility”- Kofi Annan.

Globalization is the **process of interaction and integration among people, companies, and governments worldwide**. The term globalization first appeared in the early 20th century, developed its current meaning sometime in the second half of the 20th century, and came into popular use in the 1990s to describe the **unprecedented international connectivity of the post-Cold War world**.

Its origins can be traced back to the 18th and 19th centuries due to advances in transportation and communications technology. This increase in global interactions has caused a growth in international trade and the exchange of ideas, beliefs, and culture. Globalization is primarily an economic process of interaction and integration that is associated with social and cultural aspects.

What is Globalisation?

Various international relations scholars defined globalisation differently:

- **Anthony Giddens** defines globalisation as the **intensification of worldwide social relations linking distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many thousands of miles away and vice versa**.
- In view of **David Held**, **Globalization is best a multi-dimensional phenomenon which involves diverse domains of activity and interaction including economic, political, technological, military, legal, cultural, and environmental**.
- **Kenichi Ohmae** terms globalisation in terms of **“a borderless world”**.
- In 2000, the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** identified **four basic aspects of globalization**:
 - trade and transactions, capital and investment movements, migration and movement of people, and the dissemination of knowledge.

- **Globalizing processes affect and are affected** by business and work organization, economics, sociocultural resources, and the natural environment.

What are the different types of globalisation?

Economic globalization:

- It is the increasing economic interdependence of national economies across the world through a rapid increase in cross-border movement of goods, services, technology, and capital.
- Economic globalization is the process of increasing economic integration between countries, leading to the emergence of a **global marketplace or a single world market**.
- **Economic globalization comprises:** globalization of production; which refers to the obtainment of goods and services from a particular source from locations around the globe to benefit from difference in cost and quality. Likewise, it also comprises globalization of markets; which is defined as the union of different and separate markets into a massive global marketplace. Economic globalization also includes competition, technology, and corporations and industries.

Political globalization:

- It refers to the **growth of the worldwide political system**, both in size and complexity. That system includes national governments, their governmental and intergovernmental organizations as well as government-independent elements of global civil society such as international non-governmental organizations and social movement organizations.
- **One of the key aspects of political globalization is the declining importance of the nation-state** and the rise of other actors on the political scene.
- **Indicators of Political globalisation:**
 - **Multiple citizenship, also called Dual Citizenship** or multiple nationality or dual nationality, is a person's citizenship status, in which a person is concurrently regarded as a

citizen of more than one state under the laws of those states.

- **Multi-level governance** is an approach in political science and public administration theory that originated from studies on European integration. (EU)
 - It gives expression to the idea that there are many interacting authority structures at work in the emergent global political economy. It illuminates the intimate entanglement between the domestic and international levels of authority.
- **Non-state actors:**
 - **Non-governmental organizations** influence public policy across national boundaries, including humanitarian aid and developmental efforts. For example, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Amnesty International etc.

Cultural globalisation

- Cultural globalization **refers to the transmission of ideas, meanings, and values around the world** in such a way as to extend and intensify social relations.
- It involves the **common consumption of cultures** that have been diffused by the Internet, popular culture media, and international travel.
- Cultural globalization **involves the formation of shared norms and knowledge** with which people associate their individual and collective cultural identities.
- It brings increasing interconnectedness among different populations and cultures.
- Cultural globalization has increased cross-cultural contacts- **via the spread of cultural items such as ideas, styles, religions, technologies, languages** etc. For example, sushi is available in Germany as well as Japan, Diwali is celebrated in USA etc.
- However, **some critics of globalization argue that it harms the diversity of cultures**, as a dominating country's culture is introduced into a receiving country through globalization, thus according to them globalization may ultimately

lead to Westernization or Americanization of culture.

Evolution of globalisation - Bretton woods to WTO.

- In July 1944, delegates from 44 Allied nations gathered in Bretton Woods, to discuss a new international monetary order.
- The hope was **to create a system to facilitate international trade while protecting the autonomous policy goals** of individual nations.
- It was meant to be a superior alternative to the interwar monetary order that arguably led to both the Great Depression and World War II.
- **Rules of the new system:**
 - Member nations would peg their currencies to the U.S. dollar, and to ensure the rest of the world that its currency was dependable, the U.S. would peg the dollar to gold, at a price of \$35 an ounce.
- **Bretton woods institutions:**
 - In order **to ensure compliance with the new rules**, two international institutions were created: **the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD; later known as the World Bank).**
- **The IMF helped further globalisation in two ways:**
 - by ensuring the stability of the international financial system and by helping countries take advantage of investment opportunities offered by international capital markets,
 - while reducing their vulnerability to adverse shocks or changes in investor sentiment.
- **The role of the World Bank in accelerating globalization:**
 - Since a lot of finance is needed in, conducting international trade together with the investments between nations and locally the **world bank has helped greatly in lending to the respective nations.**
 - At the same time **providing advisory services to those countries to further help the movement of resources, ideas and people** to the respective countries.

- o As such in the advisory and lending function, it has worked to ensure that the respective governments strengthen their governance structures, ensure that the judicial systems are efficient and build strong economy as a result.
- **World Trade Organisation (WTO):**
 - o It officially commenced operations on 1 **January 1995, pursuant to the 1994 Marrakesh Agreement, thus replacing the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)** that had been established in 1948.
 - o The World Trade Organization (WTO) is an intergovernmental organization that regulates and facilitates international trade.
 - o One of the major impacts of the WTO has been that the trade barriers have come down significantly since 1990s thus helping countries in globalising their economies.

Various Waves of Globalisation.

Globalisation 1.0- (Increased Trade and Connectivity)

- Globalisation 1.0 refers to the rapid growth in world trade, **mainly during the nineteenth century.**
- It was **driven by innovations in transport and communications, including railways, steamships and the electric telegraph.**
- The subsequent reduction in the cost of global transport enabled the separation of production and consumption across international borders, making previously exotic products like tea, sugar and cotton readily available and affordable in markets like the UK for the first time.

Globalisation 2.0- (after the Second World War)

- Driven by greater international cooperation, the post-war period saw less protectionism and a rapid growth in world trade, at least in western economies.

Globalisation 3.0- (Enabled offshoring)

- The third wave of globalisation is thought to **have started around 1990.**
- **Further advances in technology, including the spread of the internet,** made it easier for different stages of production to be based in various locations across the globe, **leading to the emergence of modern supply chains.**
- **This enabled firms to further cut the cost of producing products** and delivering services by moving their operations to cheaper locations, **known as offshoring.**
- However, it's also likely to have contributed towards rising disenchantment, particularly where people in more advanced economies feel that they have not reaped the rewards.

Globalisation 4.0- (Technology driven)

- It is **driven by the Fourth Industrial Revolution,** which is happening right now.
- The **development of advanced technologies** like artificial intelligence, big data, nanotechnology, the internet of things, 3D printing and autonomous vehicles all have the potential to significantly impact global productivity.
- Unlike the previous waves, which have mainly affected goods-producing sectors, Globalisation 4.0 is predicted to have a **much greater impact on services.**
- And we live in an increasingly connected world, so the speed of its adoption may also be faster than in previous waves.

What are the factors which aided the process of present era (neo-liberal) of globalisation?

- **Improvements in transportation:**
 - **larger cargo ships** mean that the cost of transporting goods between countries has decreased.
 - **Economies of scale** mean the cost per item can reduce when operating on a larger scale.
 - **Transport improvements** also mean that goods and people can travel more quickly.
- **Freedom of trade:**
 - Organisations like the World Trade Organisation (WTO) promote free trade between countries, which helps to remove barriers between countries.
- **Improvements of communications:**
 - The internet and mobile technology have allowed greater communication between people in different countries.
 - **The digital revolution:** The internet has made it easy to access goods and services produced from anywhere in the world.
- **Labour availability, cost and skills:**
 - countries such as India have lower labour costs (about a third of that of the UK) and also high skill levels. Labour intensive industries such as clothing can take advantage of cheaper labour costs and reduced legal restrictions in LEDCs.
- **International economic integration:**
 - Several trade blocs have made national borders porous as barriers to trade are reduced/removed among member countries.
 - Examples of such trade blocs include: NAFTA for the US, Mexico and Canada; and EAC for East African countries etc.
- **Financial liberalisation:**
 - There is increasing interconnection of countries due to deregulation of financial markets. It is now easy to exchange money to 'global currencies' such as the US dollar and British Pound. This has made it easy to purchase goods and services globally.
- **Socio-cultural convergence:**

- Due to access to information through online newspapers and social media, people are losing 'cultural identity'.
- For example, what used to look '**unAfrican**' is now looking normal such as wearing mini-skirts.
- **Intense competition:** With intense competition among firms, firms are looking for new markets across borders.

What have been the outcomes of neoliberal globalisation?

Positive outcomes:

I. Developed countries:

- a. Developed nations benefit from globalization as businesses compete worldwide, and from the ensuing reorganization in production, international trade, and the integration of financial markets.
 - i. **For example, e commerce companies like- Amazon** which benefit from huge markets of developing countries like India yet pays substantial amount of taxes on profit in their own countries.
 - ii. Similarly, global tech companies like Google etc.
- b. Trade among nations via the use of **comparative advantage** promotes growth.
 - i. Evidence indicates that there is a positive growth effect in countries that are sufficiently rich, as are most of the developed nations.
- c. **Investment benefits:**
 - i. The population of developed countries prefers to invest money in profitable businesses rather than deposit it in banks. For example, growing markets like India.
 - ii. Unfortunately, such an option is available only for those people in developed countries.
- d. In developed countries, **consumers have benefitted** as they enjoy a greater choice of goods and services at cheaper prices.

- e. **Migration of people** has helped MNCs of developed countries **to fill labour and skill shortages**.

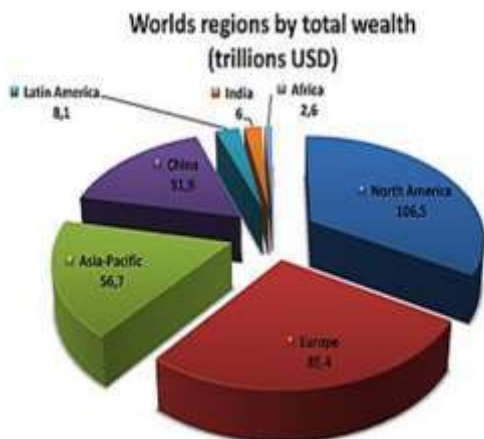


Figure 1: World regions by total wealth 2018 (credit Suisse report)

2. Developing countries:

- a. There has been **rapid economic growth in Asia** after embracing market orientation-based economic policies that encourage private property rights, free enterprise and competition.
 - i. In particular, in East Asian developing countries, GDP per head rose at 5.9% a year from 1975 to 2001 (according to 2003 Human Development Report of UNDP).
- b. Globalization is a very positive force that **lifts countries out of poverty by causing a virtuous economic cycle** associated with faster economic growth.
 - i. **economic inequality among countries has declined sharply** in the past 20 years, owing partly to China’s rise, as well as to economic development across Asia, Latin America, and elsewhere.
 - ii. Globalization allows corporations **to outsource manufacturing and service jobs** from high-cost locations, creating economic opportunities with the

most competitive wages and worker benefits, this leads to shifting of MNCs to developing countries thus creating jobs in those countries. For example, China, India, Vietnam etc.

c. Improved standards of living:

- i. According to Wolf, in the developing world as a whole, **life expectancy rose by four months each year after 1970** and **infant mortality rate declined from 107 per thousand in 1970 to 58 in 2000** due to improvements in standards of living and health conditions.
- ii. Also, **adult literacy in developing countries rose from 53% in 1970 to 74% in 1998**.
- iii. Furthermore, **the reduction in fertility rate** in the developing world as a whole **from 4.1 births per woman in 1980 to 2.8 in 2000** indicates improved education level of women on fertility, and control of fewer children with more parental attention and investment.
- iv. Consequently, more prosperous and educated parents with fewer children have chosen to withdraw their children from the labor force to give them opportunities to be educated at school, **improving the issue of child labor**.
- v. Thus, despite seemingly unequal distribution of income within these developing countries, their economic growth and development have brought about improved standards of living and welfare for the population as a whole.
- vi. **By 2010, the UN had already achieved its Millennium Development Goal of halving poverty by 2015**, and recent projections suggest that, by 2050, poverty will be eradicated everywhere except Africa. This will not happen without globalization.
- vii. **Since 1990, the share of people living in extreme poverty in the developing world has fallen**.

- viii. **Fewer people are dying on battlefields than during previous periods** for which we have data.
- d. An IMF study noted a **potential for skills to be transferred back to developing countries** as wages in those countries rise.
- e. Lastly, the **dissemination of knowledge**: Technological innovations (or technological transfer) are conjectured to benefit most developing and least developing countries (LDCs), as for example in the adoption of mobile phones.

Negative outcomes:

1. Developed countries:

- a. **Deindustrialization in the west:**
 - i. **The decline of traditional industries in High Income Countries is known as deindustrialization.** Industry may begin to thrive in low-income countries at the expense of jobs in manufacturing in high-income countries (HICs).
- b. **Job insecurity and rising unemployment:**
 - i. Due to globalization, there are many people seeking employment all over the world. Employers take advantage of cheap labor due to increased migration from developing countries to developed countries.
- c. **Thus, as a result, assets & income in the west are getting concentrated, whereas wage share is falling.**
- d. It has also given rise to **anti-immigrant sentiments, Ethnic chauvinism and right-wing xenophobia.**

2. Developing countries:

- a. Oxfam International argues that **poor people are often excluded from globalization-induced opportunities** "by a lack of productive assets, weak infrastructure, poor education and ill-health," effectively leaving these marginalized groups in a poverty trap.
- b. According to some scholars, globalisation has led to **emergence of global uncivil society** in form of **trans-national**

terrorism, organized crime, drug, human trafficking.

- c. **The total amount of money through legal + illegal means gone out of developing countries is more than incoming developmental aid.**
- d. **Guinea Bissau became 1st NARCO state** whereas **three Baltic states have registered double digit negative growth in 2009.**
- e. Moreover, in Africa, 36 countries continue to be LDCs.
- f. Unrestricted free trade benefits those with more financial leverage (i.e., the rich) at the expense of the poor, thus creating **economic inequality.**
 - i. For example, **the poorest 50% of the global population share just 8.5% of total income. At the same time, the richest 10% of the global population earn over 50% of total income.** (Oxfam International)
- g. **Multinational companies may drive local companies out of business** and are sometimes more powerful than the governments of the countries in which they invest.
- h. **Globalisation disadvantages poorer countries:**
 - i. Free trade encourages globalization among countries; however, it **destroys domestic suppliers** as they cannot compete with technologically advanced companies of the developed countries.
 - ii. The main exports of poorer countries are usually agricultural productions. Larger countries often subsidize their farmers (e.g., the EU's Common Agricultural Policy), which lowers the market price for foreign crops.

How globalisation impacts democracy?

According to some, globalisation promotes democracy:

- According to some, globalisation has led to the **spread of democratic ideals across borders**

into authoritarian states, thus making democratization inevitable.

- For ex **Arab spring** revolution.
- Proponents of this view point to the spread of democratic transitions over the past quarter-century.
- Globalisation leads to economic development, which leads to reduction of poverty and the rise of middle class which favours democracy.
- Democracy is accelerated by globalisation by the most important tool, that is **communication between state and people**.
- Globalisation **has infused democratic values in different regions and institutions** like EU, ASEAN and African Region.

According to some scholars, globalization threatens democracy:

Globalization poses a threat to the democratic state instead of aiding its expansion.

- It is believed that it **undermines the essential requirements of state autonomy, patriotism and national identity**.
- **Decline of nation states:** globalization is causing the decline of the nation state, as governments no longer have control over their economy, their trade and their borders.
- Now, **trans-national companies are becoming increasingly imperative to the economy**, and the state is becoming obsolete. This supports the argument that globalization is reducing the power of democracy and the state, resulting in **hollow democracy**.
- **Lack of accountability:**
 - “Governments now try and compete for foreign capital and design their policies to please global investors and firms, who may not act in the best interest of, nor be held accountable to, the voters. It follows that the level of democracy declines.”
- **Neo Liberal Globalisation results in withdrawal of subsidies, increasing inequalities** that some scholars consider as anti-democracy.
- **Financial crisis, recession exacerbated by globalisation, can encourage popular**

support for authoritarian or semi-authoritarian government. For ex

- During the Asian economic crisis, anti-Western and anti-globalisation sentiments flared in countries such as Thailand, when catastrophic drops in currency values were popularly attributed to manipulation by Western traders.
- In more authoritarian countries like Malaysia, leaders turned this new nationalism to their advantage with anti-Western and anti-globalization rhetoric and portraying themselves as national champions.
- The **adverse social consequences of economic recession** could also undermine fragile democracies in the developing world.
 - The broken financial system is discrediting Western values in general - with the result that the financial crisis **may enhance the attractiveness of the "Beijing Consensus" over the Washington Consensus**.
- **Globalisation has reduced man to only economic aspect:**
 - In order for a stable and functioning democracy to work, the concept of citizenship and participation must be active and embedded in the population. Globalization has transformed the common citizen into an individual who is **more willing to pursue his own economic interest than to be concerned with the content of public policy**. (O'Donnell)

Do you think that the end of the present era of globalisation is near?

Yes – as signs of deglobalisation/anti-globalisation are visible:

- The **global economic crisis in 2008**, precipitated by financial liberalization, led to a contraction in international trade and investment flows and thus gave the first blow to globalisation.
- globalization **witnessed rapidly rising income inequalities** among people. This was **exploited by populist leaders** as

Economies might have become global, but politics remained national.

- In industrialized countries, nationalist-populist political parties, or xenophobic populist leaders, exploited fears about openness to immigration and trade as a threat to jobs. This has led to protectionist tendencies, hence further threatening globalisation.
- **The changing international context:**
 - Globalization has always required a hegemon to set the rules of the game and ensure conformity by players.
 - This role was performed by the US. However, with economic crisis of 2008 and the economic resurgence of Asia, particularly China, have eroded its economic dominance and political hegemony.
- And, thus the US relinquishing its political leadership role in the world. However, there is no country, yet, that could replace the US as global hegemon.
- **The pandemic prompted repeated and prolonged lockdowns** everywhere, which shut down economic activities.
 - This meant a serious disruption in integrated global production networks. Draconian restrictions on international travel disrupted the globalization process further, for which cross-border movements of people are just as essential as those of goods, services, capital and technology.
- The situation might have improved in early 2022. But that was thwarted by the **Russia-Ukraine war, which disrupted global supply chains**, particularly in food and fuels.

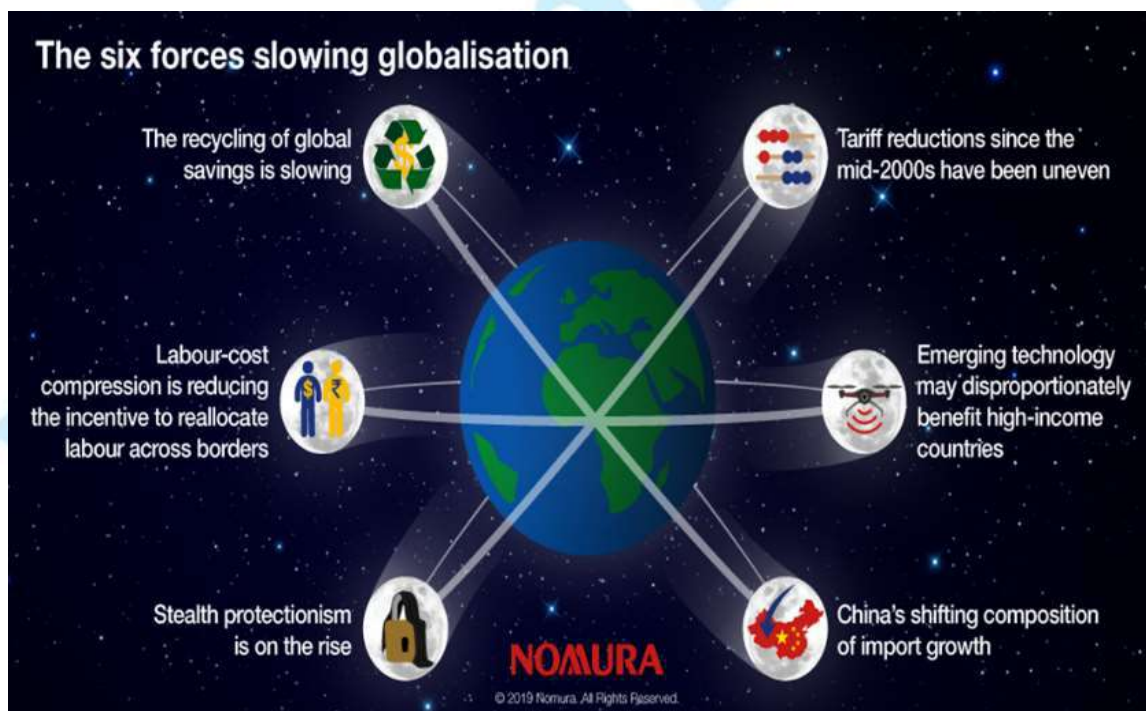


Figure 2: Forces slowing globalisation

Glocalisation- an analysis.

What is meant by Glocalisation?

- It is a **global strategy that involves a combination of globalization and localization.** Globalization involves a worldwide marketing strategy, and localization involves adapting to local needs.
- It is a **strategy of an international company by adapting its methods, products, or services to suit local markets.**
- Globalization can **allow businesses to connect with people from around the world.**
- Glocalization **involves incorporating foreign concepts into the local customs** and traditions so that the people can identify and relate with it.
- Therefore, Glocalization always comes with efforts to win the approval of local culture.



Figure 3: Meanings of Globalisation, Glocalisation and Localisation.

How glocalisation is different from globalisation?

Globalisation	Glocalisation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Globalization emphasizes product standardization. Standardization means making a product for use around the world without adapting it to local tastes. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Common examples of this standardization are laptops and cellphones. In whichever country these two products are located, the specifications will be similar. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the other hand, glocalization is working in reverse. Although both strategies target the global market, the company adapts its products to local tastes or needs. • For example, fast food like McDonald's. Instead of creating a standard menu for everyone in different countries, it prepares the menu according to local tastes. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Veggie Pizza McPuff (India) ○ Samurai Pork Burger (Thailand) etc.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Globalization leads to cultural homogenization. For example, Americanization, where American culture partly evolved cultures in several countries. One way is through the spread of American products in that country. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Another example is cars sold around the world. Although most are similar, some parts are adapted to meet local criteria such as emission standards or steering position (right and left). • Coca cola: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Coca-Cola Rasberry (New Zealand) ○ Citra (Japan) ○ Coca-Cola Lime (Romania). • To be successful, often, globalization campaigns involve local culture-friendly media and advertising campaigns. It aims to encourage the acceptance of foreign products among local audiences.
---	---

Importance/benefits of glocalization:

- **For overseas expansion:** Foreign markets promise more significant opportunities to support long-term growth.
- For destination countries, glocalization **opens a new competition:**
 - It forces local companies to transform their business to be more competitive.
 - Ultimately, it **contributes to product innovation, diversity, quality, and price.**
- Offers **more jobs for local people.**
- **Increases the productive capacity of the economy.**

Challenges/Issues in glocalisation:

- **Requires a large investment and resources:**
 - They need to hire local people and do in-depth research on local markets and competition.
- **Shutting down local companies:**
 - The presence of MNCs increases competition and drives prices down. However, because they have bigger and better resources than local companies, they have a greater chance to dominate the local market.

Which steps are needed to strengthen the globalisation and make it more equitable?

- **Reforms in institutions of global governance-** IMF, WTO, UNSC etc.
- **Draw legitimacy directly from the people, using modern tools:**
 - Today, we have a proxy-based system where a person is represented in the U.N. via her nation-state. That has to change. Here, the international institutions need to learn from

Facebook, WeChat, and Twitter to deploy technology and connect directly to people.

- **Learn from tech start-ups - be a platform, not an agency:**
 - To start with, the U.N. should become comfortable crowd-sourcing solutions.
 - The U.N., the World Bank, and others should make use of the “pay for performance” methodology.
- **Be proactive, not reactive.**

- **Decentralized globalisation'**: where there are different centres of production and the world will not be "so completely threatened" as in the last year, when things go wrong.

Though it can be broadly agreed that Globalization in itself won't result in inclusive growth as Jagdish Bhagwati suggests, global powers need to take requisite steps, but if globalization is properly governed, it can

certainly emerge as most powerful force for social good today.

Clearly, for our present era of globalization, which seemed unstoppable a decade ago, the end is near. History suggests that globalization has always been a fragile process. It has come to an abrupt or unexpected end thrice during the past millennium. However, it again rose though in new avatar every time.

HI 93- Nuclear Weapons

“So long as any state has nuclear weapons, others will want them. So long as any such weapons remain, it defies credibility that they will not one day be used, by accident, miscalculation or design.” - International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament

The dangers from nuclear weapons arise from their very existence. Although they have been used only twice in warfare (Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945), nearly 13000 exist today with over 2,000 nuclear tests conducted to date.

Disarmament has been touted as the best solution, but achieving it has been a difficult challenge. Recently, in September 2022, US warned of catastrophic consequences if Russia uses nuclear weapons in Ukraine.

Historical background:

- During Second World War, fearing Germany might develop nuclear weapons, US started the **Manhattan Project** to develop the first nuclear weapon and tested it south of New Mexico.
- In 1945, US detonated a **uranium bomb over Hiroshima** (killing >1.5 lakh people) and exploded a **plutonium bomb over Nagasaki** (killing 74,000 people)
- **Soviet Union - 2nd nuclear nation:** Fearing the use of nuclear weapons by US would the way for its world domination, it exploded a nuclear weapon code-named **“First Lightning”** in Kazakhstan.
- **Cold War:** During this period, US’ nuclear stockpile peaked in 1966 (>32,000 warheads) and Soviet’s nuclear stockpile peaked in 1988 (>33,000 warheads).
- **Post - Cold war:** Many types of **tactical and strategic weapons were retired** to comply with arms control negotiations. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, **Russia accelerated its warhead dismantlement program.**

Initially, nuclear weapons were bombs delivered by aircraft. Later, warheads were developed for strategic ballistic missiles. Smaller tactical nuclear weapons were also developed for artillery, land mines, anti-submarine, shorter-range ballistic missiles etc.

In the decades since 1945, concerns about the dreadful effects of such weapons led governments to negotiate arms control agreements, like NPT 1968 etc.

Important terminologies:

- **Nuclear Weapons:** are devices designed to release energy in an explosive manner as a result of nuclear fission, nuclear fusion, or a combination of the two processes.
 - **Fission weapons** are commonly referred to as **Atomic bombs.**
 - **Fusion weapons / Thermonuclear bombs / Hydrogen bombs:** are nuclear weapons in which at least a portion of the energy is released by nuclear fusion.
- **Nuclear Proliferation:** The spread of nuclear weapons, nuclear weapons technology, or fissile material to countries that do not already possess them.
 - The term is also used to refer to the **possible acquisition of nuclear weapons by terrorist organizations** or other armed groups.
- **Nuclear Disarmament:** It is the act of **reducing or eliminating nuclear weapons.**
 - Its end state can also be a ‘nuclear-weapons-free world’.
 - **Denuclearization** is also used to describe the process leading to complete nuclear disarmament.
- **Dual-use Technologies:** Dual-use items are goods and technologies that may be **used for both civilian and military purposes.**

- The export or transfer of such technologies is highly regulated to prevent the supply of goods and technologies that may contribute to illegal weapons of mass destruction programmes.

Need for 'Nuclear Disarmament' and 'Non-proliferation':

Our planet faces major threats from weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The growing threat of global terrorism has only heightened the need for disarmament and non-proliferation.

- **Continued production & stockpiling:** Whereas chemical and biological weapons have been banned, nuclear weapons continue to be produced and stockpiled.
- **Huge Magnitude of Destruction:** Nuclear weapons produce a **strong shock wave, enormous heat, and lethal ionizing radiation** => leading to huge destruction, death, injury, and long-term sickness.
 - E.g., Hiroshima explosion released energy equaling 15 kilotons of chemical explosive.
- **Against Rules of War:** Nuclear Weapons do not differentiate between combatants and civilians in a war, as its radiations impact nearby civilian populations as well.
- **Sovereign Equality:** The destruction of nuclear weapons is imperative to truly realize the principle of sovereign equality of nations, rather than **divided between nuclear 'haves' and 'have nots'**.
- **Fake Triggers:** In such a scenario, any fake trigger using misinformation or fake news can destroy the very existence of human beings from earth.
- **Non state Actors:** The growing recruitment of educated youth in terrorist organizations raises a fear of **nuclear prowess in wrong hands** => leading to disastrous state of global anarchy.

Steps taken to ensure disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation:

- Disarmament Commission (1946):** In its 1st resolution, the UNGA called for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons and set up a Disarmament commission to address nuclear weapons.
- Atoms for Peace Plan (1953):** was proposed by US President Eisenhower => to **share non-military nuclear technology, training, and materials with nations** around the world in an effort to win hearts and minds and dominate the nuclear market.
- PTBT (1963):** was the '**Partial Test Ban Treaty**' or '**Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water**'.
 - It prohibited all test detonations of nuclear weapons except for those conducted underground.
 - It requires states to abstain from carrying out nuclear explosions in any environment where such explosions cause radioactive debris outside the limit of the State that conducts an explosion.
- NPT 1968** (discussed in the Box below)
- CTBT 1996:**
 - The CTBT (Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty) is a multilateral treaty to ban nuclear weapons test explosions and any other nuclear explosions, for both civilian and military purposes, in all environments.
 - It was adopted by the UNGA in 1996, but **has not entered into force**, as eight nuclear armed nations have not ratified the treaty.
 - **India's refused to sign CTBT because:**
 - **Discriminatory in nature:** Nuclear states, like US, which conducted more than 2000 tests **suddenly realized that here was no need to test nuclear devices** any more.
 - **No time-bound disarmament** schedule for nuclear weapon states

- CTBT would **not help towards nuclear disarmament** since it only banned nuclear explosive testing, but not other activities related to nuclear weapons, such as sub-critical (non-nuclear explosive) experiments, or computer simulations.
- F. **Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) - 2017:**
- It seeks to **promote disarmament in line with the NPT's disarmament pillar** by strengthening the stigma around nuclear weapons.
 - It was negotiated in 2017 and **entered into force in January 2021**.
 - It establishes a **comprehensive prohibition on nuclear weapons**, including their **possession, use and threat of use**.
 - **Opposition:** Nuclear-armed states and their allies, however, have opposed the new treaty, arguing that **it could undermine the NPT by creating parallel norms and weakening the alleged international stability** created by nuclear deterrence.

NPT 1968 (Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons):

The international nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament regime (comprising **principles, norms, rules and practices** regulating nuclear weapons) is built on the NPT 1968.

- It is an agreement signed by several of the major nuclear and non-nuclear powers that is based on **3 Pillars of NPT**
 - seeks to **prevent the spread of nuclear weapons**,
 - to promote **peaceful uses of nuclear energy** and
 - to move towards **nuclear disarmament**.
- The NPT was signed in 1968, entered **into force in 1970** and was extended indefinitely in 1995.
- The non-proliferation commitments of non-nuclear weapon states are verified through **IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) Safeguards**.

A. Success of NPT

- **Proliferation of nuclear weapons was prevented:** by NPT => Thus, it prevented the spread of nuclear weapons beyond 10 states (including Israel).
- **4 states gave up nuclear weapons:** namely Belarus, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and South Africa, and several like Libya have abandoned their quest for nuclear weapons.
- **Establishment of the IAEA comprehensive safeguard system:** to monitor the nuclear activities of those countries that pledged not to acquire nuclear weapons under the treaty.
- **Near universal adherence:** NPT, over the years, also succeeded in enticing the peripheral states => thus bringing the treaty to a near universal adherence.
 - This was helped by the strong diplomatic efforts subsequently ending the Cold War.
- **Peaceful use of nuclear energy:** went vibrant in the past 50 years helped by the IAEA works in the field.

B. Failure of NPT:

- NPT has been undermined by the lack of implementation of its disarmament pillar.
 - Even after 50 years of its existence, the **achievement of the goal set in 'Article VI' of the treaty has a long way to go**.
- **Clandestine nuclear weapons programs** were proceeding states like Iraq, Iran, South Africa etc.
- Division of states into **nuclear 'haves' and 'have nots'**: 'Nuclear weapon state' (Haves) that tested nuclear bombs before 1st January 1967 and 'non-nuclear weapon' (Have nots).
 - It created a **sense of inequality** on the account of 'delay' in adoption of nuclear weapons.
 - E.g., Nuclear powers of the time became the P5 (US, Russia, China, UK, France) in UNSC.

- During the course **inability of the IAEA safeguards** in uncovering nuclear weapon programs in a timely fashion became evident.

Reasons - India refusal to join NPT:

India has been committed to nuclear non-proliferation, but does not want to endorse such a biased treaty. Besides above failure of NPT, India didn't join because:

- Although NPT calls for nuclear disarmament, **no fixed timelines** have been mentioned.
- **China has allegedly violated** the treaty by **proliferating knowledge to Pakistan**.
- India's security is threatened **until P5 countries completely dismantle** their nuclear arsenal.

Proposed - FMCT:

- FMCT (Fissile Material Control Treaty) was **proposed in 1995 to prohibit the production of the two main components of nuclear weapons**:
 - highly-enriched uranium (HEU) and
 - Plutonium
- **New restrictions**: for the **P5 nuclear weapon states** and for the **4 non-NPT nations** (Israel, India, Pakistan, and North Korea).
 - Those nations that joined NPT as non-weapon states are already prohibited from producing or acquiring fissile material for weapons.
- **Discussions on FMCT**: took place at the UN Conference on Disarmament (65 member nations body; sole multilateral negotiating forum on disarmament).
 - The UN-CoD **operates by consensus** and is often stagnant, **impeding progress on FMCT**.

Hindrances in nuclear disarmament:

- **Lack of initiative form 'Haves'**: has led to limited progress towards nuclear disarmament.
- **Lack of focus on vertical proliferation**: The focus of the nuclear weapon states all these years has been on curbing horizontal proliferation (transfer of nuclear technologies), rather than checking vertical proliferation (modernization of nuclear arsenals).

- **NPT dichotomy**: Under NPT, 'Haves' on the one hand committed to negotiations for nuclear disarmament and on the other hand, **went ahead with nuclear stockpiling**.
- **Poor enforcement of agreements**: Various bilateral nuclear arms reduction agreements (between US and the Soviet Union), like SALT, IRNFT, etc. neither reduced the stockpiling nor led to subsequent involvement of the other 'Haves'.
- **Nuclear deterrence doctrine**: have become critical to nuclear proliferation. It aims to prevent adversaries from taking direct military action or challenging territorial sovereignty.
- **Legitimization of nuclear weapons**: as a tool for pre-emptive and preventive modes has enhanced their importance as a currency of power. This, in turn, has encouraged proliferation.
- Nuclear weapons have become an **integral part of the war-fighting capabilities** of the 'Haves'. Moreover, they are regarded as the ultimate shield both against aggression and external destabilization.

Steps needed for nuclear disarmament:

- **Responsibilities of 'Haves' & 'Have nots'**:
 - **'Haves'**: should demonstrate leadership in reducing the number of nuclear weapons.
 - **'Have nots'**: also have to provide credible assurances that they will never acquire nuclear weapons.

- **Obligations under Article VI of the NPT:** must be given due recognition and respect by the nuclear weapon states.
 - It must be recognized that 'nuclear disarmament' is a sine qua non for sustained progress on horizontal proliferation.
- From 'Timid and Incremental approach' the world must **move towards 'Bold and Direct Approach'** of nuclear disarmament.
 - **'Timid and incremental approach':** It is a position of deep reductions in nuclear weapons where conditions for abolition must first be created first.
 - **'Bold and direct Approach':** It seeks to achieve nuclear disarmament in a time-frame through a multilaterally negotiated, universal, non-discriminatory treaty.
- **New security framework:** can be established for the elimination of nuclear weapons in order to **take care of the legitimate security concerns** of states in a post-nuclear weapon world.

- **Operation Smiling Buddha 1974:** India performed a 15 kt Peaceful Nuclear Explosion (PNE).
 - The western powers considered it nuclear weapons proliferation and cut off all financial and technical help, even for the production of nuclear power.
 - Also, **Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG)** was created to prevent nuclear proliferation by controlling the export of nuclear materials, equipment and technology.
- **Pokhran tests 1998:** India used existing infrastructure to build nuclear power reactors and exploded both fission and fusion devices.
- India considers **NPT and CTBT as treaties favoring nuclear states** and is prepared to sign if genuine nuclear disarmament is included as an integral part of these

B. Action Plan 1988 (by PM Rajiv Gandhi at UNGA):

It aimed to create a **nuclear-weapons-free and non-violent world order** based on the following principles:

India's & Nuclear weapons:

A. Evolution:

- Atomic Energy Commission (AEC): Post-independence, India **entered into the nuclear age in 1948** by establishing the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), with Homi Bhabha as the chairman.
 - Later, the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) was created under the Office of PM Nehru.
 - Initially the AEC and DAE received international cooperation, and **by 1963 India had two research reactors and four nuclear power reactors.**
- **Peaceful uses of nuclear energy:** In spite of the defeat in the 1962 war and China's nuclear testing in 1964, India continued to adhere to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

- **Universality**, since in order to be viable and sustainable, **nuclear disarmament** must necessarily be equally applicable to all.
- **Non-discrimination**, since uniformity of commitments to uniformly applicable verification procedures and a singular standard of compliance is critical.
- **Verifiability**, since only this can promise transparency in the process to foster confidence amongst states to stick to their pledges.
- **Simultaneity of collateral measures traversing security issues other than nuclear**, such as confidence building in areas of conventional forces, international treaty on prohibition of weaponization of outer space, or getting the UN to evolve by

consensus a new strategic doctrine of non-provocative defence.

- **Tolerance and acceptance**, since the new world order will have to be based on “respect for various ideologies, on the right to pursue different socio-economic systems, and the celebration of diversity.”
- **Cooperative security**, in place of the current competitive security, is needed to meet the requirement of nuclear disarmament.

C. Recommendations of the Informal Group 2010 (set up by PM Manmohan Singh)

- Bring back the focus on **universal nuclear disarmament** at the national and international levels.
- Use strategic partnerships to push a **bilateral dialogue on nuclear disarmament** and build concentric circles of concurrence for nuclear disarmament.
- Undertake **outreach conferences within India** to explain the dangers of nuclear weapons and consequences of a nuclear exchange.
- Identify measures that set the stage for nuclear disarmament and settle for a **Time-bound but Flexible Plan**.

India-US Civil Nuclear Deal - 2008:

Under this deal US agreed to work toward full civil nuclear cooperation with India and in exchange, **India agreed to separate its civil and military nuclear facilities** and to place all its **civil nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards**.

Significance of the Deal:

- It **ended technology denial regimes against India** that have been in place for three decades and end India's nuclear isolation.
- It **opened the doors for India to have civil nuclear cooperation** as an equal partner with the USA and the rest of the world.
- It **enabled India us to meet** the twin challenges of **energy security and environmental sustainability**.

India's Nuclear Doctrine:

In 2003, the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) under PM Vajpayee adopted India's nuclear doctrine. PM proclaimed **“Our nuclear weapons are meant purely as a deterrent against nuclear adventure by an adversary.”**

Major features of India's Nuclear Doctrine:

- Building and maintaining a **‘Credible Minimum Deterrent’**;
- A posture of **"No First Use" (NFU)** nuclear weapons will **only be used in retaliation** against a nuclear attack on Indian territory or on Indian forces anywhere;
 - Nuclear retaliation to a first strike will be massive and designed to inflict unacceptable damage.

- Nuclear retaliatory attacks can only be **authorized by the civilian political leadership** through the Nuclear Command Authority.
- **Non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon states**;
- However, in the event of a major attack against India, or Indian forces anywhere, by biological or chemical weapons, India will **retain the option of retaliating with nuclear weapons**;
- A continuance of **strict controls on export of nuclear and missile related materials and technologies**, participation in the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty negotiations, and continued observance of the **moratorium on nuclear tests**.
- Continued commitment to the **goal of a nuclear weapon free world**, through

global, **verifiable and non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament**.

Should India revisit its nuclear doctrine:

A. No:

- **No First Use (NFU)** has been the **pillar of the nuclear doctrine** has been instrumental in India's national security.
 - Abandoning NFU is strategically unnecessary and it can potentially **transform India's deterrence-only nuclear doctrine to one of nuclear warfighting**.
- **Right to retaliate against any nuclear use:**
 - **Pakistan:** Tactical nuclear weapons with Pakistan **do not alter the basic deterrent logic** or aim of India's retaliatory doctrine.
 - **China:** India has achieved a greater conventional balance with the rising power of 21st century.
- **Discourage regular changes:** as it involves costly development and intensive management procedures for both strategic and tactical nuclear weapons and would carry risks of inadvertent and unauthorized nuclear use.
- **Global acceptance:** India has been accepted by the world (and formally by the NSG) as a legitimate and responsible nuclear power.

B. Yes:

- **NFU – sign of overconfidence:** It is only possible for a country that has “extreme confidence to survive a devastating strike and efficacy of its crisis management system.

However, crisis management is not India's forte.

- **Pakistan factor:** Pakistan being a **deep state** has its policy stance unenforceable. Thus, **India's doctrine is more a peacetime declaration** that it might not abide by during war.
- **Doubts over India's pledge:** Many states like China, Pakistan actually believe India's NFU pledge.
- **Credible Minimum Deterrence** as a matter of delicate balance needs constant care as a country like India **requires much larger nuclear arsenal**.
- **India's rise as a great power:** need nuclear weapons to play a much larger role, as
 - A relatively large and robust nuclear deterrent would lead to a **genuinely independent strategic role** for India.
 - A “megaton thermonuclear-ICBM” will also permit India to “**stare down**” **China** and deter China from seeking a military confrontation.
 - Such a capability “will **entail a millennial reordering of nation-States**, that is perhaps overdue.”

If Indian government release a new edition of the nuclear doctrine, it should be based on **strong consensus among India's strategic elite** about the need for periodic review. The new doctrine can **correct some of the errors and contradictions in the previous edition**, thereby strengthening the doctrine as a whole.

A. Biological Weapons Convention 1972:

- It was the **first multilateral disarmament treaty** banning an **entire category of weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**.
- It effectively **prohibits the development, production, acquisition, transfer, stockpiling and use of biological and toxin weapons**. It entails:
 - **Microbial or other biological agents, or toxins** whatever their origin or method of production, of types and in quantities that have no justification for prophylactic, protective or other peaceful purposes;

- **Weapons, equipment or means of delivery** designed to use such agents or toxins for hostile purposes or in armed conflict.
- It opened for signature in 1972; entered into force in 1975. The Convention has reached almost **universal membership with 184 States Parties and 4 Signatory States**.
- BWC supplements the **1925 Geneva Protocol**, which **prohibited only the use** of biological weapons.

Problems with the Biological Weapons Convention:

- **Lack of enforcement mechanism:** The BWC is a short framework, which does not address any mechanism for addressing the violations of the norms set out by it.
- **Lack of information sharing:** The convention fails to impose an obligation upon states to declare what types and amounts of agents or potential weapons they are researching or producing or have already produced.
- **Possession of biological weapons with unstable entities:** A biological weapon in the hands of a stable government is safer, compared to one in the hands of an unstable government like the Houthis in Yemen.

B. Chemical Weapons Convention, 1997:

- It aims to eliminate an entire category of weapons of mass destruction by **prohibiting the development, production, acquisition, stockpiling, retention, transfer or use** of chemical weapons by States Parties.
- The **‘Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons’** strives to fulfil the Convention’s mandate.
- All States Parties have **agreed to chemically disarm by destroying any stockpiles** of chemical weapons they may hold and any facilities which produced them, as well as any chemical weapons they abandoned on the territory of other States Parties in the past.
- **‘Challenge inspection’:** whereby any State Party in doubt about another State Party’s compliance can request a surprise inspection on the **principle of ‘anytime, anywhere’** inspections with **no right of refusal**.

Challenges in implementation of CWC:

- For over 7 years, regular visits by the **OPCW has not been able to clarify discrepancies** and determine if Syria’s declaration is accurate and complete.
- **4 UN countries are not State Parties** to the CWC - Egypt, Israel, North Korea and South Sudan.
 - **North Korea** is said to possess **large quantities of chemical weapons** that could be sold or traded to unscrupulous non-State actors.
- The **existence of large stocks** remains a risk. While Russia announced in late 2017 that it had destroyed its large chemical arsenal, the **US has not been able to complete the destruction yet**.

“Humanity is at a crossroads. One road will take us to our **suicide - the path indicated by doctrines of nuclear deterrence** (derived from concept of the balance of power). The other road will give us another **chance - the path of peaceful coexistence** (derived from values of non-violence,

tolerance and compassion).”, Rajiv Gandhi ji rightly said.

The route to a nuclear weapon free world is strewn with pitfalls, and the **achievement of the desired end state would require sincerity of purpose, statesmanship, perseverance and negotiating skill** on the part of the international community as a whole.

HI94- Indian Foreign Policy

“The world is inter-connected and inter-dependent. India will have to connect with everybody at the same time. Even if there are two opposing countries, they will have to be friends.” - PM Modi

With the world's 3rd largest military expenditure, 2nd largest armed force, 3rd largest economy (in PPP), India is an emerging global power and a potential superpower. As India assumes a growing international influence, understanding foreign policy of India becomes very important.

India has diplomatic relations with over 200 states/dependencies around the globe, having more than 195 missions and posts operating globally. The Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) is the government agency responsible for the conduct of foreign relations of India.

Foreign policy:

A foreign policy is a set of pre-established strategies designed and implemented systematically to manage a country's relationships with other nations. They are structured guidelines that regulate international political dealings.

- In simple terms, it is a country's policy formulated to safeguard and promote its national interests in external milieu, in the conduct of relations with other countries, bilaterally and multilaterally.
- It is a direct reflection of a country's traditional values and overall national policies, her aspirations and self-perception.

Indian Foreign Policy - Fundamental principles:

- **Panchsheel:** (Nehruvian Era)
 - **Mutual respect** for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
 - **Mutual non-aggression,**
 - **Mutual non-interference,**
 - **Equality and mutual benefit,** and
 - **Peaceful co-existence.**
- **Panchamrit:** (Modi Era)

- **Samridhi** (economic prosperity),
- **Suraksha** (national security),
- **Samman** or dignity and honour of India.
- **Samvad** i.e., greater engagement with all stakeholders.
- **Sanskriti** i.e., using our cultural and civilizational links as a tool of our foreign policy.
- **Other Principles:**
 - **Strategic autonomy**
 - **No export of ideologies** or regime change
 - **No unilateral sanctions**
 - **Non-prescriptive development assistance**

Determinants of Indian foreign policy:

A. **Culture and History as determinant:** India has been the seat of a great civilization and a meeting place of great cultures. India's outlook towards the world is steeped in its cultural ethos reflected in:

- **Non-violence:** has been visible in India's nuclear posture (**No First Use**), its relatively restrained conduct in war (After Indo-Pak war 1971, India treated the war prisoners in accordance to the Geneva Convention) etc.
 - It finds its roots in **Buddhist philosophy of 'Pacifism' and Gandhian 'Ahimsa' philosophy** => thus, advocate for **nuclear disarmament.**
- **Tolerance and Pluralism:** have been part of Indian ethos running from ancient to medieval era. E.g., **accommodation of foreign invaders** (Greeks, Shakas, Kushanas); **Akbar's policy of 'Sulh e Kuhl'.**
 - **India applied pluralism and tolerance internationally,** accepting different regime types and societies.
 - E.g., India's **called for peaceful resolution of Russia Ukraine war** and in its **Look West Policy**

(non-interference in domestic affairs).

- **Satyameva Jayate** (Advocacy for a just cause): **Rather than realpolitik**, India chose to abide by its cultural ethos to **further the cause for weaker and just members** of the international community.
 - E.g., despite realistic assessment of benefit accruing out of support to Israel, India has continued its **unwavering support to Palestine**.
- **Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam (cosmopolitan world view)**: India believes in multilateralism/collectivism instead of individualism of the west. E.g.:
 - **Home to 2 lakh refugees**: including Tibetans, despite not being a signatory to UN Convention on Refugees.
 - **Vaccine Maitri initiative**: India supplied over 235 million doses of COVID vaccine to 98 countries and 2 UN entities.
 - **Avoiding power bloc politics**: commitment to the UN, peaceful resolution of disputes, Non-alignment etc.
- **Hierarchical worldview**: Based on its social ethos, Indian leaders hold a “hierarchical worldview” where **nation-states are arranged as a hierarchy**.
 - A state’s ranking can be **measured through strategic, military, and economic power**, as well as **morality, ideology, intellectuality, and culture**.
 - Thus, **India should be recognized as ‘Vishwa guru’** and sit at the top of the international order.

India's culture recognizes **values as being more important than power**. In the present dispensation, cultural values have got greater attention. **PM Modi’s visit to Kyoto, Japanese PM Shinzo Abe’s visit to cultural capital of**

India (Varanasi), promotion of Yoga etc. are the testaments to the role of culture in India’s diplomatic initiatives.

- B. **Geography as determinant**: “If you know a country’s geography, you can understand and predict its foreign policy” - Napoleon Bonaparte.
- India's location between middle-east, south-east Asia and far-east obliged her to engage in the events of the region.
 - **A natural frontier in the form of Himalayas in the north and Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal on the three sides** has considerably influenced its foreign policy.
 - **India is situated in the center of the Asian region** which is very important because it is centered for the **main trade route** between Europe and East via Mediterranean Sea, Red Sea, and Straits of Malacca. This position is very crucial for commercial advantages.
 - For example, **China's attempts to build CPEC is to avoid her Malacca dilemma** – India sitting close to Malacca strait via Andaman and Nicobar Islands.
 - **New Delhi’s overemphasis on land border to the north west**:
 - As historically and geographically, it has been invaded from the North West which is modern-day Pakistan. Furthermore, India views **Islamabad's influence in Afghanistan** from the same prism.
 - **'You can change friends, not neighbours'** - Atal Bihari Vajpai.
 - India’s attempts of being a **'Regional security provider'** in the region and **ambition of becoming global power**, is due to India having a natural edge in the Indian Ocean.
 - India's dominance over the Indian Ocean is necessary to become an important power of the Indian-Pacific region.

C. Leadership as determinant

- **Idealism of Nehru:** In the decades following independence, Nehru, who was widely regarded as ‘internationalist’ and ‘idealist’ in outlook, resolutely dominated the conception and delivery of Indian foreign policy.
 - Therefore, India’s foreign policy during his tenure was **more committed to the collective good, non-alignment, self-reliance, world peace, disarmament and anti-colonialism.**
 - ‘**PANCHSHEEL**’ was a typical representation of Nehruvian outlook to approaching problems with other countries.
- **Realism of Indira Gandhi:** By the nature of a **strong & decisive personality and sensitivity to the imperatives of vital national interests**, Indira Gandhi re-oriented foreign policy along the lines of realism, more than idealism.
 - This is reflected in the **liberation of Bangladesh (1971), non-accession to NPT**, and strengthening of ties with the Soviet Union, instead of being Nonaligned.
- **Assertiveness of Modi:** India foreign policy, since 2014, contains **elements of assertiveness & unpredictability, extensive economic engagement and a focus on Diaspora.**
 - Also, his **strong belief in cultural richness and diversity of India and personal bonhomie** with world leaders, has ushered a new era of confidence and dynamism in foreign policy.
 - For example: **De-hyphenating Israel Palestine relations; Air strikes against Pakistan; Promotion of yoga etc.**

D. Domestic factors as determinant: The internal environment of a country shapes and conditions its policy choices. For example:

- **India U.S. nuclear negotiations:**
 - India’s vote against Iran in 2005 and 2006 at the UN were criticized, on the ground of ‘loss of autonomy’, by the opposition and allies of the then government.
 - ‘Left’ strongly opposed India-US nuclear agreement which at one point threatened survival of the government.
- **West Bengal influences Bangladesh policy:** WB government’s stand against Teesta River agreement of UPA-II government led to deeply damaging to foreign policy relations with Bangladesh.
- **Tamil Nadu influences Sri Lanka Policy:** DMK pressure, in 2012-13, caused **India to censure Sri Lanka at the UN Human Rights Council**, an action that contradicted India’s long-standing principle of not voting for country-specific resolutions.
- **India’s west Asia policy:** Concerns of Muslim minority at home has always shaped India’s policy towards the region in general and towards Palestine in particular.

E. ‘External and regional factors’ as determinants: like global environment, power structure, alliances, international organizations, etc. influence foreign policy in varied ways. For example:

- **China’s aggressive posture in South China sea** has compelled India and others to come together in the form of **Quad**.
- India moderated her long-pursued stand of **no negotiation with terrorist groups in the wake of resurgence of Taliban – II in the Afghanistan** recently and cooperating with Taliban led government of Afghanistan.

Indian foreign policy & Covid 19:**A. Challenges encountered:**

- **Brakes on Neighborhood first policy:** India's capacity to help neighboring countries materially declines especially due to devastating 2nd wave which led few countries to look towards China.
- **Foreign aid:** The 2nd wave forced India to accept foreign aid **after a gap of 17 years**. However, it has been highlighted by Gol that this is not a foreign policy change.
- **Protectionism:** Increasing call for 'Atmanirbhar Bharat' has led many partners of India like USA, EU etc., to question India's trade policy and may lead to counter tariffs.

B. Few positives:

- **Vaccine diplomacy and its benefits** (Refer 'Diplomacy' handout for details)
- India emerged as a **reliable actor on global stage with respect to medical supplies and pharma products**.
- **South – South cooperation:** covid 19 highlighted **India as a champion of global south by demanding IPR waivers** to ensure timely supply of vaccines to poor countries.
- **Strengthened cooperation with Quad:** Build back better health security initiative in the Indo pacific etc.

Elements of continuity & change in India's foreign policy:

The foreign policy of any country is based on its **national interests, which don't change too often but continue to evolve in varied shapes and degrees**. In that sense, every country's foreign policy has elements of continuity and change following a change in government.

A. Elements of continuity:

- **India's Act East Policy:** of economic and political engagement with the Southeast Asian countries is an extension of India's Look-East Policy - a continuity of previous decades.
- **'Neighborhood First':** From treaty diplomacy of Nehruvian era to Modi's neighborhood first, we have seen a remarkable continuity in primacy to the neighbors in Indian foreign policy making.
- **Unwavering support to Palestine:** and espousing the Palestinian cause is another feature that continues to remain one of the cardinal features, despite normalization of relations and burgeoning trade and defense relations with Israel.
- **South-south collaboration** is another feature that continues to be the feature of India's foreign policy since Independence.
- **Others:**

- **The forward momentum on the nuclear deal** with the United States are elements of continuity from the past.
- **Multilateralism, Non-alignment, Avoiding power bloc politics,** commitment to the UN, peaceful resolution of disputes etc.

B. Elements of change:

- **S Jaishankar** termed 'changes' as **"decisive conclusions to an otherwise unfinished national agenda"** that the bigger shifts were in how India was conducting itself on the world stage and the tools of statecraft it was using in this process.
- **Act East Policy:** From inward looking nation focused on self-sufficiency to the Look East Policy, making trade as a key to our dealings with the external world. Later, including the security dimension in Act East Policy reflects 'change'.
- **Crossing the "hesitations of history":** in the case of our relations with the USA, from estranged democracies we became **natural partners**.
- **India's added confidence and larger footprint:**
 - was indicative of a new proactive foreign policy in the works focused on actively

- shaping and driving events as opposed to just reacting to them;
- on **being active and nimble rather than neutral and risk-averse.**
- S Jaishankar talks of **5 “innovations” in the way India was using the tools of statecraft** to further this proactive foreign policy:
 - **Narratives:** as part of a transition to making India a leading power.
 - **New imagery:** to become “first responder”, in humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, has been critical in signaling and driving foreign policy change. E.g., **NDRF help during Nepal Earthquake**
 - **Soft power:** as evidenced by the International Day of Yoga and its links with the country’s culture and heritage.
 - **Diaspora engagement:** Modi government has been **more direct thus far in engaging with overseas Indians.** E.g., turnout at Madison Square Garden during his visit to the US.
- **More explicit link between foreign policy and national development:** India working hard to leverage its international relationships to bring resources, technology and best practices to further its own development.
- **Others: Detonating the nuclear device** was a major statement of change in India’s approach towards the foreign policy. From an advocate of nuclear disarmament, India declared itself to be a nuclear power.

Thus, while there is much continuity in India’s foreign policy, **PM Modi’s energetic and bold diplomacy and superior implementation skills have indeed changed its paradigm.**

Phases of Indian foreign policy.

A. Phase of non-alignment (1947-1962)

- India resisted the **constraining of its choices and dilution of its sovereignty** in a bipolar world.
- It saw energetic Indian diplomacy from Korea and Vietnam to the Suez and Hungary.
- However, India’s **emphasis on values and ideals** sometimes led to **overlooking the harsher realities of hard security.**
 - Going to **UN regarding J&K**
 - **Rejecting the offer “east west swap deal” of China** where India would recognize Chinese claims on Aksai Chin and China would give up its claims on the eastern sector.
 - The anticipated 1962 war, yet, the reluctance to attach overriding priority to securing borders.

B. Phase of realism. (1962-1971)

- India **looked beyond non-alignment making pragmatic choices** on security and political challenges
 - E.g., concluding a defense agreement with the US in 1964. ○ Also, domestic challenges were acute, with political turbulence and economic distress.
 - India faced a tense situation with Pakistan in 1965 and finally led to creation of Bangladesh in 1971.
 - India became more realistic as it signed Indo-Soviet Treaty of 1971.

C. Phase of greater Indian regional assertion and phase of complexity (1971-1991)

- **Creation of Bangladesh**, but ended with the **Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) misadventure in Sri Lanka.**
- India’s optimistic outlook on Pakistan in 1972 at Shimla, resulted in a hostile Pakistan and a continuing problem in Jammu & Kashmir.

D. Phase of multi-Alignment (1991-1999)

- **Unipolar world order** after end of cold war made it a challenging task to retain India’s strategic autonomy.
- **Upgradation of diplomatic relations with Israel**, outreach to America.

- India opened up economically more to the world.
- In 1998, **India declared itself as nuclear weapon power** attracting US sanctions.

E. India as a balancing power (2000-2013)

- As China began to emerge as the 2nd pole in world geopolitics and moreover the **center of gravity of world geopolitics shifts towards Asia-Pacific region**, world community weighted in favour of India as **India was a balancing power** now.
- For example, USA moderated its stand on nuclear policy towards India.

F. Phase of Energetic engagement (Post 2014) - Refer 'elements of change' section provided above.

Role of various institutions involved in making of India's foreign policy:

A. MEA: is the government agency responsible for the conduct of foreign relations of India.

- It is responsible for the country's representation in the United Nations and also advises other Ministries and State Governments when the latter have dealings with foreign governments or institutions.

B. PMO: When the government is of **single party majority, PMO gains more prominence** in shaping the foreign policy instead of MEA.

- It **coordinates the role of various Union Government agencies** in foreign policy making.

C. Parliament: The **international treaties and agreements** signed by the government become legally binding but these do not become part of **domestic law unless passed by an act of Parliament.**

- The **Committee on External Affairs of the Lok Sabha** is an important link between the Parliament and the Cabinet. It is a deliberative body on foreign affairs.
- **Discussions and debates in parliament:** for example, during the Ind-US nuclear deal, on Doklam issue etc.

D. Media: As an articulator of public opinion, it is bound to have its role in foreign policy.

- In a democratic setup, media represents diverse opinions of different segments of the population. Thus, influencing foreign policy in:
 - the extent of domestic political disagreement or consensuses on foreign policy issues;

- the relationship between the government and the media.

- Media plays a key role in providing an **understanding of foreign countries and their foreign policies** to the domestic audience.

- **Case 1: The role played by The Times of India in 1996** on the issue of **India signing CTBT agreement.**

- Indian **political parties were divided on the issue**, since India had for a long time advocated such a test ban and had, in fact, sponsored the CTBT.
- However, when **CTBT got linked to NPT renewal** and India felt it was being discriminated against on the question of its nuclear status.
- A major debate took place in the columns of Indian newspapers in which the **Times of India editorially called for India rejecting CTBT** in the form in which it was then being proposed. This **finally became the official Indian position.**

- **Case 2: The Kargil Conflict of 1999:**

- When private cable news **journalists reported directly from the battle zone**, bypassing the government controls.
- The broadcasts **triggered an emotional wave of nationalism** and the Government soon found it convenient to ride it.

Issues & challenges in Indian foreign policy.

- India's foreign policy has **often been ad hoc, reactive and short term**, reflecting the **absence of a broad strategic culture**.
- A big challenge for India is **to maintain coherence and balance** in its foreign policy, especially after Russia invaded Ukraine.
- **Over – reliance on Soft power**: There are **serious problems with India's hard capacity/hard power** to manage the China problem.
- The challenge for India's foreign policy in the years ahead is **to be courted by all and to succumb to no one**. Even if India cannot lead, it must not be led.
- India's challenge lies in **finding its due place in it in its own right and being in a position to change the rules** rather than simply adhere to existing ones.

Suggestions for Indian foreign policy.

- **Greater realism**: purposeful pursuit of national interest in shifting global dynamics is a must.
- **Internal balancing** as economic drivers guide diplomacy a lot more than earlier.
- **All alignment**: multi-polar world has emerged and all the pillars have to be managed without compromising with anyone.
- **Calculated risk-taking**: by balancing its opportunities with the cost attached. Example, Uri and Dokhlam issue.
- **Giving up the old dogmas**: India cannot be dogmatic in approaching a visibly changing global order like economic autarky, self-reliance, import substitution.

As said by **EAM S. Jaishankar** “**a nation that has the aspiration to become a leading power someday cannot continue with unsettled borders, an unintegrated region and under-exploited opportunities**”.

The challenge for India is to **successfully play on all geo-political chess boards and optimize what it can extract** from others for its own development. This means India should **preserve its independence of judgment and action** as much as possible even as it conducts itself as a good

and reliable partner where partnerships have been formed.

HI 95- Diplomacy

“Diplomacy is more than saying or doing right things at right time, it is avoiding saying or doing wrong things all the time.”

- **Bo Bennett**

Modern diplomatic practices are a product of the post-Renaissance European state system. Historically, diplomacy meant the conduct of official (usually bilateral) relations between sovereign states. 4

By the 20th century, however, the diplomatic practices pioneered in Europe had been adopted throughout the world, and diplomacy had expanded to cover summit meetings and other international conferences, parliamentary diplomacy, the international activities of supranational and subnational entities, unofficial diplomacy by nongovernmental elements, and the work of international civil servants.

What is meant by diplomacy?

- It is **the established method of influencing the decisions and behaviour of foreign governments** and peoples through dialogue, negotiation, and other measures short of war or violence.
- **Diplomacy is often confused with foreign policy, but the terms are not synonymous.** Diplomacy is the chief, but not the only, instrument of foreign policy, which is set by political leaders, though diplomats (in addition to military and intelligence officers) may advise them.

Role of Diplomacy/Significance of diplomacy in international relations.

- **Channel of representation:**
 - Firstly, diplomacy in international relations serves as the channel for representation. **States through the practice of diplomacy expose and position themselves in the international system.**
 - Most sovereign states are **represented by accredited diplomats** in the international system to voice out the views, policies and objections of these countries as participators of the international system.

- **These representations set legal paths for recognition in the system and also provide the chance to offer and to be offered any kind of assistance globally.**
 - For instance, since Ghana is being represented at the international level, it is recognised and opened up to be offered any assistance from other countries, in cases there are challenges such as famine, war, political and economic instability among others.
- **Promotes soft power:**
 - In international politics, diplomacy allows countries to portray or practice the values of other countries which are considered as satisfactory and decent as well as profitable.
 - This is called soft power because these values are not imposed forcefully on countries but they rather inculcate the habit of practicing them if only it is considered helpful to the economic, social and political state of the countries.
- **Facilitates the observation of international law:**
 - In other ways, diplomacy in relation to international relations is a **crisis management tool** in the global system.
- **Negotiations:** To conduct negotiations with other states is a substantive function of diplomacy. It is mainly through negotiations that a diplomat seeks to secure agreements and compromises over various conflictual issues and problems among states.
- **Reporting:** Reporting involves the observation of the political, economic, military and social conditions of the host country.
 - It seeks to assess the friendliness or hostility of the various political groupings towards the home state.
 - Assessing economic health and trade potential of the host country.
- **Protection of Interests:** Protecting and promoting the interests of the nation and its people living abroad is the “bedrock of the

practice of diplomacy.” It works to secure compatibility out of incompatibility through accommodation, reconciliation and goodwill.

- **Services to citizens on foreign land:**
 - Diplomatic missions provide legal advice and counselling to their citizens in case they find themselves on the wrong side of the law. This makes citizens live on another land comfortably with relatively less or no fear.

What are the various types of diplomacy?

Cultural diplomacy:

- It can generally be defined as the **exchange of arts and culture that aims to increase understanding between different countries.**
 - Examples: opening libraries abroad, offering language courses, and granting educational scholarships.
- Practices like this can **ease tensions between countries** by improving a country’s image and developing cultural links.

Economic diplomacy:

- It involves any kind of diplomacy that helps the economy thrive and the country prosper. This is a huge part of international relations as it involves anything related to economic activity- trade, investments, aid, taxation etc.

Dollar diplomacy:

- Dollar diplomacy isn’t so much an essential feature of diplomacy today but is a tactic that **refers to the manipulation of foreign affairs for monetary gain.**
 - Example: In the early 1900s the USA used dollar diplomacy in Latin America and East Asia to further US interests. It promised loans to these countries in exchange for minimised military force and other US commercial interests.

Gunboat diplomacy / Big stick diplomacy:

- It is defined as **“the practice of backing up diplomatic efforts with a visible show of military might”.**
- By showing a strong military, a country can make **implicit military threats** while appearing peaceful and amicable.

- Example: Chinese behaviour with South China Sea littoral states.

Public diplomacy:

- Public diplomacy is part of a state’s strategy to **communicate directly and openly with other countries and the press.**
- There are two different approaches to public diplomacy: branding and advocacy.
 - **Branding** is to do with **promoting a positive image of the country to the press and foreign nations** and involves projecting ideas about the country’s history, culture and foreign policy in order to make it look attractive.
 - **Advocacy** refers to public strategies that have particular objectives.
 - For example, the US provided a narrative to explain their actions when they intervened in Iraq in 2003, positioning themselves as spreaders of democracy.

Vaccine Diplomacy:

- Vaccine diplomacy, a **form of medical diplomacy**, is the use of vaccines to improve a country’s diplomatic relationship and influence of other countries.
 - Example: **Vaccine Maitri**, under this India supplied vaccines to countries of Third World. Vaccine Maitri/diplomacy is a natural extension of Indian soft power.

Energy Diplomacy:

- Energy diplomacy is related to **foreign relations that aim to ensure the country’s energy security while also promoting business opportunities** related to the energy sector.
 - Example: India securing oil at discounted price from Russia.
- In recent years, energy diplomacy aims to accelerate the global energy transition, promoting energy efficiency and renewable technologies, amongst other things.

Summit Diplomacy:

- Summit Diplomacy is when the **Heads of Government/State meet to discuss some issue of mutual interests.**

- The **effort is usually arranged around a specific issue that all parties want to reach an agreement on** (treaty, trade deal, etc.) as opposed to regular diplomatic stuff.
- There is normally a **formal agenda and a fixed time period**, all of which is intended to help focus the attendees on moving toward the goal.
 - Example: G20 Summit.

DIPLOMACY TRACKS

Multi track diplomacy:

- It involves a web of interconnected activities, individuals, institutions, and communities that operate together for a common goal.

Track 1 Diplomacy:

- There is **direct communication between the states involved**.
 - If there is a third-party present to mediate between the main parties, the bilateral meet becomes trilateral and so on depending on the number of parties involved.
- It is carried out by diplomats, high-ranking government officials, and heads of states and is aimed at influencing the structures of political power.
 - Example: when PM Modi invited President Xi to talk over various issues.

Track 1.5 Diplomacy:

- It can be defined **“diplomatic initiatives that are facilitated by unofficial bodies, but directly involve officials from the conflict in question”**.
- This type of diplomacy **consists of government officials and non-government representatives**.
 - Example: Delhi Dialogue is a Track 1.5 dialogue process for brainstorming on all aspects of the ASEAN-India relationship.

Track 2 Diplomacy:

- **When the actors involved are not government officials but non-state actors** like NGOs, citizens, business parties, conflict resolution specialists, media persons, etc., it is called Track 2 Diplomacy.

- It is **intended to provide a bridge or complement official Track One negotiations**.

Track 3 Diplomacy: Business or peacemaking through commerce.

- It involves business groups through informal communications, international friendships and understanding etc., in achievements of national interest.⁴

Track 4: Private citizen or peacemaking through personal involvement.

- This includes various ways through which individuals are involved in peacemaking processes like citizen diplomacy, involvement in private organization etc.

Track 5: research, training and education/ Diplomacy through learning.

- It involves think tanks, research centers, university programmes etc., which provide training in negotiation, global cross-cultural studies, world peace studies etc.

Track 6: Activism/ Peacemaking through advocacy.

- It involves activists who are concerned about major global issues like disarmament, climate change etc.

Track 7: Religious.

- It involves beliefs and peace-oriented actions of spiritual and religious communities like nonviolence, pacifism, love and tolerance etc.

Track 8: Funding/ Peacemaking through providing resources.

- It involves foundations and individual philanthropists which provide resources to aid initiatives taken by other tracks.

Track 9: Public opinion/communication/ Peacemaking through information.

- It involves shaping public opinion via different medias- print, digital- video, radio, art etc.

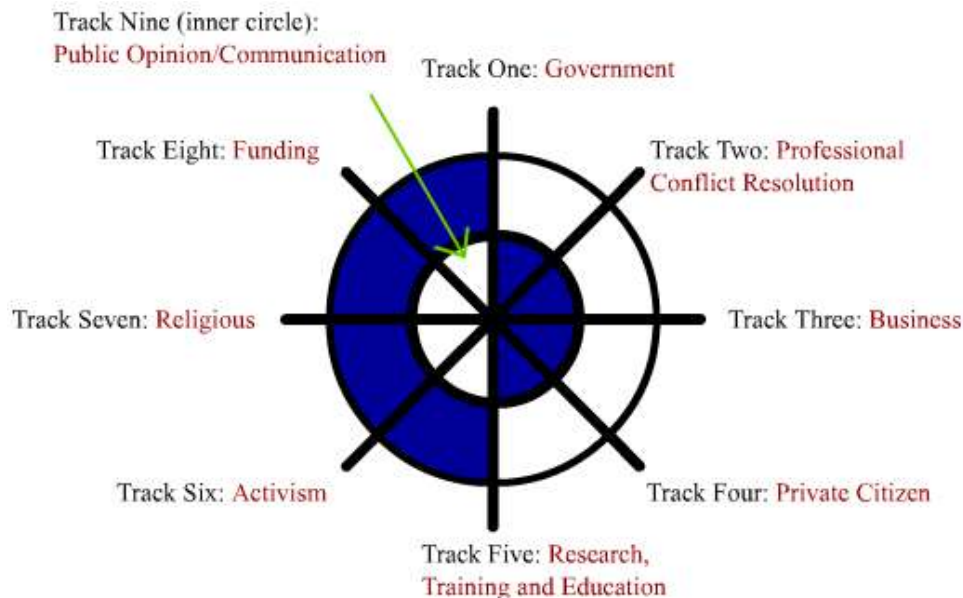


Figure 1: 9 Tracks of diplomacy

'Virtual Diplomacy - a new normal': analysis

What is Virtual diplomacy?

- The term encompasses the decision-making, coordination, communication, and practice of international relations as they are conducted **with the aid of information and communications technologies**.
- It also involves the way of pursuing foreign policy through websites, blogs and a variety of social media platforms and beyond.

Why is virtual diplomacy in vogue?

- Because of the coronavirus, diplomats are now preferring to engage/negotiate without necessarily meeting face-to-face.
- The pandemic has disrupted all diplomatic calendars. Even multilateral negotiations are now happening virtually. Many summit meetings like the extraordinary G-20 meeting, took place through various digital platforms.

Indian and virtual diplomacy:

- Indian diplomacy is clearly seeing a shift from physical conferencing to virtual conferencing.
- **EAM Jaishankar has had 65 virtual diplomatic engagements** with his counterparts in other countries since the pandemic spread. Present High Commissioner to Sri Lanka Gopal Bagley became the first diplomat to present his credentials virtually.
- The advantage of digital platforms is that one can reach out in real time. Even MEA officials assert that virtual diplomacy will be the new norm.

Advantages of Virtual Diplomacy:

- **Strengthening international relations:**

- Direct public interaction and the involvement of non-state actors make countries use social media and digital diplomacy as a way to maintain legitimacy and develop or strengthen relationships in a changing world.
- **Proximity with audiences:**
 - The geographical distance between MFAs and embassies is less important than it was earlier.
 - The internet websites, blogs, and social media have attracted more and more politicians and diplomats of the world with citizens from all corners of the globe.
 - Nations have long reached out to foreign audiences when such efforts advance a particular political or economic goal.
- **Fast and effective communications:**
 - Digital technologies are **extremely useful for gathering and processing information** regarding diplomatic activities as well as for fast communications in urgent situations.
 - They **enable governments to think about the consequences of events in different parts of the world** and how they affect their country.
 - For example, in times of crisis, embassies can create groups in WhatsApp to respond to citizens in crisis.
- **Low Financial cost:**
 - Travelling for summits/diplomatic engagement with host of other officers incurs huge cost for the state. Virtual diplomacy **saves the logistical cost of conducting diplomacy.**

Issues with Virtual Diplomacy:

- **Cyber risks:**
 - Digital diplomacy is not without risks like the **possibility of information leaking, hacking and maintaining the anonymity of internet users.**
- **Complicates policy making:**
 - The internet multiplies the number of voices and interests involved in drafting international policies, complicating international decision-making and reducing the country's exclusive control in this process.
- **Lack of knowledge** about using new communication technologies, the internet, and social media can result in terrible consequences, severe conflicts, even with dismissals of politicians.
- **May lead to conflict and disagreements:**
 - Diplomats can no longer be certain that their thoughts will not be revealed to the audiences they have never targeted, and it is now impossible to leave the public eye.
- **The culture of anonymity:**
 - Another challenge of digital diplomacy is the culture of anonymity because **anyone can pretend to be someone else** and cause damage to certain people.
 - The culture of anonymity can lead to complicated crises as a result of the publication of conflicting information, even untrue.

Vaccine diplomacy – analysis.

Since the start of Vaccine Maitri Programme in January, 2021, India has supplied **723.435 lakh doses of COVID vaccine to 94 countries and 2 UN entities** in the form of grant, commercial export or through COVAX till 29th November, 2021.

- By supplying vaccines at quick interval, India has delivered on the commitments it made to these countries.
- India's Vaccine diplomacy will raise India's Stature at the global arena.

What is the significance of India's Vaccine diplomacy?

- It will lead to **new kind of diplomacy based on the common good and common interests** of the South Asian and African people.
- **India's prevailing good reputation over manufacturing medicines will only increase** in the south Asian region. This **will increase the scope of medical tourism** in India.
- Sale of Covid19 vaccines **will be economically beneficial**.
 - For example, Countries such as Myanmar and Bangladesh have negotiated for commercial agreements with manufacturers for more quantities.
- **To realise values of Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam:**
 - The demand for anti-COVID 19 immunizations across the world is increasing. It is the responsibility of all countries with the capability to manufacture the vaccine to make it available equitably to all.
- **Important for restoration of normalcy:**
 - Immunization is in every country's interest, as it is crucial to restore the movement of people and goods across nations, to build global immunity prior to COVID19 situation.

Vaccine Nationalism ("secure your masks first")

- Vaccine nationalism occurs when governments sign agreements with pharmaceutical manufacturers **to supply their own populations with vaccines ahead of them becoming available for other countries**.
 - **Examples of vaccine nationalism:** Even before many of the now-approved COVID-19 vaccinations had completed their clinical trials, wealthy countries such as Britain, the US, Japan and the European bloc had procured several million doses of the ones that seemed the most promising.
 - The **US has secured 800 million doses of at least six vaccines in development, with an option to buy about one billion more**.

Challenges of Vaccine nationalism:

- **WHO's concerns:**
 - Such unilateral deals with wealthy countries **made the vaccines inaccessible to those in some of the poorest parts of the world**.
 - Whilst there is a wish amongst leaders to protect their own people first, the response to this pandemic has to be collective."
- The concern over **less wealthy countries not having access to a vaccine** is a serious one, and it is everyone's problem.
- If we were to vaccinate only those countries that bought up - the majority of the supplies of the vaccine, it would mean the **virus would continue to rage in other non-vaccinated countries**.

Way forward:

- The alternative is a **global vaccine programme** and this is what the WHO aims to do through **COVAX**, a global facility set up in April 2021 to speed up the development of medicines to treat COVID-19 and make them available everywhere.

Vaccine Nationalism	Vaccine Diplomacy
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Vaccine nationalism' most commonly refers to the pursuit of vaccines in the national interest, for example, through supply agreements or export bans, including where this might be to the detriment of other countries. • VN means commandeering and hoarding of vaccine inputs and doses exclusively for populations within nations. • The reasons for such a response to vaccine procurement and rollout have been framed through the lens of national security through a 'medicalization of insecurity'. • The WHO has warned to guard against vaccine nationalism or face further virus transmission with the inevitable emergence of new variants. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An alternative to vaccine nationalism is 'vaccine internationalism', as exemplified by the aims of COVAX. • Vaccine internationalism means vaccines should be available according to need at the international level through multilateral cooperation. • It is a kind of 'internationalism' wherein concern of poor countries is taken in to account while vaccinating our own population. • VD is a mediating concept between nationalism and internationalism, where national strategic interests are pursued alongside an outward focus on donating and selling vaccines to other countries. • It is beneficial as it secures our own population through vaccine intervention in vulnerable countries.

What role is played by various actors in diplomacy?

- **State:**
 - Traditionally the state has been the primary actor in international diplomacy. Diplomats representing their home state conduct negotiations with foreign governments to secure their national interest.
- **Diaspora diplomacy:**
 - It is the practice of influence and negotiations between nations by using the country's diaspora to pursue the advancement of the home country. India has the world's largest diaspora, about 17.5 million.

- **Usefulness of diaspora diplomacy:**
 - **Economic development:** through the sending of remittances, alleviating poverty as well as managing businesses in the latter.
 - **Promote soft power:** Diasporas promote the image and culture of their homeland. Thus, they act as a tool to display soft power of a nation.
 - **Promote cooperation:** Diasporas promote friendship and cooperation between the host and origin country through their personal contacts and networks.

Why is Diaspora diplomacy double edged? Elaborate in context of India.

Benefits brought by diaspora diplomacy: (in addition to content provided above)

- **Political:**
 - It **generates much needed political support for the country of its origin**.
 - For example, played great role in the US Congress for changing the American non-proliferation laws and facilitating civil nuclear cooperation with India.

- Today, the diaspora might once again have a critical role in informing the Congress and the wider public about the situation in Kashmir and explaining the historic context and the logic behind India's abolition of A370 and bifurcation of the state.

Issues with diaspora diplomacy:

- **May create domestic political fault-lines:**
 - As in India, so in the US, many liberal sections of the diaspora have become sharply critical of the Modi government.
 - Together, they are having an impact on the leadership of the diaspora, including some US Congress members of Indian origin, as well as the general public discourse within the US on India.
- **Danger of getting drawn too deep into the domestic politics of the host country.** It may attract resentment from other sections of society.
- **In imitation of India, Pakistan not only galvanizing Pakistani diaspora but also Muslim American communities** on Kashmir and other issues.
- There will **always be fear of nationalist backlash** or resentment against privileged economically and politically Indian communities.
- **India's internal divisions are inevitably transmitted to the diaspora** that, in turn, feeds into the emerging negative sentiment towards Delhi.
 - Ex liberal section of India diaspora and its stand on A370 etc.

Way forward:

- As India's outreach to the diaspora strengthens, Gol must also **focus on a broader strategy of connecting with all people of South Asian origin.**
- Delhi needs to **engage with the liberal American critics of India.**
- Delhi has to **be careful- not to be seen as tilting in favour of one side in case of domestic politics.**

- **Private sector:** The role of non-state actors like private sector in the process of diplomacy has become critical in the age of globalization.
 - Govts increasingly involve the private sector in multilateral and bilateral trade negotiations.
 - The private sector **through its market research helps the government take a learned stand** and influences other country's economic policies.
 - Negotiations at multilateral platforms like WTO and UNFCCC are unthinkable without the contribution of the private sector.
- **NGOs:**
 - NGO campaigns are primarily addressed to national decision-making processes.
 - The aim is to influence the outcome of international negotiations via national decision-making.
 - The campaigns are addressed to nation states, the national media and the national population.
 - Example: **International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN)** has been actively pursuing a campaign for eliminating nuclear weapons.

What is the significance of soft diplomacy/Soft power and limitations of it?

- Power in international relations has often been understood in the context of military and economic might.
- **Hard power is deployed in the form of coercion:** using force, the threat of force, economic sanctions, or inducements of payment.
- **In contrast, “soft power” is the ability of a country to persuade others to do what it wants** without force or coercion.
- **Soft power shuns the traditional foreign policy tools of carrot and stick,** seeking instead to achieve influence by building networks, communicating compelling narratives, establishing international rules, and drawing on the resources that make a country naturally attractive to the world.
- **Joseph Nye,** the originator of the concept, set out **three pillars of soft power: political values, culture, and foreign policy.**
 - For instance, the United States, in addition to hard power, has also excelled in projecting soft power, with the help of its democratic values, exporting education, MNCs, and other institutions of civil society.
- India’s soft power diplomacy can be traced back to the time when Swami Vivekananda visited Chicago Parliament of Religion and spoke about Hinduism and India, which attracted many Indians and Foreigners who visited India and learnt about the Indian culture and the ancient language-Sanskrit.

Significance of Soft Power:

- Soft power is **“a means to success in world politics”** for those that know how to leverage it.
- Soft-power initiatives **complement official diplomacy efforts,** ultimately aimed at increasing knowledge and appreciation of the country in foreign shores.
 - For example, promotion of India’s soft power (in the form, for example, of Bollywood films and yoga) is aimed at meeting the country’s foreign policy objectives and showing its willingness to play a bigger role in global politics.

- Soft power delivers all kinds of benefits for nations, their people, businesses, and organisations of all shapes and sizes.
- A strong nation brand and positive soft power perceptions **allow a nation to promote itself as a place for people to visit, invest in,** and build a reputation for their quality of goods and services.
- It also **allows a country to rise in the esteem of its neighbours, market its resources and compose the face it presents** on the international stage.

Limitations of Soft Power:

- **Without hard power (both military and economic) and the ability to exercise “smart power”,** soft power alone itself will **never be sufficient enough** to achieve foreign policy objectives.
- Soft power is **hard to quantify, and thus it is hard to measure its success.** Hard power, focused more on measurable resources (money, soldiers, bullets), and so are the results of its applications.
- Soft power **aims to change attitudes, which is a hard “thing”** to which to assign a number or level.
- It is much **more difficult to obfuscate strategic aims during a soft power initiative.**
 - For instance, US promoting democracy only in countries that are opposed to it (Libya) not in allied countries (Saudi Arabia).
- Soft power has **limited role in territorial disputes.** Countries are most likely to resort to military means to resolve such disputes.
- **Time taking exercise:** cultivating soft power and expecting benefits out of it requires significant amount of time.
- **Well-structured diaspora bonds are critical** in projecting soft power through exchange of cultural elements.

What is an informal summit? What is its significance or utility?

- A **formal summit** is an event where Heads of State/Government meet to discuss particular issues.
 - They are **agenda driven**, where specific issues are discussed, and outcomes are more concretely defined. The **issue or agenda is pre-decided**, and are not subject to changes. **Also, the issues which shouldn't be brought to table are also discussed.**
- **In informal summits there is no pre-decided agenda** to be discussed and it **can cover a broad range of issues** that may not be of immediate importance.
 - Informal Summits may not take place on a fixed annual or biennial schedule; they are **impromptu** in the sense that **they take place when a need for them is perceived** by the nations concerned.
- In recent times, India has informal summits with China, Russia and the ASEAN.

Significance:

- Informal Summits **act as supplementary exchanges to annual Summits** and other formal exchanges such as the G20 Summit, EU-India Summit and the BRICS Summit among others.
- It **allows for “direct, free and candid exchange of views”** between countries, something that may not be possible to do through formal bilateral and multilateral meetings.
- Since Informal Summits allow discussion on wide-ranging issues, they are not particularly purpose-specific, and are **sometimes considered to play bigger roles in diplomatic dialogue** than formal exchanges — **the reason is that they tend to be more in-depth, and relatively flexible** in intent and the scope of discussion.
 - For instance, **in Wuhan**, Prime Minister Modi and President Xi discussed a range of subjects, including the India-China boundary question, bilateral trade and investment, terrorism, economic development and global peace, and reached a “broad consensus”.
 - In May 2018, Modi met Russia's President Vladimir Putin for their first Informal **Summit in Russia's Sochi** to discuss

international matters in a “broad and long-term perspective”.

- Informal summits **help in exchanging views, building trust, finding common ground** in disputes and strengthening the outcome of formal summits.
- These **act as a platform to discuss national developmental priorities and bilateral matters** in keeping with the tradition of regular consultations between two countries at the highest levels.
- Informal summits **allow world leaders to speak freely**, unconstrained by pre-planned agendas and without any expectation from relevant stakeholders.

The purpose of diplomacy is to strengthen the state, nation, or organization it serves in relation to others by advancing the interests in its charge. To this end, diplomatic activity endeavours to maximize a group's advantages without the risk and expense of using force and preferably without causing resentment. It habitually, but not invariably, strives to preserve peace; diplomacy is strongly inclined toward negotiation to achieve agreements and resolve issues between states.

Thus, diplomacy normally seeks to develop goodwill toward the state it represents, nurturing relations with foreign states and peoples that will ensure their cooperation or—failing that—their neutrality.

HI 96- Indian Diaspora

“We may be on different time zones with distinct nationalities. Our ancestors may have been separated in history. But our common heritage makes sure we remain connected in hearts and minds.” - PM Modi

According to **Global Migration Report 2020**, India continues to be the largest country of origin of international migrants with a 17.5 million-strong diaspora across the world, and it received the highest remittance of \$78.6 billion (this amounts to a whopping 3.4% of India’s GDP) from Indians living abroad.

Recently, in September 2022, a parliamentary panel slammed the government for its failure to draft a **clear-cut policy of engagement with the Indian diaspora**. Also, it highlighted lack of an authentic demographic database of Indian diaspora, which can play a critical role in the socio-economic development of their home country.

Diaspora

As per the **World Migration Report 2017**, Diaspora can be defined as “migrants or descendants of migrants, whose **identity and sense of belonging have been shaped by their migration experience and background**”.

- The term “**diaspora**” is derived from the Greek word ‘diaspeirein’, which means “**dispersion**”.
- Diaspora diplomacy is the practice of influence and negotiations between nations by using the country’s diaspora to pursue the advancement of the home country.

Indian Diaspora:

In India, diaspora is commonly understood to include **Non-Resident Indians (NRIs), Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs) and Overseas Citizens of India (OCI)**, of which PIO and OCI card holders were merged under one category, OCI, in 2015.

- According to the **UN Report – ‘International Migration 2020 Highlights’** by UNDESA said that the **Indian Diaspora (18 million) is the largest in the world**.
- The highest number of Indians abroad are living in the UAE (25% of Indian Diaspora); followed by US, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Nepal, UK, Singapore and Bahrain.

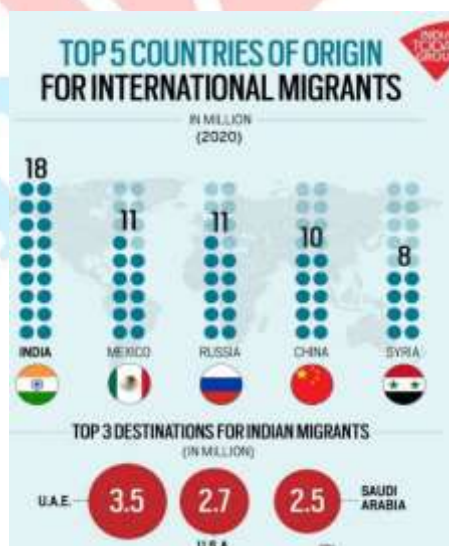


Figure: Indian Diaspora population

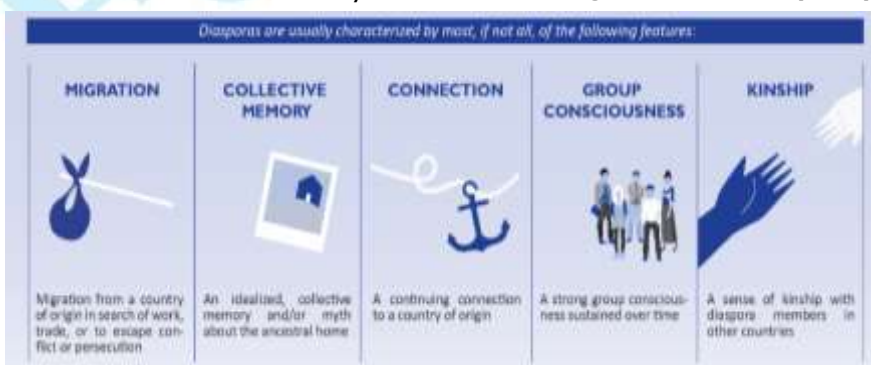


Figure: Features of Diaspora

Historical background of Indian diaspora:**A. The ancient and the medieval period:**

- The first recorded migration from India took place with a group of migrators known as **gypsies emigrated from India towards the northwest** and eventually settled in **Eastern Europe**.
- Indians have been migrating to various parts of the world from ages Indians and Indian Kingdoms have spread over across the seas immemorial.
- In the Middle Ages, the Indian diaspora first started for unskilled labor.
- **Indian merchant colony** was established as early as 1610 in a place called **Volga-Tsardom of Russia**. (E.g., presence of Hindu traders in Moscow in the 18th century).
- **1st large wave of Indian diaspora** began during the early 19th century for unskilled labor and highly skilled labor after the mid-1960s.

B. The colonial period:

- British rule and its impact on the Indian economic backwardness which resulted in unemployment.
- **Labour migrants:** as **Slavery was banned** in 1830s => created critical labor shortage in sugar plantations of the British colonies => **birth of 'contract labor'** from India and other parts of Asia.
- **Indian indentured labor migrants' system:** was introduced where a **labour became labelled;** state regulated labor; **Employer could refuse to change the employer** or employment, fixed wages etc.
 - They were taken to various British colonies for 5 years and beyond.
- **20th century:** many **Gujarati traders left for East Africa** in large numbers as if it's an emulation of their ancestors.

C. Post - colonial phase:

- Indians have made their presence visibly felt in professions in countries like the United States, Canada and Australia.
- Post-World War II period, the **reconstruction of Europe** was provided by Indian and other South Asians, particularly in UK and Netherlands.
- The **physical landscape of much of the Middle East was transformed** by unskilled laborers from India.
- Indian labor and professionals, were now scattered across the world. Post-colonial period was entirely different where migrants from the middle-class, who were skilled with Instruction in English.
- **Educational system:** was based on West educational systems which **produced professionals who outnumbered the availability of jobs** => a **professional migration mainly to the developed nations** of the West- the U.S., the U.K., etc.
- Indians travelling as international migrants globally gave rise **from 7 million in 1990 to 18 million in 2022 (a 250% increase)**, who make their presence visibly felt.

Significance & Achievements of Indian Diaspora in India's journey:**Economic contribution:**

- **Remittances:** With remittances valued at **\$87 billion, India was the top remittance recipient**, way ahead of China and Mexico. (World bank report 2022)

- **FDI, trade and investments:** They help their home country through their **implicit method of attracting FDIs**.

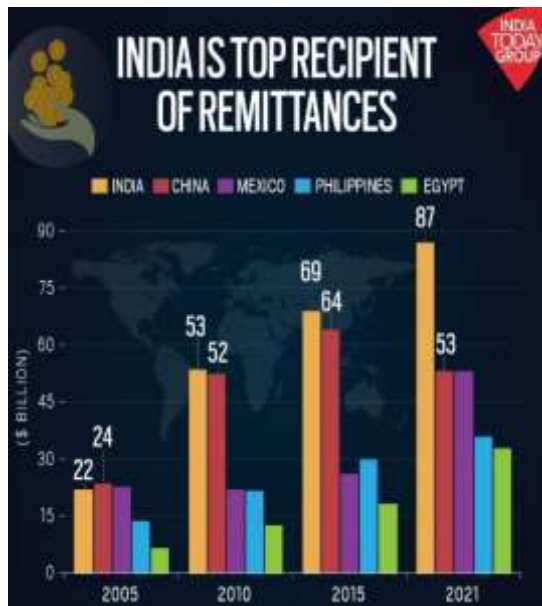


Figure: Remittances to India worldwide

- **Politics and policies:** of its host country are influenced by the diaspora in favour of India, lobbying their nation’s interest across the globe.
- **Help in boosting bilateral ties:** Diaspora is increasingly seen in prominent high offices and

companies => helps in building their bilateral linkages.

- **Political heads:** like US VP Kamala Harris, the first Indian-American to hold the post, Rishi Sunak (UK MP)
- **Heads of MNCs:** like Sundar Pichai, Satya Nadella
- **Soft Diplomacy:** Indian Diaspora is an important part of India’s “soft diplomacy” or “diaspora diplomacy”.
 - For example, Indian Diaspora played a critical in the **fructification of Indo-US Nuclear deal.**
- **India’s representation across the globe:** Diasporas are symbol of a nation’s pride and represent their country internationally. **E.g., Space achievers:** like Sunita Williams and late astronaut Kalpana Chawla.
- **Culture and traditions:** Cultural spread helps in the export of domestic goods and services => opens the room for investment in the host countries to cater the local tastes.

Diaspora in West Asia:

In the post-liberalized world, Indian diaspora is emerging as a vital factor in shaping India’s foreign policy, especially its West Asia policy. In West Asia, Indian Diaspora constitutes nearly 9 million people, more than one-fourth of the total Indian diaspora across the world.

- **Based on Cultural legacy:** India's deeper relationship with the Arab countries is civilizational, as its roots could be traced for many centuries.
 - **Indian astronomy, numeral science and Ayurveda** were well known to the world. It attracted several Arab travelers, like Al-Masudi, Alberuni etc., to the coastal region of India.
 - Many **Indian merchants** went to this region for trade and investment. People to people contacts have been found to be strong for a long time.
 - **Social remittances** including new ideas, know-how, work culture, discipline, knowledge, scientific outlook, new skills, etc. have been significant as Gulf migrants bring them home.

These bonds are still improving and they are coming closer considering their mutual interests.

- **Based on Economic considerations:** Indian diaspora has acted as a catalyst for economic development in India and host countries.
 - **Remittances:** are important sources of income for India. India is one of the biggest receivers of remittances from its diaspora and more than 50% of this amount come from the Middle East.
 - **Trade and Investment:** West Asian countries, like UAE, are global investors and Indian diaspora can influence to make India a natural investment destination. E.g., Energy security through strategic oil reserves.

- **Employment opportunity:** The oil boom of 1973 created significant pull factors leading to vast employment opportunities – for the unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled workforce. The composition of Indians is over 30 % of the total expatriate workers in the region.

Indian diaspora contributes to Indian economy through various sectors like tourism, Infrastructure, foreign exchange earning etc. which consequently helps to boost GDP growth.

- **Based on Geopolitical scenario**

- **Soft Power:** Diaspora serves as an essential soft power advantage for India. They are unsaid ambassadors promoting Indian culture like Yoga, philosophy, Music, Sports, Bollywood etc.
- **India’s geopolitical standing:** Indian diaspora is a testimony to India’s “footprint” in the region, relatively autonomous of strategic calculation.
- **Track II diplomacy:** Indian diaspora sometimes act as a lobbying partner in negotiating critical issues. For e.g., the political stance of West Asian Muslim nation towards Kashmir issue is fast diluting due to backchannel clarifications and engagements.

It is now evident that India’s Diaspora policy has evolved over time from disengagement to active engagement. Therefore, it is important on the part of the policymakers to make Indian **Diaspora a reference point in evolving India’s Look West policy.**

Diaspora in South East Asia:

The present Indian migration includes professionals holding senior positions in local and multinational companies in the fields of IT, education, and technology among other aspects.

- The Indian cinema and Ayurveda also have a great impact on the South East Asia.
- Indian diaspora in these countries is varied. Indians roughly constitute about **8% to 9% of the total population in Malaysia and Singapore** respectively.
- The Indian community **in the Philippines is estimated to be about 1,30,000**, with around 5,000 people of Indian origin having acquired Filipino citizenship.
- With strong cultural ties to **Indonesia**, estimated 1,20,000 people of Indian origin living in Indonesia.

Major issues pertaining to the Indian Diaspora:

- **Evacuation during war:** The controversy over the evacuation of Indian workers in Saudi Arabia and Ukraine posed major challenge.
- **Racial discrimination:** The racial **attack on Indian students in Australia** also posed serious challenge and implications to India-Australia relations.
 - **2022: Anti-Hindu protests** in UK’s Birmingham, attempt to gherao temple.
 - **2007: HINDRAF protests** in Malaysia, over alleged discriminatory policies which favor ethnic Malays.
- **Linguistic barrier:** In some countries like Uganda, the diversity of culture specifically in the aspect of language makes it difficult for the government to mainstream their diaspora community.
- **Security implications:** Diaspora groups can fund sub-nationalist or ethno-nationalist movements which either pose a threat to national security or challenge the territorial integrity of the India.
 - E.g., the Khalistan separatist movements had received massive political, financial and material support from large sections of its Diaspora.
- **Brain Drain:** Some of the best our scientific and engineering talents have emigrated to other countries. E.g., Ashwin Vasavada working as NASA scientist.

- **Unreliable nature of remittances:** During the **First Gulf War**, a large number of Indian migrants were forced to flee which resulted in reduction of remittance.

Government's initiatives for diaspora engagement:

- **Know India Programme:** by MEA for engagement with Indian origin youth (18-30 years) to **enhance their awareness about India**, its cultural heritage, art and to familiarize them with various aspects of contemporary India.
- **Pravasi Kaushal Vikas Yojana (PKVY):** The scheme is aimed at skilling Indians seeking employment abroad.
 - Implemented by NSDC **through** its training partners and in consultation with the MEA and the Skill Development Ministry.
- **Vande Bharat Mission 2020:** to bring back Indians stranded in different countries during the COVID-19 pandemic => a whopping 825,000 Indian workers returned.
- **Pravasi Bharatiya Divas (PBD):** is celebrated on January 9, since it was on this day in 1915 that Mahatma Gandhi returned to India from South Africa, led India's freedom struggle and changed the lives of Indians.
- **Overseas India Facilitation Centre** was set-up by the Government of India in partnership with the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), to facilitate economic engagement of overseas Indians with India.
- **Other initiatives:**
 - **Skilled Workers Arrival Database for Employment Support (SWADES)**, an initiative for returning immigrants.
 - **Global Pravasi Rishta Portal** for better connectivity and communication with the Pravasi Bharatiyasts from the Gulf and other areas.
 - **Madad Portal (2015):** to help Indian citizens living abroad to **file consular grievances online** on the services offered by the Indian missions abroad.
 - **Vaibhav Summit:** Vaishwik Bhartiya Vaigyanik or Vaibhav summit is an event to bring together resident and overseas

scientists of India at a common platform to solve the current problems facing India.

Way ahead:

The report of the Expert Group, **constituted by Education Ministry**, on “**the role of Education in strengthening linkages between the Diaspora and India**” gave following recommendations:

- **Education:** Building **new residential schools** on a financially viable basis and expansion of existing facilities including residential facilities.
 - Launching courses through distance learning.
- **Dual citizenship should be permitted** for members of the Indian Diaspora who satisfy the conditions and criteria laid down in the legislation to be enacted, to amend the relevant sections of the **Citizenship Act, 1955**.
- **Economic Development:** The expertise in the management, financial, corporate, trade and banking sectors available in our Diaspora, should be tapped for the economic rejuvenation of India.
- **Health:** The voluntary work of the NRI/PIO medical and paramedical professionals and volunteers should be facilitated.
 - The Government should create a Diaspora led **investor-friendly environment**, act as a facilitator for investments and remove procedural delays inhibiting FDI in the health sector.
- **Science and Technology:** Establishing **Green Corridors** for joint ventures in selected high-tech areas.
 - Institute **National Recognition Systems for STIOs** who have rendered beneficial services to India.
- **Culture:** Ensure that the Diaspora's pride and faith in its heritage is strengthened, which would revitalize its interest in India's development.
 - The **Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR)** should deepen

linkages with the Diaspora. The scope and activities of the Cultural Centers in countries with a substantial Indian presence should be expanded.

- The practice of **Festivals of India** should be revived. **Adopt British Council model:** for promoting cultural interactions.
- **Provide assistance & training:** to religious institutions such as **Rama Krishna Mission, the Chinmaya Mission etc.**, which organize programmes on Indian Culture and languages.
- **Pravasi Bhartiya Bhavan:** should be established to provide a venue for commemorating the history and achievements of the Indian Diaspora.

The presence of the **diaspora is speedily emerging as one of the forces towards development in the globalizing world.** Diasporas abroad amass human and financial capital for the economic and social development of their host communities.

India is increasingly becoming an attractive nation for the foreign countries which is **resulting in more favorable environment for the diaspora by their residing countries.** The positive impact of the diaspora is making the **government of India to move more closer to them and reap more benefits with their cooperation.**

HI97- United Nation

“More than ever before in human history, we share a common destiny. We can master it only if we face it together. And that, my friends, is why we have the United Nations.” - Kofi Annan

The United Nations is an international organization founded in 1945. Its work are guided by the purposes and principles contained in its founding Charter.

- **Members:** All UN Member States (193) are members of the UN General Assembly. States are admitted to membership by a decision of the UNGA upon the recommendation of the UNSC.
- **Main bodies:** include - General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the UN Secretariat.
- It is part of the UN system, which, in addition to the UN itself, comprises many programmes, funds and specialized agencies, each of which have their own area of work, leadership and budget.
- The UN coordinates its work with these separate UN system entities, all of which cooperate with the Organization to help it achieve its goals.

Evolution of United Nations:

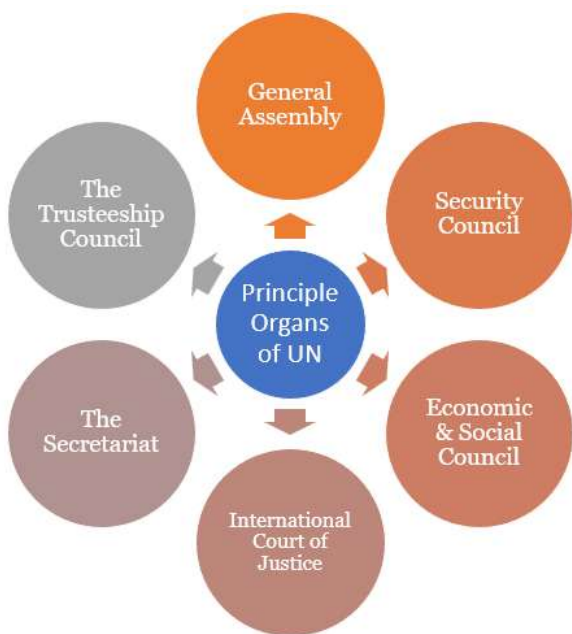
- **League of Nations:** was the predecessor of the UN. It was established in 1919, after World War I, under the **Treaty of Versailles** "to promote international cooperation and to achieve peace and security."

- **The San Francisco Conference:** Delegates of fifty nations met in San Francisco, California, USA, between 25 April and 26 June 1945 at the UN Conference on International Organization.
- In 1946, the League of Nations ceased to exist, having handed over all of its assets to the UN, and having granted the new UN Secretariat full control of its Library and archives.
- Working on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the Yalta Agreement, and amendments proposed by various governments, the Conference agreed upon the **Charter of the UN** and the **Statute of the new International Court of Justice**.
- **UN Charter:**
 - **1941: The Atlantic Charter:** The origin of the Charter of the United Nations can be traced back to the Atlantic Charter.
 - **1942: The Declaration by United Nations:** 26 States at war with the Axis Powers, including the US, UK, USSR, China subscribed to the common programme of purposes and principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter in a document, which became known as the 'Declaration by United Nations'.
 - **1943: Moscow and Teheran Conferences:** From 18 October to 1 November 1943, a Conference was held in Moscow, with the participation of the United States, the United Kingdom, the USSR and China.
 - **1945: Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta:** Representatives of the US and UK met separately with representatives of the USSR and China in the context of the “Washington Conversations on International Peace and Security Organization” (or Dumbarton Oaks Conference).

Milestones in UN History (1941-2030)

- **1941-1950: Inter-Allied Declaration** signed in London in 1941 as the first step towards the establishment of the UN.
- **1950-1960:** The UNGA nominates ‘Dag Hammarskjold’ as Secretary General of the UN.

- **1961-1970:** UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize posthumously in 1961.
- **1971-1980:** The General Assembly votes to seat representatives of the People's Republic of China.
- **1981-1990:** UN High Commissioner for Refugees is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for the second time, for its assistance to Asian refugees.
- **1991-2000:** A **cease-fire in the 16-year civil war in Angola** was negotiated, then administered by the **UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II)**.
- **2001-2010:** The Nobel Peace Prize is awarded to the UN and to Secretary-General Kofi Annan for "their efforts in favor of a better organized and more peaceful world".
- **2011-2020:** In 2011, The Republic of South Sudan is admitted as a new Member State by the UNGA.
- **2020-2030:** António Guterres is re-appointed to a second term as UN Secretary-General, pledging as his priority to continue helping the world chart a course out of the COVID-19 pandemic.



Significance of the United Nations as a whole:

- **Peace and security:** The organization is working to maintain international peace and security through mechanisms such as countering terrorism, disarmament, peacebuilding.

- **Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs):** UN set up SDGs for 2030 for a more sustainable future. The **UN High-level political forum on Sustainable development** is working for this.
- **Climate Action:** Building a sustainable global economy will help in reducing greenhouse gas emissions and achieving target set by Paris Climate Agreement 2015.
- **Protecting Human Rights:** The term "Human Rights" was mentioned in the UN Charter. UN promotes and protects human rights through organizations such as OHCHR, Human rights Council, Human rights treaty bodies etc.
- **Humanitarian Aid:** UN aims to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character.
- **Uphold International Law:** UN Charter prohibits the use of force in international relations. Various organizations dealing with upholding international laws are ICJ, UN Convention on law of the sea, UN Commission on International trade law etc.

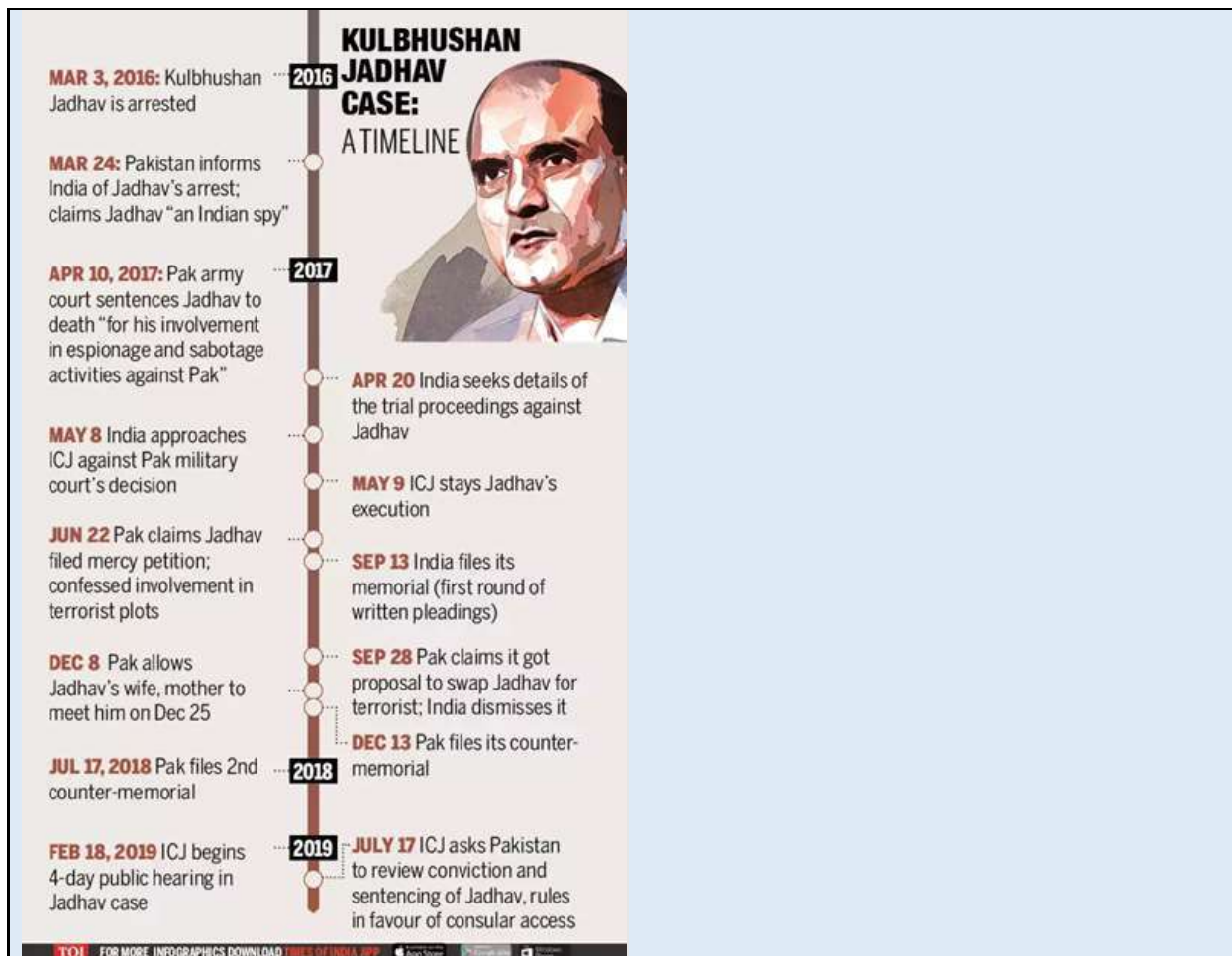
India and International Court of Justice (ICJ):

The International Court of Justice, also known as the World Court, is the main judicial organ of the UN.

- **Established:** It was established in June 1945 by the **Charter of the United Nations and began work in April 1946.**
- The seat of the Court is at the Peace Palace in The **Hague (Netherlands).**
- The ICJ is the successor of the **Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ)**, which was established in 1920 by the League of Nations.
- **Composition:** The ICJ is composed of fifteen judges elected to nine-year terms by the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council from a list of people nominated by the national groups in the Permanent Court of Arbitration.
- **Functions:**
 - To settle in accordance with international law, legal disputes submitted to it by States
 - To give advisory opinions on legal questions referred to it by authorized United Nations organs and specialized agencies.
 - The Court decides disputes between countries, based on the voluntary participation of the States concerned.

Kulbhushan Jadhav case:

- In July 2019, the ICJ directed Pakistan to review the conviction of Kulbhushan Jadhav and, until then, put his death sentence on hold.
- The ICJ further asked Pakistan to provide India consular access to **Kulbhushan Jadhav.**
- He is a retired naval officer who was awarded death sentence in 2017 by a Pakistani military court on the charges of espionage.
- He was arrested in March 2016 and charged with **espionage and sabotage against Pakistan's security installations.**
- India maintained that Jadhav was a former **Navy official** and that he had been denied rightful access to legal counsel.
- **India's argument at ICJ:**
 - India had argued at the ICJ that Jadhav had been **denied his rights under the Vienna Convention** and Pakistan had "failed to inform" India about his arrest.



International Court of Justice (Review and Reconsideration) Act of 2021:

- The law will end up as **mere paperwork** if Pakistan fails to provide verifiable legal access to Jadhav.
- The ICJ said that India should have been granted consular access to its national as per the **Vienna Convention** to which both countries have been signatories since 1977.
- **India's stand:** India said that the law is a **repeat** of the **International Court of Justice (Review and Reconsideration) Ordinance, 2020** that **India had rejected** as inadequate for meeting the goals stated in the ICJ's observations of 2019.
- India maintains that Pakistan **cannot provide a "fair trial" for Jadhav.**
- **Pakistan's stand:** Pakistan anticipated that India was planning to go to the ICJ again to file a contempt notice against Pakistan and that this law had averted or preempted this possible Indian move.

Past reforms in the UN system:



Figure: United Nations reforms

Reforms required to make the UN system more effective:

- **Financial autonomy:** There is an immediate need to make financial reforms in the UN so that it does not remain dependent on developed nations for funding requirements.
- **Voting:** There is need to implement **population-based UN voting** to protect the problem of diversity of interests and governments of various nations.
- **Democratize functioning:** There is need to make UN "more democratic" and a key institution of a world democracy by having due debates on global issues.
- There is need to **create Democracy fund** including grassroots organizations and local governments to make it more participatory in nature.
- **Transparency** must be inculcated in the functioning of the organs of the UN so that due accountability can be ensured. E.g., in case interference in internal matters of a state under '**Responsibility to protect**' doctrine.
- **UN People's Assembly (UNPA):** is a proposed to the UN System that eventually

would allow for direct election of UN Parliament members by citizens of all over the world.

- **Human rights:** There is a need to evolve a **single definition of 'universal human rights'** by redefining the role of the UNHRC.
- **Recognition to Mini-laterals:** as they can balance national interest and multilateralism like aligning with Quad countries or I2U2.
- There is a need to make reforms in the **UNGA by empowering it to make binding recommendations** too.

UN, thus, can be reformed to make it a more inclusive, representative, transparent, and effective global governance body.

UNSC Permanent Seat

A. Issue of permanent membership in UNSC:

- **Concentration of powers:** UN represents a larger world and only P5 have been given extraordinary power to decide on global issues.
- **New Realities with new power centers:** Current composition of the UNSC represents the post-World War II realities. Thus, it is not in pace with the changing balance of power in the world.

- E.g., **Rise of G4 (India, Brazil, Germany, and Japan)** as important economies and emerging world powers demand UNSC reforms.

- **No Representation:** The regions like far East Asia, South America, and Africa have no representation in the permanent membership of the council.
- **Serious Consequences:** Its powers to establish international sanctions, and the authorization of military action through binding resolutions can have serious consequences on economies, like Iran.
- **Veto Power:** have been given to P5 => One country's objection, rather than the opinions of a majority of countries, may prevent any possible UN response to a crisis.
- **Lack of transparency:** The P5 meet privately and present resolutions to the full council, behaving like a **private club** which secretly came to a decision => leads to opacity in decision making.

B. India – a potential Permanent membership candidate:

- India represents **2nd largest population, 3rd largest economy in PPP terms**, leading IT power, civilization legacy, cultural diversity and largest troop contributor UN Peace Keeping operations.
- **Moral upright and a peace-loving nation** which produced the likes Buddha and Gandhi.
- The **biggest democracy** in the world the scope of which continues to **grow in emerging geopolitical order**.
- India has the experience of starting from scratch, has **seen wars and emergency**,

has improved and developed capacity to **deal with terrorism & extremism**. Thus, India gains more say on the global issues like sanctions, terrorism etc.

C. Significance of UNSC permanent seat to India:

- By inclusion into UNSC as permanent member India will be able to tackle China more comprehensibly.
- India will be able to secure its national interests.
- India's presence as a permanent member will be an **acknowledgment of its rise as a global power**, ready to play a key role in the council's objectives of international peace and security.
- India will be able to enjoy the 'prestige' associated with the permanent membership of the council.
- It will help in India to **get involved more at international platform** and will help its diplomatic missions.

The COVID-19 pandemic exposed the fault lines in global governance and the need for a multilateral collective solution. The **UNSC's 'P5' while accepting the present world's challenges must co-operate with other members** to find a democratic solution.

India needs to **carve out a larger room for itself** and try to create an atmosphere of cooperation as done by the US and USSR on nuclear proliferation. India should **continue to push its efforts in partnership with Brazil, Germany, and Japan (G4 countries)**, to expand the UNSC.

India's contribution to UN system:

- **Developmental parameters:** India is also keen on the UN exercising responsibility in meeting the global challenges of development, especially poverty eradication and climate change. E.g., due measures being taken to achieve SDG targets.
- **Terrorism:** India has been pressing for the adoption of a **Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism** that can increase international cooperation and the effectiveness of the UN in combating cross border terrorism.

- **Contribution in health:** Indian doctors provide medical care to the local population in missions around the world, including in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.
- India continued the **opposition to apartheid**, leading to the imposition of sanctions against South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (now, Zimbabwe).
- **Trade and commerce:** India was instrumental in the setting up of **UNCTAD in 1964** for promoting trade and development. A declaration on setting up a new international economic order was adopted by the **UNGA in 1974**.
- **Action against pirates:** In view of the serious threat posed to international maritime trade and security by piracy off the coast of Somalia, India promoted concerted international cooperation against the pirates.

Since the **Simla Agreement of 1972**, India does not regard the UN resolutions as applicable any longer. However, India **continues to allow the presence of UN military observers**, the UNMOGIP, in J&K since 1949.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO UN PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS:

- India has taken part in **43 Peacekeeping missions** and has been the **largest troop contributor** to UN missions and has so far provided 15 Force Commanders in various UN Missions.
- Indian Army has also contributed lady officers as Military Observers and Staff Officers apart from them forming part of Medical Units being deployed in UN Missions
- The **first all women contingent** in peacekeeping mission, a Formed Police Unit from India, was deployed in 2007 to the **UN Operation in Liberia (UNMIL)**.
- India has also been contributing to the **UN Peacebuilding Fund**
- **Missions in which India has contributed since 1950:**
 - **Korea (1950-54):** Paramedical Unit comprising 17 officers, 9 JCOs and 300 other ranks was deployed to facilitate withdrawal of sick and wounded in Korea.
 - **Indo-China (1954-70):** India provided an Infantry Battalion and supporting staff for control of Indo-China comprising three states of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.
 - **Middle East (1956-67): United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF),** where for first time armed troop contingents were deployed.
 - **Cambodia (1992-1993) (UNTAC):** Was set up to supervise ceasefire, disarm combatants, repatriate refugees and monitor conduct of free and fair elections. A total of 1373 all ranks participated from Indian Army.
 - **Mozambique (1992-94) (ONUMOZ):** Two Engineer companies HQ company, logistics company, staff officers and military observers were provided.
 - **Liberia (UNMIL) (Since April 2007):** India has been contributing both male and female FPU's ex CRPF /RAF in Liberia.

India has stressed on the **importance of the United Nations as a strong international organization, which should reflect the contemporary global realities.**

UN should not merely be an institution but also an **instrument for positive change.** But the UN as an institution for conflict resolution has not developed

as desired and **India along with other nations should try to reform the UN structure.**

HI 98- World Health Organization (WHO)

The 21st century global health landscape requires effective global action in the face of globalization of trade, travel, information, human rights, ideas, and disease. The new global health era is more plural, comprising a number of key actors, and requiring more coordination of effort, priorities and investments. The World Health Organization (WHO) plays an essential role in the global governance of health and disease.

Why in the News?

- An estimated **18 million people may have died from COVID-19**, according to various credible estimates, a **scale of loss not seen since the Second World War**.
- With **over 120 million people pushed into extreme poverty, and a massive global recession, no single government or institution has been able to address this emergency single-handedly**. This has given us a larger perspective of how nobody is safe until everybody is safe.

Historical background

Origin of WHO:

- The **International Sanitary Conferences (ISC)**, the first of which was held on 23 June 1851.
- The first conference, in Paris, was almost solely concerned with cholera, which would remain the disease of major concern for the ISC for most of the 19th century.
- In 1897, a convention concerning the bubonic plague was signed by sixteen of the 19 states attending the **Venice conference**.
- After World War II, the United Nations absorbed all the other health organizations, to form the WHO.

About WHO:

- The organization is a part of the Unsustainable Development Group.

- **Establishment: On 7 April 1948 (World Health Day).**
- **Members: 194-member states.** They meet every year at the World Health Assembly in Geneva to set policy for the Organization, approve the Organization's budget.
- **Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland.**
- It is a **specialized agency of the United Nations** responsible for world public health.
- India became a party to the WHO Constitution on 12 January 1948.

Agenda:

WHO operates in an increasingly complex and rapidly changing landscape. WHO responds to current challenges using a six-point agenda.

1. Promoting development
2. Fostering health security
3. Strengthening health systems
4. Harnessing research, information and evidence
5. Enhancing partnerships
6. Improving performance

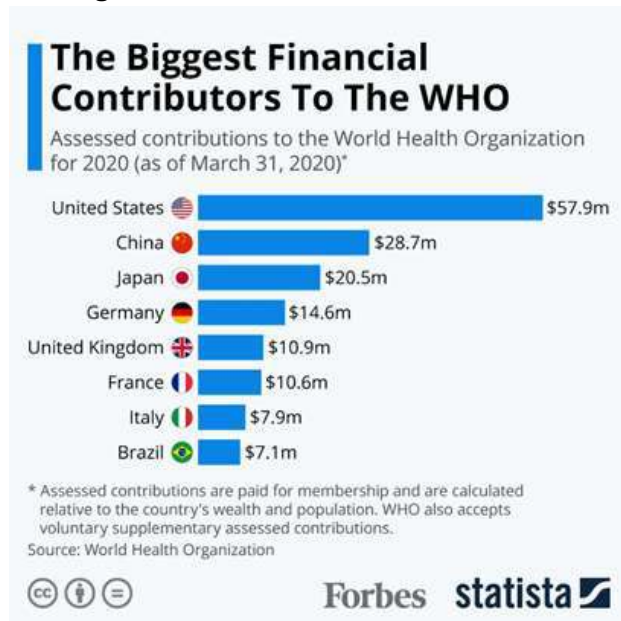
Mandate:

- **Advocating universal healthcare**
- **Monitoring public health risks**
- **Coordinating responses to health emergencies**
- **Promoting human health and well-being**
- **Provide technical assistance to countries**
- **Setting international health standards and guidelines**
- **Provide expert assessments of global health statistics on all nations of the world.**



Figure 1: Mandate of World Health Organization

Funding of WHO:



Figures 2: Biggest financial contributors of WHO

Significance of WHO:

For World:

- It provides leadership and evidence base for international action on surveillance,

prevention, diagnosis, treatment and care of communicable diseases, non-communicable disease and mental health conditions.

- To develop innovative **global frameworks of policy, legislative and regulatory measures** to encourage governments to establish ambitious national, multisectoral responses against these diseases and conditions.
- **Engage leaders, civil society, the private sector** and people living with these diseases or conditions to promote increased and sustained investments in countering them and in delivering essential services and interventions through health systems.
- WHO works to promote a **rights-based, person-centered and intersectoral approach** to mental health policy, planning and legislation, and to enhance access to evidence-based, quality care for people with mental health conditions.
- **Providing technical support**, catalyzing change, and building sustainable institutional capacity.
- **Shaping the research agenda and stimulating the generation, translation and dissemination of valuable knowledge.**

- **Providing leadership on matters critical to health and engaging** in partnerships where joint action is needed.

For India:

Four Strategic priorities of WHO in India:

1. Accelerate progress on UNIVERSAL HEALTH COVERAGE (UHC)

- a. **Implementing Ayushman Bharat: Health and Wellness Centers** and hospital insurance scheme
- b. Monitoring and evaluation of health sector performance
- c. Improving access to priority health services such as immunizations, maternal and child health, tuberculosis, hepatitis
- d. Digital health ecosystem
- e. Eliminating neglected tropical diseases and control of vaccine-preventable and vector-borne diseases

2. Promote health and wellness by addressing determinants of health:

- a. Noncommunicable diseases (NCDs) action plan roll-out
- b. Environmental health, including air pollution
- c. Mental health promotion and suicide prevention

- d. Nutrition and food safety
- e. Road safety
- f. Tobacco control
- g. Integration of NCD and environmental risk factors in the digital health information platform

3. Better protect the population against health emergencies:

- a. Disease surveillance and outbreak detection and response, including International Health Regulation
- b. Roll-out of integrated disease surveillance programme using the real-time integrated health information platform (IHIP)
- c. Preparedness for, and response to all, emergencies
- d. Containment of antimicrobial resistance

4. Enhance India's global leadership in health:

- Improving access to medical products of assured quality made in India
- Development and information sharing of innovations in health practices and technologies including IHIP
- Strengthening India's leadership in digital health

WHO's Pandemic Treaty

- The pandemic treaty came up in 2021 as a call to recognize the fact that the **current international treaties or conventions we have in place haven't been enough to stop large-scale pandemics** and mount effective preparedness and response.
- This is largely in reference to the **International Health Regulations**, which is the main treaty of the World Health Organization.
- The need for an updated set of rules was felt after the COVID-19 pandemic exposed the shortcomings of global health systems.
- An **Intergovernmental Negotiating Body (INB)** will be responsible for drafting and negotiating a treaty under **Article 19** of the World Health Organization's (WHO) Constitution.

Key features / Significance of the Treaty:

- The pandemic treaty is expected to cover aspects like **data sharing and genome sequencing of emerging viruses and equitable distribution of vaccines** and drugs and related research throughout the world.
- The **European Union (EU)** also wants a ban on wildlife markets to be included in the treaty.

- A treaty could also **enhance the capacity of more countries** (especially in low- and middle-income countries) to produce diagnostics, therapies, and vaccines, built by a global commitment of funds, expertise, and technology transfer.
- It will help to **reach consensus on high-level legally binding principles** and commitments within the Convention.
- A global pandemic treaty will not only reduce **socio-economic inequalities** across nation states but also enhance global pandemic preparedness for future health emergencies.

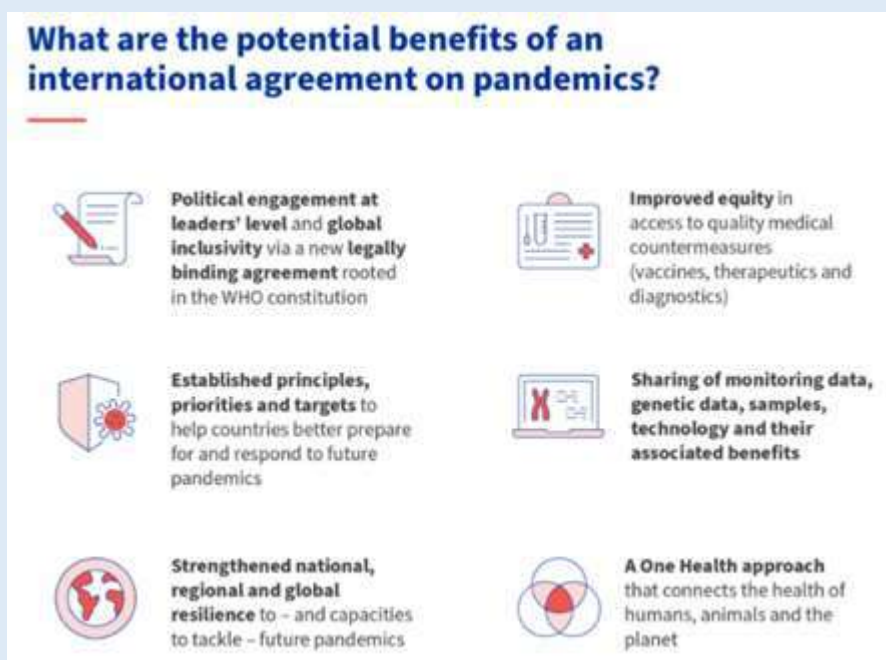


Figure 3: Advantages of International agreement on pandemics

Dimensions covered under the treaty:

- Ensuring **universal and equitable access** (addressing vaccine inequities) to medical solutions, such as vaccines, medicines and diagnostics will **ensure resilience** to the future pandemics.
- There is a need to **ensure better surveillance** of pandemic risks. The monitoring of risks and knowledge-sharing on new infectious diseases spreading from animals to humans is crucial to the prevention of future pandemics.
- **Increasing laboratory and surveillance capacity** required to identify animal diseases in all countries.
- **Increasing cooperation** between research institutions worldwide. This will aid in the worldwide data collection process, which will help with a better understanding of the disease.
- **Better coordination of international funding** for core capacities. This will ensure a better health system in developing or underdeveloped countries also.
- Better alert systems should be developed. Digital technologies and innovative tools for data collection and sharing as well as predictive analytics can **support real-time communication and early warnings** which should, in turn, trigger a **more rapid response**.

- **A new pooled insurance mechanism** could be established to share the risks associated with infectious disease outbreaks, while simultaneously using these financing resources to encourage compliance with a global pandemic treaty.
- The **WHO alarm mechanism must be reformed** by making the process of declaration of Public Health Emergency of International Concern (PHEIC) and enforcing travel restrictions more robust.

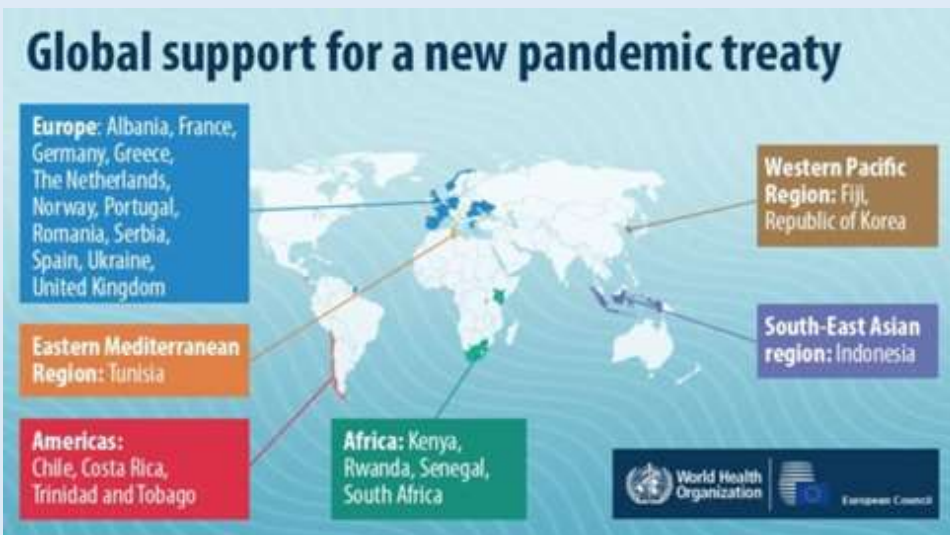


Figure 4: Global support for pandemic treaty

Note: There is a difference between Pandemic and Epidemic:

1. According to WHO, a pandemic occurs when a disease for which people do not have immunity spreads around the world.
2. However, an epidemic occurs when an outbreak occurs among a population or region, and is less severe than a pandemic because of its limited outreach.
3. Example:
 - a. Pandemic: Spanish Flu, Covid Pandemic
 - b. Epidemic: Yellow fever, Polio

Major achievements/Initiatives of WHO:

I. Following measures taken by WHO for tackling Covid -19 pandemic:

- **ACT -Accelerator partnership**, launched by WHO and partners since April 2020, which has supported the fastest, most coordinated and successful global effort in history to develop tools to fight a disease.
- In May 2020, WHO and other partners launched the **Covid 19 Technology Access Pool (C-TAP)** to facilitate faster

equitable and affordable access to COVID 19 health products for people in all countries.

- The **WHO Bio Hub System** will offer a reliable, safe, and transparent mechanism for WHO Member States to voluntarily share novel biological materials, without replacing or competing with existing systems. Sharing biological materials with epidemic or pandemic potential will be done through one (or more) of the laboratories designated as a **WHO Bio Hub Facility**.

- As of 2021, India shipped 594.35 lakh doses of **'Made-in-India'** COVID-19 vaccines to 72 countries — a classic example of global cooperation.
 - India produces nearly 60% of the world's vaccines and is said to account for 60%-80% of the United Nations' annual vaccine procurement — **"Vaccine Diplomacy"** or **"Vaccine Maitri"** with a commitment against health inequity.
 - The **World Local Production Forum: Enhancing access to medicines and other health technologies (WLPF)** is a global platform to draw high-level attention and stimulate discussions on key issues, challenges and opportunities related to local production of pharmaceuticals, vaccines and other health products.
 - Global **Youth Mobilization**, which works together with the Big Six and the UN Foundation to empower young people as a driving force in the recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic.
 - **Development of guidance, training modules and online resources on safe implementation.**
 - Advocacy, consolidation of leadership, dissemination of information and provision of tailored technical advice to Member States and partners by the three levels of WHO;
 - **Advice on adapting NTD platforms to accommodate COVID-19 activities**, including community handwashing, contact tracing, raising awareness, addressing misinformation and providing sanitation supplies;
 - NTDs are found in several countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. NTDs are especially common in tropical areas where people do not have access to clean water or safe ways to dispose of human waste.
 - Ending the neglect to attain the Sustainable Development Goals: a road map for neglected tropical diseases 2021–2030 was launched in 2021.
 - **The road map sets out global targets to prevent, control, eliminate and eradicate a diverse set of neglected tropical diseases (NTDs) and disease groups by 2030.**
 - **Three types of targets are set by the road map; overarching, cross-cutting and disease-specific**
1. **Overarching global targets for 2030:** The overarching global targets for 2030 are in line with the Sustainable Development Goals and **WHO's 13th General Programme of Work:**
 - o 90% fewer people requiring interventions against NTDs
 - o 75% fewer NTD-related DALYs
 - o 100 countries achieving elimination of at least 1 NTD
 - o Eradication of 2 NTDs – dracunculiasis and yaws
 2. **Cross-cutting targets for 2030:** Set of cross-cutting targets has been devised to measure progress in four areas:
 - a. **Integrated approaches**
 - o Reduce deaths from vector-borne disease by 75%
 - o Achieve 75% integrated treatment coverage index for preventive chemotherapy
 - o 40 countries adopting skin NTD strategies
 - b) **Multisectoral coordination**
 - o Ensure 100% access to basic water supply, sanitation and hygiene in NTD-endemic areas
 - o Get 90% of countries integrating NTDs in national strategic plans
 - o Protect at least 90% of the population from catastrophic out-of-pocket health expenditure due to NTDs
 - c) **Universal health coverage**
 - o Get 90% of countries including NTD interventions in their package of essential health services and budgeting for them
 - o Ensure that 90% of countries have guidelines for management of NTD-related disabilities within national health systems
 - d) **Country ownership**

- Ensure that 90% of countries report on all relevant NTDs
- Ensure that 90% of countries collect and report NTD data disaggregated by gender

Other initiatives:

- The **World Rehabilitation Alliance (WRA)** is a WHO global network of stakeholders whose mission is to support the implementation of the **Rehabilitation 2030 Initiative** through advocacy activities. It focuses on promoting rehabilitation as an essential health service that is integral to Universal Health Coverage and to the realization of **Sustainable Development Goal 3 Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages.**
- **Urban Health Initiatives:**
 - The Urban Health Initiative is an implementation framework which aims to reduce the deaths and diseases caused by unhealthy urban environments.
 - It aims to equip health and other sectors with the data, tools and capacity to demonstrate to the public and decision-makers the full range of benefits that can be achieved from creating healthy urban environments.



Figure 6: A model process for catalyzing change

- The **Defeating meningitis by 2030 global road map** has been approved by the Seventy-third session of the World Health Assembly in November 2020 (resolution WHA73.9).
- **Epidemic Intelligence from Open Sources (EIOS) initiative:** Is a unique collaboration

between various public health stakeholders around the globe. Since January 2022, the lead of the EIOS initiative is hosted within the new **WHO Hub for Pandemic and Epidemic Intelligence.**

- **Antimicrobial resistance (AMR)** represents a major threat to human health with significant global economic and security implications. In 2015, WHO Member States unanimously approved a **Global Action Plan to tackle AMR (GAP-AMR).**

Challenges:

- Its role as a global health body has been **suppressed by other intergovernmental bodies such as the World Bank and Global Fund to Fight AIDS.**
- The body effectiveness comes under question **due to Covid 19 pandemic** and outbreak of Ebola in West Africa.
- **Funding:** WHO is facing a funding problem as it has to mostly depend upon the economically well-developed nations.
- **Combatting disease outbreaks, epidemics and health crises** of international importance has been an essential function for the World Health Organization, but has not been mentioned explicitly as its main remit.
- Much of the criticism of WHO asserts that it failed to exercise global health leadership and instead became a tool of **Chinese politics, power, and propaganda.**
- Peter Duszak of Eco Health Alliance expressed concern that an emergency response function for WHO would be expensive to establish, and would create similar tensions within the organization as occurred between WHO and NGO responders during the Ebola crisis.
- Globalization poses challenges before WHO not only in terms of health but also **socio-economic challenges.**

Steps required to improve the functioning of WHO

- **Global health security** must be defined more clearly as one of the core functions of WHO.

- **Youth engagement:** There is a need to engage more youth in the different initiatives of the WHO. Their engagement is central to the success of policies and programs aimed at improving young people's health and well-being.
- **Regain the trust of the global community** in the organization's ability to manage global health crises and disease outbreaks.
- **The WHO requires good leadership and capable staff who can cooperate effectively with national authorities, international emergency aid organizations and civil society.**
- **Harnessing New Technologies:** Burgeoning health technologies, such as genome editing, synthetic biology, and artificial intelligence can solve many problems
- **Water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH)** services are critical to maintain a robust health system, and an environment devoid of these necessities yields poor-quality care and an increased rate of infections.
- From persisting problems to new and emerging public health threats, **WHO needs to be flexible enough to respond to this evolving environment.**
- Improved health **outcomes**, with WHO meeting the expectations of its Member States and partners in addressing agreed global health priorities.
- **Greater coherence in global health**, with WHO playing a leading role in enabling the many different actors to play an active and effective role in contributing to the health of all peoples.

REFORMS SUGGESTED BY INDIA:

- **Strengthening the Public Health Emergency of International Concern (PHEIC) declaration process:**
 - Transparency and promptness in the declaration process.
 - Objective criteria with clear parameters for declaring PHEIC.
 - PHEIC implies a situation occurs suddenly, serious and unexpected.
- **Funding:**
 - Need to ensure extra budgetary or voluntary contributions are unearmarked to ensure that WHO 's flexibility in using funds.
 - Need to look at increasing the regular budget of the WHO so that most of the core activities of the WHO are financed.
- **Transparency and accountability:** There are a need to establish a significant amount of transparency with respect to data reporting and disbursement of funds for increased accountability.
- **WHO Governance structure:**
 - Member states should have more role in the functioning of WHO.
 - Need to devise specific mechanisms like a Standing Committee of the Executive Board to ensure effective supervision by member States.
- **International Health Regulations (IHR):** The review of the IHR should continue to be on a voluntary basis. It is necessary to give priority to enhance international cooperation and provide assistance to less developed countries.
- **Access to therapeutics, vaccines and diagnostics: It is necessary to provide fair, affordable, equitable access to all tools for tackling Covid-19 pandemic.**
- **Creation of Global Framework for Management of Infectious Diseases & Pandemics:**
 - Create monitoring mechanisms to support member states on international health regulations.
 - Enhancing capacities to respond to infectious diseases.

Global health governance requires WHO leadership and effective implementation of WHO's core global functions to ensure better effectiveness of all health actors, but achieving this global mission could be hampered by narrowing activities and budget reallocations from core global functions.

ForumIAS

HI99- Important In Bodies & Initiatives

UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

- It is an international organization founded in **1945** after World War II.
- Its charter was signed in **San Francisco on June 26, 1945** and came into existence on October 24, 1945 after 51 countries have signed the charter.
- Its mission is to maintain **international peace and security**, developing friendly relations among nations and promoting social progress, better living standards, and human rights.
- It adopted the Convention for the **Pacific Settlement of International Disputes** and established the **Permanent Court of Arbitration**, which began work in 1902. This court was the forerunner of **UN International Court of Justice**.
- The name "United Nations", coined by United States **President Franklin D. Roosevelt**.
- The **UN Charter of 1945** is the **foundational treaty of the United Nations**, as an inter-governmental organization
- **HQ: New York**
- Official Languages - Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Spanish, Russian
- Members - 193 (Latest Member South Sudan)
- Secretary-General - Antonio Guterres (Portugal)
- **Purpose:** UN has 4 main purposes
 - To keep peace throughout the world;
 - To develop friendly relations among nations;
 - To help nations work together to improve the lives of poor people, to conquer hunger, disease and illiteracy, and to encourage respect for each other's rights and freedoms;

- To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations to achieve these goals.

MAIN ORGANS of UN:

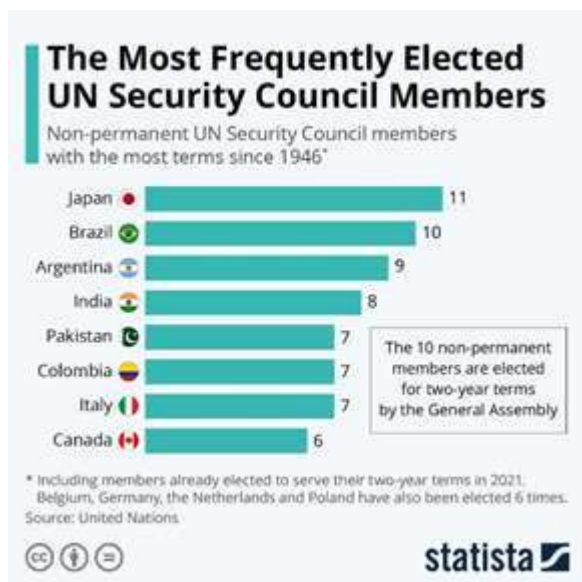
A. UN-General Assembly:

- It is the main deliberative organ and is composed of all member states, each of which has one vote.
- The mandate of UNGA is to **discuss, debate, and make recommendations on subjects pertaining to international peace and security**, including development, disarmament, human rights, international law, and the peaceful arbitration of disputes between nations.
- **All 193 Member States** of the UN are represented in the General Assembly, making it the only UN body with universal representations.
- Each year, in **September**, the full UN membership meets in the General Assembly Hall in **New York** for the **annual General Assembly session**, and general debate, which many heads of state attend and address.
- It considers reports from the other organs of the United Nations, assesses the financial situations of member states, and approves the UN budget, its most concrete role.
- **Appointments by UNGA** - It appoints Secretary-General of the UN based on the recommendations given by the Security Council.
 - General Assembly elects Non-Permanent members in Security Council and elects Members for Social and Economic Council.
 - Along with the Security Council, General Assembly elects Judges to the International Court of Justice.
- **Membership** - There are 193 UN member states, each with a vote in the General Assembly.

- The assembly's president changes with each annual session and is elected by the body itself.
- The membership can be contentious. Taiwan has been denied UN membership for more than two decades due to objections from China. Palestine's status has also been controversial.
- **Adoption of Resolution:**
 - Resolution in GA can be adopted in two ways i.e reaching consensus among member states and by voting on the resolution.
 - **Consensus** - All member states have agreed to adopt the text of a draft resolution without taking a vote. Consensus is not reached, even if just one Member State requests a vote.
 - **Voting** - It needs to get a simple majority to agree on the text of a resolution.
 - Those countries that did not vote in favour of a resolution on a particular agenda item will be less likely to implement the actions on an agenda item that are recommended in a resolution; hence it is divisive.
- The main criterion for **eligibility** is contribution "to the maintenance of international peace and security", often defined by financial or troop contributions to peacekeeping operations or leadership on matters of regional security.
- **Equitable geographical distribution** is also taken into account for membership - African Group (3), Asia- Pacific Group (2), Latin American and Caribbean Group (2), Western European and Others Groups (2) and Eastern European Group (1).
 - Arab states are given **1 seat alternately drawn from either Africa's quota or Asia's** by informal agreement.
- While other organs of the UN can only make recommendations to member states, the Security Council has the **power to make binding decisions on member states.**
- All the members have one vote and permanent members have **veto power.**
- Decisions on procedural matters should have a vote of at least 9 of the 15 members. Decisions on substantive matters require nine votes and concurrence of the 5 permanent members.
- The presidency of the Security Council rotates alphabetically each month.
- **G4 Nations** - Established in 2005 it is a group of 4 countries bidding for permanent seats in the UNSC. They are Brazil, Germany, India, and Japan.
- **Uniting for Consensus (Coffee Club)** - This is the group of countries who are opposing the expansion of permanent seats in the UNSC under the leadership of Italy. It was established in 1995 and includes - Italy, Spain, Malta, San Marino, Pakistan, South Korea, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Colombia & Turkey.

B. UN - Security Council:

- It has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.
- **The council has 15 members:** 5 Permanent - US, UK, Russia, France & China and 10 members elected by the General Assembly for 2-year terms. One third (i.e 5 member states) retires every year and election for new member states held every year. A retiring member state is not eligible for immediate re-election.
- Initially, the strength of non-permanent members was six which was extended to ten in 1965.



About UNSC elections

- Each year the General Assembly elects **five non-permanent members (out of 10 in total) for a two-year term.**
- The 10 non-permanent seats are distributed on a regional basis as follows:
 - Five for African and Asian States.
 - One for the Eastern European States.
 - Two for the Latin American and Caribbean States;
 - Two for Western European and other States
- To be elected to the Council, candidate countries need a two-thirds majority of ballots of the Member States that are present and voting in the Assembly.
- The UNSC elections were traditionally held in the General Assembly hall with each of the 193 member states casting its vote in a secret ballot.

India and UNSC

- India began its two-year tenure as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) on January 1 2021 .
- It is for the eighth time that India has assumed this position.
 - Prior to this, India was a non-permanent member for 1950-51, 1967-68, 1972-73, 1977-78, 1984-85, 1991-92 and 2011-12.
- India took over the Presidency of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) on August 1 2021
 - Presidency entails presiding over council meetings, coordinating actions, deciding the content of UNSC debates and more.

C. UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC):

- It is the principal organ that guides sustainable development policies and coordinates the activities of several UN units

and organizations working on development and social and economic issues.

- It is the principal body for the implementation of internationally agreed development goals.

- It has 54 members, which are elected by the General Assembly for a three-year term.
- Seats in the council are allocated based on geographical representation. 11 of them are allotted to Asian states, 14 to African states, 6 to Eastern Europe, 10 to Latin America and the Caribbean and 13 to Western Europe.
- For the nations to be elected as members of ECOSOC for a three-year term, it needs 2/3rd majority of UN General Assembly votes.
- Each member of the council has one vote and generally voting in the council is by a simple majority. The president is elected for a one-year term from amongst the member states.
- It coordinates the work of the 14 UN specialized agencies, ten functional commissions and five regional commissions, receives reports from nine UN funds and programmes and issues policy

recommendations to the UN system and to Member States.

- Each year, ECOSOC structures its work around an annual theme of **global importance 3/28 to sustainable development. This ensures focused attention**, among ECOSOC's array of partners, and throughout the UN development system.
- It has 54 Members, elected by the General Assembly for overlapping three-year terms.

D. Secretariat

- It undertakes the day-to-day work of the UN, administering the programmes and policies of the organization.
- It is headed by the Secretary-General, assisted by a staff of international civil servants worldwide.



Gandhi Solar Park

- Inaugurated the park at the UN headquarters in New York. The 50 kilowatt Gandhi Solar Park is the first of its kind symbolic Indian effort at the UN, which brings to focus India's attempt to walk the talk on climate change and climate action.
- The world leaders also launched UN postage stamp on Mahatma Gandhi, commemorating his 150th birth anniversary.

E. International Court of Justice (ICJ)

- It is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations also called the **“World Court”**.
- It was established in June 1945 by the Charter of the United Nations and began work in April 1946.
- The ICJ is the successor of the **Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ)**, which was established by the League of Nations in 1920.
- Unlike the six principal organs of the United Nations, it is the only one not located in New York (USA).
- It has 193 state parties and current President is Joan E. Donoghue
- It is seated at the Peace Palace, **Hague (Netherlands)**, and the only principal organ of the UN to be not located in New York.
- It settles legal disputes between states and gives advisory opinions to the UN and its specialized agencies.
- It hears cases related to war crimes, illegal state interference, ethnic cleansing, and other issues.
- It is presided over by **15 judges** elected to 9-year terms by the UNGA and the UNSC from a list of people nominated by the national groups in the Permanent Court of Arbitration.
- A candidate needs to get an absolute majority in both chambers i.e. the UNGA and the UNSC.
- **5 judges** are elected every **3 years** to ensure continuity within the court and are eligible for re-election. No two judges can be the nationals of the same country.
- Of the 15 judges, the composition is mandated to be as follows -
 - 3 from Africa
 - 2 from Latin America and the Caribbean
 - 3 from Asia
 - 5 from Western Europe and other states
 - 2 from Eastern Europe
- The President and Vice-President are elected by secret ballot to hold office for 3 years
- The P5 members of the UNSC always have a judge on the Court. The exception was China, which did not have a judge on the Court from 1967 to 1985 because it did not put forward a candidate. More recently Britain too lost an election for the post of ICJ judge to India (Justice Dalvir Bhandari was elected) thereby failing to get even a single judge in ICJ in 2017.
- Judges may deliver joint judgments or give their own separate opinions.
- The Court settles **legal disputes between nations only** and not between individuals, organizations and private enterprises in accordance with international law.
- The Court can only hear a dispute when requested to do so by one or more States. It cannot deal with a dispute of its own motion.
- If a country does not wish to take part in a proceeding it does not have to do so, unless required by special treaty provisions. Once a country accepts the Court's jurisdiction, it must comply with its decision.
- Decisions and Advisory Opinions are by **majority**, and, in the event of an equal division, the **President's vote becomes decisive** always have a judge on the Court.

Indian Judges at the ICJ

- Judge Dalveer Bhandari: Member of the Court since 27 April 2012
- Raghunandan Swarup Pathak: 1989-1991
- Nagendra Singh: 1973-1988
- Sir Benegal Rau: 1952-1953

Qualifications for ICJ Judge:

- A judge should have a high moral character.
- A judge should fit to the qualifications of appointment of highest judicial officers as prescribed by their respective states or.
- A judge should be a juri-consult of recognized competence in international law

Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) is an intergovernmental organization established in 1899 located at The Hague in the Netherlands.

- The PCA is not a court in the traditional sense but provides services of arbitral tribunal to resolve disputes that arise out of international agreements between member states, international organizations or private parties.
- The cases span a range of legal issues involving territorial and maritime boundaries, sovereignty, human rights, international investment, and international and regional trade.
- The organization is not a United Nations agency, but the PCA is an official United Nations Observer.

Vienna Convention on Consular Relations

- The **Vienna Convention on Consular Relations** is an **international treaty** that defines **consular relations** between independent states.
- A consul, (who is not a diplomat) is a **representative** of a foreign state in a host country, who works for the interests of his countrymen.
- **Article 36** of the Vienna Convention states that foreign nationals who are **arrested or detained** in the host country must be given notice without delay of their right to have their embassy or consulate notified of that arrest.
- If the **detained foreign national** also requests, the police must fax that notice to the embassy or consulate, which can then verify the person.

International Criminal Court (ICC):

- **International Criminal Court (ICC)** is an intergovernmental organization and international tribunal that sits in The Hague, Netherlands.
- The ICC began functioning on 1 July 2002, the date that the Rome Statute entered into force. The Rome Statute is a multilateral treaty signed in 1998 serves as the ICC's foundational and governing document.
- The ICC has jurisdiction to prosecute individuals for the international crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and crimes of aggression.
- States which become party to the Rome Statute becomes member of ICC, thus totaling 123 members. India is not a signatory to the Rome Statute.
- **Burundi** has become the first country to officially quit the International Criminal Court (ICC).

Difference between ICC & ICJ:

	INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE- ICJ	INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT – ICC
ESTABLISHMENT YEAR	1946	2002
RELATIONSHIP WITH U.N	Official court of U.N, commonly known as “World Court”.	Independent. Not governed by U.N. Can receive referrals from UNSC. Can initiate prosecution without UN action.
HEADQUARTERS	Peace Palace , Hague	Hague
JURISDICTION	U.N Member states. Can give advisory opinions to UN bodies. Cannot try individuals. Applies International Law	Individuals accused of international crimes. Uses International Law, as war crimes violate Geneva Convention.
TYPES OF CASES	Sovereignty, boundary disputes, maritime disputes, trade, natural resources, human rights, treaty violations, treaty interpretation, etc.	Genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, crimes of aggression.
DERIVES AUTHORITY FROM	States that ratify the U.N. Charter become parties to the ICJ Statute. Non-UN member states can also become parties to the ICJ by ratifying the ICJ Statute.	Rome Statute
APPEALS	ICJ decision is binding. UNSC can review if states do not comply.	Appeals Chamber, according to Rome Statute.
FUNDING	U.N funded	contribution from state parties to the Rome Statute; voluntary contributions from the U.N; voluntary contributions from governments, international organizations, individuals, corporations and other entities.

F. Trusteeship Council

- It was established in **1945 by the UN Charter, under Chapter XIII.**
- **Trust territory** is a non-self-governing territory placed under an administrative authority by the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations.
- **A League of Nations mandate** was a legal status for certain territories transferred from the control of one country to another following World War I, or the legal instruments that contained the internationally agreed-upon terms for administering the territory on behalf of the League of Nations.

- **United Nations trust territories** were the successors of the remaining League of Nations mandates, and came into being when the League of Nations ceased to exist in 1946.
- It was formed to provide international supervision for 11 Trust Territories that had been placed under the administration of Member States, and to prepare the territories for self-government and independence.
- **By 1994, all Trust Territories had attained self-government or independence, with the last nation being Palau. So, the UN suspended its**

operation in 1994, but it continues to exist only on paper.

- By a resolution adopted in May 1994, the Council amended its rules of procedure to drop the obligation to meet annually and agreed to meet as occasion required by its decision or the decision of its President, or at the request of a majority of its members or the General Assembly or the Security Council.
- Its future role and existence remain uncertain.

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO):

- o International Civil Aviation Organisation develops standards for global air transport and assists its 192 Member States in sharing the world's skies to their socio-economic benefit.
- o The forerunner to ICAO was the **International Commission for Air Navigation (ICAN)**.
- o It has created a special language which the pilots must speak, whatever their nationality. It was to help ensure that pilots and air controllers don't misunderstand each other and avoid potentially fatal accidents from taking place.
- o The report prepared by the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) shows that the only countries that rank below India are Papua New Guinea, Timor-Leste, Vanuatu and Samo.

World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO):

- HQ: Geneva
- World Intellectual Property Organisation, established in 1967, protects intellectual property throughout the world through 23 international treaties.
- It releases World Intellectual Property Report
- Patent registration from India was very low compared with that in the U.S. and China.

- More than half a lakh patents were registered in a year in the U.S. and China. But it was only around 2,000 in India.
- **Every year "World Intellectual Property Day" is being celebrated on 26th April.**
- WIPO is one of **the oldest specialised agencies of United Nation's (UN)**.
- WIPO was created in 1967 **"to encourage creative activity, to promote the protection of intellectual property throughout the world"**.
- WIPO currently administers 26 international treaties.
- It is headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland.



Origin of WIPO/History of WIPO

- The Paris Convention and the Berne Convention, each set up an International Bureau
- 1893- the two Bureaus united to form an international organization called International Bureau for the Protection of Intellectual Property (BIRPI). It was based in Berne, Switzerland
- 1960 – BIRPI moved to Geneva
- 1970 – WIPO was established
- 1974 – WIPO became a UN Specialized Agency

Status of WIPO Membership:

- WIPO currently has 193 member states.
- All member states of the UN are entitled, though not obliged, to become members of the specialized agencies like WIPO.
- 190 of UN member states as well as Cook Islands, Holy See and Niue are members of WIPO.
- Palestine has permanent observer status.
- Besides 281 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and 47 intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) 17 UN system of organizations and 10 IP organizations have official observer status at WIPO meetings.
- India joined WIPO in 1975.

International Labor Organization (ILO)

- It was created in 1919 by the **Versailles Peace Treaty** ending World War I.
- After the demise of the League of Nations, the ILO became the first specialized agency associated with the UN in **1946**.
- **The ILO has 187 member states:** 186 of the 193 UN member states plus the Cook Islands are members of the ILO.
- Its secretariat is in **Geneva, Switzerland**.
- It is responsible for drawing up and overseeing international labour standards.
- Unlike other United Nations specialized agencies, the International Labour Organization has a tripartite governing structure – representing governments, employers, and workers.
- By signing of the United Nation agreement whereby the ILO became the first **10/28 United Nations specialized agency in 1946**.
- ILO designates some member countries as nations of “Chief Industrial Importance”. The

designated nations are Brazil, China, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The industrial population is the criteria for chief Industrial Importance.

- In 1988, the international labour conference adopted the “**Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work**”. The declaration aims to eliminate all forms of forced or compulsory labour, the abolition of child labour and the elimination of discrimination in employment and occupation.
- It publishes the **Global Wage report**.
- It emphasized that the future of work is not predetermined: Decent work for all is possible but societies have to make it happen. It is precisely with this imperative that the ILO established its **Global Commission on the Future of Work** as part of its initiative to mark its centenary in 2019.

India and ILO:

- **India** is a founding member of the **ILO**.
- As an agency of the League of Nations, it was created in 1919, as part of the **Treaty of Versailles** that ended World War I.
- By signing of the United Nation agreement whereby the ILO became the first **10/28 United Nations specialized agency in 1946**
- India has recently **ratified two key ILO global conventions** - Convention 138 and Convention 182. Convention 138 calls for the minimum age for employment to be not less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling. In India, it is 14 years according to the RTE act.
- The Organization won the Nobel Peace Prize on its 50th anniversary in 1969 for pursuing decent work and justice for workers.
- Convention 182 penalises and prohibits the worst form of child labour. It includes all forms of slavery including sale and trafficking, debt bondage, serfdom, forced labour, recruitment in armed conflict, prostitution or production of pornography, production, and trafficking of drugs, etc.
- Conventions 138 and 182 of the United Nations body leave it to the member-states to determine what constitutes acceptable or unacceptable work for children at different ages.
- Countries that ratify any of the ILO conventions must go through a periodical reporting system every 4 years. The government has to prove they are making progress.
- An ILO Recommendation is a non-binding instrument that seeks to serve as a guiding principle for the national policy process.
- It emphasized that the future of work is not predetermined: Decent work for all is possible but societies have to make it happen. It is precisely with this imperative that the ILO established its **Global Commission on the Future of Work** as part of its initiative to mark its centenary in 2019

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO):

- It was established in 1945 with the objective of eliminating hunger and improving nutrition and standards of living by increasing agricultural productivity.
- FAO is a specialized agency of the United Nations that leads international efforts to defeat hunger.
- The FAO has 197 member states, including the European Union (a "member organization"), Niue and The Cook Islands (States in free-association with New Zealand), and the Faroe Islands and Tokelau, which are associate members.
- Its secretariat is in Rome, Italy.
- Some of the important key programmes of FAO are Food Security Programmes, Codex Alimentarius, International Plant Protection Convention (IPPC), etc. Codex Alimentarius is a collection of internationally recognized standards, codes of practice, guidelines, and other recommendations relating to foods, food production, and food safety
- The **Codex Alimentarius Commission** established by FAO and WHO in 1961 is an **international food standard-setting** body.
- It has recently adopted three Codex standards for black, white and green pepper, cumin and thyme owing to India's efforts to benchmark global spices trade. With the adoption of codex standards, spices have been included for the first time as commodities that will have universal standards.
- **International Plant Protection Convention (IPPC)** - It aims to protect cultivated and wild plants by preventing the introduction and spread of pests.
- **Globefish** - It is a unit within the FAO, responsible for information and analysis on international fish trade and markets. Globefish's flagship reports cover over 14 of the most major traded seafood commodities,

including shrimp, tuna, salmon, small pelagics and other species with detailed statistics.

- FAO have pledged themselves to three main aims:
 - ✓ to raise the levels of nutrition and the standards of living of their peoples;
 - ✓ to improve the production and distribution of all food and agricultural products;
 - ✓ to improve the condition of the rural population.

UNESCO:

- UN Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization is responsible for promoting peace, social justice, human rights, and international security through international cooperation on educational, science and cultural programs.
- It has 195 member states and is based in Paris, France.
- It accorded recognition in 2011 to Palestine as its 195th member.
- It is a global development agency with missions that include promoting sex education, literacy, clean water and equality for women. It is responsible for promoting peace, social justice, human rights, and international security through international cooperation on educational, science and cultural programs.
- It is known for its **World Heritage Mission** which encourages world countries to protect Natural and Cultural Heritage sites.
- It publishes the **Global Education Monitoring report** and **Gender Parity Index**.
- It also leads the **Man and Biosphere Programme** for protecting Biosphere reserves across the world. 11 of the eighteen India's biosphere reserves are a part of the World Network of Biosphere Reserves, based on the UNESCO Man and the Biosphere (MAB) Programme list. Recently

Khangchendzonga National Park became the first "Mixed Heritage" site of India.

- India has 38 world heritage sites, that include 30 Cultural properties, 7 Natural properties, and 1 mixed site.
- **Objectives:**
 - Attaining quality education for all and lifelong learning
 - Mobilizing science knowledge and policy for sustainable development
 - Addressing emerging social and ethical challenges
 - Fostering cultural diversity, intercultural dialogue and a culture of peace
 - Building inclusive knowledge societies through information and communication
 - Focuses on global priority areas - **“Africa” and “Gender Equality”**
- **Mandate:**
 - To peace and security in the world by promoting collaboration among nations through education
 - Science, culture and communication in order to further universal respect for justice

- for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations.

• **Recent Developments:**

- U.S and Israel have formally quit the UNESCO recently.
- It was following the criticism by UNESCO against Israel’s occupation of East Jerusalem and the grant of full-time membership to Palestine.
- The withdrawal from both the countries would not affect the UN organisation financially as both Israel and the US had stopped funding it since Palestine’s membership was granted in 2011.
- UNESCO has also earlier declared a contested shrine in Hebron city as an endangered Palestinian heritage site.
- Even in 1984, the U.S. withdrew from UNESCO, accusing it of favouring the Soviet Union; nevertheless, it rejoined the U.N. body in 2002.



International Maritime Organization (IMO):

- It is the global standard-setting authority for the safety, security and environmental performance of international shipping formed in 1948.
 - Ten years later, the International Maritime Organization (IMO) had its first meeting in 1959.
 - Headquartered in London, United Kingdom, the IMO currently has 174 member states.
 - Its main role is to create a regulatory framework for the shipping industry that is fair and effective, universally adopted and universally implemented.
 - It is the only UN special agency to have its headquarters in the United Kingdom. It is the first-ever international organization devoted exclusively to maritime matters.
 - The objective of IMO is the improvement of maritime safety and the prevention of marine pollution.
 - IMO measures cover all aspects of international shipping including ship design, construction, equipment, manning, operation, and disposal.
 - It covers accidental and operational oil pollution along with different types of pollution by chemicals, goods in packaged form, sewage, garbage, and air pollution.
 - One of the important Committees under IMO is The Maritime Environment Protection Committee which is responsible for coordinating the organisation's activities in prevention and control of pollution of the marine environment from ships.
 - The IMO Council consists of 40 members which are divided into category A consisting of 10 members, category B of 10 members and category C of 20 members :
- i. **Category-A** has countries which have an interest in providing international shipping services
 - ii. **Category-B** has large nations with interest in international seaborne trade

iii. **Category-C** has States, not elected under A or B, that have special interests in maritime transport or navigation.

- India ratified the **Hong Kong Convention** in 2019.
 - This Convention deals with designing, constructing, operating and maintaining ships in such a manner as to ensure they can be recycled safely and in an environment-friendly manner at the end of their lives.
 - **This is an important development since India is the largest shipbreaking country in the world.**
 - The full name of the Convention is the 'Hong Kong Convention for the Safe Recycling and Environmentally Sound Recycling of Ships'.
 - The Convention was adopted first in 2009.
 - The aim of the Convention is that ships' recycling at the time of their disposal does not pose any environmental hazards.
- India continues to provide services of its expert manpower to the IMO, as and when required. The IMO's panel of auditors for the Voluntary IMO Member State Audit Scheme (**VIMSAS**) and Goal-Based Standards (**GBS**) has a number of auditors from India.
- India launched a Port Community System — 'PCSIx'— at ports in 2018.
 - **Port Community System (PCSIx)** is a cloud-based new generation technology, with a user-friendly interface.
 - This system will enable maritime trade to have improved communication with customs.

World Meteorological Organization (WMO):

- WMO was created in 1950 as an intergovernmental organization. WMO has a membership of 193 Member States.

- It became a specialized agency of the United Nations in 1951 for meteorology (weather and climate), operational hydrology and related geophysical sciences.
- WMO is the UN system's authoritative voice on weather, climate, and water.
- Secretariat - Geneva, Switzerland.
- Through its members, WMO provides forecasts and early warnings to nations, which help prevent and mitigate disasters
- WMO monitors and forecast the transport of chemical and oil spills, forest fires, volcanic ash, haze, and nuclear isotopes. It also draws world attention to the depletion of the ozone layer.
- The Climate Centre at Indian Meteorological Department, Pune has recently been recognized as the Regional Climate Centre by the **World Meteorological Organization (WMO)** for providing regional climate services to South Asian countries.

World Meteorological Organisation and India

- India is a member of the WMO since 1949. India's permanent representative to the organisation is the head (DGM – Director-General of Meteorology) of the IMD.
- The WMO has applauded India's IMD's remarkable accuracy in the forecasts and updates on Cyclone Amphan which led to a significant saving of lives in India. The IMD's predictions help in early preparedness for cyclones not only in India but also in other countries, like Bangladesh, Singapore and Bahrain.
- The WMO had written a letter to the IMD appreciating its work with respect to predictions of cyclone genesis, intensity, track, landfall time and point, including related adverse weather conditions like rainfall wind, storm surge, etc. with a lead period of over three days.

Recent developments:

- o WMO will present an action plan on early warning systems at the 27th **Conference of**

Parties (CoP) to the **UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)** in November 2022 in Egypt.

- An early warning system for **floods, droughts, heatwaves or storms**, is an integrated system which alerts people to hazardous weather. It also informs how **governments, communities and individuals can act to minimise the possible impacts** of the weather event.
- The aim is to **understand what risks the foreseeable storms** could bring to an area that will be affected — which may differ if it is a city or rural area, polar, coastal or mountainous regions.

World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO):

- It is designed to promote the worldwide protection of both industrial property (inventions, trademarks, and designs) and copyrighted materials (literary, musical, photographic, and other artistic works) formed in 1967.
- WIPO currently has 192 member states, administers 26 international treaties.
- HQ - Geneva, Switzerland
- WIPO's predecessor was The United International Bureaux for the Protection of Intellectual Property (BIPRI) established in 1893.
- BIPRI administered two conventions such as the Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property and the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works. BIRPI is thus later transformed to become WIPO.
- **Marrakesh Treaty of WIPO** - It is to facilitate access to published works for persons who are blind, visually impaired and print disabled. India was the first country to sign this treaty.

- EU has recently ratified to ease access to reading material for print-disabled people. With this, the treaty expands to 70 countries.
- The governments that are party to the Marrakesh treaty are obliged to adopt laws authorising the conversion of books into accessible formats such as braille, e-text, audio and large print by designated organisations.

India and WIPO:

- Union Cabinet has approved the proposal regarding accession to the WIPO Copyright Treaty and WIPO Performers and Phonograms Treaty.
- The Copyright treaty extends coverage of copyright to the internet and digital environment. It is seen as a step towards the objective laid in the National Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) Policy, 2016. The treaty came into force in 2002 and has been adopted by 96 contracting parties to date. It is a Special Agreement under the **Berne Convention** (for the protection of literary and artistic works).
- Performers and Phonograms Treaty deals with the rights of two kinds of beneficiaries, particularly in the digital environment: performers (actors, singers, musicians, etc.); and producers of phonograms (persons or legal entities that take the initiative and have the responsibility for the fixation of sounds).

International Telecommunication Union:

- It is responsible for the allocation of radio spectrum and satellite orbits, and for the standardization and development of ICTs worldwide.
- The ITU has 193-member states that elect representatives to the ITU Council.
- Founded - 1865, Secretariat - **Geneva, Switzerland**.
- Earlier, India got elected as a member of ITU Council for another 4-year term - from 2019 to 2022. **India has remained a regular member since 1952.**

- It **allocates global radio spectrum and satellite orbits, develops the technical standards** that ensure networks and technologies seamlessly interconnect, and strives to improve access to ICTs to underserved communities worldwide.
- The work of ITU covers the whole ICT sector, from digital broadcasting to the Internet and from the mobile technologies to 3D TV.
- Apart from member countries, ITU currently has a membership of more than 700 private-sector entities.
- ITU has recently said that by the end of 2018, the world will surpass the **50/50 milestone** for internet use. It means that for the first time, more than half of the global population will be using the internet.
- According to ITU, the world's richest countries have been showing slow and steady growth in Internet use, from 51% in 2005 to 80% now.
- It allocates global radio spectrum and satellite orbits, develop the technical standards that ensure networks and technologies seamlessly interconnect, and strive to improve access to ICTs to underserved communities worldwide.
- Important publication of the ITU is the **Global Cybersecurity Index (GCI)**. India ranked 10th in the 2020 index.

India and ITU:

- India has been elected as a Member of the ITU Council for another 4-year term (2019-2022).
- India has been a regular member of the ITU Council since 1952.
- ITU has recently decided to set up the ITU South Asia Area Office and Technology Innovation Centre in New Delhi

- **India has proposed to host the next WTSA to be held in 2024.**
- India has been taking concrete steps towards development of telecom standards.
- The 5Gi standards developed within India have now been recognised by ITU as one of the three technologies for 5G.
- With more than 1.2 Billion telecom subscribers, a robust ecosystem of start-ups and innovation hubs, India is poised to contribute meaningfully in developing telecom standards further.

UN World Tourism Organization:

- It is responsible for the promotion of responsible, sustainable and universally accessible tourism.
- HQ - Madrid, Spain.
- The UNWTO Executive Council represents the Organization's governing body.
- The executive council takes all necessary measures in consultation with the Secretary-General, for the implementation of its own decisions and recommendations of the Assembly.
- The Council meets at least twice a year.
- The Council consists of 30 full-time Members elected by the assembly.
- **Functions:**
 - Allocates radio spectrums
 - Allocation of Satellite orbits
 - Develops technical standards for the networks for them to function seamlessly
 - Strives to provide access to ICT to underserved communities worldwide
 - The ITU also brings out several reports related to telecommunications.

UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC):

- It is a specialized agency of the United Nations to protect and promote human rights across the world set up in 2006.

- The Council consists of 47 members, elected yearly by the General Assembly through direct and secret ballot for three-year terms.
- Members are **barred** from occupying a seat **for more than two consecutive three-year terms.**
- Recently India was elected with the highest number of votes by the General Assembly to the **United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC).**
- Recently, the United States has **withdrawn from the UNHRC** accusing it of chronic bias against Israel.

UN Women:

- It was established in 2010 to improve the coordination and coherence of gender equality and the empowerment of women and promote more effective gender mainstreaming.
- It has recently praised the **Odisha CM Naveen Patnaik** for proposing 33% women's reservation in Parliament and the state Assembly.

UNCTAD:

- **United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)** was formed in 1964 specifically to handle the problems of developing countries dealing with trade, investment, and development issues.
- HQ - Geneva, Switzerland
- It is a part of the UN Secretariat.
- **Reports published by UNCTAD** include Trade and Development Report, World Investment Report, The Least Developed Countries Report, World Economic Situation and Prospects, Information and Economy Report, Technology and Innovation Report, and Commodities and Development Report.
- **UNCTAD** supports developing countries to access the benefits of a globalized economy more fairly and effectively. It helps to use

trade, investment, finance, and technology as vehicles for inclusive and sustainable development.

UN-Habitat:

- It is the UN programme working towards a better urban future.
- Its mission is to promote socially and environmentally sustainable human settlements development and the achievement of adequate shelter for all.
- It reports to the United Nations General Assembly.
- **United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat conference) is held once in a bi-decennial cycle (1976, 1996 & 2016).**
- **Habitat III took place in Quito, Ecuador in 2016** to ratify the “New Urban Agenda”, building on the Habitat Agenda of Istanbul in 1996.
- It was established in 1978 as an outcome of the First UN Conference on Human Settlements and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat I) in Vancouver, Canada, in 1976.
- 2nd United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) in Istanbul, Turkey, in 1996, set the twin goals of the Habitat Agenda:
 - ✓ Adequate shelter for all
 - ✓ Development of sustainable human settlements in an urbanizing world
- 3rd United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) was held in 2016 in Quito, Ecuador. It elaborated on Goal-11 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG): “Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable.
- Habitat III was one of the first UN global summits after the adoption of the Post-2015 Development Agenda and the Paris Climate Change Agreement.

- **India has been unanimously elected as the President of the UN-Habitat in the year 2017.** Accordingly, India will preside over the governing council meeting for 2 years (2017-2019).
- Since the UN-Habitat came into being in 1978, it is only the third time that India is elected to lead this important organization, after 1988 and 2007.

World Food Programme:

- It is the food-assistance branch of the United Nations and the world's largest humanitarian organization addressing hunger and promoting food security.
- It was formally established in 1963 by the FAO and the United Nations General Assembly.
- **HQ – Rome**
- World Food Programme (WFP) is the leading humanitarian organization saving lives and changing lives, delivering food assistance in emergencies and working with communities to improve nutrition and build resilience.
- The operations are funded by voluntary donations from world governments, corporations, and private donors.
- It strives to eradicate hunger and malnutrition, with the ultimate goal of eliminating the need for food aid itself. Its efforts focus on emergency assistance, relief and rehabilitation, development aid and special operations.
- In India, WFP has moved from providing direct food aid to providing technical assistance and capacity building services to the Government, with the Ministry of Agriculture being the nodal ministry.
- **Food-for-work** programmes help promote environmental and economic stability and agricultural production.
- WFP has coordinated the five-year Purchase for Progress (P4P) pilot project which assists smallholder farmers by offering them opportunities to access agricultural markets and to become competitive players in the market place.

• **WFP Initiatives:**

- **Share the Meal**
- **Global Report on Food Crisis**
 - I. The report is the **flagship publication of the Global Network Against Food Crises (GNAFC)**, and is facilitated by the **Food Security Information**

Network (FSIN) which is a global initiative co-sponsored by FAO, WFP and **International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)**.

- In Feb 2022, India signed an agreement with the WFP for the **distribution of 50,000 MT of wheat** that it has committed to **sending to Afghanistan** as part of a humanitarian assistance.



- **Strategy Plan for India:** According to the country **strategy plan for India (2019 – 2023)**, WFP aims to:
 - **Enable the most vulnerable people** of India to meet their minimum food and nutrition requirements throughout the year.
 - **Enable people with a high risk of malnutrition**, especially women, children and adolescent girls, to have improved nutrition by 2025.

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO):

- Under Chicago Convention, the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) was established in 1944, as a UN specialized agency. It manages the administration and governance of the Convention on International Civil Aviation (Chicago Convention).
- It provides the principles and techniques of international air navigation and fosters the planning and development of international air transport to ensure safe and orderly growth.

IFAD

- The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) was established as an international financial institution in 1977 through United Nations General Assembly Resolution as one of the major outcomes of the 1974–World Food International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) Conference.
- This conference was organized by the United Nations in response to the food crises of the early 1970s, when global food shortages were causing widespread famine and malnutrition, primarily in the Sahelian countries of Africa.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP):

- UNDP was formed in 1965 to help countries eliminate poverty and achieve sustainable human development.
- The status of UNDP is that of an executive board within the United Nations General Assembly.
- UNDP is working to strengthen new frameworks for development, disaster risk reduction, and climate change. It also encourages the protection of human rights and the empowerment of women in all of its programmes.
- The UNDP Human Development Report Office also publishes an annual **Human Development Report (since 1990)** to measure and analyze developmental progress.
- In addition to a global Report, it also publishes regional, national, and local Human Development Reports.
- **UNDP Projects in India** - In partnership with the Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD), UNDP, through the **Governance & Accelerated Livelihoods (GOALS)** project, helps promote affordable housing for the rural poor.

- The Electronic Vaccine Intelligence Network, or eVIN, developed by UNDP India with support from the Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance, uses technology to help health workers ensure that vaccines reach every child, everywhere.

United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP):

- UNEP/UN Environment is the leading global environmental authority formed in 1972 that sets the global environmental agenda.
- HQ - Nairobi, Kenya
- **It works on 7 broad thematic areas-**
 1. Climate change,
 2. Disasters and conflicts,
 3. Ecosystem management,
 4. Environmental governance,
 5. Chemicals and waste,
 6. Resource efficiency, and
 7. Environment under review
- Recently, it honoured PM Narendra Modi with 'Champions of the Earth' award in the leadership category for 'his pioneering work in championing the International Solar Alliance and for his unprecedented pledge to eliminate all single-use plastic in India by 2022'.
- **Reports** - Global Environment Outlook, Emission Gap Report, Actions on Air Quality & Rise of Environmental Crime Report (along with INTERPOL).

Commonwealth of Nations:

- It was originally created as the British Commonwealth through the **Balfour Declaration at the 1926** Imperial Conference, and formalized by the United Kingdom through the **Statute of Westminster in 1931**.
- It is a unique political association of 53-member states (31 are island nations), **nearly all of them former territories of the British Empire**.
- The current Commonwealth of Nations was formally constituted by the **London**

Declaration in 1949, which modernized the community, and established the member states as "free and equal"

- It operates by intergovernmental consensus of the member states, organized through the Commonwealth Secretariat and non-governmental organizations, organized through the Commonwealth Foundation.
- Queen Elizabeth II is the Head of the Commonwealth and the monarch of 16 members of the Commonwealth, known as Commonwealth realms.
- Member states have no legal obligation to one another. Instead, they are united by language, history, culture and their shared values of democracy, free speech, human rights, and the rule of law.
- Every 2 years, member countries meet to discuss issues affecting the Commonwealth and the wider world at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM).
- All members have an equal voice, regardless of size or economic stature. Some members treat resident citizens of other Commonwealth countries preferentially to citizens of non-Commonwealth countries.
- The first member to be admitted without having any link to the British Empire was Mozambique. In 2009, Rwanda became the 2nd such member.

European Central Bank (ECB):

- It is the central bank for the euro and administers monetary policy within the Eurozone, which comprises 19 member states of the European Union and is one of the largest monetary areas in the world.
- It was established by the **Treaty of Amsterdam**. The ECB is one of the world's most important central banks and serves as one of seven institutions of the European Union.
- The current President of the ECB is Christine Lagarde. Headquartered in Frankfurt, Germany.

- The primary objective of the ECB, mandated in Article 2 of the Statute of the ECB is to maintain price stability within the Eurozone.

European Court of Auditors (ECA):

- It was established in 1975 in Luxembourg in order to improve EU financial management.
- The primary role of the ECA is to externally check if the budget of the European Union has been implemented correctly, in that EU funds have been spent legally and with sound management.
- The ECA is composed of one member from each EU Member State, each of whom is appointed unanimously by the Council of the European Union for a renewable term of six years.

Financial Action Task Force (FATF):

- It was set up in 1989 by the G7 countries, with headquarters in Paris.
- The objectives are to set standards and promote effective implementation of legal, regulatory and operational measures for **combating money laundering, terrorist financing** and other related threats to the integrity of the international financial system.
- The mandate of the organization was expanded to include terrorist financing following the September 11 terror attacks in 2001.
- It is, therefore, a **"policy-making body"** which works to generate the necessary political will to bring about national legislative and regulatory reforms in these areas.
- It is empowered to curtail the financing of UN-designated terrorist groups.
- It can publicly censor countries that are not abiding by their norms.
- It has **37 members that include all 5 permanent members** of the UNSC. Two regional organizations, the **Gulf Cooperation Council** and the **European Commission** are also its members. Saudi Arabia and Israel are "observer countries" (partial membership).

- **India became a full member in 2010.**
- Blacklist has been issued by the Financial Action Task Force since 2000 and lists countries which it judges to be non-cooperative in the global fight against money laundering and terrorist financing, calling them "**Non-Cooperative Countries or Territories**" (NCCTs).
- If a country is unable to curb mushrooming of terror funding and money laundering; it is shifted from the **Greylist** (which acts as a sign of warning) to Blacklist by the FATF.
- When a country comes in the Greylist, it faces many problems like- Economic

sanctions from international institutions (**IMF, World Bank, ADB**) and countries, Problem in getting loans from international institutions (IMF, World Bank, ADB, etc.) and countries, the overall reduction in its international trade and international boycott.

Objectives:

Set standards and promote effective implementation of legal, regulatory and operational measures for combating money laundering, terrorist financing and other related threats to the integrity of the international financial system.

FATF Lists

Grey List:

- Countries that are considered to be supporting terror funding and money laundering are put on the FATF grey list.
- This inclusion serves as a warning to the country that it may enter the blacklist.
- Greylisting means FATF has placed a country under increased monitoring to check its progress on measures against money laundering and terrorism financing.
- The “grey list” is also known as the “increased monitoring list”.

Countries in Grey List:

As of March 2022, there are 23 countries on the FATF’s increased monitoring list (officially referred to as “jurisdictions with strategic deficiencies”):

- Pakistan, Syria, Turkey, Myanmar, Philippines, South Sudan, Uganda, and Yemen.

Black List:

- Countries are known as Non-Cooperative Countries or Territories (NCCTs) are put on the blacklist.
- These countries support terror funding and money laundering activities.

Recent Developments - FATF has grey listed Pakistan for its alleged laxity in curtailing finances of terrorist groups within its soil. The move was initiated by the U.S. and will now place Pakistan under international scrutiny to prove its compliance with FATF norms. If Pakistan fails to implement the action plan, it could be included in the blacklist.



Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC):

- It is a regional political and economic alliance formed in 1981 and consists of six Gulf States i.e Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates.
- HQ - Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.
- Its aim is to achieve ever closer union between the energy-rich Gulf countries.
- The UAE has recently announced that it has formed a new economic and partnership

group with Saudi Arabia, separate from the GCC. This move could undermine the popularity of GCC.

- It has failed to resolve a diplomatic crisis that continues to grip the region.
- Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, UAE, and Egypt have imposed an air, land and sea blockade on Qatar since June 2017. The blockading countries have accused Qatar of supporting terrorism.



GCC Members

The six members of the GCC are Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, UAE, Bahrain and Kuwait. There are also discussions for possible future memberships for Yemen, Jordan and Morocco.

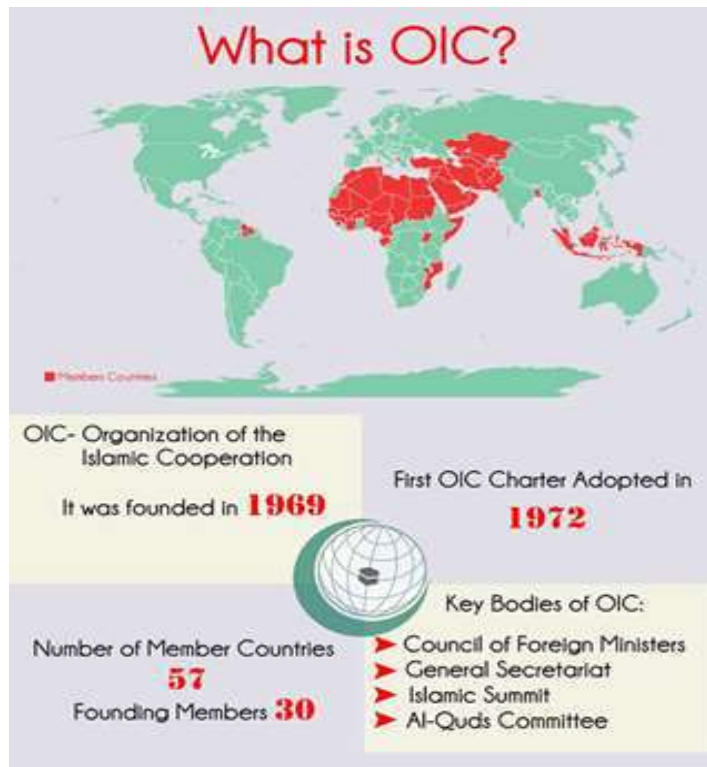
The members comprise:

- 2 absolute monarchies (Saudi Arabia, Oman)
- 3 constitutional monarchies (Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait)
- 1 federal monarchy (UAE)

Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC):

- It is an international organization founded in 1969, consisting of 57 member states spread over 4 continents.

- It is the second-largest intergovernmental organization after the United Nations.
- Its administrative center is located in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.
- Turkey currently holds the chairmanship of the organization.
- The organization works to safeguard and protect the interests of the Muslim world in the spirit of promoting international peace and harmony.
 - India is not a member of this organization but was recently invited to the inaugural plenary of the 46th foreign ministers’ conclave of the OIC, as a **guest of honor** in 2019. However, Pakistan skipped the meeting citing the Indian minister’s presence.



• Objectives:

- The OIC endeavours to **establish solidarity** among member states.
- To support **restoration of complete sovereignty and territorial integrity** of any member state under occupation.
- To protect, defend and **combat defamation of Islam**
- To prevent **growing dissention in Muslim societies** and work to ensure that member states take a united stand at the **U. N. General Assembly, Human Rights Council** and other international fora.

▪ **OIC charter:**

- The organisation **adheres to a charter that lays out its objectives, principles and operating mechanism.**
- First adopted in 1972, the **charter has been revised multiple times**

in line with emerging conditions in the developing world.

- The present charter was adopted in March 2008 at Dakar in Senegal.
- It enshrines that **all members be guided and inspired by the noble Islamic teachings and values** alongside committing themselves to the purposes and **principles of the U. N. charter.**

Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC):

- It is an intergovernmental organization of 14 nations formed in 1960 in Baghdad by the first five members (**Iran, Iraq Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela,**
- It is headquartered since **1965 in Vienna, Austria** to coordinate and unify its petroleum policies and ensure the stabilization of oil markets in order to have a regular supply of petroleum to consumers, a steady income to producers, and a fair return on capital for those investing in the petroleum industry.

- The countries accounted for an estimated 44% of global oil production and 81% of the world's "proven" oil reserves.
- Since 2007, OPEC has published the "**World Oil Outlook**" annually, in which it presents a comprehensive analysis of the global oil industry including medium- and long-term projections for supply and demand.
- **Member**
 - Currently, the Organization has a total of **13 Member Countries** – Algeria, Angola, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Venezuela.
 - **Qatar terminated** its membership on 1 January 2019. **Ecuador** suspended its membership in December 1992, rejoined OPEC in October 2007, but decided to withdraw its membership of OPEC effective 1 January 2020.
- **Objectives:**
 - **Coordinate and unify petroleum policies** among Member Countries
 - In order to **secure fair and stable prices** for petroleum producers
 - The **efficient, economic and regular supply** of petroleum to consuming nations
 - **A fair return on capital** to those investing in the industry
- **Functions of OPEC:**
 - Review the status of the **international oil market and the forecasts for the future** in order to agree upon appropriate actions which will **promote price stability in the oil market**.
 - Decisions about matching oil production to expected demand are taken at the meeting of the OPEC conference.
 - Provides research and administrative support to the secretariat body that

disseminates news and information to the world at large.

OPEC+

- **The non-OPEC countries** which export crude oil along with the 14 OPECs are termed as OPEC plus countries.
- **OPEC plus** countries include **Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Brunei, Kazakhstan, Malaysia, Mexico, Oman, Russia, South Sudan and Sudan**.
- **Saudi and Russia**, both have been at the heart of a three-year alliance of oil producers known as OPEC Plus, which now includes **11 OPEC members and 10 non-OPEC nations** that aims to shore up oil prices with production cuts.

International Energy Agency (IEA)

- The International Energy Agency (IEA) is an **autonomous** organisation which works to ensure reliable, affordable and clean energy.
- It was established in the wake of **1973 (set up in 1974) oil crisis** after the OPEC cartel had shocked the world with a steep increase in oil prices.
- It is headquartered in **Paris, France**
- The IEA has **four main areas of focus, i.e. 4Es:**
 - a. **Energy** security,
 - b. **Economic** development,
 - c. **Environmental** awareness
 - d. **Engagement**
- **India** became an **associate member** of the International Energy Agency in
- **Mexico** officially became the International Energy Agency's **30th member** country in February 2018, and its **first member in Latin America**.

Organization for Economic Co-operation & Development (OECD):

- It started in 1961 with 18 European countries plus the US and Canada to create an organization dedicated to economic development.

- It now has 36 members including not only the most advanced countries but also emerging countries like **Mexico, Chile, and Turkey**.
- European Commission also participates alongside Members in discussions on the OECD.
- **Headquarter- Paris, France.**
- It also works closely with non-members like China, India, Brazil, and South Africa through "**Enhanced Engagement**" programs.
- It administers and publishes the **Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA)**, which is a regular assessment of the attainment of 15-year-olds in three areas of knowledge thus measuring the performance of educational systems across countries. India is going to participate in this in 2021.
- **Reports** - Economic Outlook for Southeast Asia, China and India, Going for Growth, International Migration Outlook.

- The Commissioner for Human Rights is an independent institution within the Council of Europe, mandated to promote awareness of and respect for human rights in the member states.



Council of Europe:

- It aims to uphold human rights, democracy, and the rule of law in Europe and promote European culture.
- **HQ - Strasbourg, France.**
- **Founded in 1949, it has 47 member states** and is distinct from the EU.
- Some of the members in the Council of Europe who are outside the EU are Russia, Iceland, **Switzerland, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Japan, Canada, the U.S, Mexico, Israel.**
- No country has ever joined the EU without first belonging to the Council of Europe.
- Unlike the EU, the Council of Europe cannot make binding laws, but it does have the power to enforce select international agreements reached by European states on various topics.
- The best-known body of the Council of Europe is the **European Court of Human Rights**, which enforces the European Convention on Human Rights.

UNAIDS:

- India has worked with the UN on the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (**UNAIDS**). The main aim of the programme is to help prevent new HIV infections, care for people living with HIV and mitigate the impact of the epidemic.
- Between 2001 and 2012 the total number of cases of the disease in India fell down by 50%, one of the highest in the world at that time. So far, India has managed to continue the trend.

Asian and Pacific Centre for Transfer of Technology (APCTT):

- This is a UNESCAP regional institute established in 1977. It works in the fields of technology transfer, information and innovation management.

DEFENCE ORGANIZATIONS, TREATIES & CONVENTIONS

Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW):

- It is an independent, autonomous international organisation with a working relationship with the UN.
- It is the implementing body of the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), which entered into force in 1997.
- It has 193 Member States working together to achieve a world free of chemical weapons.
- HQ - The Hague, Netherlands
- It was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2013.
- Until now, OPCW could only say whether chemical weapons were used but not who had used them.
- It has been recently **granted additional powers** by its members voting in two-third majority which allows it to assign blame for attacks. This process of extending its jurisdiction was heavily opposed by Russia.

UN Disarmament Commission (UNDC):

- It is a subsidiary organ of the UN General Assembly, created in 1978.
- It is composed of all UN member states and reports annually to the General Assembly.
- It was created as a deliberative body, with the function of considering and making recommendations on various issues in the field of disarmament.
- Its mandate is to prepare proposals for a treaty for the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments, including the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction.
- The UNDC is serviced substantively by the Office for Disarmament Affairs and technically by the Department of General Assembly Affairs and Conference Services.

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA):

- It was established in 1957 as an autonomous organization which is not under direct control of the UN, but reports to both the UNGA and Security Council.

- It seeks to promote the peaceful use of nuclear energy and to inhibit its use for any military purpose, including nuclear weapons and materials by the early detection of the misuse.
- It is widely known as the world's "Atoms for Peace" organization.
- HQ – Vienna. North Korea has withdrawn its candidature from IAEA. It currently has 171 member states including India.
- IAEA Safeguards are a set of technical measures applied by IAEA and countries accept these measures through the conclusion of safeguards agreements.
- It is an essential component of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), which states that each Non-Nuclear Weapon State is required to conclude a safeguards agreement with the IAEA.
- India has ratified an Additional Protocol with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) which means that its civilian reactors are under IAEA safeguards and open for inspections.
- Currently, 26 Indian nuclear facilities are placed under IAEA Safeguards.

Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG):

- Originally called "London Club", it was founded in response to the Indian nuclear test in 1974.
- It is a voluntary, non-legally binding export control regime.
- It is a group of nuclear supplier countries that seeks to prevent nuclear proliferation by controlling the export of materials, equipment and technology that can be used to manufacture nuclear weapons.
- According to this, a supplier authorizes a transfer only when satisfied that the transfer would not contribute to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.
- It has 48 members with the European Commission and the Chair of Zangger Committee as observers.

- After India U.S Civil Nuclear Agreement (2006), India has been trying to become a member. But its membership has been blocked by China as the entry on new member require the assent of all the existing members.
- Even though India did not officially join NPT, India U.S Civil Nuclear agreement provided the same benefits as other leading nuclear powers like civilian space programmes, high-technology trade, and missile defence.

Australia Group (AG):

- The **Australia Group** is a multilateral export control regime (MECR) and an informal group of countries (now joined by the European Commission) established in 1985 (after the use of chemical weapons by Iraq in 1984).
- It helps member countries to identify those exports which need to be controlled so as not to contribute to the spread of chemical and biological weapons.
- The group, initially consisting of 15 members, held its first meeting in Brussels, Belgium, in September 1989.
- With the incorporation of India on January 19, 2018, it now has 43 members. The name comes from Australia's initiative to create the group. Australia manages the secretariat.
- China is not a member of AG nor of MTCR nor Wassenaar Arrangement.
- Delegations representing the countries meet every year in Paris.

Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR):

- It was established in 1987 by Japan.
- It aims to limit the spread of ballistic missiles and other unmanned delivery systems that could be used for chemical, biological, and nuclear attacks.
- The MTCR seeks to limit the risks of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) by controlling exports of goods and technologies that could make a contribution

to delivery systems (other than manned aircraft) for such weapons.

- MTCR places particular focus on rockets and unmanned aerial vehicles capable of delivering a payload of at least 500 kg to a range of at least 300 km and on equipment, software, and technology for such systems.
- It has 35 members, which include most of the world's key missile manufacturers, including India.
- It seeks to restrict the exports of missiles and related technologies of any type of weapon of mass destruction.
- The MTCR is not a treaty and does not impose any legally binding obligations on Partners (members). Rather, it is an informal political understanding among states that seek to limit the proliferation of missiles and missile technology.

Wassenaar Arrangement:

- It is the successor to the Cold War era **Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM)** and was established on 12 July 1996, in Wassenaar, the Netherlands, which is near The Hague
- The **Wassenaar Arrangement** on Export Controls for Conventional Arms and Dual-Use Goods and Technologies is a **multilateral export control regime (MECR)** with 42 participating states.
- It was established to contribute to regional and international security and stability by promoting transparency and greater responsibility in transfers of conventional arms and dual-use goods and technologies thus preventing destabilizing accumulations.
- India has been admitted as the 42nd member, which will strengthen India's credentials as a responsible nuclear power.

Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (IRNF):

- The treaty was signed in the year 1987 between the United States and the then Soviet Union.
- The treaty prohibited land-based cruise or ballistic missiles with ranges between 500 and 5,500 km. It did not cover air- or sea-launched weapons.
- The treaty marked the first time the superpowers had agreed to reduce their nuclear arsenal & eliminate the entire category of nuclear weapons.
- In 2014, the US has alleged that Russia violated the treaty and it has deployed the non-compliant missile.
- Recently, the US formally suspended the treaty on 1 February 2019, and Russia did so on the following day in response.

February 2011. It is expected to last at least until 2021.

- Its name is a follow-up to the START I treaty, which expired in December 2009, the proposed START II treaty, which never entered into force, and the START III treaty, for which negotiations were never concluded.
- Under the terms of the treaty, the number of strategic nuclear missile launchers will be reduced by half. A new inspection and verification regime will be established.

It does not limit the number of operationally inactive stockpiled nuclear warheads that remain in the high thousands in both the Russian and American inventories.

START I (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty):

- It was a bilateral treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms.
- The treaty was signed on 31 July 1991 and entered into force on 5 December 1994.
- The treaty barred its signatories from deploying more than 6,000 nuclear warheads atop a total of 1,600 intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and bombers.
- START negotiated the largest and most complex arms control treaty in history, and its final implementation in late 2001 resulted in the removal of about 80 per cent of all strategic nuclear weapons then in existence.
- The START I treaty expired 5 December 2009.

New START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty):

- It is a nuclear arms reduction treaty between the United States and the Russian Federation with the formal name of *Measures for the Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms*.
- It was signed on 8 April 2010 in Prague and, after ratification, entered into force on 5

H200- BRICS

BRICS is an important grouping bringing together the major emerging economies from the world, comprising **41% of the world population**, having **24% of the world GDP** and over **16% share in the world trade**. BRICS countries have been the main engines of global economic growth over the years.

Over a period of time, BRICS countries have come together to deliberate on important issues under the three pillars of political and security, economic and financial and cultural and people to people exchanges. BRICS complements India's long-term strategic objective of equitable multilateralism and multipolar world.

Evolution of BRICS

- **The leaders of BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, and China)** countries met for the first time in St. Petersburg, Russia, on the margins of **G8 outreach summit in July 2006**.
- Shortly afterwards, in **September 2006**, the group was formalised as **BRIC** during the **1st BRIC Foreign Ministers' Meeting**, which met on the sidelines of the General Debate of the UN Assembly in New York City.
- After a series of high-level meetings, the **1st BRIC summit was held in Yekaterinburg, Russia on 16 June 2009**.
- **BRIC group was renamed as BRICS** (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) **after South Africa was accepted as a full member** at the BRIC Foreign Ministers' meeting in New York in **September 2010**. Accordingly, South Africa attended the 3rd BRICS Summit in Sanya, China on 14 April 2011.
- **New membership:** Argentina & Iran has showed willingness to become a formal member of the BRICS.

Objectives of BRICS

- To promote and achieve economic development.
- To achieve regional development.
- To remove trade barriers.
- Optimum use of resources.
- Building harmony and relationships among nations.

- To become a dominant supplier of manufactured goods, services and raw material by 2050.

Three Pillars of BRICS

Though BRICS have multiple dimensions, only Economy and Finance pillar has been able to make tangible achievements.



Figure 1: Three pillars of BRICS

Reasons behind the formation of the BRICS.

- **As an alternative to global governance:**
 - The primary reason was to offer alternatives to global governance.
 - More precisely, to provide an alternative to Western dominated financial institutions like, World Bank and IMF as they failed to predict and adequately respond to global economic crisis of 2009.
 - The group is a "cooperative alternative to a world order that has been working for the benefit of a few."
- **Geopolitical:**
 - The ambition was **to use their combined weight as a counterbalance to Western primacy** and as a forum to raise issues that otherwise received no recognition.
- **Developmental needs:**
 - Western finance comes with conditions. Countries in the non-Western world have their own political compulsions. BRICS through NDB provides tailor-made developmental financing.
- **Commerce:**

- BRICS countries strive to enhance trade and investment by bringing business community together. E.g., BRICS Business Council Cooperation.
- **Cooperation:**
 - to deepen relations and mutual understanding between these countries.
 - It is accomplished through a number of forums like the Young Diplomats Forum, Parliamentary Forum, etc.

Significance for World and India (Why it is said that BRICS has potential to solve the global issues?)

Significance for World

- BRICS does have the requisite material and diplomatic resources to deal with real-world issues.
 - For instance, it can bring Russia, Ukraine and the West together and initiate preliminary consultations and confidence building measures.
- BRICS collectively can provide solutions to some of the biggest challenges of our time, like poverty, hunger, etc. as BRICS members like India and China has largest population under poverty line.
- The world today needs cooperation in climate and energy transition.
 - The BRICS can create consensus to tackle these challenges (India and China are among the biggest carbon emitters).
- There is a disorder in world trade relations due to the dysfunctional WTO. BRICS can in one voice advocate for WTO reform.
- **Innovation:**
 - China and India are amongst the biggest innovators. BRICS platform can be used to provide solutions to pressing problems the world is facing today, like cost-effective healthcare, green technologies, etc.

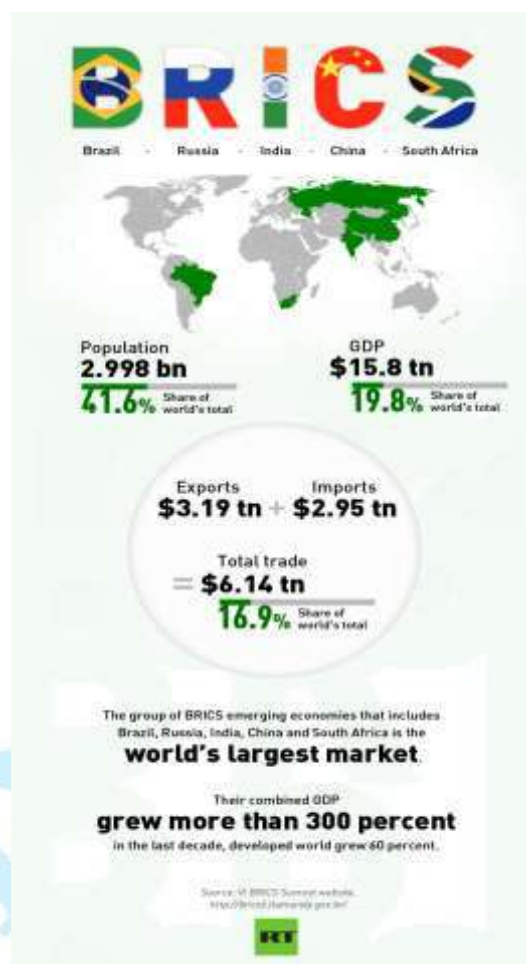


Figure 2: Important statistics related to BRICS

- **Geopolitical:**
 - The geopolitical significance of BRICS lies in the fact that it is the only platform that does not have Western members and also has significant geopolitical weightage. When BRICS says something, the world pays attention to it.

Significance for India

- **Geopolitics:** It provides an opportunity for India to balance the Russia-China axis.
- **Opportunity to create new international economic order:**
 - The India and other BRICS countries share a common objective of reforming the international financial and monetary system, with a strong desire to create a more just and balanced international order.

- **Voice of Developing nations:**
 - **BRICS has emerged as the voice of** developing countries or the worldwide South and is playing a vital role in protecting the rights of developing countries.
- **Terrorism:**
 - BRICS also provides a **stage for India to intensify its efforts against terrorism** and has worked within the grouping to take a strong stand against terrorism, bring attention, consultations etc., on definite aspects related to terrorism.
- **Global Groupings:**
 - BRICS provides an **opportunity for India to engage actively with China** and determine mutual disputes regarding India's membership of UNSC and NSG.
- **Opportunity to create Multipolar world:**
 - India is strong proponent of multipolar world order as unipolar or bipolar world is hardly stable.

Achievements.

- **National Development Bank:**
 - NDB approved emergency line of up to **\$10 billion during Covid pandemic** to assist the member countries in dealing with the crisis and economic recovery.
 - The **Bank will offer \$ 30 billion between 2022-2026**, about **40% of which will be directed to projects contributing to climate change** mitigation and adaptation.
 - Recently **Bangladesh, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates and Uruguay** were added as new members of BRICS New Development Bank (NDB).
- **BRICS Contingency Reserve Arrangement:**
 - It was **established in 2015 to provide short-term liquidity support to the members** through currency swaps to help mitigating BOP crisis situation, in case such a situation arises.
 - **Strengthened the global financial safety net and complement existing international arrangements** (from IMF) as an additional line of defence.

- **BRICS NSA meet:**

- It aims to serve as an **important platform for BRICS countries to exchange views and carry out cooperation** in the field of political, security, strengthen strategic cooperation, enhance political mutual trust, and increase the influence of international affairs.

- **Space sector:**

- In May 2022, the BRICS countries launched a **joint committee on space cooperation**, encouraging cooperation on the **BRICS Remote Sensing Satellite Constellation** to better serve economic and social development in member countries.

- **R & D:**

- The BRICS countries launched **vaccine R&D centers in 2022**, and have **donated 1 billion doses of Covid-19 vaccines** through various international organizations and initiatives.

Failures:

- **Economic engine of world:** There has been disappointment on the economic front.
 - **Chinese economy has saturated, while Indian economy has slowed down** in recent past.
 - **Russia and Brazil had a good first ten years but a poor second half**, having missed their growth targets over the last decade.
- **Lack of cooperation:**
 - **The bloc's low trade integration, unequal growth, little assertiveness** in the face of the international order,
 - Also, there is a **lack of coordination concerning priority issues, and a missed opportunity to form strategic cooperation agreements.**
- **Economic status quo:**
 - BRICS states have hesitation to fundamentally challenge the prevailing economic status quo. The focus is more on intra-BRICS trade and development finance through NDB.

- In doing so, **there has been no real challenge to Northern institutional hegemony** nor neoliberal policy frameworks.
- **Unfulfilled expectations:**
 - BRICS countries have so far proven **incapable of uniting as a meaningful global force.**
 - This is mainly due to internal divergences among members. For example, divergence between India and Russia on Indo-Pacific etc.
 - This comes at the expense not only of the bloc, but of better global governance as well.
- Failure to develop substantive policies through its annual summit.
- **Little contribution:**
 - Other than forming another development bank, BRICS nations have done very little policy co-ordination to foster their own collective economic effort.
 - Neither have they contributed constructively within the G20 or WTO for the global common good.
- **Low performance:**
 - The great challenge of how these countries successfully transition towards a higher income status for the whole of society remains unsolved.
- **Internal differences:**
 - Despite a tall agenda, the bloc remains constrained by differences. For instance, India and China have found themselves on opposing sides of the debate on two key issues – UN reforms, Terrorism.

Key Outcomes:**Ufa Declaration, 2015**

- **Intensifying cooperation of industrial production capabilities**, establishing industrial parks and clusters and promoting core sector industries.
- The nations will strengthen their **cooperation to counter international terrorism**, giving the central role in this action to the United Nations.
- An **action plan was also adopted that detailed the work of the group for the upcoming year** and also includes the new promising areas of cooperation.
- **Leaders reaffirmed the unique mandate of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)** to promote and accelerate inclusive and sustainable industrial development.

Moscow Declaration, 2020

- **Strategy for BRICS Economic Partnership 2020-2025 was signed:** to improve trade, investment and finance; digital economy etc.
- **The BRICS counter-terrorism strategy:**
 - To improve intelligence sharing, crack down on their sources of finance and prevent the spread of terrorism.
- Proposals discussed **to set up a BRICS Integrated Early Warning System for future outbreaks of infectious diseases.**

Challenges

- For BRICS, challenges could augment in the post-Ukraine war phase, given the visible **solidarity with Russia and plausible grievances of West.**
- **In the absence of China-India normalization, the future of BRICS too will remain in a state of suspended animation,** declarations of intent notwithstanding.
- **Serious divergences** have emerged concerning sensitive geopolitical issues in recent years, from **Russia's annexation of Crimea, Bolsonaro's hostility toward Beijing, to an escalating border row between China and India.**
- The lack of a common strategy associated with the weight and interests of each of the BRICS countries has prevented the effective expansion of the group.

Way Forward

- **Need to steer clear of political differences** to become more unified so it can exert an active role in advancing a global development agenda.
- BRICS expansion should always target strengthening cooperation, facilitating the rule-based law, and should avoid competing with

Issues & Challenges faced by the group

NATO or any situation that might project its' image as an anti-western bloc.

- Member states should express their **commitment to the peaceful resolution of disputes and differences** between countries through consultation and dialogue.
- BRICS countries **should speak in one voice** on international and regional issues, respect each other's sovereignty, security and development interests, oppose hegemonism and power politics.
- BRICS countries should **firmly embrace a global governance philosophy centered around extensive consultation**, joint contribution and shared benefits, enhanced unity and cooperation with emerging markets and developing countries.

Given complexities currently underpinning multipolar realities of the international system, it seems that a pluralist internationalism is becoming a strategic consideration for a post-Western world order. There seems ample room for BRICS to address such emerging challenges, provided member nations act in unison.

The ultimate (and realistic) aim for the BRICS should be to take up a leadership role in reforming global financial and political institutions without rendering existing institutions null and void. BRICS need not be shaped as an 'us versus them' platform.

H201- Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)

As a multinational and multicultural organization, SCO strives to stave off the clash of civilizations across its respective regions. SCO was established as a **multilateral association to ensure security and maintain stability across the vast Eurasian region**, join forces to counteract emerging challenges and threats, and enhance trade, as well as cultural and humanitarian cooperation.

By reinforcing mutually beneficial cooperation, preventing confrontation and conflict, and maintaining equal and indivisible security, SCO aims to build a just **polycentric world order**, in full conformity with the norms of international laws.

Evolution.

- After the fall of the Soviet Union, newly independent Central Asian states were keen to establish a new regional order.
- Thus, along with **China and Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan** formed the **Shanghai Five grouping in 1996**.
- The **SCO was established in 2001**, with **Uzbekistan** joining the Shanghai Five.
- Initially, the SCO aimed mainly to address border security and Uighur separatism. The SCO's concerns have since expanded.
- **India and Pakistan joined in 2017**.
- **Iran** became a permanent member at the **Samarkand summit in 2022**.

Composition:



■ Members ■ Observers ■ Dialogue partners

Figure 1: SCO members, observers and dialogue partners

Member states	Observer states	Dialogue partners
1. China	1. Afghanistan	1. Armenia
2. India	2. Belarus	2. Azerbaijan
3. Kazakhstan	3. Mongolia	3. Cambodia
4. Kyrgyzstan	(These countries are interested in full membership)	4. Nepal
5. Russia		5. Sri Lanka
6. Pakistan		6. Turkey
7. Tajikistan		7. Saudi Arabia
8. Uzbekistan		8. Egypt
9. Iran (latest)		9. Qatar

Objectives of SCO:

- **Strengthening mutual confidence and good-neighbourly relations** among the member countries.
- **Promoting effective cooperation in politics, trade and economy**, science and technology, culture as well as education, energy, transportation, tourism, environmental protection and other fields;
- **Making joint efforts to maintain and ensure peace, security** and stability in the region;
- Moving towards the **establishment of a new, democratic, just and rational political and economic international order**.

The Shanghai Spirit

- These are **core values of the SCO** that has played a significant role in safeguarding regional security and promoting regional development.
- The Shanghai Spirit is about - **“mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality, consultation, respect for diverse**

civilizations and pursuit of common development”

Structure of SCO:

- The **Heads of State Council (HSC)** is the **supreme decision-making body** in the SCO.
 - It meets once a year and adopts decisions and guidelines on all important matters of the organisation.
- The **SCO Heads of Government Council (HGC)** meets once a year to discuss the organisation’s multilateral cooperation strategy and priority areas, to resolve current important economic and other cooperation issues. It also approves the organisation’s annual budget.
- SCO has **two permanent bodies**:
 - **Secretariat** based in Beijing, China and
 - **Executive Committee of RATS** based in Tashkent, Uzbekistan.

Uniqueness of SCO

- First, it does not intend to democratize political regimes.
 - For the SCO, the nature of a regime is a domestic issue, and it has no business in interfering in such affairs.
- Second, it avoids strictly bilateral issues where consensus is unachievable.

Significance of SCO for the World:

- **Economic:** At present, its members account for **more than- 80% of Eurasia's landmass, 43% of the world's population, and a quarter of the world's GDP.**
 - In terms of geographic coverage and population size, it is the largest regional organization in the world.
- **Geopolitical:** The **growing alignment of Russian and Chinese** strategic interests has further increased the significance of SCO in the international politics and this has led to the rise in its security and geopolitical dimensions.

- **Energy security:** SCO represents **countries with the largest reserves of oil and gas**, and are among the largest energy consumers.
 - The SCO’s energy cooperation has strategic significance for energy security in Asia. There can be energy cooperation between East Asia and Central Asia.
- **Global security and Peace - Counter terrorism:**
 - The **SCO’s anti-terror campaign** is strategically important for anti-terror cooperation in Asia as ‘arc of terrorism’ lies in Asia completely.
 - **Shanghai spirit of mutual cooperation, mutual trust consultation etc can be a guiding light for global conflicts** as well as conflicts within its members like Ind-Pak, Ind-China etc.

Significance of SCO for India:

- **Energy security:** SCO membership could help advance talks on the construction of stalled pipelines like TAPI (and possibly IPI later) which is of considerable importance to India’s energy security.
- **Commerce:** CARs provides India with a market for its IT, telecommunications, banking, finance and pharmaceutical industries.
 - Thus, SCO will help deepen economic relations between India and the CARs and eventually even result in a Free Trade Agreement with the Eurasian Economic Union.
- **Role in extended neighborhood:** SCO is likely to help India fulfil its aspiration of playing an active role in its extended neighbourhood as well as checking the ever-growing influence of China in Eurasia.
- **Engagement:** SCO also provides a platform for India to simultaneously engage with its traditional friend Russia as well as its rivals, China and Pakistan.
- **Containing China:** India’s presence in SCO would also ensure that China does not dictate terms in Eurasia.

- This is also the concern of Russia which is in a state of a 'soft competition' with China in Central Asia.
- **Security:** India would also benefit from the **RATS** based in Tashkent, **which would help gain vital intelligence inputs** on the movement of terror outfits, drug-trafficking, cyber security and public information of the region.

Achievements of SCO:

- **Cooperation:** The SCO's main achievement is to have **provided a cooperative forum for consultations**, which has allowed both smaller and bigger members to balance their national interests and powers in the geographic area.
- **Enhanced trust:** It has **increased confidence-building and mutual trust** among its members and observers, especially between China and her nine close neighbours.
- **Conflict resolution:** The SCO has provided a very positive example to the rest of Asia in solving complicated issues left over by history, e.g., **resolving border problems between China and the states of the former Soviet Union**.
- **Eased tension:** Exchanges within the SCO have contributed to a certain extent to easing inter-state tensions, such as the competition between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan for regional leadership, and disputes between Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan on border issues and the Ferghana Valley enclaves.
- **RATS:** RATS has been set up **to fight against terrorism, separatism and extremism**.
 - Since its creation, RATS is said to have **contributed to preventing 'some 1000' terrorist attacks and to arresting 650 terrorists**.
- **Stability:** The SCO has succeeded in **insulating Central Asian states from great power rivalry** spurring disruptive transitions as witnessed in Ukraine and Georgia.

Failures of SCO:

- Criticism points mainly to the **lack of political will and internal cohesion**.

- **Institutional weaknesses** resulting in the gap between initiatives announced and their actual implementation.
- **Shortcomings in implementation** are linked to the lack of financial resources and the diversity of members' domestic and foreign policies.
- While SCO was successful in resolving border issues in Central Asia or CARs-China, but **India-China border issue flared up in 2020 in Galwan**, despite both being a member of SCO.
- **The effectiveness of SCO as a security body is limited:** because of its principle of non-interference and the absence of a collective reaction mechanism.
- So far, the SCO has **not taken visible counterterrorism measures against** the main threat facing its members, which **emanates from the Af-Pak region**.

Issues & Challenges

A. Challenges before SCO

- **Radicalization:** The biggest challenges in the SCO region are related to peace, security and trust deficit. The main cause of these problems is increasing radicalisation in Af-Pak region.
- **Rising bilateral issues:** There have been repeated attempts by Pakistan to deliberately bring bilateral issues like Kashmir into SCO. This violates the well-established principles and norms of the SCO Charter.
 - For example, Pakistan violated the SCO charter and put up a map showing Kashmir as its part. NSA Ajit Doval took a strong exception to it and left the SCO NSA virtual meet after due "consultation" from the host, Russia.
- **Internal rivalry:** In the fields of traditional security and economic cooperation, rivalry and diverging views between Russia and China have seriously obstructed progress in the SCO's integration.
- **Issues with Enlargement:** Main matter in dispute: is it to be a global future (as Russia sees it) or a regional future (as China sees it)?

Thus, the conflict is between globalization and regionalization.

- **'NATO of the East':** Amidst the rising geopolitical tension one challenge is **preventing SCO from becoming exclusively focused on anti-Americanism.**

B. Challenges for India at SCO

- Since China and Russia are co-founders of SCO and its dominant powers, **India's ability to assert itself would be limited** and it may have to content itself to playing the second fiddle.
- **Threat of BRI:** If in future the economic policies of SCO come to be associated with the BRI network of roads and transportation, then India would face a dilemma and even a policy setback.
- Given the state of relations between India and Pakistan, it will be difficult to foster regional cooperation. Many anticipate that just like SAARC, India-Pakistan rivalry would be a significant threat to the proper functioning of SCO too.
- **Differences on terrorism:** With regards to RATS, India might face difficulties as the Indian understanding of terrorism is different from the other members of SCO.
 - **For SCO, terrorism coincides with regime destabilisation; whereas for India it is related to state sponsored cross border terrorism.**
- **Issues in connectivity projects:** Unilateral Western sanctions on Russia and Iran currently obstruct the successful implementation of connectivity projects, like INSTC, Chabahar port project, to the detriment of India's interests.

Way Forward.

- **Counter radicalisation:** SCO should work to develop a strong network among moderate, tolerant and inclusive institutions and traditions associated with Islam.

- **Zero tolerance:** SCO could develop a **code of conduct on 'zero tolerance' towards terrorism in the region,** and other transnational crimes like drugs, arms and human trafficking from Afghanistan.
- **Connectivity:** SCO should build efficient transportation corridors (INSTC, Ashgabat Agreement, etc.) conjoining the Eurasian continent, neglected due to the dominance of sea lines of communication.
- **Respect to sovereignty:** Any serious connectivity initiative must be consultative, transparent and participatory. It must conform to the most basic principle of international law — respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.”
 - However, SCO has endorsed BRI- a part of it- CPEC violates sovereignty of India.
- **Expansion:** The SCO has to make a practical choice in favor of globalization or regionalization, or find a way to combine them to bring clarity about its future role.
- **Focus on youth:** SCO could work on an agenda **to promote moderation and scientific and rational thought,** which would be especially relevant for the youth of the region.

Whether the **SCO grows into a successful regional forum depends on its ability to overcome bilateral differences** between its members and their respective geopolitical calculations.

The success of the SCO's (and India's) attempt at **creating a region of mutually beneficial cooperation in Eurasia** will be measured and supported by the **role of the shared values and links between the peoples of the region** that reinforce the principles of the SCO Charter.

H202- Group of Seven

The G7 is an **informal group of the leading industrial nations** – the US, the UK, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan. Since 2014, Narendra Modi has been invited thrice to the summit, which is a reflection of India's growing clout in the world.

Evolution of G-7

- **It was formed in 1975**, as the world suffered from the **first oil shock and financial crisis**. Six leading industrial countries (US, UK, Japan, Italy, Germany, France) met for the first time to **discuss the global economy**.
- The first meeting was an initiative of then-French president and the German chancellor.
- **Canada joined in 1976 and Russia in 1998**, it was then called the **Group of Eight**.
- **But following the annexation of Crimea, the G7 nations decided to meet without Russia** in March 2014, suspending its membership.
- **The European Union (EU) has participated in the G7 since 1981** as a “non-enumerated” member, represented by presidents of the European Council.

Objectives & Mandate

- The G-7 is **not an official, formal entity** and, **therefore, has no legislative or authoritative power to enforce** the recommended policies and plans it compiles.
- **The major purpose of the G-7 is to discuss and sometimes act in concert to help resolve global problems**, with a special focus on economic issues.
 - Since its inception in the early 1970s, the group has **discussed financial crises, monetary systems, and major world crises**, such as oil shortages.
- The G-7 also **launches initiatives to fund issues and relieve crises** where it sees an opportunity for joint action. For example, debt relief for developing nations.
- **Each year, a member country takes on a year-long presidency** and hosts the summit.

- **The host nation invites non-members to participate** in the summit as partner countries.
- Representatives of other states and international organizations are often invited as guests. E.g., India was invited in 2021

Significance of G-7 for World

- G-7 countries **represent 40% of the world GDP** hence any decision on economy and trade needs to involve these countries.
- It is **critical for decisions on climate and nature** as they are the major developed countries and hence major contributors to greenhouse gas emissions. (nearly 25% of the total emissions)
- As of 2020, the **collective group accounts for over 50 percent of global net wealth** (which is \$418 trillion), approximately 770 million people or **10 percent of the world's population**.
- **Members are great powers in global affairs** and maintain mutually close political, economic, social, legal, environmental, military, religious, cultural, and diplomatic relations.

Significance of G-7 for India:

- **Opportunity to be a part of global high table:** It provides an opportunity to showcase India's willingness and capability to contribute to the larger international cause.
- **Forging new relationships and partnerships:** As Indian geopolitical interests are widespread in Europe, West Asia, the Trans-Caucasus, Indian Ocean Region and the Indo Pacific.
- **Greater exposure** to be closely embedded in the international system of governance. Multiple organizations of global governance like IMF and WB attend the G7 summits.
- The G7 offers another such opportunity to **expand the ring of strategic friendships excluding China**.
 - The US and the UK are building a larger coalition of democracies, including India, Australia and South Korea, sometimes called the D10.

- If this emerges, it would be a **geographical expansion of the G7 ambit, bringing in the Indo-Pacific**. This augurs well for the India-G7 engagement.

Importance of India for G-7:
 India has become a **regular invitee at the G7 summits** as there is no doubt that the country needs to be part of any sustained effort to solve the challenges being faced by the world.

- **Economic power:** India currently a **fifth largest economy by GDP nominal rates and third largest economy in terms of purchasing power parity**.
- **India needs to be a part of any and every sustained effort** to find solutions to solve global challenges.
 - For example, **India's active participation in many other divergent, plurilateral groupings** like the Quad, I2U2, and BRICS, the SCO Summit highlights the indispensability of India in any noticeable North, South, or North-South platforms.
- **India is a critical contributor** when it comes to challenges like climate change, deforestation, pandemics as well as in containing security threats like transnational terrorism and organized crimes.

- **Health:** Then, at the 2002 summit, members decided to launch a **coordinated response to fight the threat of AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria**.
 - Their efforts led to the **formation of the Global Fund**, an innovative financing mechanism that has **disbursed more than \$45 billion in aid** and, according to its website, has **saved the lives of over 38 million people**.
- **Climate change:** More recently, the **Global Apollo Program** was launched out of the 2015 G7 summit meeting. **Designed to tackle climate change through clean energy research and development**.
 - The programme **calls for developed nations to commit to spending 0.02% of their GDP on tackling climate change from 2015 to 2025**; an amount that would total USD 150 billion over a 10-year period.
 - **To cope up with amazon forest fires 2019:** The G7 nations pledged US\$20 million to help Brazil and other countries in South America to fight the wildfires.

Failures of G7:

- **Lack of adequate progress in tackling climate change:**
 - G-7 countries have been **reluctant in contributing \$100 bn as agreed in 2015 Paris Agreement**.
 - **None of the G-7 countries is on track** to achieve their respective Intended nationally determined contributions.
- **Terrorism:** Unable to control radicalization amongst its population for example, many citizens of European countries joined ISIS.
- Lack of adequate progress and **no consensus on migrant crisis** in Europe etc.
- **Amazon forest fires 2019:** This money provided to deal with it was widely seen as a **"relatively small amount"** given the scale of the problem.
- Due to **internal divisions** and the rise of **alternative institutions such as the G20**, some experts have questioned the G7's relevance.

Achievements of G7: (addressing global issues)

- **Economic:** In the 1990s, it launched a **debt-relief program for the 42 heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC)**.
 - Established the **Financial Stability Forum** to help in "managing the international monetary system"
- **Disaster management:** In 1997, the G7 countries agreed to provide **\$300 million to the effort to contain the effects of the reactor meltdown in Chernobyl**.

Cornwall summit-2021, key outcomes:

- **Build Back Better World project:** (discussed in detail below)
 - which pledges hundreds of billions of infrastructure investment in low and middle income countries based on "values driven, high standard and transparent" partnerships.
 - It is seen as a counterweight against China's multibillion dollar Belt and Road Initiative.
- G7 to have made a **global minimum tax** a possibility was a "multilateral" breakthrough of sorts for cooperation among these nations.
- **D10' coalition of democracies:**
 - to "bridge European and regional (Asian) approaches to Chinese challenges."
- **To tackle covid 19 pandemic:**
 - The G7 countries have **pledged to donate 1 billion vaccine doses to poorer countries** by the end of 2021.

Germany summit 2022 and outcomes:

- **Partnership for Global Infrastructure and Investment (PGII) scheme:**
 - **To mobilise USD 600 billion in funding by 2027** to deliver transparent and game-changing infrastructure projects in developing and middle-income countries, in a move seen as a counter to China's Belt and Road Initiative.
- **Climate change:**
 - G7 countries announced a target to **de-carbonised road sector by 2030** and to **phase out greenhouse gas emissions from their energy sectors by 2035.**
- **LiFE Campaign:**
 - India highlighted LiFE (Lifestyle for Environment) campaign **to encourage an eco-friendly lifestyle.**

Build Back Better world project:

It is an **international infrastructure investment initiative** announced in June 2021 by the G7 countries.

- It is a **value-driven, market-led, high-standard, and transparent infrastructure partnership** to help narrow the **\$40+ trillion infrastructure gap in the developing world by 2035.**
- The B3W is **intended to be global in scope and to cover low- and middle-income countries.**
- The B3W is **an elaboration of the Blue Dot Network (BDN)** in which the US joined forces with Japan and Australia while remaining open to other partners' participation.
- The B3W has **brought together the G7 countries and also has extended**

invitations to join to other democracies, including India, Australia, South Korea.

Can it be a counter to BRI of China?

A. Yes:

- It **can be an alternative** grand infrastructure plan for developing nations to that of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) **as it is backed by G-7 countries which has the wherewithal to match deep pockets of the China.**
- **Like the BRI, the B3W aims to forge cross-national and regional cooperation** between the countries involved while facilitating large-scale projects in the developing world.
- Funding: It **aims to mobilize bilateral and multilateral as well as private-sector**

capital for investment in climate, health and health security, modernized digital technology, gender equity, and equality.

B. No:

- The BRI comprises a framework of **economic and trade relations** between China and dozens of countries, and **targets new export markets abroad**, aims to guarantee Beijing's energy security.
- **Whereas, BBBW has not evolved yet from vision to concrete plan of action.**
 - What gives BRI an upper edge is its tangible operational existence vis-à-vis the **B3W's mere "on paper" existence** without even a detailed financial-cum-operational plan.
- **Different aims:**
 - The **BRI's** paramount focus is on **infrastructure development and economic connectivity** through reliable sea and land trade routes.
 - **B3W** focuses on the **Human Development Index-based investments**, such as in education, health, and women's development programs.

Issues & Challenges- G7:

- **Exclusionary:** The group **no longer reflects the current state of geopolitical realities.**
 - For example, members like **Italy and Canada possess less economic and political power** in comparison to non-members like India and China.
 - No inclusion from Africa or South America etc.
- **Non-Binding nature:** The G7 has **no legal existence or a permanent secretariat.**
 - Further, the **meeting commitments are non-binding in nature.**
 - All decisions and commitments made at G7 meetings **need to be ratified independently** by member states.
- **Declining US hegemony and resultant lack of coherence in the grouping:** The 2018 meeting in Charlevoix, Canada, was marred by

fractious negotiations concerning tariffs and Donald **Trump's position that Russia should be reinstated to the G7.**

- **'Stop-G7' protests of 2015:** The **protesters questioned the legitimacy of the G7 to make decisions** that could affect the whole world.

India's Challenges with G – 7:

- **Divergence on economic role of the state** (high import duties on western products by GOI, buffer stock etc.) to the **democratic regulation of social media and the technology giants.**
- **Lack of adequate capacity:** Till India reaches a level of development where it can share the costs of international cohabitation with the G7 countries, it will not be able to undertake the responsibilities that an association with G7 may entail.
- **In the WTO,** it still finds itself at odds with the G7 countries. The latest issue is the **TRIPs waiver initiative** for wider vaccine availability.

Way Forward:

- **Priority to the global challenges:** rather than merely focusing on the interests of the developed world.
- **Increase representation:** Countries and democracies like India, Australia, South Korea Brazil etc., deserve inclusion.
- **Recognizing present challenges with proactive approach:** like threat of recession looming large, overstretched Ukraine war with threats of nuclear bombs, rising inflation, and rise of aggressive and expansionary China.
- Create a **proper administrative and funding mechanism** to deal with various global concerns.

G7 summit marks an **important step towards a new global compact between India and the West.** However, achieving tangible outcomes require sustained negotiations on converting shared interests - on reforming the global economic order, mitigating climate change, promoting greener growth

and constructing trusted supply chains - into concrete outcomes.

When the world is going through one of its difficult phases in its recent history, the **G7 can be one of the hope to navigate the choppy waters of present geopolitics.**

Group of 20

The G20 is the latest in a series of post–World War II initiatives **aimed at international coordination of economic policy**, which include institutions such as the "Bretton Woods twins", the 'IMF & WB' and WTO.

It is an **intergovernmental forum** working to address major issues related to the global economy, such as international financial stability, climate change mitigation, and sustainable development.

Evolution.

- G20 was **founded in 1999** after the Asian financial crisis **as a forum for the Finance**

Ministers and Central Bank Governors to discuss global economic and financial issues.

- It was **later upgraded to the level of Heads of Government** and was designated the 'premier forum for international economic cooperation'.
- Since 2011, the G20 Summit has been held annually**, under the leadership of a rotating Presidency.

Composition

- The G20 is a **leading global forum for international economic cooperation**, comprising key advanced and emerging economies.
- It involves 20 members-** 19 countries and One regional organisation- European Union.
- Several international agencies like the UN, the IMF, ASEAN, the African Union, etc., also attend the summit.



Figure: members of G-20

Objective& Mandate:

- Policy coordination** between its members in order **to achieve global economic stability and sustainable growth.**
- To **promote financial regulations** that **reduce risks** and prevent future financial crises;

- To create a new international financial architecture.



Figure: Objectives of G20

Administrative structure:

- The G20 does not have a charter or a secretariat.
- The **Presidency, aided by the countries holding the Presidency before and after it (Troika), is responsible for setting the agenda** of each year’s Summit.
- The G20 process is led by the **Sherpas of member countries**, who are personal emissaries of the Leaders.
 - The Sherpas oversee negotiations over the course of the year, discussing agenda items for the Summit and coordinating the substantive work of the G20.
- The G20’s work is divided into **two tracks: the Finance Track and the Sherpa Track.**

Significance of G20 for the world:

- **Geo-Economic:** The G20 accounts for around **80% of gross world product (GWP)**,

75–80% of international trade, two-thirds of the global population, and roughly half the world's land area.

- **Inclusive growth:** G20 plays a **critical role in creating an enabling environment** for inclusive global growth and development as it provides support to ensure financial stability, promoting growth and avoiding and managing crises.
- **Global issues of concern:** Works for the advancement of women in the job market, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, climate change, global health, anti-terrorism and inclusive entrepreneurship, among others.
- **Inclusive of most regions:** Its membership features both developed and emerging markets from all continents, making it big enough to be globally representative and the world's most impactful global forum.



Figure: Important statistics related to G-20

Significance of G20 for India:

- **India has an ambitious multi-pronged agenda for the G20 summit** that ranges from deploying global surpluses for infrastructure development and inclusive development to energy efficiency and global action to mitigate emerging pandemics.
- **Inclusive Development and Infrastructure:**
 - **G20 is crucial for enlisting global partnerships for infrastructure upgrade in New Delhi** as the Indian prime minister has consistently emphasized on infrastructure development.
- **Reducing the cost of remittances** is another key priority for New Delhi.
- **Revamping global tax regime:**
 - For automatic sharing of information between tax authorities to help identify and fix tax-evaders.
- **Energy security:**
 - By changes in global energy mix with greater emphasis on renewables and focus on mitigation to climate change.
- **Reforming global financial architecture:**
 - G20 is crucial for making global financial architecture a democratic one, which reflects the 21st century realities and the tectonic shift of economic gravity from the west to the east.
- G-20 presidency is an **opportunity to position India as the voice of the Global South.**

India's contribution/proposals at G20 summit 2020:

- **Economic offenders:** Economic offenders often commit crimes in one country and flee to another to escape the legal process at home. This has been emphasized by India as a serious policy challenge for India and other countries in G20.
- **Global Taxation:** India has been pushing for global minimum tax to stop companies

from evading taxes where they earn huge incomes.

- In this regard G20 has come up with the Base Erosion and Profit Sharing (BEPS) framework.
- **Counter Terrorism:** India is actively pushing for support to Comprehensive convention on International Terrorism, as terrorism is global activity which needs global cooperation.

Achievements of G20:

- **Quick deployment of emergency funding** during the 2008 global financial crisis.
- **Reforms for international financial institutions:**
 - Such as **Base Erosion and Profit Shifting (BEPS) project** and implementation of tax transparency standards.
 - **Improving oversight of national financial institutions.**
 - **Improving the quality of financial regulatory bodies** in markets whose fiscal and monetary policies have led to crisis.
- G20 played a critical role in the ratification of the **Trade Facilitation Agreement**, with the WTO estimating it could contribute up to somewhere between 5.4 and 8.7 per cent to global GDP by 2030.
- **Increasing the lending capacity of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).**
- **Role during Covid 19:**
 - The G20 countries **agreed to suspend debt payments owed to them** by some of the world's poorest countries, providing billions of dollars in relief.
 - Further in October 2021, G20 leaders **pledged to help vaccinate 70% of the world's population by mid-2022.**
 - G20 nations committed **more than \$5 trillion into the global economy and contribute to the WHO-led COVID-19 solidarity response fund.**

Issues & Challenges – G20:

- **Russia-Ukraine Crisis:** The U.S and its allies are not willing to sit on the same table with Russia and its allies. This may cause a severe stalemate in the group's functioning.
- **Rising Protectionism:** Globalization is retracting, and multilateral organizations have a credibility crisis. Countries around the world are choosing to be 'G-zero' over the G7, G20, BRICS, P5 etc.
 - **'G-zero'** is a term coined by political commentator Ian Bremmer to denote **Every Nation for Itself**.
 - The current US administration under President Biden has agreed to reverse various decisions of the Trump administration on climate change and migration but not on tariff policy. They have so far kept most of the earlier tariffs in place.
- **Informal structure of G20:** It has no permanent secretariat. The agenda changes every year according to the priorities of the presiding nation.
- **Influences decision-making of smaller countries:** The smaller countries, which are not a member of the G20 grouping, have to implement the declarations and commitments agreed by G20 nations for their growth and opportunity (like the G20 nations agreed to end international financing for coal power plants.
- **No Enforcement mechanism:** The G20 declarations are not legally binding.
- **Under-representation of Africa:** South Africa is the sole member from Africa.

Way Forward:

- **Bridging powers between the East and West:** Ukraine war and sanctions on Russia have disrupted economic system. Countries like India and South Africa can act as bridging powers between East and the West.
- **Formalization of G20:** The G20 has to include objectives, vision and mission statements, a permanent secretariat, and staff to oversee commitments and ensure continuity in the agenda.
- **Focus more on domestic commitments:** The G20, instead of international commitments, can focus on domestic commitments and start implementing them.
 - E.g., instead of ending international financing for coal power, the G20 Nations should phase out domestic coal consumption.
- **More Representative:** A 2011 report had criticized the G20's exclusivity, so the G20 has to make itself more representative, especially from Africa.

India can show the way to G-20:

- **In the field of digitization to propel healthcare:** The **CoWIN digital platform**, which helped the country deliver and digitally certify over 2 billion doses of Covid vaccines, is now being enhanced to cover the national immunization programme.
 - **The Ayushman Bharat Digital Mission** also has an expansive vision to integrate key elements of the health system, from people identification to paperless payments, digital record storage to communications.
- **Holistic empowerment of women:** With programmes like toilets, gas cylinders, houses in the name of women, Beti Bachao Beti Padhao, entrepreneurship opportunities via Mudra scheme etc. India can lead the world in women empowerment specially in developing and least developed countries.
- **Climate change:** India is the only major country which is on track to fulfil its INDCs in line with the Paris Agreement. Also, India has taken multitude of initiatives specially in the field of solar and wind power.

In the end, the G20 process is about **balancing competing interests and setting global rules of economic engagement**. Born in the crucible of the

2008 global economic crisis, the G20's agenda has **moved beyond crisis management to enhanced global macroeconomic coordination**

to create a new equilibrium and resilience in global economy. In the scrambled alphabet of global geopolitics, the G20 must find innovative solutions to stay relevant.

ForumIAS

H203- World Order

World Order **refers to the creation of global relationships and maintenance of world peace.**

It governs relations between nation-states and global participants which includes transnational corporations, regional organisations (ASEAN, EU), intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations etc.

The maintenance of world order is conducted via the watchful eyes of the multiple international organisations in general and the United Nations (UN) in particular.

The UN is the most important body in maintaining world order and was established after World War II. It enforces treaties by imposing sanctions, has a judicial arm in the International Court of Justice (ICJ), creates declarations and customary law, registers treaties, makes decisions on world order issues and fosters economic and social cooperation between nation-states.

Significance of world order.

- **To prevent anarchy/lawlessness at international level:**
 - Without world order, and the bodies and laws that govern relationships between nations and other global participants, there would be international anarchy; this could potentially lead to world conflict and global destruction.
- **For economic growth and development:**
 - World order and nation-state interactions form the backbone of economic interdependence and globalisation.

Evolution.

- **Eurocentric world order: (17th century to mid-20th century)**
 - The prototype of legal principles of international relation system emerged as a result of the **1648 Treaty of Westphalia** which finished the

devastating Thirty Years war in Central Europe.

- European powers starting with Britain dominated the world with their colonies.

- **Post-world war –II: Bipolar world order (1945 to 1990)/Era of Superpowers.**

- USA and USSR dominated world with their distinct ideologies, arms race, bloc politics and power projections in different parts of the world for example Korean war, Vietnam war, Afghanistan etc.

- **Post-cold war era – Period of unipolarity (1991 to 2008)**

- Disintegration of USSR in 1990 led to emergence of USA as the sole superpower in the world which embarked on the path to lead world.
- The USA significantly shaped global rules of governance in this period without any ideological or material opposition. For example, USA's invasion of Iraq, War against terrorism in Afghanistan etc.

- **Multipolar world order – post 2008 till now.**

- The **global economic crisis of 2008 created shock waves in the USA and European countries.**
- It hastened the economic downfall of the west which was started since the early years of 21st century.
- However, **at the same time, developing countries like India and China benefitted** from globalization privatization and liberalization process and emerged as a new pole in the emerging multipolar world order.

Collapse of USSR - implication for the World and India

Implications for the world:

- **Ideological Unipolarism:**
 - It led to the collapse of the entire socialist bloc. The 21st century opened as a new century characterised by ideological and strategic unipolarism led and dominated by United States.
- **Better prospects for Arms control:**
 - The INF Treaty and the START-I Treaty had given new hope for the securing of arms control in international relations. East-West relations had started taking a positive direction and healthy shape.

Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty 1987

- It required the **United States and the Soviet Union to eliminate and permanently forswear all of their nuclear and conventional ground-launched ballistic and cruise missiles with ranges of 500 to 5,500 kilometers.**
- The **treaty marked the first time the superpowers had agreed to reduce their nuclear arsenals**, eliminate an entire category of nuclear weapons, and **employ extensive on-site inspections for verification.**
- As a result of the INF Treaty, the United States and the Soviet Union destroyed a total of 2,692 short-, medium-, and intermediate-range missiles by the treaty's implementation deadline of June 1, 1991.
- In 2018, President Donald Trump announced his intention to “terminate” the INF Treaty, citing **Russian noncompliance and concerns about China’s intermediate-range missile arsenal.**
- Subsequently, in 2019, the United States formally withdrew from the INF Treaty and shortly thereafter Russia also withdrawn from the treaty.

START I (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty)

- It was a **bilateral treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union** on the reduction and the limitation of strategic offensive arms.
- The treaty was signed on 31 July 1991 and entered into force on 5 December 1994.
- The treaty **barred its signatories from deploying more than 6,000 nuclear warheads and a total of 1,600 intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and bombers.**
- **START negotiated the largest and most complex arms control treaty in history**, and its final implementation in late 2001 resulted in the removal of about 80% of all strategic nuclear weapons then in existence.
- On 8 April **2010**, the replacement **New START Treaty** was signed extending deep reductions of American and Soviet or Russian strategic nuclear weapons **by February 2026.**
- **Increased Importance of International Economic Relations:**
 - the new popularity gained by the principles of economic and political liberalisation, open competition and increased mutual cooperation for development gave rise to a new economic activity in international relations.
- The new developments also acted as a source of **more dependence of the Third World countries upon the developed countries.**
- **Resulted in peace:**
 - The world scenario in general appeared to be healthier than it was in the years of the cold war. This became evident from the fact that after 11 September, 2001 all the nations readily came forward to join their heads and hands against the menace of international terrorism.
- **Changes in the Politics of Europe:**
 - The collapse of Socialist bloc and the USSR was accompanied by the end of Russian role in European politics. The

rise of non-communist regimes through movements for democracy and liberalisation in the Eastern European states, gave a new look to European politics

• **Rise of Fundamentalism in Central Asian States:**

○ Six of the republics of the erstwhile U.S.S.R., which became independent sovereign states and which were located in the Central Asian region, preferred to become Islamic republics.

• **Changes in Asian Politics:**

○ Under the impact of the collapse of the U.S.S.R., politics in Asia underwent a big change. In particular, **India lost one of its 'time tested and dependable friends'**. Its foreign policy had to readjust relations with Russia and other republics of the erstwhile U.S.S.R.

○ After the collapse of the USSR, another major Asian power, **China also felt itself isolated as a communist state**. It found **compelled to go in for economic liberalisation in a rapid way, mend its fences with India, Japan, Vietnam** and other countries of Asia.

• **Relevance of NAM:**

○ The end of Cold war and the emergence of East-West cooperation influenced several scholars to voice the view that NAM had lost its relevance in international relations and that NAM was no longer needed

Implication for India:

• **On India's Security:**

○ Post 1991, Russia itself started to forge close relationship with Western powers, particularly the United States. So, **India lost its support from Russia which acted as a balancer in the South Asia and Indian Ocean region.**

○ Russia urged India to support the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and decided in March 1992.

• **On India's Economy:**

○ In the economic sphere, financial aid from Soviet Union almost dried which was also an important reason of 1991 balance of payment crisis in India.

○ **Pushed developing countries like India** to adopt neo-liberal economic policies.

○ India adopted free-market economic model in the form of LPG reforms post 1991.

• **Diversification of defence and economic relations:**

○ Rather than solely depending on Russia only, India had to diversify its relations with players like USA & South East Asian countries France, Japan etc.

US hegemony

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, world order witnessed unipolarity in international politics, USA being the sole pole.

Unipolarity is the distribution of power in which one state exercises most of the cultural, economic, and military influence. This can also be understood as hegemony.

However, since 2nd decade of the 21st century USA's hegemony is on decline and there is rapid rise of China which is on the path to be the next hegemon albeit huge challenges.

Indications of declining US hegemony

• **Lost war on terror:**

○ The whole Afghan experience shows how the U.S. failed in achieving its war aims.

• **The wars the U.S. launched in the new century, be it Afghanistan, Iraq or Libya, were not won.**

• **2019 saw Iran repeatedly provoking the U.S. and its allies.**

- It **shot down an American drone over the Gulf** in 2021, captured a British tanker and is believed to have either carried out or orchestrated multiple attacks on oil tankers that pass through the Strait of Hormuz.
- The **attacks on Saudi facilities** challenged the post-war partnership between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia that guaranteed American protection to the kingdom.
- **Cracks in the NATO:**
 - **Turkey, the second largest military in NATO, purchased S400 missile defence system from Russia**, NATO's primary enemy and the main geopolitical rival of the U.S., despite protests from the West.
 - Moreover, in response to sanctions threats, Turkey has vowed to shut two U.S. bases in the country, which would mean a split within NATO.
- **Ineffectiveness of sanctions:**
 - USs weapon of sanctions is not able to ensure surrender of its adversaries, additionally its reluctant to engage militarily restricting the capacity of USA to influence global politics.
- And this is happening at a time when new economic powers (China, for example) are on the rise and an old military power (Russia) is making a comeback.

The relative decline in America's power coupled with the rise of new and old powers point to a structural churning in the post-Cold War order.

Reasons behind decline of US hegemony.

- **Huge cost of Afghan war and invasions abroad.**
 - According to Forbes study, **the War in Afghanistan Cost America \$300 Million Per Day For 20 Years.**
- **Slow economic growth of USA:**

- **Economic crisis of 2008** has huge impact on USA's growth story.
- Also, **China emerged as a major beneficiary of globalisation** which is currently challenging USA.
- **Rise of China:**
 - **China's economy overtaking America's in PPP terms.**
 - By many measures, China's economy is on track to become the world's biggest.
 - **Beijing has used its new wealth to attract friends, deter enemies, modernize its military, and aggressively assert sovereignty claims** in its periphery.
- **Decreasing soft power:**
 - Lack of adherence to values it propounded, for example, USA's trade tariffs is against her long-taken stand of liberalisation, promoting democracy only where USA's interests are threatened for example, Iraq but not in Arab world etc.
- **Emerging Domestic issues:**
 - Emergence of Right wing and anti-migrant sentiments, black protests, allegations of Russian interference in election etc.

The polycentric new world order, which was gradually emerging after the end of the Cold War, has begun to fray at the edges. The outcome of the Russia-Ukraine conflict will be that the stability which the world has seen for the better part of last century and the first two decades of this, will not be seen again in the coming decades.

The world will no longer be the same and everyone must hedge for the new world order whether it would be- Unipolar (dominated by the China), bipolar (USA and China) or multipolar, only time will tell.

H204- Military Exercises and Major Operations

Introduction

India's armed forces are currently undertaking a huge number of military exercises, in tandem with other countries across the globe.

A military exercise involving two or more nations is a measure to test the performance of the armed forces without engaging in the battlefield. It facilitates better coordination between the militaries, observation of enemy's tactics, and familiarisation with new technologies, enabling on-the-job training of each other's crews. These are useful in case of joint military operations be it in war or in operations other than war such as disaster relief, and humanitarian aid.

The Indian military exercises can be segregated into 3 categories:

1. **Bilateral Exercise:** When only two countries participate in a Military exercise, it is called bilateral military exercise.
2. **Domestic exercise:** The military exercise conducted inter-services or intra-services of the armed forces is called Domestic military exercises. This exercise aims to improve internal engagements and there can be inter-services or intra-services depending on nature and its application.
3. **Multilateral exercise:** When multiple nations participate in a military exercise, it is known as multilateral military exercise.

List of Bilateral military exercises (Indian Army, Indian Navy, Indian Airforce)

I. India-US:

Vajra Prahar:

- It's an annual exercise is hosted alternatively between Special Forces India and the United States.
- Special Forces are the units of a country's armed forces that undertake covert,

counterterrorist, and other specialized operations.

- Recently, **India - USA Joint Special Forces** conducted the 13th edition of exercise **Vajra Prahar 2022 culminated at Bakloh (Himachal Pradesh).**
- **Phases: It was conducted in two phases;**
 1. The first phase involved **combat conditioning and tactical level special missions training exercises,**
 2. The second phase included **48 hours of validation of training received by both contingents in the first phase.**

Yudh Abhyas:

- It is the **largest running joint military training and defence cooperation** endeavor between India and the US.
- **Started in 2004 under the US Army Pacific Partnership Program.** The exercise is **hosted alternately between both countries.**
- **Aim:** enhancing understanding, cooperation and interoperability between two Armies.
- In February 2021, the **previous version** of the exercise was held in **Bikaner's Mahajan Field Firing Ranges (Rajasthan).**

Exercise Red Flag

- The **Indian Air Force & United States Air Force** holds Exercise Red Flag, a two-week advanced aerial combat training exercise, several times a year.
- **Aim:** Its goal is to provide realistic air-combat training to military pilots and other flight crew members from the United States and other allies. It was first held in the year 1975.
- Each year, four to six Red Flag exercises are held at Nellis Air Force Base in Nevada, with up to four more held at Eielson Air Force Base in Alaska under the banner of Red Flag – Alaska.

Tiger Triumph:

- o The **first-ever India-US joint tri services Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) exercise**, named '**Tiger Triumph**' (2010).
- o The exercise will be conducted off **Visakhapatnam and Kakinada coasts** in Andhra Pradesh.
- o **Aim:** To develop interoperability for conducting HADR operation.

2. India-Australia:**AUSINDEX:**

- o It is a **major biennial bilateral exercise, first held in India in 2015**.
- o The **2021 exercise is being held in Australia**.
- o **Aim:** To consolidate shared commitment to regional and global security challenges **promoting peace, security and stability in the Indo-Pacific region**.
- o It is **aligned to the 2020 Comprehensive Strategic Partnership** between the two nations.

3. India-Bangladesh:**Sampriti:**

- o A joint military training exercise **Ex SAMPRITI-X between India and Bangladesh** is being conducted at Jashore Military Station in Bangladesh from 5th to 16th June 2022.
- o SAMPRITI is an **important bilateral defence cooperation** endeavour conducted alternately by both countries which **aims to strengthen and widen the aspects of interoperability** and cooperation between both the armies.
- o **Aim:** To **strengthen interoperability between the two armies** and to understand each other's tactical drills and operational techniques.
- o **Representation by India:** The Indian contingent of company strength is being represented by a **Battalion of the DOGRA Regiment**.

IN-BN CORPAT:

- o The fourth edition of the **Indian Navy-Bangladesh Navy Coordinated Patrol (CORPAT)** commenced in the Northern Bay of Bengal on 22 May 22.
- o Two indigenously built IN Ships - Kora, a guided-missile corvette and Sumedha, an offshore patrol vessel are participating in the exercise along with Bangladesh Navy Ships BNS Ali Haider and BNS Abu Ubaidah.
- o **Aim:** strengthened mutual understanding and enhanced interoperability between both the navies in countering transnational maritime threats at sea.

Bongosagar:

- o Its **first edition** was held in **2019**.
- o **Aim:** To develop interoperability and joint operational skills through the conduct of a wide spectrum of maritime exercises and operations.
- o **Participants:** Naval ships from both countries along with the maritime patrol aircraft and helicopters will be participating in the exercise.
- o CORPATs have **strengthened understanding between both the navies** and instituted measures to stop the conduct of unlawful activities.
- o The second edition of **Exercise Bongosagar, bilateral naval exercise between India and Bangladesh**, is scheduled to commence in Northern Bay of Bengal on 3rd October 2020.
- o It will be followed by the **3rd edition of India-Bangladesh Coordinated Patrol (IN-BN CORPAT)**, wherein both countries will undertake joint patrolling along the **International Maritime Boundary Line (IMBL)**.

4. India-China:

- **Chang Thang:**

- The Indian Army conducted a massive rare exercise 'Chang Thang' in Eastern Ladakh bordering China.
- The exercise involved the use of infantry, mechanised forces, T-72 tanks, with force multipliers such as artillery guns and Unmanned Aerial Vehicles. The Indian Air Force was also roped in the exercise.
- This is the first time such kind of exercise has happened in the region.

Hand-in-Hand:

- It is a military exercise conducted jointly by **the Indian and Chinese armies.**
- The most recent Hand-in-Hand exercise took place in 2019 from the 7th to the 20th of December at Umroi (Meghalaya)
- **The Hand-in-Hand exercise's goal is to:**
 - Practicing collaborative planning
 - Counter-terrorism exercises are being carried out.
 - Hold training exercises in semi-urban areas.

5.India-France:

Exercise Harimau Shakti

- In November, the sixth edition of the **Indo-French Shakti 2021** (bilateral joint training exercise) was held in Frejus, France.
- It will concentrate on counter-terrorism operations in semi-urban terrain under a United Nations mandate, with the goal of improving military cooperation and interoperability between the two armies.
- The biennial exercise between the two countries' armies began in 2011.
- It was alternately held in India and France.
- The most recent Shakti exercise took place in Rajasthan in 2019, where "counter-terrorism operations in semi-desert terrain were practised."

Exercise Varuna

- The 19th (and most recent) edition of the **Indian and French Navy bilateral exercise 'VARUNA-2021'** was held in the Arabian Sea.

- The United Arab Emirates (UAE) took part in the Varuna maritime exercise for the first time.
- Since 1993, the Indian and French navies have conducted bilateral maritime exercises. These exercises have been known as 'VARUNA' since 2001.
- These interactions highlight the shared values of partner navies in ensuring freedom of the seas as well as the commitment to an open, inclusive Indo-Pacific and a rules-based international order.

Exercise Garuda

- Ex Garuda 2019 (latest edition), a **bilateral Indo-French** large force employment warfare exercise hosted by the French Air Force (FAF) from 01st to 12th July 2019 at Mont-de-Marsan in France, was completed successfully, with the IAF contingent returning to India on 19th July 2019.
- Garuda-VI was the year's largest international air training exercise.
- The exercise's goals were to foster closer ties between India & France in order to promote the interoperability through knowledge & experience exchange.

Exercise Desert Knight-21

- Ex Desert Knight-21, a bilateral air exercise between the **Indian Air Force and the French Air and Space Force**, has begun. It was held at the Jodhpur Air Force Station in Rajasthan.
- This Ex-Desert Knight-21, in particular, includes both sides' fielding of Rafale aircraft.
- This exercise demonstrates the growing interaction between India's and France's premier air forces.
- Mirage 2000, Rafale, Su-30 MKI, IL-78 Flight Refueling Aircraft, AWACS, and AEW&C aircraft represented India.
- France was represented by the Rafale, the A-400M Tactical Transport aircraft, and the Airbus A-330 Multirole tanker transport.

6.India-Vietnam:

Exercise VINBAX

- The **India-Vietnam Bilateral Army Exercise (VINBAX-2018)** was held in **Madhya Pradesh's Jabalpur**.
- The first military exercise between the two countries was VINBAX-2018.
- The six-day military exercise (from January 29th to February 3rd, 2018) was held as part of the Indian Army's joint training with friendly foreign countries.

Exercise Sahyog HOP TAC

- The first joint exercise of the Coast Guards of **India and Vietnam**, "Sahyog HOP TAC -2018," took place in the Bay of Bengal off the coast of Chennai, Tamil Nadu.
- Its goal was to improve the working relationship between coast guards from both navies.
- The exercise was designed to familiarize coast guards from both countries with each other's capabilities and to strengthen working relationships to save lives at sea.
- It included a scenario of an oil tanker hijacking and subsequent crew rescue in a coordinated anti-piracy joint operation, as well as preventive efforts for marine environment protection.

7.India-Indonesia:

Exercise CORPAT

- The Indian Ocean region hosted the 36th CORPAT (Coordinated Patrol) exercise between **India & Indonesia**.
- Maritime Patrol Aircraft from both countries took part in the exercise.
- The 36th edition of COPAT was held in a non-contact, at-sea mode in accordance with the pandemic COVID-19 norms.
- The CORPAT's goal is to keep the Indian Ocean Region safe and secure in terms of commercial shipping, international trade, and maritime activities.
- The exercise aided in the improvement and understanding of interoperability between navies, and thus the partnership between the two nations.

- Since 2002, India and Indonesia have conducted CORPAT along the International Maritime Boundary Line (IMBL) twice a year.
- The **38th India-Indonesia Coordinated Patrol (IND-INDO CORPAT)** is being conducted in the **Andaman Sea and Straits of Malacca**.

8.India-Oman:

Exercise Al Nagah

- The third in the series of bilateral joint exercises between **India and Oman** is Al Nagah III. It was held in Oman's Jabel Al Akhdar Mountains from March 12 to March 25, 2019.
- Both armies exchanged expertise and experience in tactics, weapon handling, and firing during the 14-day exercise.
- The exercise's goal is to improve interoperability in counter-terrorism operations in semi-urban mountainous terrain.
- Al Nagah, I took place in Muscat, Oman, in January 2015, and Al Nagah II took place in Himachal Pradesh, India, in March 2017.

Exercise Naseem Al Bahr

- The 12th edition of the bilateral maritime exercise Naseem Al Bahr was held in Mormugao Port, Goa, by **India and Oman**.
- Naseem-Al-Bahr (or sea breeze) is a naval exercise conducted by the Indian Navy and the RNO since 1993.
- This exercise was being carried out by Indian Navy ships Beas and Subhadra, as well as Oman Navy ships RNOV Al Rasikh and RNOV Khassab.

Exercise Eastern Bridge

- 'EX EASTERN BRIDGE' is a bilateral joint air force exercise conducted by the **Indian Air Force (IAF) and the Royal Air Force of Oman (RAFO)**. The most recent edition was 'EX EASTERN BRIDGE-V,' which took place on 26th October 2019 at Air Force Base Masirah in Oman.

- The Indian Air Force's contingent consists of MiG-29 and C-17 aircraft. The MiG-29 participated in the exercise, as did the Royal Air Force of Oman's Eurofighter Typhoon, F-16, and Hawk. For the first time, MiG-29 fighter planes took part in an international exercise outside of India.
- The goal of the exercise is to improve interoperability between the two Air Forces during mutual operations, as well as to provide an opportunity to learn from each other's best practises. The last bilateral exercise was held in Jamnagar, Gujarat, in 2017.

9. India-Japan:

Exercise Dharma Guardian

- Dharma Guardian is a joint military exercise between **India and Japan** that began in 2018.
- The most recent edition of this bilateral exercise was Dharma Guardian 2019, which took place in October 2019 at Vairengte, Mizoram, between the Indian and Japanese armies.
- The first Dharma Guardian exercise was held in 2018 at the Counter Insurgency Warfare School in Vairengte (Mizoram), India, from November 1 to November 14, 2018.
- **The following activities are included in the exercise:**
 - Counter-terrorism operations training
 - Counter-terrorism operations are being planned.
 - Implementation of a series of well-planned tactical drills

Sahyog-Kaijin:

- Indian and Japanese coast guards participated in a joint exercise 'Sahyog-Kaijin' on January 16.
- The aim behind 'Sahyog-Kaijin' is to strengthen the bond between the two countries.

- One ship of the Japanese Coast Guard and four ships and an aircraft of the Indian Coast Guard participated in the joint exercise.

JIMEX:

- The India-Japan Maritime Exercise called **JIMEX** was conducted in 2013 for the first time. It focuses on maritime security cooperation.

10. India-Kazakhstan:

Exercise Prabal Dostyk

- In August 2021, Kazakhstan hosted the 5th edition of the **India-Kazakhstan** Joint Training Exercise "**KAZIND-21.**"
- The exercise is a joint training exercise involving both Indian and Kazakhstani armies.
- Professional exchange, as well as sharing experiences in counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism operations, are all part of the Joint Exercise's scope.

11. India-Maldives:

Exercise Ekuverin

- The 11th edition of Exercise EKUVERIN-21, a joint exercise between **India and the Maldives**, was held on Kadhdhoo Island in the Maldives. In the Dhivehi language, Ekuverin means "Friends." It is the language of Indo-Arya. It is spoken in India, the Lakshadweep Islands, and the Maldives.
- The exercise improves synergy and interoperability between both nations' Armed Forces in terms of understanding transnational terrorism on land and at sea, conducting Counter-Terrorism and Counter-Insurgency Operations, and sharing best military practices and experiences.
- Since 2008, India and the Maldives have been conducting the exercise. The exercise was held in Pune, Maharashtra, in 2019, and in the Maldives in 2018

12. India-Nepal:

Surya Kiran:

- The 15th **India-Nepal Joint Military Training Exercise**, dubbed 'Surya Kiran,'

took place on 20th September 2021. It took place in Pithoragarh, Uttarakhand.

- The main goal of the exercise is to conduct counter-terror drills and disaster relief operations.
- The exercise will also improve interoperability between India's and Nepal's militaries.
- Both nations' infantry battalions will conduct training to share expertise in counter-terrorism disaster relief operations, and to improve interoperability

13. India-Bangladesh:

Sampriti Exercise:

- The Sampriti Exercise is a bilateral defence cooperation exercise between **India's and Bangladesh's armies**. It is regarded as a component of Indo-Bangladesh defence cooperation. Sampriti has nine editions, the most recent being Sampriti-IX, which took place in Meghalaya from February 3 to February 16, 2020.
- Both countries alternate hosting the Sampriti exercise. In 2019, it was held in Bangladesh, and in 2020, it was held in India.
- **Command Post Exercise (CPX) and Field Training Exercise (FTX)** was held in Sampriti-IX.
- The Sampriti exercise includes training and exercises set in such simulated environments as defined by the UN Charter.

14. India-Russia:

Exercise INDIRA:

- The 12th Edition (i.e., the most recent edition between the two countries) of the **Indo-Russia joint maritime exercise INDRA** took place in August 2021 in Volgograd, Russia.
- The exercise involved a joint force conducting counter-terror operations against international terror groups under the auspices of the United Nations.
- The INDRA series of exercises began in 2003 as a bilateral naval exercise conducted alternately by the two countries. The first

joint Tri-Services exercise, however, took place in 2017.

- The last joint tri-services exercise between India and Russia took place in December 2019 in India. It was held in Babina (near Jhansi), Pune, and Goa, all at the same time.

15. India-Shri Lanka:

Exercise Mitra Shakti

- The Mitra Shakti exercise is a bilateral joint military exercise between **Indian and Sri Lankan armies**.
- The exercise is also known as the Joint Training Exercise. Mitra Shakti-VIII, the most recent edition of the Mitra Shakti exercise, took place in Sri Lanka from October 4th to October 16th, 2021. India-Sri Lanka
- The following are the **objectives** of this bilateral exercise:
 - To encourage defense cooperation.
 - To foster goodwill between the Indian and Sri Lankan armies.
- Mitra Shakti is a training exercise for subunits in counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism operations.
- Under the United Nations (UN) mandate, training for counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism operations is conducted in urban and rural settings.
- The Mitra Shakti exercise is designed in such a way that it incorporates the dynamics of UN peacekeeping operations.

Slinex:

- In October 2020, the **annual Indian Navy (IN) – Sri Lanka Navy (SLN) bilateral maritime exercise SLINEX-20** eighth edition (i.e., latest edition between two countries) taken place in Trincomalee, Sri Lanka.
- The SLINEX-20 increased interoperability, improved mutual understanding, and allowed both navies to share best practices and procedures for multi-faceted maritime operations.
- The SLINEX exercise series highlights India and Sri Lanka's deep engagement, which has

strengthened mutual cooperation in the maritime domain.

16. India-United Kingdom

Exercise Konkan

- The Bilateral Konkan exercise is a naval exercise held by **India and the United Kingdom**.
- The Konkan exercise series began in 2004. Since then, both Navies have hosted the exercise in turn, and it has grown in complexity, scale, and intensity.
- The Indo-UK Naval Exercise '**Konkan 2021**' was held in the English Channel between INS Tabar and HMS Westminster.

Indradhanush:

- The theme of this edition of the exercise is '**Base Defence and Force Protection**'.
- This theme is of significance considering the recent threats to military establishments from terror elements.
- Ex Indradhanush provides a platform for the air forces of both the countries to share and jointly validate strategies and tactics to **counter terror threats to their installations**.

Ajeya Worrier:

- The aim of this exercise is to conduct army level joint training with emphasis on counter terrorism operations
- The **exercise is conducted alternatively** in the United Kingdom and India.

17. India-Mongolia:

Exercise Nomadic Elephant

- It is a joint military exercise between **India & Mongolia**.
- The 14th edition of Nomadic Elephant took place in Bakloh Cantonment, Himachal Pradesh, in Oct. 2019.
- The Mongolian Army was represented by the 084 Airborne-Special Task Battalion in the latest edition of the Nomadic Elephant series (Nomadic Elephant XIV), while the Indian Army was represented by the RAJPUTANA RIFLES Regiment battalion.

18. India-Singapore:

Exercise BOLD KURUKSHETRA

- The Joint Military Training Exercise Bold Kurukshetra is a series of joint military exercises between **India & Singapore**.
- The four-day joint training emphasized interoperability and the execution of joint tactical operations in mechanized warfare. The troops learned about each other's organizations as well as combat best practises.
- The 12th edition held in 2019, at Babina Military Station.

Exercise SIMBEX

- The 28th (latest edition) **Singapore-India Maritime Bilateral Exercise (SIMBEX)** was held from September 2nd to 4th, 2021.
- The **Republic of Singapore Navy (RSN)** hosted the SIMBEX-2021 annual bilateral maritime exercise on the southern rims of the South China Sea.
- The Indian Navy was represented by the Guided Missile Destroyer INS Ranvijay, which had a shipborne helicopter, the ASW Corvettes INS Kiltan & INS Kora, as well as one P8I Long Range Maritime Patrol Aircraft.
- The exercise was designed to strengthen bilateral defence ties between the two countries.

Multilateral Exercises of Indian Army, Indian Airforce and Indian Navy

Malabar 2020:

- This was the **first joint maritime exercise in the Western Pacific under the Quadrilateral framework**, and it appears to be designed to frighten China. The United States was hosting it.
- Malabar Exercise is a **multilateral naval war-gaming exercise** that began in **1992**. It began as a bilateral exercise between India's and the United States' navies.
- After two more editions of the exercise in 1995 and 1996, there was a break until 2002

in the aftermath of India's nuclear tests. Since 2002, the exercise has been held every year.

- **Japan and Australia were the first to take part in 2007**, and since 2014, India, the United States, and Japan have taken part every year.
- At India's request, Australia joined the Malabar Exercise in 2020 to contain China in the Indo-Pacific region.
- Malabar 2020 saw the participation of all four Quad members (including **India, US, Australia, and Japan**) for the first time in over a decade.
- Its goal is to promote a free, open, and inclusive Indo-Pacific while remaining committed to a rules-based international order.

Milex:

- In September 2018, the first field training military exercise, MILEX-18, as part of the Bay of **Bengal initiative for multi-sectoral technical and economic cooperation (BIMSTEC)**, began at the Foreign Training Node at Aundh in Pune, Maharashtra.
- Except for Thailand and Nepal, **all BIMSTEC member countries** (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka) actively participated in this exercise.
- Thailand and Nepal only send their small group in MILEX-18.

Exercise PEACEFUL MISSION

- The Indian military contingent, which consists of an all-arms combined force of 200 personnel, is taking part in the Exercise PEACEFUL MISSION -2021, a **Joint Counter-Terrorism Exercise between Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) member states**.
- In September month of 2021 (i.e., from 13th to 25th, 2021), Russia hosted the Exercise PEACEFUL MISSION- 2021 in the Orenburg Region of South-West Russia.

- The sixth edition of the biennial multilateral exercise PEACEFUL MISSION was held in 2021.
- **Aim:** The exercise's goal is to strengthen ties between SCO member states and to improve military leaders' abilities to command multinational military contingents. The exercise will allow the Armed Forces of the SCO nations to share best practices.
- The exercise will also give the Armed Forces of the SCO Nations the opportunity to train in Counter-Terrorism Operations in an urban scenario in a multinational & joint environment.

Exercise Cobra Gold

- The 40th iteration of Exercise Cobra Gold took place in the Kingdom of Thailand from August 3rd to 13th, 2021.
- The **annual Thai-US** co-sponsored military exercise included several virtual and in-person events with service members from seven full participating nations: the United States, Thailand, South Korea, Japan, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore, as well as observers and additional participants from other nations and organizations throughout the region.
- In the year 1982, the first Cobra Gold exercise was held.
- Every year, it is the largest Asia-Pacific military exercise.

Exercise Kakadu

- It is **Australia's premier multilateral, regional maritime engagement**, hosted by the **Royal Australian Navy (RAN) and supported by the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF)**.
- It was founded in **1993**. It is held every two years in Darwin and the **Northern Australian Exercise Areas (NAXA)**.
- KAKADU 2018 is the fourteenth edition of the exercise, which was held between August 29th and September 18th, 2018. Its goal is to improve interoperability and develop a common understanding of maritime operations procedures.

Exercise ARF DiREx (ASEAN Regional Forum Disaster Relief Exercise)

- The ASEAN Regional Forum Disaster Relief Exercise (ARF DiREx) is an international disaster drill designed to promote disaster relief cooperation among the ASEAN Regional Forum's **27-member countries**.
- It takes on large-scale disasters like earthquakes & tsunamis and conducts on-the-job and icon-based drills such as exploration & medical support by mobilizing national military assets.

Sea Dragon 2022

- **India, Australia, Canada, the United States, South Korea, and Japan** all participated in the Sea Dragon 22 exercise.
- The exercise talks about the traditional maritime security challenges that the Indo-Pacific region faces.
- The **Dragon Belt award** will be given to the country with the highest point total throughout the training process.

Exercise PANEX-21

- The PANEX-21 is a Humanitarian Assistance & Disaster Relief (HADR) Exercise for BIMSTEC countries.
- The exercise was held at Pune's College of Military Engineering.
- The exercise was in its third year. It is essentially a multinational and multi-agency exercise.
- The goal of the PANEX-21 was for BIMSTEC countries to collaborate on the regional development planning and execution, as well as to respond to natural disasters.

Some other important exercises:

- **PASSEX 2020:** India, Russia, USA, Australia and Vietnam
- **SITMEX:** India, Thailand and Singapore
- **TSENR 2019:** Russia, China, India, Kazakhstan, Kyrgystan, Tajikistan, Pakistan and Uzbekistan It is a part of the Russian armed forces annual training cycle. It

became international with Belarus joining in 2017 and China and Mongolia in 2018.

- **Pitch Black:** Canada, France, Germany, Indonesia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia and US. Indian Airforce participated for the first time in 2018.

Domestic Exercise of Indian Armed Forces:

Suraksha Kavach (Joint Anti-Terrorist Exercise between Army and Police):

- Agnibaaz Division organized Exercise Suraksha Kavach, a Joint Anti-Terrorist Exercise for both Indian Army and Maharashtra Police at Lullanagar Pune.
- **Aim:** To harmonize the drills and procedures of both Army and Police for activating anti-terrorist Quick Reaction Teams (QRTs) to counter any terrorist actions in Pune.
- The exercise involved participation of Quick Reaction Teams, Dog Squads and Bomb Disposal Teams of Army as well as **Anti-Terrorism Squad (ATS)** and Quick Reaction Team of Maharashtra Police.

Bull Strike (Army, Navy and Air Force of Andaman and Nicobar Command) :

India along with its tri services Army, Navy and IAF recently concluded **A special tri-Service combat exercise called "Bull Strike", with Special Forces and amphibious operations** at the remotely-located **Teressa Island in the Nicobar group of islands**.

Him Vijay (Army's mountain combat exercise):

The Indian Army Conducts routine military exercises every year. It was conducted to validate operational capabilities of our combat formations. Training exercises are conducted from within available resources and funds. The exercise was an all Arms exercise and approximately a division strength participated.

Changthang Prahar:

The Indian Army conducted a massive rare exercise named 'Chang Thang Prahar' at a **high-altitude area in Eastern Ladakh** bordering China for

testing and improving its war-fighting capabilities. The integrated exercise involved the use of **infantry, mechanized forces, T-72 tanks, with force multipliers such as artillery guns and Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV).**

Drad Sankalp (Indian Army):

The Southern Command of the Indian Army is undergoing a Command level exercise '**Drad Sankalp**' in the deserts of Rajasthan. The exercise is also focusing on the **aspect of jointmanship between the three services** and in developing the required synergy in order to achieve operational effectiveness.

Shatrujeet:

The Indian Army conducted major battle exercise named as 'Shatrujeet' in the Thar Desert of Rajasthan near to the border with Pakistan. The sole **purpose of the exercise was to evaluate the capability of the Indian Army and fine tune its proactive war strategy to respond swiftly to any threat to nation's security.**

Megh Prahar:

The battle exercise "Operation Megh Prahar" has been conducted by Indian Army on the banks of the **Yamuna River** on July 14, 2016 to test the effectiveness of the ultra-modern Tank T-90 & BMP-2 in fighting across opposed river obstacle in Mathura, Uttar Pradesh. This exercise also showcased the **importance of incorporating the 3rd dimension in bridging the gap of an obstacle and helping in capture of depth obstacle by a mechanized formation.**

Chakravyuh:

- The Chakravyuh-II exercise **involved rapid mobilisation and execution of battle plans** in conjunction with the **Indian Air Force (IAF).**
- It envisaged mechanised manoeuvres in the entire spectrum of new generation weapons, systems and platforms in the **rapid urbanisation and development areas** along the border.
- It has **provided an opportunity to all commanders in planning and conducting large scale operations** in an

integrated theatre environment along with IAF.

- It mainly included fighter ground attack aircraft, unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), attack helicopters, remotely piloted vehicles and communication helicopters.

Gandiv Vijay:

- **Chetak Corps of the Indian Army's South Western Command** conducted military exercise Gandiv Vijay in Rajasthan's Mahajan field firing ranges.
- The exercise lasted two months and ended on 23rd May 2018 to validate Chetak Corps' operational plans.

Vayu Shakti:

- On 5th March 2022, the **Indian Air Force's largest war exercise, Vayushakti-2022**, will be held at the Pokhran field firing range. The drill will involve approximately 140 planes, including 100 fighter planes. Previously, the exercise was scheduled for 10th February 2022.
- Exercise Vayu Shakti-2019, a mega exercise involving 140 fighter jets and attack helicopters in a firepower demonstration, was held near the border with Pakistan in Pokhran, Rajasthan.

Vajra Prahar:

- In March 2021, the **Special Forces of India and the United States of America** conducted the joint military exercise 'VAJRA PRAHAR 2021' in **Himachal Pradesh**. This was the 11th edition of the exercise, which was held at the Special Forces Training School in Bakloh, **Himachal Pradesh**.
- The 10th edition of VAJRA PRAHAR was held in Seattle, USA, in 2019.
- **Aim:** To share best practises and experiences in areas such as joint mission planning and operational tactics, as well as to improve interoperability among both nations' Special Forces

Exercise Paschim Lehar (XPL-2022)

- o The **Indian Navy's Western Naval Command** completed the joint maritime exercise Paschim Lehar (XPL-2022) off the West Coast.
- o The exercise lasted 20 days and was designed to improve inter-service synergy among the

Indian Navy, Indian Air Force, Indian Army, and Coast Guard.

Major Operations:

- **Operation Polo:** Operation Polo was the code name for the police action against the Princely State of Hyderabad in September 1948 by the newly independent republic of India. The Indian Army marched into Hyderabad following the outbreak of hostilities, overwhelming the Hyderabad military and annexed Hyderabad into the Indian Union.
- **Operation Vijay:** In the year 1999, **India and Pakistan signed the Lahore Agreement to mutually resolve the Kashmir issue in a peaceful manner. However,** the Pakistani troops began infiltrating toward the Indian side of the **Line of Control (LoC)** under **Operation Badr**, hoping to cut off Indian Troops in Siachen. **The Indian Army** responded by launching **Operation Vijay**.
- **Operation Black Tornado:** On **26 November 2008**, a series of terrorist attacks took place in Mumbai. Operation Black Tornado” was the code name given by **National Security Guard to the operation to tackle terrorist attacks.**
- **Operation Cactus:** Operation Cactus was an **Indian military operation carried out during the 1988 Maldives coup d'état attempt.** Executed on the morning of 13 April 1984 on the highest battlefield in the world, Op Meghdoot was the first military offensive of its kind. The operation was a success, and it dashed Pakistan’s hope of seizing the glacier in its entirety.
- **Operation Blue Star:** Carried out to remove religious leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and his followers from the buildings of the Harmandir Sahib complex in Amritsar, Punjab.
- **Operation Meghdoot:** It was launched on 13 April 1984; this military operation was the first assault launched in the highest battlefield in the world. The military action resulted in Indian troops gaining control of the entire Siachen Glacier.
- **Operation Viraat (1988):** It was an **anti-insurgency operation** launched by the IPKF against the LTTE in **April 1988 in Northern Sri Lanka.**
- **Operation Trishul (1988):** Along with Operation Viraat, was an **anti-insurgency operation launched by the IPKF against the LTTE in April 1988** in Northern Sri Lanka.
- **Operation Checkmate (1988):** It was an anti-insurgency operation carried out by the IPKF against the LTTE in the Vadamarachi area of northern Sri Lanka in June 1988.
- **Operation Madad (2018):** Indian Navy had launched Operation Madad, major rescue, and relief operation in flood-hit Kerala. The operation was launched to **assist state administration and undertake disaster relief operations** due to flooding in many parts of Kerala.
- **Operation Sankat Mochan (2016):** An operation of the Indian Air Force in view of 2016 Juba Clashes to evacuate Indian citizens and other foreign nationals from South Sudan during the South Sudanese Civil War.
- **Operation Insaniyat (2017):** A humanitarian assistance aimed to supply relief packages to Bangladesh for migrant Rohingya Muslims.
- **Operation Bandar (2019):** An airstrike carried out by IAF in response to the Pulwama terror attack on 14 February 2019 by a suicide bomber, killing 40 Indian soldiers.
- **Operation Pawan:** Operation Pawan was a **military operation undertaken in 1987 by the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) to take control of the Jaffna Peninsula** from the **Liberation**

Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The operation, though resulting in higher casualties for the Indian forces, ended in an IPKF victory.

- **Operation Raahat:** It was an operation of the Indian Armed Forces to evacuate Indian citizens and foreign nationals from Yemen during the 2015 military intervention by Saudi Arabia and its allies in that country during the Yemeni Crisis.
- **Operation All Out:** This is a joint offensive launched by Indian security forces in 2017 to flush out militants and terrorists in Kashmir until there is complete peace in the state. Operation All-Out includes the Indian Army, CRPF, Jammu and Kashmir Police, BSF and IB. It was **launched against numerous militant groups.**
- **Operation Ganga (2022):** The **Government of India** has launched a 'multi-pronged' initiative named '**Operation Ganga**'. It is an evacuation mission to **bring back all the Indian nationals who are currently stranded in Ukraine.**
- **Vande Bharat (2020):** Evacuations during Covid-19 pandemic: The Indian government initiated a massive evacuation programme titled the 'Vande Bharat Mission' on May 7, 2020
- **Operation Samudra Setu (2020):** It was a naval operation as part of the national effort to bring home Indian citizens from overseas **during the Covid-19 pandemic.** It successfully brought back 3,992 Indian citizens to their homeland by sea. **Indian Naval ships Jalashwa (Landing Platform Dock), and Airavat, Shardul and Magar (Landing Ship Tanks) participated in this operation.**
- **Operation Parakram:** launched in the wake of December 13, 2001, terrorist attack on Parliament, was the first full-scale mobilisation since the 1971 Indo-Pak war. It began on December 15, 2001 after the Cabinet Committee on Security's (CCS) decision and was completed on January 3, 2002.
- **Operation Rakshak:** In 2015, a conflict raged between the **Yemeni government and Houthi rebels.** Thousands of Indians were stranded and Yemen was not accessible by air due to a no-fly zone announced by Saudi Arabia. Under Operation Raahat, India **evacuated nearly 5,600 people from Yemen.**
- **Operation Calm Down:** The operation was started by the Indian army in **Jammu and Kashmir** following the **aftermath of the death of Burhan Wani in July 2016** which had led to unrest in Kashmir in which more than 90 civilians and 2 security personnel were killed and thousands injured.
- **Operation Sarp Vinash:** Operation Sarp Vinash (Snake Destroyer) was an operation undertaken by **Indian army to flush out terrorists who made bases in the Hilkaka Poonch-Surankot area of the Pir Panjal range in Jammu and Kashmir** during April–May 2003.
- **Operation Sadbhavana (Goodwill):** This is also referred to as Operation Goodwill has been launched in **Jammu and Kashmir** by the Indian Army under their **Military Civic Action programmes**, which are aimed at "**Winning the Hearts and Minds**" (**WHAM**) of the people in the region.
- **Operation Megh Rahat:** In September 2014, Jammu and Kashmir witnessed severe flooding in many areas. The rainfall and flooding resulted in people dying on both sides of the border.
- **Operation Maitri (2015):** It is the **joint relief and rescue operation by the Indian government and the Indian Armed forces in the aftershock of the 2015 Nepal earthquake.** The joint Army-Air Force operation brought over 5,000 Indians back from Nepal by Air Force and civilian planes. The Indian army successfully **evacuated 170 foreign nationals** from the US, the UK, Russia and Germany.
- **Operation Safe Homecoming (2011):** India launched 'Operation Homecoming' to **bring back Indian citizens stranded in conflict-torn Libya.** Under the operation, **India evacuated 15,400 Indian nationals.** The air-sea operation was conducted by the Indian Navy and Air India.
- **Operation Sukoon (2006):** As Israel and Lebanon broke into military conflict in July 2006, India rescued its stranded citizens by launching this operation, which is now famously known as **the 'Beirut Sealift'.** It was the **largest naval rescue mission** since the '**Dunkirk**' evacuation. The task force

evacuated about 2,280 people including some Nepalese and Sri Lankan nationals between 19th July and 1st August 2006.

- **Operation Devi Shakti:** The evacuation operation from Afghanistan in the backdrop of the Taliban's takeover of the country is known as "Operation Devi Shakti".

H206- Non- Aligned Movement (NAM)

NAM was created and **founded during the collapse of the colonial system and the independence struggles** of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and other regions of the world and at the height of the Cold War. During the early days of the Movement, its actions were a key factor in the decolonization process, which led later to the attainment of freedom and independence by many countries and peoples and to the founding of tens of new sovereign States.

Throughout its history, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries **has played a fundamental role in the preservation of world peace and security**. The Bandung Asian-African Conference is the most immediate antecedent to the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The Ten Principles of Bandung – NAM:

The principles that would govern relations among large and small nations, known as the "Ten Principles of Bandung", were **adopted as the main goals and objectives** of the policy of non-alignment. The fulfillment of those principles became the essential criterion for Non-Aligned Movement membership.

1. Respect of fundamental human rights and of the objectives and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
2. Respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
3. Recognition of the equality among all races and of the equality among all nations, both large and small.
4. Non-intervention or non-interference into the internal affairs of another -country.
5. Respect of the right of every nation to defend itself, either individually or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
6. A. Non-use of collective defense pacts to benefit the specific interests of any of the great powers.
B. Non-use of pressures by any country against other countries.
7. Refraining from carrying out or threatening to carry out aggression, or from using force

against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.

8. Peaceful solution of all international conflicts in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
9. Promotion of mutual interests and of cooperation.
10. Respect for justice and for international obligations.

Phases of NAM:

- The **First Summit** of Non-alignment was convened by the leaders of India, Indonesia, Egypt, Syria and Yugoslavia in 1961.
 - Its initial objective was to support the struggle for national independence and decolonization, thus gaining considerable diplomatic prestige.
- **1970s:** "non-alignment", turned into the "**Movement of Non-Aligned Countries**" that included nearly all Asian and African countries,
 - It became a forum of coordination to struggle for the respect of the economic and political rights of the developing world.
 - Algiers Conference in 1973 -> concept of a "**new international economic order**".
- **1980s:** NAM was facing the great challenge brought about by the near collapse of the socialist block.
 - The end of the clash between the **two antagonistic blocks that was the reason for its existence, name and essence** was seen by some as the beginning of the end for the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.
- **1990s:** NAM faced difficulties to act effectively in hegemonic and unipolar world with diverse interests of its members.
- Nevertheless, and in spite of such setbacks, the principles and objectives of non-alignment retain their full validity and force at the present international juncture.
 - The primary condition that led to the emergence of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, that is, non-alignment from

- antagonistic blocks, has not lost its validity with the end of the Cold War.
- The demise of one of the blocks has not done away with the pressing problems of the world. On the contrary, renewed strategic interests bent on domination grow stronger and, even, acquire new and more dangerous dimensions for underdeveloped countries.
 - During the 14th **NAM Summit in Cuba (2006)**, member countries reaffirmed their commitment to the ideals, principles and purposes upon which the movement was founded and with the principles and purposes enshrined in the United Nations Charter.
 - They also stressed the need to promote actively a leading role for the movement in the coordination of efforts among member states in tackling global threats.

Achievements of NAM:

- **Alternative to 'Bloc' politics:** NAM became a platform for countries who wanted to remain neutral and to not get embroiled in bloc politics. It prevented bipolarization of the world.
- **NIEO:** NAM gave the concept of “**new international economic order**”. It was a set of proposals advocated by developing countries to end economic colonialism and dependency through a new interdependent economy.
- **Decolonization:** NAM advocated for colonized countries' right of self-determination and end of all kinds of neo-colonialism. Due to this effort decolonization was completed.
- **End to racial discrimination:** NAM countries made bold calls to end all racial discrimination and apartheid in South Africa leading ultimately to the triumph of the African National Congress under the leadership of Nelson Mandela.
- **Strengthened the United Nations:** NAM countries coordinated their effort in UN and influenced the decisions of General Assembly.

Challenge faced by NAM (Why it is called marriage of convenience?)

- **Ideological challenge** to the concept of nonalignment. For example, Yugoslavia and Egypt became nonaligned and they defied the great

power blocs. But such an alignment of nations goes against the very concept of non-alignment.

- **Marriage of convenience:** NAM did not have any binding principles and that it was a marriage of convenience among disparate countries
- **Lack of Solidarity:** There was a lack of collective action and collective self-reliance. For example, only Cyprus and Ethiopia supported India during the India – China war.
- **Economic inequality:** non-establishment of an equitable international economic or information order.
- **Stand on Terror:** In the latest struggle against terror, NAM has not come to assist India in any way.
- **Human rights:** NAM countries themselves did not work on their human rights issues.
- **Multi-alignment:** In India, change in the course of NAM is visible after Nehru's death. India adopted a pragmatism approach under Indira Gandhi to opportunism after the dissolution of the former Soviet Union and the semi-alignment of today.

India's contribution to NAM

- **Founder member:** India's role in the formation and sustenance of the NAM has been immense. Pandit Nehru was not only one of the founding fathers of the Movement but, he was also the driving force behind the principles NAM came to stand for.
- **Leadership:** Non-violent freedom struggle, democratic credentials and solidarity with colonized countries turned India into one of the leaders of the NAM.
- **Decolonization:** India played an important role in the decolonization movements of colonies and newly independent countries that wanted to participate in the Non-Aligned Movement.
- **Opposed racial apartheid:** India opposed and placed economic sanction on South Africa for its apartheid policies and strengthened the principles NAM.
- **Equitable economic order:** India articulated the call for a new international economic order that would cater for the special needs of the developing countries.

- **Communications:** India articulated the call for a new world information and communication order to provide a greater voice for developing countries in global communications.
- **Conflict resolution:** India led the NAM effort to resolve the Iran-Iraq dispute.

Importance of NAM for India:

- **UNSC membership:** India is aiming for a permanent seat in the UNSC for which support of 120 NAM countries is important.
- **Soft power projection:** NAM can also help in building India's soft power. India's **Vaccine Maitri** initiative is mostly directed towards NAM countries
- **Moderator:** India is also the only country that can act as a moderator in NAM which remains divided between pro-US and pro-Russia factions.
- **Cooperation:** India can use NAM as a platform for South-South as well as North-South cooperation.
- **Multipolarity:** Multipolar world has always been the objective of Indian foreign policy. Thus, NAM is critical for India to become one of the poles and ensure balance of power.

Relevance of NAM for the contemporary world

A. Yes: (Significance)

- **Concept of 'non-alignment':** The quintessence of 'non-alignment' was freedom of judgment and action and it remained valid, whether there was one bloc or two.
- **New Cold War:** Those who say the NAM is a relic of the Cold War must also acknowledge that a new Cold War is beginning to unfold, this time between the US and China. This time in the form of BRI, Quad, trade war, increasing naval activity in the Indo-Pacific.
- **Check unilateral actions:** In a unipolar world, the chances of a single superpower going megalomaniac is much higher. In such a scenario, NAM can help check any such tendency.
- **Incomplete objectives:** Some of the objectives of NAM are still relevant such as:

world peace; nuclear non-proliferation; independent existence; etc.

- **South-South cooperation:** Uniqueness and complexities of problems in developing and least developed countries requires enhanced coordination among them. NAM can be the platform to develop the required third world solidarity and increasing South-South cooperation.
- **North-South cooperation:** Considering the rise of global threats such as climate change, terrorism, etc., NAM can promote global coordination by bridging the gap between North and South, enhancing North-South cooperation.
- **Alternative platform:** **Alternative platform:** It also provides an alternative platform for putting forward a different viewpoint especially for the developing countries. Example – views on climate change, SDG etc.

B. No: (Issues)

- **Achieved objectives:** Major objectives of NAM has been completed – decolonization, ending racial apartheid.
- **Failed disarmament:** NAM's campaign for universal nuclear disarmament is going nowhere. India has declared itself a nuclear power, while Iran may acquire nuclear weapons soon.
- **Multipolar world:** NAM is no longer relevant because of the changed international environment from bi-polar to unipolar and now multi polar.
- **Members have aligned:** Most of the NAM countries never remained non-aligned. NAM countries have diversified their network of relationships across the erstwhile east-west divide.
- **New regional groupings:** Emergence of new regional groupings like the G20, BRICS which have clearly laid down scope and objective of engagement and outcome overshadows NAM.

- **Contemporary issues:** NAM has no solution to pressing global problems like Covid pandemic, civil wars, Russia-Ukraine crisis.

Reforms needed:

- **Become an organization:** Should grow from a movement and become an organization; currently there's only a co-ordination centre at New York
- **Permanent secretariat:** Must have a permanent secretariat, and establish working groups to discuss common issues like poverty, climate change, terrorism, etc.

- **Resolve conflicts:** Resolution of disputes among the Third World countries particularly in West Asia and North Africa.
- **Purpose over ideology:** Should not be radicalized to turn into only an anti-West echo chamber, rather focus on achievable objectives.
- **Broad agenda:** Should not become hostage of foreign policy of host country. Its agenda should become broad.
- **Global governance:** The movement should reinvent itself by helping resolve contemporary issues of global governance, like climate change, terrorism, Agenda 2030.

Non-alignment 2.0:

In the report titled **Nonalignment 2.0**, foreign policy experts discuss India's strategic opportunities, identify the challenges and threats the country is likely to confront, and define a new version of nonalignment that they argue India should adopt as part of a strategy of enhancing its strategic autonomy in an uncertain world.

- **Unipolar world:** In the absence of bloc politics, nonalignment today will require managing complicated coalitions and opportunities in an environment that is not structurally settled.
- **Economic Focus:** This new version of the doctrine—while still striving for strategic autonomy—departs from its predecessor by viewing external strength as rooted in internal economic growth.
- **Set new standards:** India's big challenge will be to aim at not just being powerful but to set new standards for what the powerful must do, because in international relations, "idealism not backed by power can be self-defeating and power not backed by the power of ideas can be blind."
- **Values:** India's legitimacy in the world will come from its ability to stand for the highest human and universal values and at the global level.
- **International order:** India to become active managers of the emerging international order, not passive critics, and they see that order as changing fast.
- **Pakistan:** India should rapidly normalize its relations with Pakistan even if it persists in sponsoring terrorist attacks, freeing India to deal with the bigger problem of China.
- **China:** India will likely remain far weaker than its northern neighbour for some time, thus, India should develop 'asymmetric capabilities' to deal with it, putting in place the foundations for insurgencies in contested border territories should China invade and occupy them, and building up India's cyber and naval power.
- **Knowledge economy:** Nonalignment 2.0 calls for the Indian state to adapt and to take advantage of the new knowledge economy.
- **Internal challenges:** It acknowledges that the Indian state has too often abdicated its responsibility to many of its citizens, that security forces are often the 'predator', not the protector, and that agents of the state frequently fail to be impartial in social disputes. It calls for more conflict prevention and less conflict management.

NAM 1.0	NAM 2.0
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NAM 1.0 is a movement by newly decolonized countries. The objective was larger issues facing the Third World like colonization, apartheid, underdevelopment, economic inequality, etc. Here, India showed leadership, gave moral support to oppressed countries and strengthened its soft power. Internal challenges like security and governance were not the focus of NAM 1.0. It was about developing solidarity among newly decolonized countries. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NAM 2.0 is a policy recommendation. NAM 2.0 exclusively focuses on Indian foreign policy objectives and asks for reorientation of foreign policy. NAM 2.0 recommends India to develop hard power to deal with emerging challenges. It recognizes internal security and governance as an important factor in the rise of India. It points out China as the main threat to the rise of India.

NAM can turn out to be a **crucial platform to handle newer challenges** like the rise of protectionism; trade and technological wars; global crisis such as the pandemic; bringing reforms in the institutions of global governance; and changing world order with the retreat of US and 'not so peaceful' rise of China.

With non-alignment giving way to strategic alignment, NAM might seem irrelevant. However, it still **resonates with the ideology of many third world countries. NAM remains relevant but it needs a newer orientation.** The major countries in NAM such as India, Indonesia, Egypt, etc. must take the lead in reviving NAM and utilizing it in a less ideological and a more purposive manner.

H203- New World Order

We are living in abnormal times. The global liberal order is in an advanced state of meltdown. And as the world is rapidly shifting from a uni-polar to a multi-polar reality, the international system itself is exposed to profound instability.

The old global liberal order served as the bedrock of peace and stability since 1945. It was purposefully designed by the US and its western allies to prevent armed conflict and the economic nationalism that gave rise to it. It is composed of the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, the World Trade Organization etc.

The era of US hegemony is over. Instead, the world is shifting to a new multi-polar order with the US and China at its center. We need to restore and rebuild stable institutions and rules that acknowledge the changed context.

Is the World Order taking a churn?

Yes, Testimony to changing world order:

- **The world today is less structured and ordered:**
 - **Decline of US hegemony: (#Note: for details, please refer to the World order handout)**
 - The relative decline of the United States is not just because of the emergence of China, but also because

of significant rise of emerging powers such as India, South Korea in Asia; Nigeria and South Africa in Africa.

- Besides, there are existing centers of power which continue to wield significant economic and military power such as Japan, Australia, Germany, Russia and European Union.
- **Decline of the west and rise of the Rest:**
 - A shrinking West, avidly being colonized by the rest of the world, for example, its cities, London, Los Angeles, and Toronto, are rapidly becoming third world colonies.
- **Deglobalisation:**
 - There is an **upsurge in narrow nationalism and regionalisation of trade** across the world.
 - The technologies like AI, 3D printing etc., have made manufacturing less dependent on cheap labour in the developing world and on-shoring a viable option in some industries.
- **Shifting geopolitical and economic centres of gravity:**
 - Rise of China and others, have shifted the geopolitical and economic centres of gravity from the Atlantic to Asia.

Shifting the economic centre of gravity from the Atlantic to the Pacific area



Figure 1: Changing economic center of gravity.

No:

- **Though China's rise is splendid it is not in a position to dislodge the USA anytime soon** as it faces multiple challenges:
 - Internal challenges like in Tibet and Xinjiang.
 - Its economic growth is continuously slipping and it is no longer the world's fastest growing major economy.
 - China also faces a raft of demographic problems. Its working-age population is shrinking while its elderly population is exploding.
 - China's external difficulties are also formidable. Despite its commitment to achieving a "peaceful rise," its neighbours are far wavier of its rise.
- **Though there is relative decline of USA, yet it remains in the driving seat:**
 - Even though China may surpass US in economic terms, the **United States is far more capable of converting its resources into military might.**

- **What makes the United States a superpower is its ability to operate globally.**
 - It has "command of the commons"—that is, control over the air, space, and the open sea, along with the necessary infrastructure for managing these domains.
- **Multipolar order is yet to be born:**
 - Ukraine war has divides major powers into two blocs –Pro an against war however, some countries like India has taken a neutral stand.
 - This situation reminds us of the cold war era of two blocs and third being nonaligned.
 - Also, Ukraine war has united the western bloc which was falling apart few years back.

What is the New World Order?

- It is **neither unipolar, as it was after the end of the Cold War, nor yet multipolar.**
- It is **multipolar in making** however outcome of Ukraine war, recession threats in the west, China's internal challenges and India's rapid economic growth may decide the shape of future world order.

Asia's century- analysis.

"Asia's two largest powers will gain a structural centrality and importance that will make them critical global lynchpins. Expectant populations and vocal leaders are accelerating and underpinning this criticality, and—if the existential issues of environmental pollution and corruption can be overcome—herald the emergence of an Asian-centric, and China / India-centric, world order that will form of the essential basis of international affairs for many decades to come."- Chris Odgen.

What is meant by Asian century?

- The phrase Asian Century is attributed to a **1988 meeting between Deng Xiaoping of China and Prime minister Rajiv Gandhi of India** in which Deng said that in recent years people have been saying that the next century will be the century of Asia and the Pacific.
- The Asian Century is the **projected 21st-century dominance of Asian politics and culture**, on world stage.
- The concept of Asian Century **parallels the characterisation of the 19th century as Britain's Imperial Century, and the 20th century as the American Century.**

Why 21st century is said to be Asian century?

- **Economics:**
 - **A 2011 study by the Asian Development Bank** found that 3 billion Asians (so 56.6% of the estimated 5.3 billion total inhabitants of Asia by 2050) could enjoy living standards similar to those in Europe today, and the region could account for over half of global output by the middle of this century.
 - **Center of gravity of the global economy and geopolitics changed from Atlantic to Indo-pacific:**
 - Asia is **home to the second and third largest economies in the world**, namely, China and Japan.
 - **In PPP terms India is already the 3rd largest economy** in the world and it has recently **acquired at 5th place in nominal terms**.
 - In addition, there are **other substantial economies in South Korea, Australia, Taiwan and the ASEAN countries** as a whole.
 - **Today, 18 of the world's 25 largest container ports are in Asia, including all of the top eight**, while the largest US port, Los Angeles, is only ranked nineteenth.
- **Geopolitics:**
 - The global political position of China and to a lesser extent India has risen in international bodies and amongst the world powers, leading the United States and European Union to become more active in the process of engagement with these two countries.
- **Defence and Security:**
 - This **wealth is getting translated into military, political, and institutional influence** (via bodies such as the United Nations and the new Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank) etc.
 - **Cluster of major Asian powers also deploys a formidable array of security capabilities**, in particular maritime capabilities, though still modest in comparison to US military presence in the region.
- **Favorable Demographics:**
 - Population growth in Asia is expected to continue through at least the first half of the 21st century, though it has slowed significantly since the late 20th century.
- **Culture/Soft power:**
 - The awareness of Asian cultures may be a part of a much more culturally aware world.
 - Equally, the affirmation of Asian cultures affects the identity politics of Asians in Asia and outside in the Asian diasporas.
 - Asian cuisine is quite popular in the West. Even small towns in Britain, Canada, Scandinavia, or the United States generally have at least one Indian or Chinese restaurant.
 - Yoga has gained popularity outside India and the rest of Asia and has entered mainstream culture in the Western world.

Is the “Asian Century” over before it began? (Challenges and issues)

There exists another side of the story too. Despite enormous progress, growth and modernisation, Asia still struggles with enormous problems like:

- **Asia's growth is not guaranteed.**
 - For example, except India no other major economy is growing above 5%.
 - Japan's generation-long stagnation is perhaps the best-known example, but when China's stock market crashed in the summer of 2015, hollowness in Chinese growth story started emerging.
 - **Growing inequality within countries**, in which wealth and opportunities are confined to the upper echelons. This could undermine social cohesion and stability.
 - **Many Asian countries will not be able to make the necessary investments in infrastructure, education and government policies** that would help them avoid the Middle-Income Trap.
 - **Intense competition for finite natural resources**, such as land, water, fuel or food, as newly affluent Asians aspire to higher standards of living.
 - Uneven development, asset bubbles, malinvestment, labour issues and state control over markets are just some of the features of economic risk in the Asia-Pacific. And **because Asian economies are increasingly interlinked, problems in one country spill over to others.**
- **Global warming and climate change**, which could threaten agricultural production, coastal populations, and numerous major urban areas.
- **Internal challenges:**
 - Crisis of political confidence in major countries like China, Japan etc.
- **Geopolitical rivalry:**
 - There are **no mechanisms for mitigating such deep antipathy**, certainly between major players such as India and China or Japan and Korea.
 - A nation like China is all too ready to threaten economic or political action in response to their antagonists.
 - The **immediate cause of rising insecurity is simple: as China has grown stronger**, it has become more assertive, even coercive.
- **Rampant corruption**, which plagues many Asian governments.
- **Aging Population:**
 - Most of Asia's developed countries, including Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore, are facing or will soon face unprecedented demographic drops. China's one-child policy and horrendous environmental pollution will also bring a population decline in the world's most populous nation.
 - The direct impact of an aging population on continuous economic development e.g., declining labour force, change of consumption patterns, strain on public finances.

Recent events like Galwan clash, Taiwan and Hong Kong issue, resentment against communist party of China within Chinese population and slowing economic growth in the wake of Covid 19 pandemic indicates that the "Asian century" may not turn out to be an era when Asia imposes a peaceful order on the world, when freedom continues to expand, or where the region remains the engine of global economic growth. What it imposes may instead be conflict and instability.

Multipolar World / Multilateralism

Co-existence of multi-polar world with the combination of both East and West is what the 21st century world order is heading to. - **Fareed Zakaria**.

With the continuous development of countries in their various sectors of hard and soft power, there is the emergence of a multi-polar world order. **In such a system, each country thrives to exert dominance** in its neighborhood while checking the advancement of its hostile partners.

Indications & reasons

- Countries like Russia and Iran are perpetually searching for ways to decrease their dependence on adversarial powers, reducing their vulnerability to economic pressures like sanctions while allowing them to pursue their national interests more aggressively.
- Globalization has dramatically increased powers of countries like China and India.

Note: For more points refer the subpart - Testimony to changing world order, given in 1st question of this handout + US hegemony and Evolution part of World order handout.

Significance of multipolar world order.

- **It serves desperately felt global needs** of the vast membership.
 - For example, the pandemic has reinforced the desire for greater global cooperation amongst most states.
- **To tackle global issues:** On myriad issues, from sustainable development to the environment, from climate change to pandemics and cyberspace to outer space, robust multilateral engagements only can find acceptable and implementable solutions.
- The 'plurilaterals' and the emerging 'minilaterals' each have their place in terms of international agenda setting, but **global norm setting requires an inclusivity** that they lack.
- **Leads to Peace and avoids conflicts:** as no single country can take unilateral action.
- **Promotes inclusiveness and equity** as decisions by majority or consensus take every country's concern into account.

#Note: above content can be used for significance of multilateralism.

Challenges to multipolar world order.

The challenges in the attainment of robust multilateralism and global governance are clear and include:

- **Revisionist China and Russia's Ukraine adventurism:**
 - Chinese aggression and attempts of expansionism along with Russia's annexation of Ukraine may push world into two distinct blocs hence **leading to lose bipolar system.**
- **Fears of China led Unipolar world order:**
 - **China's economy overtaking America's in PPP terms** has further strengthened the judgment that a "power transition" is underway between the two countries.
 - **China's economy is on track to become the world's biggest.**
 - **Beijing has used its new wealth to attract friends, deter enemies, modernize its military,** and aggressively assert sovereignty claims in its periphery.
 - **China is defining the geopolitics of the region.**
 - It took a stand on Syria and is active in efforts for stabilising Afghanistan.
 - Its belt and Road initiative has reflected its attempt towards establishing its own area of influence.
 - Setting up of institutions like AIIB is reflective of IMF and World Bank, led by USA.
 - **China is the leading trade partner of more than 125 countries and has surpassed**

USA as the world's biggest trading country.

- It is increasingly investing in regions like Africa and Latin America, acquiring ports and bases around the world and enjoys a comfortable currency reserve.
- Renminbi has also been included in the IMF SDR basket.
- All this reflects increasing Chinese clout across the globe and a belief

that China may surpass US as most powerful force in global politics.

- **Liberal Western powers like Germany and France lack the resources:** and political unity to fill the void created by the isolationist and unilateral rhetoric and behavior emanating from the United States.
 - In Europe, fighting between E.U. member states are obstructing badly-needed reform.

Multilateralism

- Multilateralism, is the **form of membership in international institutions**, serves to bind powerful nations, discourage unilateralism, and gives small powers a voice and influence that they could not otherwise exercise.

Challenges to multilateralism:

- **Populist, nationalist, and isolationist ideologies of global leaders:** for example, America first policy of USA.
- **Obsolete mechanisms and workings of multilateral organisations:** for example, non-inclusivity of UNSC, issues with dispute redressal system of the WTO etc.
- **Polarising world order and lack of consensus-building:**
 - on pertinent issues due to the importance given to relative gains in the international sphere.

Way forward to ensure multilateralism

- **Tackle isolationist tendencies:**
 - Western governments will need to educate their voters on the importance of foreign policy effectively, and the role it plays in supporting domestic tranquility, rather than giving into xenophobic rhetoric and nativist policies to appease voters.
- **Rebuild Trust in Multilateral Institutions:**
 - Reform of these global organizations should be a matter of priority. It is more important than ever that they be more inclusive and totally transparent, reduce

bureaucratic friction, and walk their own talk.

- **Focus on Results:**
 - Multilateralism is based on the idea that common problems are best solved by collective action that generates benefits for every country.
 - To ensure that, there is a **need for fewer self-important conferences and more on-the-ground projects. It means fewer “generals” and more “foot soldiers.”** It requires a relentless focus on results that change people's lives.

The fabric of international cooperation, painstakingly woven over the past 70 years, is beginning to unravel. In

1918 and again in 1945, war-traumatized countries said, “Never again.” It is incumbent on all of us to redouble our

efforts to ensure that dialogue trumps division, and that cooperation beats conflict.

Mini-lateralism meaning and significance

Meaning:

- Minilaterals refer to **informal and more targeted initiatives** intended to address a “**specific threat, contingency or security issue with fewer states** (usually three or four) sharing the same interest for resolving it within a finite period of time.”
- **Certain features are frequently associated with minilaterals:**
 - They have a **small number of participants**, they are **ad hoc**, and their **outcomes and commitments are voluntary** in nature.
 - **In contrast, multilateralism** is defined as a “formal effort by three or more states to build trust and avoid conflict by identifying, institutionalizing and **observing rules and norms for a common vision of regional or international order.**”

Examples:

- **Quad, AUKUS** in the Indo-Pacific.
- **India-U.S.-Japan trilateral** and also an **India-Australia-Indonesia** trilateral is taking shape.
- **I2U2, RIC** etc.

Factors responsible for the rise of Minilaterals:

- **Smaller partnerships can focus on specific mutual objectives** and goals thus, **it is easier to strike convergence in interests.**
- **Strategic rationale:**
 - For example, the **India-France-Australia trilateral** is a natural fit for all three because of their stake in ensuring a free, open and inclusive Indo-Pacific order.
- **Moving beyond uncertainties created by certain partners:**
 - Partners of larger groupings might find it in their interest to move **to smaller partnerships to overcome uncertainties created by specific partners.**
 - For example- unpredictability of American policies.
- **Trilaterals are an effective way to discuss emerging issues** in a flexible manner without establishing rigid commitments and going through lengthy formal negotiations.
- **Overcoming challenges pertaining to multilateralism and multilateral institutions:**
 - **Polarization and ideological infighting:** Multilateral institutions/groupings are often led by a few influential leaders. This increases the probability of creating fissures on the lines of differences in ideologies or particular issues, which leaves little or no space for addressing individual standpoints.
 - **Reverse globalization and rise in protectionist tendencies:** Countries have started looking inwards and find it difficult to cooperate on multilateral platforms beyond their national interests.
 - **Institutional sclerosis:** It is a phenomenon where institutions fail to adapt and change at a sufficient pace. Existing Multilateral institutions are facing difficulties to address new and emerging global challenges such as climate change, data privacy, cyber security etc.

#Note: Above content can be used as a Significance of minilateralism.

Issues with minilaterals:

- They are **not holistic solutions** in ensuring global acceptance of norms.
- **Global norm setting requires an inclusivity that they lack.**
-

Changing World Order - a threat or an opportunity for India.

Opportunity for India:

- **Building Issue-based Coalitions:**
 - Several middle powers such as Japan, Australia are India's natural partners on broader issues such as climate change, counter-terrorism and maritime security, therefore, it should be possible for India to create larger issue-based coalitions with them.
- **Focusing on maritime security:**
 - As global attention has shifted to Indo-Pacific world is looking towards India as a possible balancer to China in Indo pacific region and hence increasing their naval cooperation. For example, Malabar Exercise was attended by Australia.
 - **India is getting access to many key ports of the region.** For example, India is developing its maiden deep-sea port in Indonesia's Sabang close to Andaman and Nicobar Islands.
- **To reinvigorate regional institutions** such as SAARC:
 - to project India to be the primary source of both prosperity and security in the subcontinent and the Indian Ocean Region.
- **Internal balancing or Self-Reliance:**
 - Growing uncertainty related to world order would force India to correct internal issues like- 2nd generation economic reforms,

reducing dependence on world at least in critical areas like – defence, semiconductors, etc.

- **Global manufacturing hub:**
 - India could benefit from the relocation of existing supply chains from China to India specially in the post covid world order.
- **Best of all world:**
 - India by remaining neutral can benefit from both the blocs with her strategic autonomy policy:
 - For example, India got waivers from USA with respect to S400 missile system, India is importing cheap oil from Russia however at the same time there is increasing security congruence with the U.S. could enable cooperation in fields significant for India's transformation: energy, trade, investment, education and health etc.

Threat for India:

- **Rise of China and fear of Unipolar world.**
 - If China takes the place of USA as a world hegemon, then India would be the first casualty as both are fighting for territory – north and east border of India, influence- China is making rapid strides in India's own backyard – South Asia.
- **Increasing China- Pak- Russia axis:**

- Russia due to its dependence on China and need of finding new buyers may restrict her in future in backing India on International for a specially in UNSC.
- **Declining multilateralism:**
 - It affects India's interest specially in institutions like WTO where terms of Agreement on Agriculture are implicitly favoring developed countries.
- **Balancing different relations may become difficult hence ultimately straining relations with few.** For example, India had to abide by US sanctions on Iran and reduce oil imports to zero.

India's vision of new world order

- **India's idea of a future world order has a polycentric construct**, in which multiple actors with disparate political systems, cultural traditions and economic interests forge interdependent relations, in the absence of hegemonic polarities.
 - Thus, India has pursued a policy of building multiple alignments – the G20, BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), and the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), even as it seeks a permanent seat at the UN Security Council.
- **Democratise global institutions of governance:**
 - **Reforms of global institutions** such as the UN, World Bank and IMF in order to make them more relevant and reflective of the 21st century political and economic realities.
- **Ensuring and maintaining balance of power: (Multipolar world)**
 - It has also played a key role in raising non-Western institutional alternatives, such as the New Development Bank (NDB) and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB).

Thus, India seeks partnerships with all the relevant actors in the world, while avoiding overly close ties with big powers or blocs.

- **Tradition of the Middle Path.**
- **Human-centric globalization.**

India's approach to deal with new world order.

- **Strategic autonomy:**
 - Strategic autonomy denotes the ability of a state to pursue its national interests and adopt its preferred foreign policy without being constrained in any manner by other states.
 - It is **necessary for independent judgement**, developing our capacities, and creating an equitable and enabling international order for India's transformation.
- **All alignment:**
 - It also believes in **forging de-hyphenated relations among rival countries** and strategic groupings, even in the most fraught and conflict-ridden regions of the world, such as West Asia.
- **Uphold the global good:** To ensure her core principle- Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam. For example, Vaccine Maitri initiative.

The world order continues to remain unjust, inequitable and unfair to the interests of the overwhelming majority of nations of the world. It continues to serve the interests of the dominant powers and works inexorably against those of the weaker nations. Thus, it is in India's self-interest as well as its moral obligation to actively work for changing the status quo and establishing a new world order.

The next order will be more complex and potentially more precarious, but that is the brave new world we face.

H208- Miscellaneous Dimensions of Education

“If your plan is for one year, plant rice. If your plan is for ten years, plant trees. If your plan is for one hundred years, educate children.”

-Confucius.

Education not only helps in the upliftment of individuals but also acts as **an integrative force in society, imparting values that foster social cohesion and national identity.** Considering this importance, Government of India has brought National Education Policy 2020 which is visionary and reflective of changing needs of the society and a nation.

Before 1976, education was the exclusive responsibility of the states. However, the Constitutional Amendment of 1976 included education in the **Concurrent List.**

Significance of Education in our lives

- Education **develops human personality, thoughts,** dealing with others and prepares people for life experiences.
- Education **polishes our mind, reinforces our thoughts, and strengthens our character** and behaviors toward others.
- Education helps us to achieve **a good status in society.** As educated people, we are considered a valuable source of knowledge for our society.
- Education **gives us the chance of having a good career in our life.** In other words, opportunities for better employment can be easier. The highly educated we are the better chance we get.
- Education **makes us a role model** in society when our people need us to guide them to the right way or when they want to take a decision.
- Education **raises people’s productivity and creativity** and promotes entrepreneurship and technological advances.
- It helps to **ensure that a country is competitive in world markets** now characterized by changing technologies and production methods.

- Education is **indispensable to economic development.** A holistic education system promotes not only economic development, but productivity, and gradually increases per capita income and as the per capita income increases, the state’s tax base also increases giving more fiscal space to states.
- Thus, ultimately education remains a **foundation of development of any country.**

What is the National Curriculum Framework?

National Curriculum Framework is a system of education that is developed keeping in mind the geographical and cultural diversity as well as social environment.

The key goals of the 2005 National Curriculum Framework were:

- To **promote a wholesome development of the child** encompassing the academic, emotional, physical, and emotional aspects.
- To enable the students **to develop intellectual quotient** by providing them varied opportunities.
- To **make the environment conducive to quality learning** where the students would be encouraged to participate in various activities.
- To **foster creative thinking skills** by facilitating different activities and giving the liberty to express individual thoughts within the class.
- In response to **multi-cultural attributes,** the schools must ensure no student is discriminated against based on caste or religion, and social status.

The NEP 2020 aims to devise four National Curriculum Frameworks (NCFs), for which a comprehensive strategy has been worked out jointly by the Ministry of Education (MoE) and NCERT. A mandate document was released recently to bring about a paradigm shift in education with focus on holistic development of children, emphasis on skilling, vital role of teachers, learning in mother tongue, cultural rootedness.

- National Curriculum Framework for Early Childhood Care and Education (NCFECCE)
- National Curriculum Framework for School Education (NCFSE)
- National Curriculum Framework for Teacher Education (NCFTE)
- National Curriculum Framework for Adult Education (NCFAE)

K. Kasturirangan to head panel to develop new curriculum framework. The NSFs will be **finalized by 2024**.

Medical Education in India

Why Indian students pursue medical education abroad?

- India **does not have enough seats in government colleges** to accommodate all the students who clear the test.
 - In NEET 2021, as per a National Testing Agency press release, **16.1 lakh students registered for the exam**, 15.4 lakh students appeared for the test, and **8.7 lakh students qualified**.
- **Exorbitant fees in private colleges in India:** Foreign countries offer medical education at a cheaper rate compared to India with same or even better quality.
 - Countries like Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, China, Russia and the Philippines, which see an influx of Indian medical students, have colleges with a minimum fee for a course—MBBS, for instance (4.5-year course plus 1-year internship)—that is **two to four times lower than what it costs in India**.
- The **desire to study medicine** holds a lot of value in the Indian community. While it retains the **prestige of an honourable profession**, there is a great deal of aspirational zeal in taking up medicine.
- The **lack of equal opportunities exacerbated by the caste factor** in the Indian context also prompts lower caste people especially when they can afford medical studies abroad.
- Additionally, these **colleges are also not distributed evenly across the country**, with States such as Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala having many more colleges.
- In India the **disparities in income of doctors, and others**, like nurses and allied health professionals, is also a key factor in making an MBBS degree alluring.

What are the issues associated (issues other than mentioned in previous question) with Medical Education in India? What are the consequences of these issues?

- **Demand-Supply mismatch:** There is a serious demand-supply mismatch as well as inadequate seats in terms of population norms.
 - 2018 Parliamentary Standing Committee report à a **sub-optimum doctor-population ratio of 1:1655 in India** as against the WHO norms of 1:1000.
 - The deficiency is more pronounced in rural areas.
- **Quality:** It is **highly variable and poor in most medical colleges**, irrespective of the private-public divide.
- **Dubious research work:** Research activities in most Indian medical colleges are generally **not natural; often they are forced** or undertaken for the purpose of promotion or mandatory PG dissertation.
 - Many of the **publications are out of synthesized data, duplication of existing work**, or don't generate any practically useful results.
 - Since many **private institutions run on "for-profit" mode, they generally don't invest in research as they are expensive** and yield no financial returns.
- **Faculty-related issues:** The government's initiative to open new medical colleges has run into a serious faculty crunch.
 - **Issues of quality:** Many colleges tend to appoint faculties merely based on their qualifications without assessing competence, attitude, or aptitude.
 - The Medical Council of India (MCI) did try to address many of the earlier loopholes of **ghost faculty and corruption**. It introduced the requirement of publications

- for promotions to improve the academic rigor of faculty. But this has resulted in the mushrooming of journals of dubious quality.
- **Faculty salaries** in many states' government-run and private colleges are low and private practice is common. This ruins the academic atmosphere.
 - **Role of Middle-man:** As soon as one registers with a coaching agency or the NEET results are out, aspirants are bombarded with offers from agencies ensuring seats in Nepal, Mauritius, Ukraine, Russia, China and so on.
 - **Low rate of passing foreign medical graduate examination:** the Foreign medical graduate examination has a pass rate of 15 per cent.
 - **Corporatization and lack of adequate specialization:**
 - If the health sector is treated like a service industry with a profit motive, medical education provides human resources — like business managers.
 - The increasing need for specialization, with students having to prove their worth at every level, is becoming a scourge for the new entrants to the system.
 - This explains the decline in attraction for the MBBS among a section of students.
- What steps have been taken by the Government to improve medical education in India?**
- **Institutional Reform:** The biggest step has been the establishment of the **National Medical Commission (NMC)** by replacing **MCI**.
 - **Ensuring the Availability of Doctors and Specialists:**
 - Against 381 medical colleges in 2014, today there are 562 medical colleges, i.e., an increase of 48%.
 - The number of UG seats have increased by 56% and number of PG seats have increased by 80% as compared to 2014.
 - **Pradhan Mantri Swasthya Suraksha Yojana (PMSSY):**
 - The PMSSY is based on **ensuring the three Es i.e., Expand-Equity-Excellence**.
 - The scheme **aims at correcting regional imbalances in the availability of affordable and reliable tertiary healthcare services and augmenting facilities for quality medical education** in the under-served States.
 - A **total of 21 new AIMS have been started**, out of which MBBS classes have commenced in 18 AAIMS.
 - **Quality: Promoting High Standards:**
 - **Skill Lab:** The new standards for the opening of medical colleges envisage a **skill laboratory in every medical institution**.
 - **New competency-based curriculum:** 'Competency-based Undergraduate Curriculum for the Indian Medical Graduate' has been introduced.
 - **Emergency Medicine Department:** All the medical colleges will have emergency medicine departments by 2022.
 - **Affordability - Regulation of Fee:** The National Medical Commission (NMC) Act has the provision to regulate fees and all other charges in 50% of the seats in private medical colleges and deemed universities.
 - **Meritocracy: One Country, One Exam**
 - **NEET:** In 2016, a common entrance test-National Eligibility cum Entrance Test (NEET) was introduced, which ensured 'one country, one examination, one merit' system and a common counselling system.
 - a) This allowed students from anywhere in India an **opportunity to study in any medical college in the country** based on merit.
 - b) They were also spared from appearing in multiple entrance tests and the related stress thereof.
 - **National Exit Test (NEXT):** To gauge the standards of competence and knowledge of students passing the MBBS exam NEXT has been proposed under the NMC Act.
 - **Community Health Providers:** To address the low number of doctors in rural areas.

- a) The NMC Act provides for Community Health Providers (CHPs), who would be the health providers connected with modern scientific medical profession with limited right to practice medicine and prescribing medicine in primary and preventive care.
- **To improve access in Rural and Peripheral Areas:**
 - **Location of Medical Colleges:** locating new medical colleges in backward districts. For example, Of the 157 new colleges that are being opened under the Centrally Sponsored Scheme, 39 are coming up in the Aspirational districts.
 - **Diploma Courses by NBE:** In order to meet the shortfall of specialists, the National Board of Examinations (NBE) has launched 2 years diplomas in eight disciplines.

What further steps are required to deal with issues in medical education in India?

- A mere increase in the number of seats won't be sufficient, the **quality of doctors has to be increased** by proper education and assessment methods.
- At the same time, India **needs more specialists**. The **public-private partnership (PPP) model should help produce more specialists** in the time to come.
- **NITI Aayog:** proposed a **rapid scale-up of seats by converting district hospitals into medical colleges** using a private-public partnership model. However, the following two safeguards are needed before moving with this proposal:
 - **a functional regulatory framework**, and **a good public-private model**.
- **Subsidizing medical education**, even in the private sector, or looking at **alternative ways of financing medical education for disadvantaged students**.
- **Regular quality assessments** of medical colleges, and reports should be available in the public domain.

- **Promote innovative ideas:** for example, **foreign teachers or appointing scientist teachers** in non-clinical or clinical disciplines.
- **Periodically renew the license to practice.**

Internationalization of Higher Education

What steps have been taken by the government to increase foreign education in India?

In line with the recommendations of National Education Policy (NEP), 2020, several measures have been initiated to strengthen Internationalization of Higher Education, such as:

- The **Centre in its Union Budget 2022** announced that **world-class foreign universities will be allowed to offer courses** in financial management, fintech, science, technology, engineering and mathematics in Gujarat International Finance Tec-City or GIFT City, free from domestic regulations.
- **Guidelines on Internationalization of Higher Education were notified by UGC in 2021** that includes provisions like:
 - **setting up of Office for International Affairs and Alumni Connect Cell** in the campus of universities hosting foreign students.
 - 179 Universities have established Office for International Affairs and 158 Universities have set up Alumni Connect Cells.
- **To foster academic collaboration between Indian HEIs and foreign HEIs:**
 - "University Grants Commission (Academic Collaboration between Indian and Foreign Higher Educational Institutions to offer Twinning, Joint Degree and Dual Degree Programmes) Regulations, 2022" have been notified on 2nd May, 2022.
- **World-class foreign universities and institutions will be allowed in the GIFT City**, Gujarat to offer courses in Financial Management, FinTech, Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics free from domestic regulations to facilitate availability of high-end human resources for financial services and technology.

- The government has allowed **Institutions of Eminence to set up Off-Shore campuses.**
- **Draft regulations by the International Financial Services Centres Authority (IFSCA),** for establishment of International Branch Campuses (IBC) and Offshore Education Centres (OEC) by foreign universities/institutions in the GIFT IFSC.
- **AICTE issued guidelines in 2016 to increase synergies between Indian and Foreign Universities.**

What is the significance of allowing foreign institutes to set up campuses in India?

- The new entrants **will bring in best practices** of global education to India, leading to Indian universities also improving their standards.
- **May prevent student hardships and overseas spending:** Indian students who travel abroad for quality education will be able to find such options within the country.
 - High number of Indian students opting for higher education abroad grew from 440,000 in 2016 to 770,000 in 2019 and is set to grow further to roughly 1.8 million by 2024, **resulting in an increased overseas spending on higher education.** (Study from Redseer firm)
- May help make India the **hub of education** and may attract students from across the globe.
- **Improve the standard of Indian universities:** due to increased collaboration between Indian and foreign universities, particularly in two key areas—liberal education and research.
- Allowing foreign universities **will increase competition for Indian universities** which in turn will further improve teaching-learning outcomes with more focus on research.
- **Savings in crucial foreign exchange of India:**
 - A recent report by consulting firm Redseer estimated that Indian students' overseas spending is set to grow from current annual \$28 billion to \$80 billion annually by 2024.
- This will **also increase India's Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in higher education**

which is currently just 27.1%, among the world's lowest.

- Subsequently, it will **help retain the best of Indian talent by controlling the problem of brain drain.**
 - More than eight lakh Indians gave up their citizenship in the last seven years.
- Finally, opening the door for foreign universities **can improve India's soft power** as it will provide further **impetus to the government's Study in India programme** that seeks to attract foreign students.

Mid-day Meal Scheme

What is the Mid-day Meal Scheme?

On 28 November 2001, the Supreme Court of India passed a mandate stating, "We direct the State Governments/Union Territories to implement the Mid-Day Meal Scheme by providing every child in every Government and Government assisted Primary School with a prepared midday meal."

Mid-day meal (MDM) is a **wholesome freshly-cooked lunch served to children in government and government-aided schools** in India.

The scheme covers about 11.80 crore children studying in 11.20 lakh schools across the country.

Aims and objectives of the scheme:

- avoid classroom hunger.
- increase school enrolment.
- increase school attendance.
- improve socialization among castes.
- address malnutrition.
- empower women through employment.

What is the significance of the midday meal scheme? Highlight challenges faced in its implementation and way forward.

- **Reduction in malnutrition:** A Study titled **"Intergenerational nutrition benefits of India's national school feeding program"** was published in Nature Communications. **Key Findings of the Study:**
 - The study has found that the midday meal scheme was associated with **13-32% of the improvement in the height-for-age scores in India between 2006 and 2016.**

- Girls who had access to free lunches provided at government schools had **children with a higher height-to-age ratio** than those who did not.
- Moreover, the **linkages between midday meals and lower stunting** in the next generation were stronger in the lower socio-economic strata.
- **Predictable support and the lifeline for millions of schoolchildren** in the country and has a significant impact on the children's daily diet.
- **Empowerment of girl child:** Earlier girls were at greater risk of not being in school or of being taken out of school early, which lead to poor nutrition and health for themselves and their children. MDM has increased the enrollment and retention rate of girls.
- **Increased enrolment and hence literacy:** MDM provides an incentive for the parents to send and keep their children to school. This has **reduced child labour practices** and the involvement of girls in household chores at an early age.
- **Reduction in child marriages:** Midday meal scheme has extended age of marriage of girl child due to schooling and education of girl child.
- **Leads to unity and brotherhood:** it can increase the feeling of oneness and brotherhood blurring discriminatory lines of caste and religion.
- in many schools, children are made to sit separately according to their caste status, also many instances of food from lower caste cook being refused are reported.
- **Review report on MDM by MHRD:**
 - **Around 63 per cent of schools in the state still use firewood** for cooking, instead of the preferred LPG.
 - The report has also slammed the state education department for **poor coverage of the scheme.**
- **Corrupt Practices:** There have been instances of
 - **Plain chapatis being served with salt, mixing of water in milk** etc. (Uttar Pradesh)
 - **One litre of milk being mixed in a bucketful of water** so that it would suffice for the more than 80 children. (Uttar Pradesh)
 - Oil used for cooking the meal was stored in a can that originally carried a pesticide.

The bottom line is that the scheme is perceived as charity, not a civic responsibility.

The following steps are taken by governments at various levels to improve implementation and effectiveness of the scheme:

- The scheme is **proposed to be extended to students studying in pre-primary or Bal Vatikas** of Government and Government-aided primary schools in addition to all the 11.80 crore children from elementary classes.
- The **concept of TithiBhojan will be encouraged** extensively.
 - TithiBhojan is a community participation programme in which people provide special food to children on special occasions/festivals.
- Development **School Nutrition Gardens** in schools to give children first-hand experience with nature and gardening.
 - The harvest of these gardens is used in the scheme providing additional micro nutrients.
 - SNGs have already been developed in more than 3 lakh schools.

Challenges with MDM:

The following challenges are associated with MDM:

- There are cases of **bad food, leading to food poisoning.**
 - **2015 CAG report:**
 - a) Around 97 per cent of the samples of the food being served under the scheme in Mumbai schools over the past five years failed to meet the standards.
- There are reports about **cheating.**
 - For example, **66 per cent of the 269 selected schools did not provide cooked meals on all school days** between 2010 and 2015.
- There are also incidences of **caste bias and discrimination.**

- **Social Audit** of the scheme is **made mandatory** in all the districts.
- Special provision is made for providing **supplementary nutrition items to children in aspirational districts** and districts with high prevalence of Anemia.
- **Cooking competitions** will be encouraged at all levels right from village level to national level **to promote ethnic cuisine and innovative menus** based on locally available ingredients and vegetables.
- **Vocal for Local for Atmanirbhar Bharat: Involvement of FPOs and Women SHGs** in implementation of the scheme will be encouraged. Use of locally grown traditional food items for a fillip to local economic growth will be encouraged.
- **Field visits for progress monitoring and inspections** will be facilitated for students of eminent Universities / Institutions and also trainee teachers.

Way forward:

- The menu, the cook’s remuneration, the infrastructure — they all show the value India places upon its children. Thus, **to ensure accountability and reduce the burden on teachers of extra activities contracts can be given to NGOs** to supply quality food in schools.
- **Innovative ways** can be adopted like **asking children to keep a weekly record of what they eat or using this record to monitor the weekly intake** of different nutrients.

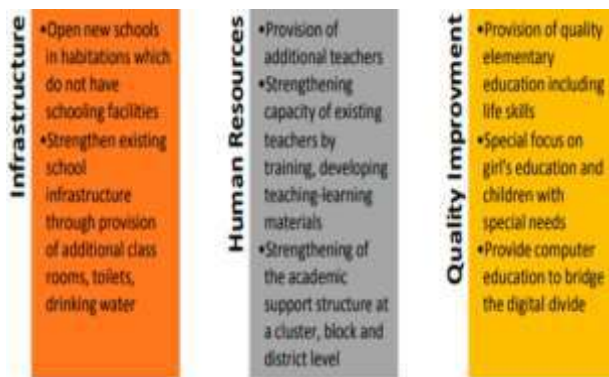
Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan

What is Sarva Siksha Abhiyan programme?

- Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan is Gol’s **flagship programme for achievement of Universalization of Elementary Education (UEE)** in a time bound manner, as mandated by **86th amendment** to the Constitution of India making free and compulsory Education to the Children of 6-14 years age group, a Fundamental Right.
- The SSA has been operational since 2000-2001.

- Currently, through SSA around **192 million children of 1.1 million habitations** are served.

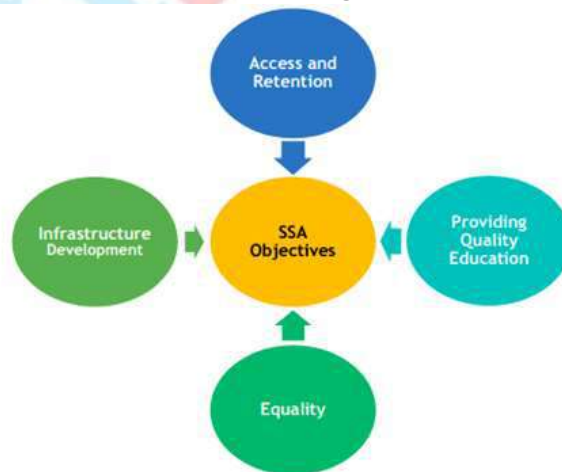
Aim of the Scheme:



Objective of the Scheme:

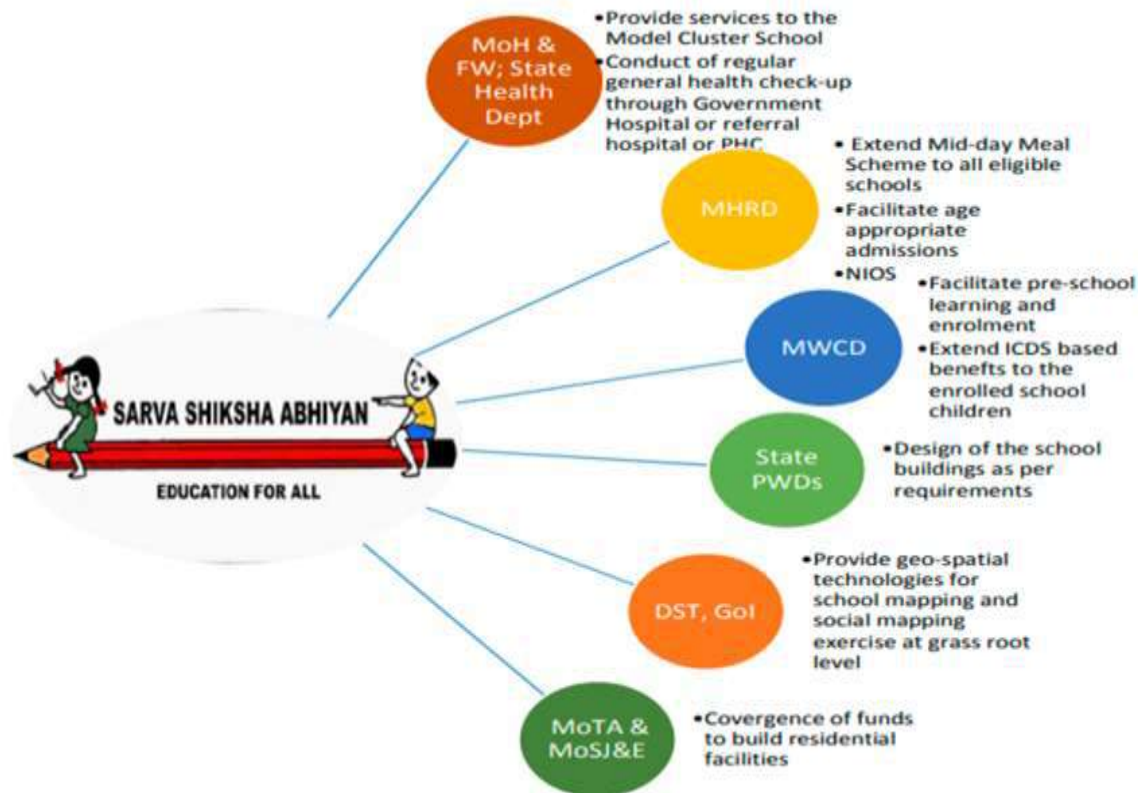
Its overall goals include:

- **Universal access and retention,**
- **Bridging gender and social category gaps** in education and
- **Enhancement of learning levels** of Children.



Convergence of Different Ministries & Schemes:

Convergence of programmes and interventions of other Ministries/Departments is a core principle in implementing SSA for achieving its objective. It is shown below:



What are the various programmes/ components covered under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan?

Sub-programmes under SSA:

- **Padhe Bharat Badhe Bharat (2014):**
 - It seeks to improve the reading and writing skills of Class I and Class II children and their mathematics skills. It aims to help children understand the joys of reading and writing from a real-life perspective.
 - This programme is planned in a twin-track approach, which is as follows:
 - a) To improve children’s language development through generating interest in writing and reading with comprehension, and
 - b) To create a positive and natural interest in mathematics related to the social and physical world.
- **The Rashtriya Avishkar Abhiyan (RAA):**
 - It was launched by Late Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam. This aims to motivate and engage

children of the age group 6-18 years in Science, Mathematics and Technology

by observation, experimentation, inference drawing and model building, through both inside and outside classroom activities.

- Schools have been adopted for mentoring by Institutions of Higher Education like IIT’s, IISER’s and NIT’s.

- **Vidyanjali:**
 - This is a sub-programme under SSA launched to enhance community and private sector involvement in Government run elementary schools across the country under the overall aegis of the SSA.
 - The aim of the programme is to strengthen implementation of co-scholastic activities in government schools through the services of volunteers.

Various Interventions under SSA:

- **Learning Enhancement Programme (LEP):**
 - LEP is supported to initiate and institute curriculum reforms, development of syllabi, textbooks, supplementary reading material.

- LEP fund can be used for teacher training and development.
- **Research, Evaluation, Monitoring and Supervision (REMS):**
 - Support for monitoring rights of children and SSA Monitoring.
 - **Technical resources support the State** for promoting innovation, research, capacity building and also for social mapping.
- **Innovation Fund for Computer Aided Education (CAE):**
 - The component is to cover maximum upper primary schools with special emphasis on Science and Mathematics. Component covers hardware, software, training, maintenance and resource support.
- **Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV):**
 - Setting up of **residential schools at upper primary level for girls** predominantly for SC, ST, OBC and minority communities.
 - **KGBVs to be set up in educationally backward blocks**, where the female rural literacy rate is below national average and gender gap in literacy is above national average.
- **Innovation Fund for Equity:**
 - For development of context specific interventions, over and above mainstream interventions, **to address the problem of exclusion of girls and marginalised communities' children.** Intervention to include: -
 - a) Girl education Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) that are not covered under other components of SSA.
 - b) Retention of SC, ST, Muslim Children for completion of their elementary education.
 - c) Creating facilities for deprived children in urban areas like street children, migrant children, rag pickers etc. to enable them to join elementary education.
- **Infrastructure Development:**
 - **Additional Class Rooms:** To improve student-classroom ratio and to provide space

for office and store, to meet the requirement of RTE Act specifying one class room for every teacher.

- **Block Resource Centres:** To facilitate residential training for teachers.
- **Residential Schools:** To cover sparsely populated geographically disadvantaged terrains and also to cover urban deprived children, homeless and street children in difficult circumstances without adult protection.
- **Toilets and Drinking Water:** Separate toilets for Boys and Girls, Incinerators in Girls toilets, Drinking Water.

Shagun portal – an Initiative to monitor the implementation of SSA

ShaGun a web portal (from the words Shaala and Gunvatta) has been developed by the Ministry of HRD. It has two components:

- **Repository of best practices:**
 - photographs, videos, studies, newspaper articles etc on elementary education, State /UT wise.
 - These would be in the public domain with the purpose of providing a platform for all stakeholders to learn from success stories of each other.
 - This would also instill a positive competitive spirit among all the States and UTs.
- **Online monitoring of the SSA implemented by States and UTs:** and will be accessed by Government Officers at all levels using their specific passwords.

What is the significance of SSA?

- **The total enrolment in elementary schools has risen** from 18.79 crore children in 2009-10 to 19.67 crore children in 2015-16.
 - As per UDISE 2015-16, **Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) is 99.21% for primary and 92.81% for upper primary level.**
 - **Enrolment of SC children has gone up** from 19.06 % in 2010-11 to 19.79% in 2015-16 at elementary level.

- **Enrolment of Muslim children has grown up** from 12.50% in 2010-11 to 13.80% in 2015-16 at elementary level.
- The **Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR) has improved** from 32 in 2009-10 to 25 in 2015-16. 62.65% of the government schools in India have PTR as per the RTE norm which is 30:1 in primary level and 35:1 in upper primary level on an average.
- **Reduction in out of school Childrens:** Number of Out of School children in 2005 was 134.6 lakh which has come down to 81 lakhs in 2009 and 60.64 lakhs in 2015.
 - Reduction in average Annual Dropout rate at primary level: 6.76% in 2009-10 to 4.13% in 2014-15 and for upper primary level is 4.03% in 2014-15.
- **The transition rate from primary to upper primary has gone up** from 85.17% in 2009-10 to 90.14% in 2014-15.
- **The Gender Parity Index (GPI) in 2014-15** has reached 0.93 for primary level and 0.95 at upper primary level.
- **The dropout rate in the country is still very high:** About 1.4 million students drop out of school between the ages of 6-11 years.

The following steps are needed to further strengthen the SSA programme:

- **Infrastructure:** A clean, spacious school building having basic facilities like spacious classrooms, play areas, clean and hygienic toilets, drinking water, laboratories, computers etc.
- **Quality of teaching and teachers:**
 - Improving quality of teaching by training teachers and supporting them with modern teaching aids, tools and methodologies- like smart classrooms and digital course content - needs to be taken up, so that teachers take pride in their jobs.
- **Extra-curricular activities:**
 - Schools should have requisite sporting facilities and avenues for cultural events, which together contribute to building a student's life skills and personality.

Samagra Shiksha Abhiyaan.

What is Samagra Siksha Abhiyan? What are its main objectives and major outcomes envisaged?

Samagra Siksha Abhiyan:

What are the limitations/issues of the programme? Also suggest steps needed to resolve the issues.

Limitations:

- **Inability to ensure 100% enrolment and continuation of students:**
 - NSSO 2017-18 household survey put the number of out-of-school children in India (6-17 years) at 3.22 crore.
- Greater emphasis on enrolment has led to the **neglect towards quality of education.**
 - According to the **ASER reports of NGO Pratham**, 78% of the students of 3rd class and 50% of 5th class are unable to read the text of class 2nd.
- **Shortage of teachers:** To cater to the RTE norms of the student-teacher ratios, there is still a need for an additional 689000 teachers in primary schools.
- There is a **lack of accountability in Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan** which leads to poor learning and low attendance rates.

- The Union Budget, 2018-19, has proposed to **treat school education holistically without segmentation from pre-nursery to Class 12.**
- It **subsumes the three erstwhile Schemes** of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) and Teacher Education (TE).
- It would also **help harmonize the implementation mechanisms and transaction costs** at all levels, besides envisaging **one comprehensive strategic plan** for development of school education at the district level.
- It **shifts the focus from project objectives to improving systems level performance** and schooling outcomes along-with incentivizing States towards improving quality of education.

- The scheme covers 1.16 million schools, over 156 million students and 5.7 million Teachers of Govt. and Aided schools (from pre-primary to senior secondary level).

Major Features of Samagra Siksha Abhiyan:

- **Holistic approach to education:**
 - Treat school education holistically as a continuum from Pre-school to Class 12
 - Supporting States to initiate pre-primary education
- **Administrative reform:**
 - Single and unified administrative structure leading to harmonized implementation.
 - Flexibility for States to prioritise their interventions under the Scheme.
- **Enhanced Funding for Education:**
 - The budget has been enhanced.
 - Learning outcomes and steps taken for quality improvement will be the basis for allocation of grants under the Scheme.
- **Focus on Quality of Education:**
 - Emphasis on improvement of Learning Outcomes.
 - **Enhanced Capacity Building of Teachers.**
 - **Focus on strengthening Teacher Education Institutions** like SCERTs and DIETs to improve the quality of prospective teachers in the system.
 - Annual Grant per school for strengthening of Libraries. Almost 1 million schools are to be given library grants.
- **Focus on Digital Education:**
 - **Provision of ICT labs, Smart classrooms** including support for digital boards, and DTH channels have been provided.
 - Digital initiatives like Shala Kosh, Shagun, Shaala Saarthi to be strengthened.
 - “DIKSHA”, digital portal for teachers to be used extensively for upgrading skills of teachers.
 - Enhanced Use of Technology to improve access and provision of quality education – ‘**Sabko Shiksha Achhi Shiksha**’.
- **Strengthening of Schools**
 - **Emphasis on consolidation of schools** for improvement of quality.
 - **Enhanced Transport facility** to children across all classes from I to VIII for universal access to school.
 - Composite school grant increased and to be allocated on the basis of school enrolment.
 - Specific provision for Swachhta activities – support ‘**Swachh Vidyalaya**’
 - Improve the Quality of Infrastructure in Government Schools.
- **Focus on Girl Education:**
 - Upgradation of KGBVs from Class 6-8 to Class 6-12.
 - Self-defence training for girls from upper primary to higher secondary stage
 - Stipend for CWSN girls to be provided from Classes I to XII. – earlier only IX to XII.
 - Enhanced Commitment to ‘**Beti Bachao Beti Padhao**’
- **Focus on Inclusion:**
 - Allocation for uniforms under RTE Act enhanced per child per annum.
 - Allocation for textbooks under the RTE Act, enhanced per child per annum. Energized textbooks to be introduced.
 - Allocation for Children with Special Needs (CwSN) increased from Rs. 3000 to Rs. 3500 per child per annum. Stipend of Rs. 200 per month for Girls with Special Needs from Classes I to 12.
 - Commitment to ‘**Sabko Shiksha Achhi Shiksha**’.
- **Focus on Skill Development:**
 - Exposure to Vocational Skills at Upper Primary Level would be extended.
 - Vocational education which was limited to Class 9-12, to be started from class 6 as integrated with the curriculum and to be made more practical and industry oriented.
 - Reinforce emphasis on ‘**Kaushal Vikas**’.
- **Focus on Sports and Physical Education:**
 - Sports equipment will be provided to all schools under this component.
 - Sports Education to be an integral part of the curriculum.
 - Support ‘**Khelo India**’.

- **Focus on Regional Balance:**
 - Promote Balanced Educational Development.
 - Preference to Educationally Backward Blocks (EBBs), LWEs, Special Focus Districts (SFDs), Border areas and the 115 aspirational districts identified by Niti Aayog.
 - **'Sabka Saath Sabka Vikas'** and **Sabko Shiksha Achhi Shiksha.**

The major objectives of the Scheme are:

- Support States and UTs in implementing the recommendations of NEP 2020;
- Support States in implementation of RTE Act, 2009;
- Focus on Early Childhood Care and Education;
- Emphasis on Foundational Literacy and Numeracy;
- Thrust on Holistic, Integrated, Inclusive and activity-based Curriculum and Pedagogy to impart 21st century skills among the students;
- Provision of quality education and enhancing learning outcomes of students;
- Bridging Social and Gender Gaps in School Education;
- Ensuring equity and inclusion at all levels of school education;
- Strengthening and up-gradation of State Councils for Educational Research and Training

(SCERTs)/State Institutes of Education and District Institutes for Education and Training (DIET) as nodal agency for teacher training;

- Ensuring safe, secure and conducive learning environment and maintenance of standards in schooling provisions and
- Promoting vocational education.

The main outcomes of the Scheme are envisaged as:

- Universal Access,
- Equity and Quality,
- Promoting Vocationalisation of Education and
- Strengthening of Teacher Education Institutions (TEIs).

As rightly observed by Nelson Mandela "Education is the most powerful weapon which one can use to change the world", thus to ensure equitable and quality education is imparted, to ensure education that creates students rooted in culture of India and proud of great heritage of India, conscious of duties towards society and responsibility towards nation building, **India must walk the path shown by NEP 2020 in letter and spirit so that it can be a knowledge hub not only for the benefit of India herself but also for the greater good of the world.**

H209- Private Sector in Education & EdTech Sector

In 2021, the Prime Minister of India called upon the private sector to come forward and contribute their bit in the educational sector.

Education in India is dominated by public sector however since early 2000 private sector has made greater strides in education.

Entry of private sector in the field of education began with professional courses such as engineering, dentistry, medicine, pharmacy, etc. The avenues for the private sector increased overtime as it was realized by the private sector that there was a reasonable supply of interested students who could afford the cost of education.

What are the factors leading to the growth of private sector in education in India?

- **Education for all:** Govt aspires for 100% literacy rate but Govt education infrastructure is deficient in terms of reach and infrastructure.
- **Poor quality of education in government schools:** Government schools are unable to meet the expectations of parents aspiring for quality education for their kids. It has resulted in phenomenal growth of the number of institutions of higher learning.
- **Economic- Liberalisation, privatisation, globalisation:** It has led to reduction in red tape, greater FDI etc. which has facilitated investments and entry of private sector in education in India. For example, the edtech sector.
- **Increasing Industry-academia linkage:** Due to LPG reforms teaching is expected to be as per the demands of industry. Private institutions have been able to tailor their educational content to improve the employability of students.
- **Demand side pressure:** Demand for education is high. If the government cannot afford to provide and fund all the education that parents expect for their children then those parents will seek private suppliers.
- **Low expenditure on education:** Government spends **3.1 per cent of the country's GDP** on

education when various committees as well as **NEP 2020 recommended 6% of the GDP.**

- **Increasing emphasis on Private Philanthropy:** Private philanthropy brings financial resources, broader vision and mission and ensures quality via efficient delivery of services.
 - For example, since the **introduction of Corporate Social Responsibility in India** education has become top most choice of Private companies to spend their CSR in India.

What are the merits and demerits of participation of private sector in education in India?

Merits:

- **Accessible Education:** There is a massive increase in the number of schools and educational institutions across the country. Education is now easily accessible to those who can afford to pay for it.
- **Improved Infrastructure:** the private sector has made remarkable infrastructure changes and has replenished the state-of-the-art framework.
- **Advanced teaching:** They have introduced **modern techniques of teaching**, which helps children with better learning and increase their performance. Various modern education technology includes tabs and other gadgets etc.
- **Liberty to choose institution:** Increase in number of schools and colleges have provided parents with a variety of options to choose from.
- **Extracurricular activities:** Every private school nowadays comes up with new and interesting activity ideas that help a child to learn new things and become active in all aspects.

Demerits:

Despite many constructive contributions, there are many facets that have doomed our education sector:

- **Disparity in public and private schools:** Private sector has raised the bars of their school standards too high that government schools are unable to match up to their benchmarks.
- **Costly Fee Structures:** Modern schools have set their school fees upscale so that it is difficult for parents with meagre income to bear those and thus restricts their child's admission to such schools.
- **More of a Business:** The focus of private schools has shifted from providing education to earning money. For example, **higher donations** demanded for admission, costly fee structure etc.
- **Leads to discrimination and inequality:**
 - In order to maintain a standard, these institutions strictly avoid admission of people from poor families, and thus such children are deterred from procuring education from private schools of such standards.
 - This leads to inequality in society, especially when government schools are lagging in quality.
- **Greater in quantity but poor in quality: Especially at higher levels.**
 - For example, due to corrupt practices within regulatory agencies like UGC and AICTE and consequent accreditation without enough checks has led to a decline in the quality of higher educational institutions.

Why is there a need for robust regulation of the private sector in education?

- **To maintain quality and standards of education:** regulatory bodies should be established in the state because education is the responsibility of State Government as per constitution of India.
 - It should **decide the fee structure** as per Government norms.
 - It should **check the salaries and status of the teachers** to minimize their exploitation.
- **Mushrooming of Colleges, especially at higher levels:** practices like center selling of degrees, no requirement of attendance once fees and other expenses are paid etc, leading to lack of skills and hence poor employability.

- **Over commercialization of education** to be regulated to keep private institutions in check and ensure quality control.
- **Growth of edtech sector in India and lack of adequate regulations for it.**
- **To avoid exclusionary policies of private sector** and make education inclusive.

What are the reasons for boom in EdTech sector in India?

Edtech uses IT tools for inclusive, engaging and personalized learning.

Boom of Edtech sector in India:

- There are **over 4,450 edtech startups in India** that are assisting over 300 million school students. Of these, 40 million are students pursuing higher education whose studies were disrupted by covid.
- Online education offerings for the **K-12 segment (Classes 1 to 12) are projected to increase 6.3X by 2022**, creating a \$1.7 billion market. And the **post-K12 market is set to grow 3.7X to touch \$1.8 billion.**
- **India has emerged to be among the top three countries in the world** after China and the USA to get the most venture capital funding in the edtech sector.

Reasons behind boom in EdTech sector:

- One of the major reasons is the **favorable conditions created by the pandemic.**
- **Prevalence of enthusiastic entrepreneurs:** adopting a multicultural approach to suit the needs of a diverse country, developing innovative products and approaches, and with access to a huge pool of skilled educators.
- **Aggressive advertising** for target consumers. Creating perceptions of 'better education' through marketing campaigns.
- The **mindset shift of the Indian parents** has gradually transitioned into believing the success stories projected by the booming EdTech industry.
- **Low Cost of Online Education:** When compared to traditional education (school, college), online education is more affordable.

- **More inclusive:** Because of the affordability factor, students belonging to different income categories and social classes can get access to quality education with attractive visuals and expert teachers.
- **Government's Digital Initiative to Promote E-learning:**
 - For example, initiatives like the SWAYAM programme and DIKSHA.
 - Also, because of lockdown restrictions in the country, the Indian Government has been encouraging the heads of Higher Educational Institutions to switch to online methods of education and ensure that the academic sessions are not interrupted.
- **Growing Internet Userbase:**
 - There are around **624 million active internet users in India as of February 2021**.
 - These active users offer a huge growth opportunity for the edtech stakeholders. Particularly in Tier 3/4 cities, segments such as online tutoring and competitive exam preparation can have strong growth.
- **Improved success rate:** With edtech helping students prepare for competitive exams, industry reports found that the success rate went up to about 7% as compared to under 1% through the conventional classroom mass-teaching formats.
- **Increases gross enrollment ratio:** The cost-effectiveness of edtech and the virtual nature of this learning erases geographical constraints, thereby improving the gross enrollment ratio (GER).
- **Edtech modules have an upper hand over traditional textbook:**
 - Better navigation of resources, multimedia graphics and interactive elements allow for a more engaging educational experience.
- **Skill development:** The sudden growth of EdTech companies in India also tapped learners' skilling and up-skilling or learning new skills while still enrolling with the colleges and university institutions.

What are the pros & cons of Ed-techs for India?

Since covid-19 pandemic EdTech sector in India has witnessed considerable growth attracting huge amount of investment. Following are the examples of few EdTech companies of India:

- The companies — Byju's, Careers 360, Great Learning, Harappa, Times Edutech & Events Ltd, Scalar, Simplilearn, Toppr, Unacademy, upGrad, Vedantu, WhiteHat Jr etc.

Pros:

- Edtech provides specially tailored classes and access to content at a pace students are comfortable with.
- Students receive personalized recommendations based on data on their previous learning patterns and performance.
- **Win-win for all:** Students who excel at studying would no longer be hamstrung by teachers catering to the lower and nodal level of the class, while students who need extra support and benefit from a slower learning pace could receive the appropriate care.

Cons: (for more detailed points please refer to the Handout – Governance during covid – covid impact on education part)

- Edtech's growth is still dwarfed by inadequate infrastructure, poor accessibility and our digital divide.
- Most recently, issues of misleading advertisements and unfair trade practices have come to light
 - For example, recently, WhiteHat Jr, the edtech company that teaches coding to children, had such charges levelled against it.
 - Similarly, India Edtech Consortium (IEC) had received complaint against Byju's for misleading advertisements.
- Persistent sales calls, misrepresented subscription and financial agreements, information asymmetry about product pricing, leading to the suffering of parents from the middle and bottom of the economic pyramid.
- The lack of adequate grievance redressal mechanisms.

What regulations are required to ensure EdTech addresses key challenges in Education in India?

- **Regulation to Serve Education of Working Professionals:**
 - New regulations should be developed specifically for the education of working professionals.
 - For instance, regulation should **allow specialised curriculum and shorter duration**, which is appropriate for working professionals.
 - Further, the **committees creating the new regulation should include HR leaders from industry** who can provide insight into current skill shortages.
- **Regulation Addressing Marketing Practices by Edtech Companies:**
 - EdTech companies **must be checked from paying enrolment-linked sales incentives to education sales advisers.**
 - a) This is because **the cost of a wrong sale in education is much higher than in many other sectors.** For example, in the United States, sales incentives are disallowed for most university programmes.
 - **Encourage a model where sales advisers focus on student outcomes** rather than their own sales incentives.
 - Regulations such as- if a programme advertises a job guarantee, it must also provide historical data of job placements are needed to prevent false-advertising claims.
- **Regulation of Student Loans at EdTech Companies:**
 - The entire practice of EdTech companies offering student loans be stopped as it causes ethical, and regulatory issues.

What Steps are taken by EdTech sector to address the above concerns?

- **The India EdTech Consortium has adopted a code of conduct as mentioned below:**
 - Stress on **transparency and warning against misleading ads,**

- The code of conduct says the **companies are expected to use legal terms of qualifications** such as MBA, BBA, and others **in ads only when it is compliant with guidelines** issued by the UGC and AICTE.
- On the practice of Edu-tech firms using examples of students achieving success by using their products, the code says such **claims must be “authentic with validated proof of performance”.**

What steps are needed to ensure effective regulation of private sector in education in India?

The **Special Rapporteur on Right to Education Kishore Singh** emphasized the need for States to create a comprehensive regulatory framework to control private providers in education. He proposed the following framework:

- **Prescriptive regulations:**
 - **Setting minimum standards:**
 - a) Including conditions for their recognition and operations, curriculum requirements, minimum qualifications for teachers, infrastructure standards and quality measures, and recognition of degrees or diplomas issued.
 - Such regulations describe reporting obligations, including performance measures and financial reporting, and require compliance with monitoring and oversight agencies.
- **Prohibitory regulations:** the following activities need to be prohibited:
 - **Fee-based discrimination** because it creates and entrenches social and economic inequalities.
 - The **registration of private schools as companies,**
 - The **recruitment of unqualified teachers** or those employed in public schools,
 - The **closure of schools during an academic year,**
 - **Indulgence in false commercial propaganda** to lure insufficiently informed students and parents,

- **The charging of capitation fees** and
- **The extraction from students or parents of any undeclared financial contribution** over and above the approved fee.
- Regulations must prohibit school selection on the basis of ability, social or ethnic origin, or any form of psychometric tests.
- **Punitive regulation:** include
 - **Withdrawal of operating licenses** for lack of compliance with regulations.
 - Act against private providers who indulge in fraudulent and corrupt practices, such as false

declarations of profits or of salaries paid to teachers and tax evasion.

The role of privatization is important to expand education qualitatively as well as quantitatively. Thus, the state and central government need to encourage the privatization of education to achieve economic development. However, to avoid privatisation of education giving rise to new issues, there is a need to monitor the schools on the basis of equality, monetary demands etc., and put in place robust regulations. In this regard the Delhi model of education can be looked into to have new insights.

Delhi model of education:

- The first component of the education model is the **transformation of school infrastructure.**
 - Dilapidated school buildings that lack basic facilities not only indicate the apathy of the government, but also significantly lower the motivation of teachers and the enthusiasm of students.
- **Engaging with the community** by reconstituting school management committees (SMC) and Regular dialogue between teachers and parents is required.
- **Reforms in the curriculum:**
 - **'Happiness curriculum'** was introduced for all children between nursery and Class 8 for their emotional wellbeing.
 - **Entrepreneurship mindset curriculum'** introduced to develop the problem-solving and critical thinking abilities of children in Classes 9 to 12.
- **Arbitrary fee hikes by private schools are curbed** to ensure any **fee hike proposal was examined by authorized chartered accountants.**

H210- Demographic Dividend

“There is no question in fact that India has a global responsibility, and the coming “Gyan Yug” would see India play a pivotal role, using the strengths of its democracy and demographic dividend.”

- PM Narendra Modi.

Since 2018, India’s working-age population (people between 15 and 64 years of age) has grown larger than the dependant population — children aged 14 or below as well as people above 65 years of age. This bulge in the working-age population is going to last till 2055, or 37 years from its beginning.

According to UNFPA, India has one of the youngest populations (62.5% of its population in the age group 15-59) in an ageing world. By 2022, India's median age will be 28; in China, the US, western Europe, and Japan, it will be 37.

‘Demographic dividend’, defined by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) as the growth potential that results from shifts in a population’s age structure. This transition happens largely because of a decrease in the total fertility rate (TFR, which is the number of births per woman) after the increase in life expectancy gets stabilised.

What do you understand by the term ‘Demographic dividend’?

- According to United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), demographic dividend means, “the economic growth potential that can result from shifts in a population’s age structure, mainly when the share of the working-age population (15 to 64) is larger than the non-working-age share of the population (14 and younger, and 65 and older)”.

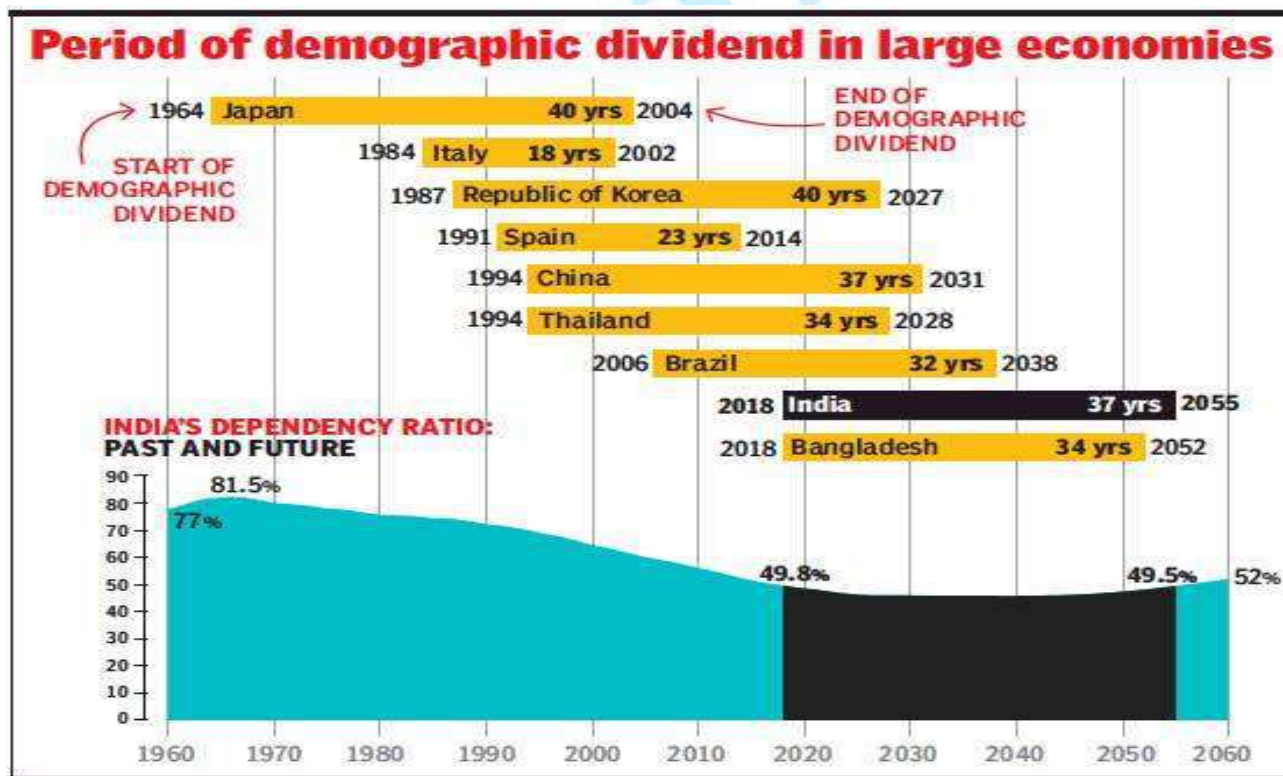


Fig.1

- A country's working-age population rises compared to its young dependent population as births decline.
- With more workers and fewer children, a society has a potential for economic development provided the correct social and economic investments and policies are implemented in health, education, governance, and the economy.
- Comparison of demographic dividend period of major economies is given below: **(Figure I.1)**

What is the significance of demographic dividend for a country?

- **Increased Labour supply:** as more people reach working age.
- **Increased Capital formation:** As the number of dependents decreases individuals save more. This **increase in national savings** rates increases the stock of capital in developing countries and provides an opportunity to create the country's capital through investment.
- **Increased Female Human capital:** Decrease in fertility rates result in healthier women and fewer economic pressures at home. This provides

an opportunity to engage more women in the workforce and enhance human capital.

- **Increased Economic growth:** Another opportunity is produced by **increased domestic demand** brought about by the **increasing GDP per capita** and the decreasing dependency ratio.
- **Increased expenditure on Infrastructure:** Increased fiscal space created by the demographic dividend enables the government to divert resources from spending on children to investing in physical and human infrastructure.

Why is it said that India has an opportunity in the form of demographic dividend?

India is witnessing great opportunity which is confirmed by following facts:

- **As per Economic survey 2019:** India's demographic dividend will peak around 2041, when the population share of working-age (20-59 years) is expected to hit 59%.
- The "Youth in India 2022" Report, published by the **Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation (MoSPI)**,

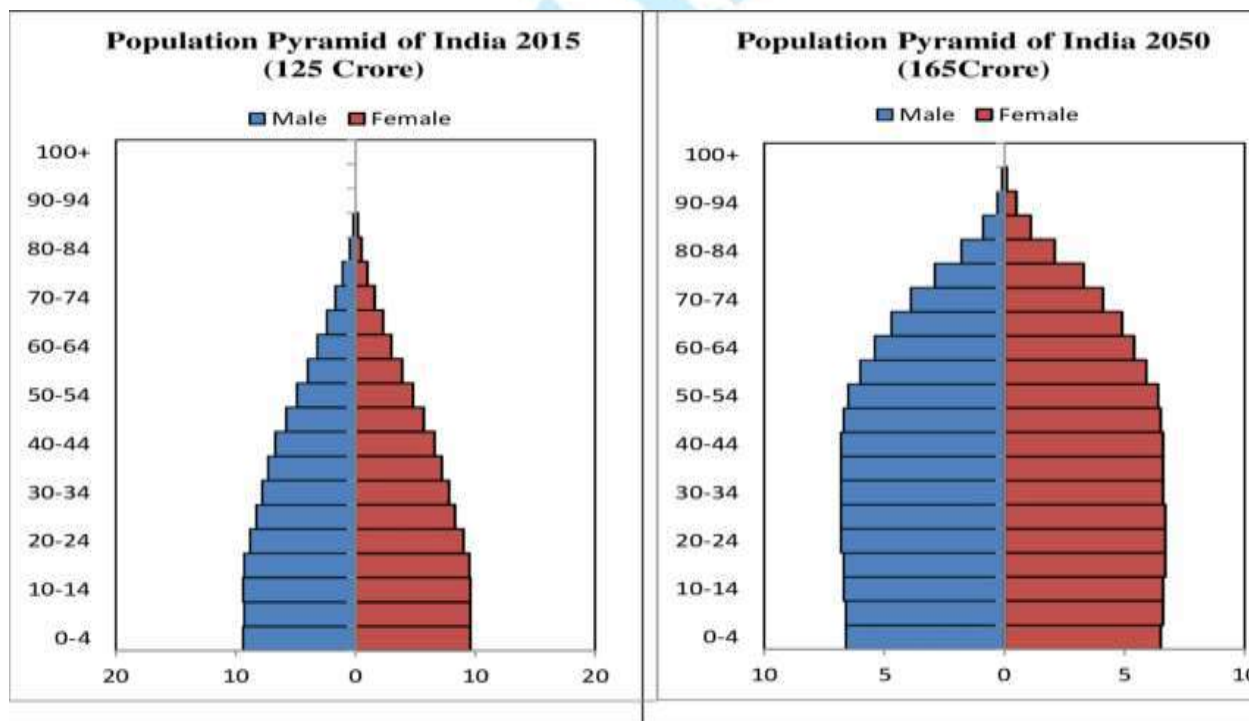


Fig I.2

- reveals that the youngsters aged 15 to 29 make up 27.2% of the population in 2021.
- The report has said that **India's favourable demographic dividend is at an inflection point.**
- **As per UNFPA, India has one of the world's youngest populations.** By 2022, India's median age will be 28; in China, the US, western Europe, and Japan, it will be 37.
- India's working-age population is growing due to dramatically dropping birth rates, with average annual population growth rates almost half what they were in the 1970s. The gradual fall in India's total fertility rate (TFR), or the number of births per woman, has been a main driver of this trend. India's TFR is lower than the worldwide TFR of 2.4.

Age pyramid of India for 2015 and 2050: (Fig 1.2)

However, India's demographic dividend is not

uniform and could soon shift, with a young population giving way to an ageing one. For instance:

- **Observations of Economic Survey 2018-2019** with respect to demographic dividend of India:
 - The Survey noted that while the country as a whole will enjoy the "demographic dividend" phase, **some states will start transitioning to an ageing society by the 2030s.**
 - a) The southern states, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, West Bengal and Maharashtra are already quite advanced in the demographic transition, and witnessing an ageing phenomenon.
 - The **share of elderly in India i.e., those aged 60 years and above, will continue to rise steadily** to nearly double **from 8.6% in 2011 to 16% by 2041.**

Five stages of Demographic transition:

- **1st Stage (Agriculture Society)**
 - At present, some African countries like Somalia and Sudan are in stage first of demographic transition.
 - During the colonial era, India was in the first stage of the demographic transition.
- **2nd Stage**
 - Industrialization started.
 - Mechanized agriculture in some parts of regions.
 - Urbanization started in some regions.
 - High birth rate and low death rate due to good health and hospital facilities, resulted in a high population increment.
 - **Some state of India is in the second stage, e.g., Bihar and U.P.**
- **3rd Stage:**
 - The birth rate starts declining and the stable death rate.
 - Life expectancy increases.
 - Preference for late marriage.
 - People are not willing to support large families.
 - High in population increment because of the large population base.
 - Some states in India such as **Kerala, Tamil Nadu & Punjab** are in the third stage.
 - Most developing countries are in this stage.
- **4th Stage**
 - The decrease in birth rate and a decrease in the death rate.
 - Stable population or decrease in population.
 - Very high technology advancement, Late marriages, Skill specialization
 - End of the conservative thinking.

- Most of the developed countries are in this stage such as Japan, Western European Countries, Australia, etc.
- **5th Stage**
 - In this stage, the birth rate gets lowered than the death rate, and the actual population starts to decline.

How can Demographic dividend turn into a Demographic disaster?

A demographic dividend may not always lead to growth because:

- **Rapidly increasing workforce:** 10 million workers are estimated to enter the labour field annually, however there is **limited capacity of government to accommodate** them or create enabling environment to accommodate such a huge workforce.
- **Increasing Digital technologies and automation:** having adverse impact on employment generation.
- **Lack of industry relevant skills: According to ASSOCHAM,** barely 20-30% of engineers find suitable employment.
- **A demographic dividend and a job shortage** will raise the proportion of the population reliant on the working population, increasing **economic insecurity** and hence may lead to **social unrest**.
- **Informal economy and lack of social security:**
 - Nearly 216 million people work in agriculture and are part of the informal economy, where they not only receive lower wages but also have limited social protection.
- **Jobless growth:** There is growing fear that future growth will be jobless as a result of deindustrialization, de-globalization, the fourth industrial revolution, and technological advancement.
 - According to the **NSSO Periodic Labour Force Survey 2017-18**, India's labour force participation rate for the age range 15-59 years is around 53%, implying that **over half of the working-age population is unemployed**.
- **Asymmetric demography:** The increase in the working-age ratio is projected to be

concentrated in some of India's poorest states, where basic facilities of education, health and infrastructure are lacking.

- **Issues of Female labour force participation:** FLFP rates declined from **34.8% in 1990 to 27% in 2013**.
 - According to the **International Labour Organization and the World Bank**, Without the engagement of women, India cannot hope to capture the demographic dividend.

How can a Demographic disaster be prevented?

- **Building human capital:** Investing in people's health, education, employment, and skills fosters the development of human capital, which is essential for promoting economic growth, eradicating severe poverty, and fostering greater inclusion in society.
- **Skilling:** Developing skills to make the youthful people more employable the labour force in India has to be equipped with the necessary skills for the contemporary economy.
 - The **National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC)** was founded by the government with the overarching goal of upskilling/skilling **500 million Indians by 2022**.
- **Education:** Improving educational standards, as India where over **41%** of the population is under 20 years old, can only benefit from the demographic dividend if its educational system is improved.
 - **Collaboration between academia and business is also essential** to balancing academic learning levels with the needs of the contemporary workplace.
- **Health:** An upgrade to the healthcare system would allow for a **greater number of**

productive days for the youthful labour force, boosting economic production.

- **Job Creation:** Ten million new jobs must be created annually for the country in order to accommodate the influx of young people into the labour market. For this labour intensive sectors like textile, food processing, leather etc. need to be promoted.
- **Urbanization:** In the years to come, a sizable portion of the youthful and working people will

move to cities both inside and outside of their own State, which will cause a quick and significant growth in the population of cities.

- **Metropolitan policy planning** should **concentrate on how these migrant populations can have access to basic utilities**, health care, and social services in urban locations.

Brain Drain

Concept:

- Brain drain is the **movement of educated people**.
- Human resources leave their nation to work in foreign countries like Europe, North America, and Australia etc.
- **Internal brain drain** happens when experts aren't hired in their own nation or when they shift from the public to private sector or within a sector.

Reasons for brain drain from India:

1. Push Factors:

- **Lack of Higher Education opportunities:** It's a justification for permanent immigration. Due to rising Indian university cutoffs, many students' studies overseas.
- **Emigration may result from poverty and wealth.** The new international airport planned for Uttar Pradesh would lead to faster mass emigration, much as Kochi, Kannur, Kozhikode, and Thiruvananthapuram brought Kerala closer to the Gulf.
- **Low Research Spending:** India's research spending has been **0.7% of GDP** for years. India has one of the BRICS' lowest GERD/GDP ratios. Talented people move to other nations as they get better opportunities, funding etc. in foreign nations.
- **Low Wages:** Developed nations pay more than India.
- **Lack of adequate recognition of talent in India:** compared to the countries in the west. Thus, talented people gravitate to locations that value them.
- **Issues of Ease of doing business:** Issues like red tape, excessive government control etc. Frustrate many talented people and hence push them towards more conducive environments.

2. Pull Factors:

- **Better standard of living and life quality:** Many industrialised and GCC nations provide greater salaries, tax advantages, etc. These draw Indian medical practitioners.
- **Policies of Developed Countries:** Developed nations established migrant-friendly policies to keep Indian talent.
 - For example, during the epidemic, France provided citizenship to immigrant healthcare professionals.
- **Ageing populations in industrialised countries** are another factor.

Initiatives taken by Indian government to prevent the brain drain:

- **Innovation in Science Pursuit for Inspired Research (INSPIRE) Programme:** The programme aims to attract talented youth to the study of science at an early stage and build the required critical human resource pool for strengthening and expanding the Science & Technology system and R&D base.
- **The Ramanujan Fellowship:** It is meant for brilliant Indian scientists from outside India to take up scientific research positions in India.
- **The Ramalingaswamy Fellowship:** It provides a platform to scientists who are willing to return and work in India.
- **Vaishvik Bharatiya Vaigyanik (VAIBHAV) summit:** Under this, Numerous overseas Indian-origin academicians and Indians participated to form ideas on innovative solutions to several challenges.
- Triad of **Scheme for Transformational and Advanced Research in Sciences (STARS)**, **Scheme for Promotion of Academic and Research Collaboration (SPARC)** and **Impactful Policy Research in Social Science (IMPRESS)**: Common objective is to boost India specific research in social and pure sciences.

Which initiatives are taken by the GOI to reap the benefits of demographic dividends?

- **Skill development:**
 - **Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship:** This has been created in the Central Government to focus on skill development among the youth.
 - **The National Skill Development Agency** is an autonomous body which will coordinate and harmonize the skill development efforts of the Govt. and the Private sector to achieve the skilling target.
- **Education:**
 - Establishment of **Higher Education Finance Agency (HEFA)** to improve higher education and research.
 - Implementation of **National Education Policy 2020** to transforming early childhood education with emphasis on “**Early Childhood Care & Education**”.
 - **Samagra Shiksha Abhiyan.**
 - **Urban learning Internship Programme.**
- **Health:** To ensure out of pocket expenditure is reduced and quality healthcare is provided.
 - **Ayushman Bharat and National Health Protection Schemes.**
 - **Integrated child Development (ICDS) Scheme.**
 - **Swachh Bharat Mission:** This will help set bases for enhancing health standards and improving sanitation across the nation.

- **Job creation:**
 - **Make in India:** This is focused on creating employment avenues and opportunities for the youth.
 - **Push for Atmanirbhar Bharat Programme.**
 - **Production Linked Incentive scheme:** in various sectors like semiconductor, Electronic/Technology Products, Pharmaceuticals drugs, Telecom & Networking Products, Food Processing etc.
- **Urbanization:** Schemes such as **Smart City Mission** and **AMRUT** to better manage increasing population in cities.
- **Financial inclusion: Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana (PMJDY) and RuPay debit card.** This will help in spreading financial inclusion and provide financial empowerment to all.

What steps should be taken to reap this 'Demographic dividend'?

Realizing the demographic dividend hinges on an economy's ability to absorb people into productive jobs. This can be enhanced by:

- **Building Human Capital:** India must spend more in human capital enhancement at all levels, from basic to higher education, R&D, and vocational training, to boost the skills of its rising working-age population.
- **Skill Development:** Youth employability requires skill development. The government has

formed 'Skill India' to skill India's youth and the National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC) however, issues involved in Skill India mission need to be resolved at the earliest.

- **Education:** investing in basic, secondary, and higher education is crucial. According to the National Policy on Education 2020, **expenditure in education needs to be increased 6% of GDP.**
- **Health:** According to the National Health Policy 2017 **India has to boost its health expenditure to at least 2.5%**
- **Job Creation:** Formal positions must be generated, particularly in export-oriented, labor-intensive industries like textiles, leather, and footwear.

- **Good Governance:** Good governance ensures fair opportunity for everyone via effective public involvement, well-functioning institutions, respect for the rule of law, minimal corruption, respect for property rights, and contract integrity.
- **Better Implementation of Policies:** to help in building health, education and amount of women participation in workforce.

Let us recognize that **India has the golden opportunity of becoming the talent supply powerhouse to the world.** We have a large young population while other countries have declining populations. We must create a **flexible education ecosystem and holistic skill development programme** which is based on industry needs, that helps every Indian realise the opportunity.

H209- Skill Development

“Give a man a fish, feed him for a day. Teach a man to fish, feed him for a lifetime.” - Lao Tzu

Tzu

India is fast developing country. **India’s workforce is second largest in the world** after China. **Over 65% of India’s large population is below 35 years of age** and working age group of 15-59 years is increasing steadily. India has set a **target of skilling 500 million people by 2022** to support achieving rapid and inclusive growth through:

- **Enhancing an individual’s employability** to meet labour market demands.
- **Improving productivity and living standards** of the people.
- **Strengthening competitiveness** of the country.

What is Skill development?

Skill development refers to **equipping an individual with marketable skills**. Skills and knowledge are important factors for the economic growth of a country. Skills are imparted through the **process of ‘learning by doing’ and are ‘done on the job’**.

What is current scenario related to skills in India?

- **Over the next 20 years, the number of people working is expected to drop by 4% in the industrialized world**, while it will rise by nearly 20% in India.
 - India could become a source of talent and skills if all of its workers, no matter how old they are, have skills that can be put to use and keep up with how fast technology is changing.
- **Only 4.7% of India’s workforce has formal skill training**, compared to 52% in the US, 80% in Japan, and 96% in South Korea. (Estimation of **National Policy on Skill Development and Entrepreneurship, Report 2015**).
- **A National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC)** research from 2010-2014 found an extra 10.97 crore skilled workers are needed in 24 important industries by 2022.

- In addition, 29.82 crore agriculture and nonfarm sector workers required training.

Why there is need for skill development in India?

- **Economic growth:** India is a fast-developing country and **to ensure robust economic growth of the economy**, India needs to have skilled workforce which can match industry needs.
 - According to a **NASSCOM Report in 2021, every rupee invested in skill training programmes earned a return of ₹2-19** measured on the basis of the candidate’s salary.
- **Efficiency and flexibility:** Skilled workers increase the efficiency and flexibility of the labour market and can be more easily absorbed into the economy.
- **To remain competitive in global market:** Relevant skillset can help us to remain competitive and achieve sustainable growth.
- **To fulfil the demand of skilled workforce globally:** The global economy is expected to witness a skilled man power shortage to the extent of around 56 million by 2020.
 - Hence there is an opportunity for India to meet the skilled manpower requirements in India as well as abroad.
- **Knowledge economy:** As India moves progressively towards becoming a ‘knowledge economy’ it becomes increasingly important that the country should focus on advancement of skills.
- **Personnel development:** Our formal education and training system is not producing **“Work Ready” youth**. Thus, skill up gradation is fundamental to personal development, employment and employability.

What are the causes for Poor skill set prevalent in India?

SKILLING CHALLENGES



Proprietary and confidential. This information does not represent and should not be construed as, legal or professional advice. © 2014 NSDC. All Rights Reserved.

- **Brain Drain:** The mass migration of skilled labor from developing countries such as India. The problem is even more acute in technical fields.
 - **Poor quality of trainers available:** impacts employability.
 - **Issues with vocational programmes:** as they do not meet industry's demands.
 - **Social acceptability:** as vocational courses are looked down upon in India.
 - **Technological challenge:** changing technology is a big challenge as employees will have to constantly upgrade their skills if they are to remain relevant in the job market.
 - **Faulty education system:** for example, it puts emphasis on results/grades in exams rather than concrete skill enhancement eventually promoting rote learning instead of practical learnings.
- What are the steps/initiatives taken by GOI to improve skills?**
- **Skill India Mission:** Skill India aims to teach 40 crore young people in market-relevant skills by 2022.
 - It intends to grow sectors that have been skill-dependent and identify emerging skill-development sectors.
 - **Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana:** PMKVY provides short-term training, skilling via ITIs, and apprenticeships. Over 10 million youth have been upgraded with skills since 2015.
 - **Deen Dayal Upadhyaya – Grameen Kaushal Yojana:**
 - **Enable Poor and Marginalized to Access Benefits:** Demand-led skill training at no cost to the rural poor.
 - Mandatory coverage of socially disadvantaged groups (SC/ST 50%; Minority 15%; Women 33%)
 - **Shifting Emphasis from Training to Career Progression:** Providing incentives for job retention, career progression and placements
 - Post-placement support, migration support and alumni network
 - **Regional Focus:** Greater emphasis on projects for poor rural youth in **Jammu and Kashmir (HIMAYAT)**, the North-East region and 27 Left-Wing Extremist (LWE) districts (**ROSHINI**)
 - **Standards-led Delivery:** All program activities are subject to Standard Operating Procedures that are not open to interpretation by local inspectors. All inspections are supported by geo-tagged, time stamped videos/photographs
 - **Establishment of Skill Training Institutes:** These contain 15,154 ITIs (including 11,892

private institutions), 36 Sector Skills Councils, 33 National Skills Training Institutes, and 2,188 training partners registered with NSDC.

- **Apprenticeship Protsahan Yojana:** This programme changes the Apprenticeship Act, 1961 to make the law better for both young people and the industry.
- **SANKAP and STRIVE:** SANKALP focuses on district-level skilling ecosystems, whereas STRIVE improves ITI performance.
- **Initiatives by Ministries:** 20 federal ministries/departments run 40 skill-development programmes.
- **Mandatory CSR Expenditure in Skilling:** Since 2013, Indian firms have spent 6,877 crores for skilling and livelihood programmes. Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Odisha, Karnataka, and Gujarat received the most.
- **TEJAS Initiative: TEJAS (Training for Emirates Jobs and Skills)** was established during the **Dubai Expo, 2020** to train overseas Indians.
 - The initiative intends to train, certify, and employ Indians worldwide and to prepare the Indian workforce for skill and market needs in the UAE.
- **National Council for Vocational Training (NCVT):** It will be strengthened and reengineered with a broader mandate and representation.
- **India International Skill Centre:**
 - a. Ministry of Skill Development & Entrepreneurship (MSDE) under the 'Skill India' Mission is setting up IISCs through National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC) to provide skill training and certification benchmarked against international standards to Indians aspiring to work overseas.
- **International Collaborations:** The Government is fostering several international collaborations with developed and industrialized countries like the UK, Germany, Australia and so on.
 - The **UK India Skills Forum (UKISF) 2002** is an initiative led by the UK India Joint

Economic and Trade Committee (JETCO).

- **Germany:** a pioneer in the manufacturing industry has been providing both financial and technical assistance to India since 1958 through Ministry of Economic and Cooperation.
- **Research and Development:** A successful **R-EDP (Rural Entrepreneurial Development)** Model has been implemented by the **Grameen Bank** in Bangladesh across various rural pockets. This has been customized and implemented by the Indian Government as well.
- **Finland:** An MoU was signed between NSDC and Omnia (international commercial arm of four Finnish organizations with outstanding expertise in education, training, and development cooperation) for capacity building workshops, development of entrepreneurship modules, joint certification courses for labor mobility, etc.

What is the importance of apprenticeship in skilling India's working age population? What reforms have been taken in this sector?

A. Importance of Apprenticeship:

- Apprenticeships are **public-private partnerships**. They are **important as they get young people into the labour market by equipping them with technical and core skills** needed to take on new jobs.
- One of the most effective methods for producing skilled labour for the nation is training. It **offers a practice-oriented, industry-led, effective, and efficient method of formal training**.
- **Learning on the Job:**
 - A huge difference between an apprenticeship and an academic route is the **chance to build real, hands-on experience** in one's chosen industry.
- **Earn whilst you learn:**
 - Being an apprentice means one will be earning a wage whilst learning and building up industry skills.

- **Get your foot in the door:**
 - As an apprentice, one will be able to start climbing the career ladder whilst gaining qualifications.
- **Networking:**
 - Working as an apprenticeship allows one to meet a whole host of people that have relevant connections to one's industry, both through the business itself as well as training and other apprentices.

B. Reforms Introduced in Apprenticeship:

- **The Apprenticeship Act 1961** was designed to regulate the on-the-job training of apprentices in industry.
- **National Apprenticeship Promotion Scheme:** It includes basic training and on-the-job training in the sector.
- **National Apprenticeship Training Scheme:** NATS is one of the government's (MHRD) major programmes for skilling Indian youth.
 - It's a one-year programme that equips technically competent youths with practical skills.
- **SHREYAS: Higher Education Youth in Apprenticeship and Skills:**
 - It's a curriculum for non-technical degree students to provide marketable skills and encourage apprenticeship as part of education.
- **National Employability Enhancement Mission (NEEM):** An AICTE and Indian government project, and under this Candidates get on-the-job training.

What is Skill India Mission?

India's government launched Skill India mission in 2015 to train 40 crore Indians by 2022. The features of Skill India Mission include:

- The main goal is to make it easier for young people to get jobs and encourage them to start their own businesses.
- Mission gives **recognition to Prior Learning**.
- The **training would be up to international standards** so that India's young people could get jobs not just in India but also in other countries where there is a need.
- The creation of a new mark called "**Rural India Skill**" is an important part.
- For certain age groups, **programmes based on their needs** would be started to teach communication, life, and positive thinking skills, language skills, behavioural skills, management skills, and so on.
- The **teaching approach** would also be **novel while remaining traditional**: It would include activities like games, group discussions, case studies, and brainstorming sessions.
- The National Skill Development Mission takes into account the proceedings through a **result-oriented structure** that connects with modern business requirements.
- Technically, it takes care of **convergence, institutional training, overseas employment, leveraging public infrastructure and sustainable livelihoods**.
- Weavers, cobblers, carpenters, welders, masons, blacksmiths, nurses, and other traditional jobs can get training, advice, and help from the mission.
- There will also be a focus on new fields, such as real estate, transportation, construction, the gem industry, textiles, banking, jewellery design, tourism, and other fields where the level of skill is low.

Do you think Skill India Mission has been effective?

A. Yes: (achievements)

- **The government** has **successfully constructed 25000 training centers** that offer more than 3000 skill-based courses across 37 sectors.
- To boost employment in rural areas, **more than 247 centers** were established under the **Jan Shikshan Sansthan** which **benefitted 4.15 lakh people, out of which 85% were women trainees**.
- In partnership with IIM Bangalore, the government has set up **Mahatma Gandhi National Fellowship**, with the aim to provide academic exposure in the management sector to the rural youth.
- Through the **2nd phase of Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana**, around

68.12 lakhs of women had undergone skill training.

- Under the **Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana (PMKVY)**, the last tranche of 20% of the total payout to training providers is linked with placement of the certified candidates.
- Based on the learning from implementation of PMKVY 1.0 (2015-16) and 2.0 (2016-20), the skills development ministry has launched PMKVY 3.0 on January 15, 2021 with an objective to train 8 lakh candidates.
- Further, in order to promote entrepreneurship, the **National Institute for Entrepreneurship and Small Business Development (NISEBUD)**, is conducting several entrepreneurship development training programmes.
 - Till Dec 2021, NISEBUD has provided training to 12.35 lakh candidates through 46,690 entrepreneurship development training programs.

B. No: (Issues)

- Skill India mission **focused mainly on training and ignored post training support** with respect to placements, and further retention of them by industry.
- The **Quality Council of India (QCI) has often compromised with the quality of accreditation and affiliation process.**
 - For e.g. It did not adhere to National Council for Vocational Training norms with respect to building infrastructure, equipment, and faculty.
- There was a **drastic cut in the amount allocated to the Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship (MSDE)** due to underutilization of funds allocated to it.
- **Poor Industry interface-** For instance, there are **too many sector skill councils** (industry bodies mandated to ensure that skill development efforts are in accordance with the actual needs of the industry), **each trying to maximise their business.**

- Also, there is **no credible assessment board to uphold the accountability of these sector skill councils.**
- **Lack of adequate coordination:** The Central Government's skill development initiatives are dispersed throughout more than 20 Ministries/Departments, but there is no effective coordination or monitoring system in place to guarantee convergence.
- **Multiple testing and certification programmes,** which results in uneven results and perplexes employers.
- **Lack of instructors and difficulties in recruiting industry professionals** to serve as training faculty.
- At the sectoral and geographic levels, there is an **imbalance between supply and demand.**
- The **prevalence of apprenticeship programmes is rather low.**
- **Narrow, sometimes out-of-date skill courses.**

What reforms are needed to make Skill India mission a success?

A. Reforms required in Skill India mission:

- The **working of sector skill councils should be improved** as recommended by the **Sharda Prasad Committee.**
- **Evaluation of Training Institutes:** In addition to providing grants to training institutes **NSDC should also develop some techniques to evaluate** the performance of such institutes and encourage them to perform better.
- **Local bodies can be used for skill mapping and creating a database of youth** at local level to assess demand supply gaps.
- The **personnel of Railways and other para-military forces could be used for skill training** or lending institutional support in imparting training **in hilly, inaccessible and difficult terrains.**
- **Post-training support,** including mentoring for access to market.

- **Entry barriers** such as educational qualification, transportation, loss of wages, language, etc., **need to be addressed.**

B. General reforms needed to improve skill development:

- Incentive mechanisms will be developed to encourage **the private sector to participate in skill development.**
- The **expansion of public training institutions** will be promoted, particularly in rural, border hilly and difficult areas, where the private sector may find it difficult to invest.
- **Innovative delivery models:** such as decentralized delivery, mobile training, distance learning, e-learning and web-based learning will be used.
- **Creating institutional mechanisms:** for research development quality assurance, examinations & certification, affiliations and accreditation.
- **Increasing participation of stakeholders:** mobilizing adequate investment for financing skill development, attaining sustainability by strengthening physical and intellectual resources.

- The **provision of soft (or life) skills** – including basic literacy, numeracy, occupational safety and health, hygiene, basic labour rights, teamwork and confidence building need to be made as an integral component of the curricula.
- Opportunities for minority groups will be expanded, particularly in **Minority Concentrated Areas (MCAs).**
- **Efforts are needed to improve the level of participation of people with disabilities**, which presently is very low, despite guidelines for reserving 3% of the seats for them.

Education may help you live a life of liberty, but having the right skills can help you flourish and make that freedom worthwhile. In India, the population pyramid is anticipated to sag over the 15-59 age range during the course of the next ten years.

It is anticipated that this demographic advantage will only exist until 2040. India has a very limited amount of time to take advantage of its demographic dividend and address its talent gap. Therefore, it is essential to make concerted efforts to skill its people and make India the world's skill capital.

H212- PPP in Health Sector

The Public-Private Partnership in financing, service delivery and provision of workspaces and training of trainers must be promoted to meet the demand and supply gap in the field of skill development. - Pallam Raju (former HRD Minister)

The Indian government spends about 1.35 per cent of the GDP on the healthcare systems while citizens bear almost 65% as out of pocket expenditure. This is a huge financial burden that prevents millions of Indians to have access to quality healthcare facilities.

As per a report by KPMG, about 75% of India's healthcare infrastructure and 74% of doctors are found in urban areas, leaving about 73 per cent of people in rural areas lacking for even primary healthcare. In addition to this, India also has a relatively low patient doctor ratio of 1:1445 compared to the WHO recommended ratio of 1:1000.

In 2021, while addressing a webinar on effective implementation of the budget provisions for the health sector, the PM said the Centre was looking at the public-private partnership model to upgrade India's healthcare infrastructure.

Needless to say, with these numbers, India continues to remain largely underprepared to handle any health crisis – pandemic or otherwise.

What is Public Private Partnership (PPP)?

- According to **World Bank**, **public-private partnership (PPP)** is a **long-term contract between a private party and a government entity**, for providing a public asset or service, in which the private party bears significant risk and management responsibility, and remuneration is linked to performance.
- Public-private partnerships typically are long-term and involve large corporations on the private side.
- Some of the commonly adopted forms of PPPs include build-operate-transfer

(BOT), build-lease-transfer (BLT), design-build-operate-transfer (DBFO), operate-maintain-transfer (OMT), etc. A key element of these contracts is that the private party takes on a significant portion of the risk.

- The Public Private Partnership (PPP) model **in India has been success in other areas such as infrastructure, energy**, urban development, tourism and more.

Does India need PPP in healthcare?

A. Yes, India need PPP in healthcare

- **Issues faced by public sector in providing healthcare in India:**
 - **Uneven distribution:** Urban residents, who account for just 28% of India's population, have access to 66% of the country's hospital beds, while the remaining 72% of the rural population have access to just one-third.
 - **Lack of adequate doctors:** 1:1,700, doctor: citizen ratio, well below the minimum ratio of 1:1,000 stipulated by WHO.
 - **Inadequate government spending on healthcare and lack of access to health insurance** to large sections of society.
 - **Below par quality of public health services in India especially in rural areas:** which hamper economic growth of the country.
 - **Government's inability to build sufficient capacity and infrastructure**, difficulty in reaching out to poor and vulnerable groups. An undersized skilled workforce and the absence of upgraded technology is a major challenge in the health sector.
- **Advantages of PPP in health sector:**

- **Helps government to focus on rural areas:** PPP will bring in the government's resources needed to make healthcare available for the larger Indian masses living in rural areas. As the private sector can cater to the urban areas.
- **Risk distribution:** In PPP projects, there is a possibility to transfer most of the risks to the private entity. Private entities explore opportunities, even though they involve risks.
- **Less delays:** They result in faster project completion and reduced delays on infrastructure projects by including time-to-completion as a measure of performance and therefore of profit.
- **Expertise:** The experience and management expertise of the private sector in building and running successful organizations can be crucial in revamping medical facilities to build an efficient healthcare system.
- **Financial Benefits:** The private sector can bring in large funds to build best-in-class healthcare facilities that benefit the masses. At the same time, the public sector can bring in the required subsidies and accessibility.
- **PPP model successful in other areas:** The Public-Private Partnership (PPP) model in India has seen success in other areas such as infrastructure, energy, education, urban development, tourism, amongst others.
- **Technology:** New-age innovative technology adopted by private players can make healthcare accessible to rural India; a relevant example is telemedicine.
- **Efficiency:** The PPP Model can help drive efficiency and help run

hospitals and clinics like well-oiled machines.

Some successful examples of PPP model:

- The **Arogya Raksha scheme in Andhra Pradesh** is another insurance scheme initiated by the state government, in collaboration with New India Assurance Company and private clinics wherein End-to-end cashless services for 1,059 diseases under secondary and tertiary care are being provided through 400 government and corporate network hospitals.
- **Yashasvini Cooperative Farmer's Health Insurance Scheme**, which was initiated by Narayana Hrudayalaya, Bangalore's super speciality hospital and the Karnataka government, is a landmark initiative that has come as a great boon to the farmers in the state.

B. No, as PPP in healthcare involves following Concerns /Issues:

- **Issue of transparency:** with respect to high costs and user fees, transfer of public funds to private entities, fragmentation of services and weakened health worker rights.
 - There is a **lack of an inbuilt mechanism to decide how the government and the private sector share revenue and risks.**
- **Profit vs service motive:** The aim of the private sector is to maximize profit, which is inconsonance with governments aim of providing universal quality services to all.
- **May lead to crony capitalism:** In many sectors, PPP projects have turned into conduits of crony capitalism.
 - For example, large chunk of politically connected firms in India are in the infrastructure sector, which have used political connections to win contracts in the past.
- **Lackluster performance by PPPs:** PPP projects have been mired in issues such as

disputes in existing contracts, non-availability of capital and regulatory hurdles related to the acquisition of land.

- **Merit goods:** Education and health are what we call 'merit goods. And they are the kinds of things **where the market mechanism is not a satisfactory** mechanism to deliver these things. Thus, the government is obliged to provide these services at affordable costs.

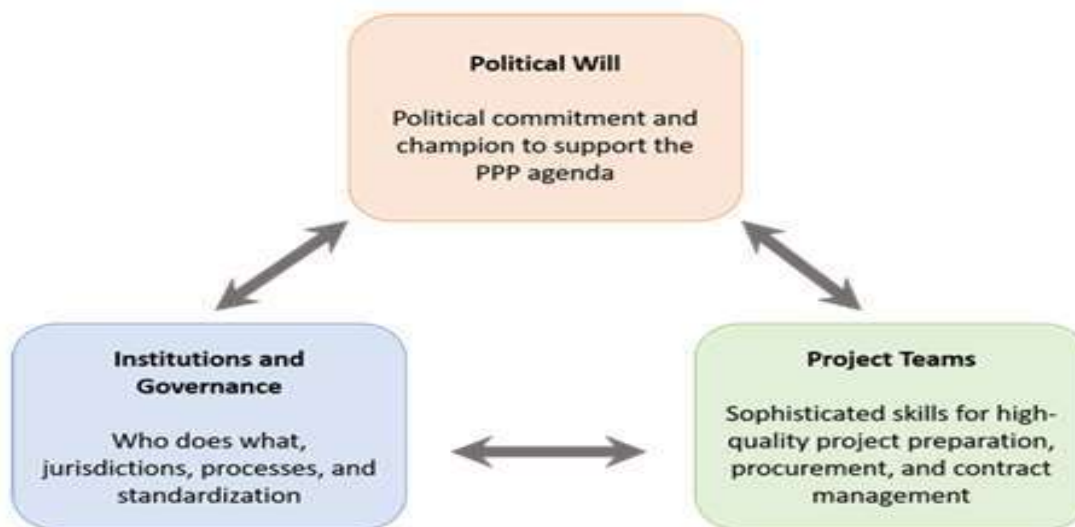
What steps are taken to promote PPP in healthcare by governments in India?

- **Ayushman Bharat Pradhan Mantri Jan Arogya Yojana (AB PM-JAY):** Launched in 2018, Ayushman Bharat PM-JAY is the largest Government funded health assurance/insurance scheme in the world. It involves both the Public as well as Private sector.
- **In 2017, Niti Aayog and the Union Ministry for Health and Family Welfare have proposed a model contract** to increase the role of private hospitals in treating non-communicable diseases in urban India (especially in tier 2 & 3 cities).
- **National Health Policy, 2017 - Strengthening efficiency:** This policy visualizes building a strong partnership between government and private organizations to overall functioning and efficiency of the health system.
- **Steps taken at state level:**
 - **The Private -Provider Interface Agency (PPIA):** It worked with a network of private doctors, chemists, laboratories, and hospitals to ensure 'Standards of TB Care' in various metropolitan cities of India.
 - **Chiranjeevi Yojana Program (Gujarat):** The government is engaging with private providers to increase institutional deliveries.
 - **Hausala Sajheedari Initiative (UP):** The government is engaging in private health facilities for family planning. The scheme works on a reimbursement basis under a public-private partnership (PPP Model).
 - **Karnataka** has planned to bring in public-private-partnership in healthcare by allowing private players to invest in district government medical colleges and hospitals to

let private healthcare investors establish and run medical colleges in these districts and use governments existing district public hospitals as teaching centres to their colleges.

What steps are required to further facilitate PPP in India?

- There is a need to **have independent regulators** who can work independently and monitor such projects.
- There is a **need to utilize CSR spending** for improving healthcare delivery.
- Three institutional pillars are needed to increase the probability of PPP success.
 - **Political Will:** as in many cultures, the very idea of private sector management, operation or ownership of 'public services' is foreign, and thus introducing PPPs requires significant political leadership.
 - **Able institutions and prompt governance:** To justify high transaction costs involved in PPP projects, firms considering a PPP need to know their **bids will be reviewed in a timely manner using a transparent and standardized process.** This is key to reducing delays and risks related to judicial proceedings, bad press, unforeseen investigations, or any kind of discretionary decisions.
 - **Technical teams:** Another key condition to the success of PPPs is the presence of a strong technical team in government that understands the market, the potential pool of bidders, their requirements, their limitations, and ensures clarity and consistency in the process.



- **Mapping areas of critical need:** Mapping areas that are in dire need of help vs those that are still functional would be a good start and that is where the public sector network and reach can help.
- **NITI Aayog Recommendations:**
 - PPP Units will be established in District Hospitals.
 - The model covers the prevention and treatment of three Non-Communicable Diseases- **Cardiovascular diseases, Cancers and Pulmonary Diseases.**
 - All these services in PPP facility will be offered by a **Single partner or a single group of private partners.**
 - The **private partner will invest in upgrading and equipping the facility and will be responsible for operational management** and service delivery.
 - The **government will provide physical space & other infrastructure** in ‘as-is-where-is’ condition, provide support facilities and hospital amenities.
 - Four PPP models—**Management of Contract, Purchasing of Services, Build, Operate and Transfer Model or a Co-location Model**—have been proposed.
 1. **Management of Contract model:** the state government will bring in a private partner for a period of 10-15 years of investing in equipping the

- government facility, hiring human resources and managing the facility, while the **government will reimburse the private partner.**
- 2. **Purchasing of Services model:** the state government will identify medical and surgical procedures that a private partner will carry out and the government will pay or co-pay the costs. This will be for a period of one to three years.
- 3. **Build, Operate and Transfer Model:** the private partner will have the vacant land offered by the government for thirty years or more and will finance the project.
- 4. **Co-location model:** will involve government allowing a private partner to set-up a separate facility through private investment within an existing government hospital premise for a duration of 15 years with a renewal option and it will allow the private facility to charge patients.

A public private partnership is helpful, and it works because of the variety of things the players bring to the table so as to create a holistic strategy for long term change. With the **government’s ability to provide scale and large subsidies, and the private sector bringing in the funds and expertise to deliver things at a scale and on**

time, a well-planned **PPP** is the route we should take to create a sustainable healthcare in an emerging economy such as India.

ForumIAS

H213- Digitization of Healthcare in India

Introduction

The National Health Policy (NHP), 2017 had defined the vision of '**health and wellbeing for all at all ages**'. Continuum of care is a concept strongly advocated by the policy. Citizen centricity, quality of care, better access, universal health coverage, and inclusiveness are some of the key principles on which the NHP is founded.

All these aspirations can be realized principally by leveraging the power of digital technologies. In the Indian context, due to its size and diversity, this mammoth task requires that a holistic, comprehensive and interoperable digital architecture is crafted and adopted by all the stakeholders. In the absence of such architecture, the use of technology in the health sector continues to grow in an uneven manner and in silos.

In the above context, the Committee constituted by the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare recognized the need for creating a framework for the evolution of a National Digital Health Eco-system (NOHE) - an Eco-system and not a System. The result is the National Digital Health Blueprint (NDHB).

What is the concept of digital health?

Digital health is a broad multidisciplinary concept that includes concepts from an intersection between technology and healthcare. Under its umbrella, digital health includes mobile health (mHealth) apps, electronic health records (EHRs), electronic medical records (EMRs), AI-empowered medical devices, telehealth and telemedicine, remote-patient monitoring as well as personalized medicine.

Stakeholders in the digital health field include patients, practitioners, researchers, application developers, and medical device manufacturers and distributors.

What is the National Digital Health Blueprint?

- NDHB recognizes the need to establish a specialized organization, called **National Digital Health Mission (NDHM)** that can drive the implementation of the Blueprint, and promote and facilitate the evolution of NDHE.

- The Blueprint keeps the overall vision of NHP 2017 at its core and recommends commencing with a pragmatic agenda to start with, adopting the principle of '**Think Big, Start Small, Scale Fast**'.
- To this end, it has been designed as a layered framework, with the vision and a set of principles at the core, surrounded by the other layers relating to digital health infrastructure, digital health data hubs, building blocks, standards and regulations, and an institutional framework for its implementation.
- The document also contains a **High-Level Action Plan** to put these elements into motion in a time-bound manner.

Objectives of NDHB are aligned to the Vision of NHP 2017 and the SDG's relating to the health sector. These include:

- Establishing and managing the **core digital health data** and the infrastructure required for its seamless exchange
- Promoting the **adoption of open standards** by all the actors in the National Digital Health Ecosystem in the development of multiple digital health systems spanning across the sector from wellness to disease management
- Creating a system of **Electronic Health Records**, based on international standards, which are easily accessible to the citizens and service providers based on citizen consent
- **Establishing data ownership pathways** so that the patient is the owner of his/her EHR, and health facilities and government entities maintain the data under trust on behalf of patient.
 - o The collection as well as the end use of the data shall be through a consent framework.
 - o The anonymized data can, however, be used for research purposes.
 - o It is the responsibility of the health facility to ensure privacy, security and confidentiality of the data.

- Following the best principles of **cooperative federalism** while working with the states and union territories for the realization of the vision

Principles

An ecosystem cannot be built - it must evolve. Given this, a set of principles have been recommended to enable the evolution of the NDHE. The key principles of the Blueprint include -

- **From the domain perspective-** universal health coverage, inclusiveness, security and privacy by design, education and empowerment of the citizens, and
- **From the technology perspective-** building blocks, interoperability, a set of registries as single sources of truth, open standards, open APIs and above all, a minimalistic approach.

Building Blocks

The Blueprint has identified 35 building blocks. A few of the critical capabilities and the schematic of the NDHE that will be addressed by appropriate combinations of different building blocks are briefly explained below:

- **Identification:** Unique identification of persons, facilities, diseases and devices is a key requirement as well as a challenge in the NDHE. The Blueprint handles this requirement through 2 building blocks, viz. Unique Health Identifier (UHID) and the Health Locker. Working in tandem, these two blocks will facilitate the creation and maintenance of both Electronic Health Records and Personal Health Records.
- **Citizen to be in Control:** The need for maintaining the confidentiality, security and privacy of health records cannot be over-emphasized. These regulatory requirements are built into the design of NDHE a priori, rather than being retrofitted. The Blueprint achieves these complex and mandatory requirements through a combination of a few building blocks, viz. Consent Manager, Anonymizer and Privacy Operations Centre.
- **Service Access/ Delivery:** Omni-channel access/ delivery are an important capability required in the NDHE. This is achieved by a

combination of Web {India Health Portal} and mobile (My Health App) applications, as well as the call centres and social media platforms. The Unified Communication Centre enables real-time monitoring and interventions needed in the NDHE.

- **Interoperability:** The most important contribution of the Blueprint is its advocacy of interoperability, which is a prerequisite for development of integrated digital health services and establishing a continuum of care but also propelling parallel development of innovative value-added services by entrepreneurs. Two building blocks, namely, the Health Information Exchange and the National Health Informatics Standards enable and promote the interoperability of various building blocks and services built on top of them.

The task of developing these building blocks is allocated under a federated model with three levels of roles delineated between centre, state and health facilities.

What are the advantages of digitization of health?

- **On-demand Healthcare:** With the COVID-19 pandemic restricting many people to remain indoors, more and more patients seek on-demand healthcare. It is convenient as it helps patients seek guidance at their own time and from anywhere, they need it.
- **Big Data Will Be Used to Improve Healthcare Management**
 - **Reduced medication errors:** Patient record analysis allows the healthcare software to flag any inconsistencies between a patient's health and drug prescriptions.
 - **Improved staffing:** Using big data's predictive analysis, hospitals and clinics can estimate future admission rates enabling these facilities to allocate proper staff to deal with the patient. This will help save money and reduce emergency room waiting time, especially when a facility is understaffed.
 - Big data analytics, visualization, and insights generation can improve healthcare

- operations management and transform the patient's experience.
- **Virtual Reality Will Transform Medical Training & Care Delivery Models:**
 - **VR in medical diagnosis & treatments:** VR is increasingly used in treatment segments in healthcare, such as patient education, robotic surgery, physical and psychological therapy, etc.
 - **VR for medical training:** Other uses of VR technology include doctors and medical residents using VR simulations to hone their skills (learning in near-real situations) and safely plan complicated surgeries.
 - **Collecting health data** from medical devices such as wearables. Wearable devices in healthcare offer the following benefits:
 - **Personalized healthcare experience:** Medical devices help patients improve their health and give them a sense of ownership regarding personal healthcare management.
 - **Prevention:** Wearable devices allow patients to take preventive measures to improve their health. Such patients are more likely to obtain lower insurance premiums.
 - **AI-powered chatbots and virtual health assistants** fulfill many roles in the healthcare industry, such as customer service representatives, diagnostic tools, or even therapists. Hence AI in healthcare is gaining immense popularity.
- What are the challenges associated with digitization of healthcare?**
- **Societal Factors:** Digital technologies need to deliver affordable, easy-to-use healthcare solutions to a growing and aging population in which new technologies are often slow to be adopted and accepted by the general populace.
 - **Ethical Challenges:** The increasing digitization of healthcare and the growth of mobile and IoT devices as data collection tools raises many ethical issues.
 - The exact nature of the role of consumer tech companies, such as Amazon, Apple, Google, Facebook, or Samsung, who have all entered the digital health domain is unclear.
- In particular, such companies offer solutions for collecting, storing and analyzing health data which raises issues relating to privacy, data protection and informed consent.
- The nature of health data is also changing; we are now collecting more private user-generated data, particularly data harvested from social media and through wearable technologies, than ever before.
 - Ethical concerns relating to data ownership.
 - The growth of apps and technologies developed for a consumer market blurs the lines between what is medical and non-medical devices and raises ethical challenges relating to how to regularize such technologies.
- **Increased Connected Health Solutions:**
 - There is often a lack of quality and evidence-based research highlighting the associated health benefits of the newest technologies.
 - There are also many challenges inherent in demonstrating that newer approaches and technologies are indeed effective.
 - Transferring data from the point of collection, such as IoT devices, to remote servers, brings security and privacy concerns that need to be addressed.
 - **Role of Artificial Intelligence:**
 - The presence of AI solutions in digital health intensifies challenges surrounding safety, explainability, and fairness.
 - Moreover, the risk to human life of AI-based systems is, currently, not well-studied, and there is a lack of standards for the verification and validation of such systems.
 - There are also generalization issues associated with AI models, reproducing promising results, made on “limited” training sets, on real-world data.
 - **Data protection regulations:** Data security is crucial. In the absence of data protection legislation in India, patients' health data are at risk. Elements like Data Principle, Consent, Data Ownership, etc., require strong data regulatory mechanism.

What are the initiatives taken by the Government to promote digitization of health care in India?

- **National Digital Health Mission:** Under this scheme, Health ID will be given to every Indian.
 - o This health account will contain details of every test, every disease, the doctors visited, the medicines taken and the diagnosis.
 - o This information will be very useful as it is portable and easily accessible even if the patient shifts to a new place and visits a new doctor.
 - o NDHM is a holistic, voluntary healthcare programme which will integrate doctors, hospitals, pharmacies, insurance companies and make a digital health infrastructure.
- **eHealth:** To improve efficiency in health care delivery, extend health care to rural areas and provide better quality at low-cost certain eHealth initiatives using ICT were undertaken by MOHFW across the country.
- **National eHealth Authority (NeHA):** To ensure development and promotion of eHealth ecosystem in India for enabling, the organization, management and provision of effective people-centred health services to all in an efficient, cost-effective and transparent manner.
- **Project Niramay:** To demonstrate the integration of digital health technology to strengthen public health care delivery.

What is NDHM?

- The National Digital Health Mission (now known as Ayushman Bharat Digital Mission-ABDM) intends to build the foundation essential to back the digital healthcare infrastructure.
- It will also aim to digitally reconcile the gap among different stakeholders in India's healthcare sector.

- The National Health Authority (NHA) will implement the program following its principal guidelines.
- According to NDHM, individuals will get a health card containing every detail and current health record of the cardholder.
- This mission will connect medical practitioners and patients digitally. Additionally, promote stable and well-structured healthcare across the nation.

Objectives of NDHM

- Establish and improve the digital healthcare system that manages crucial digital healthcare data and infrastructure for absolute service exchange.
- Create international grade health records of individuals with their sane consent. This will help exchange records easily among patients, healthcare professionals and service providers.
- Boost digital health cards among the citizens, which will hold credible data of medical experts, medical workers, healthcare institutions, clinics, pharmacies and drugs.
- Promote open standards to be adopted by national digital healthcare stakeholders.

Six- Components of NDHM:



Features of the NDHM

- Every Indian citizen will register with a **unique healthcare ID** to fetch the facilities of the mission. An app or website will maintain the healthcare ID of a doctor.
- The digital health ID will identify every individual as a car holder and hold all health-related information. Every digital healthcare stakeholder, including citizens and healthcare service providers, will voluntarily participate in the health ID system.
- **Health data managers** will be linked to every health ID. They will exchange health records between medical practitioners and patients with their due consent. An app or website will extend these services
- **Digi doctors** will participate in this digital healthcare system and provide services across the nation. They will provide a prescription with a digital signature to a place far away from where they are now.

What steps are needed to further improve digitization of healthcare in India?

- **Address the interoperability** (the right exchange and use of information) issues, we need to ensure interoperability standards. Further, the right tools and bandwidth will be required to address issues such as non-working links, data not being updated, and faster uploads for large file sizes such as X-rays, MRI scans, etc.
- **The govt needs to pass and implement the Personal Data Protection Bill.** This could

ensure uniformity in data usage laws while providing better protection of citizen's data, addressing privacy concerns.

- A 2018 report prepared by the ministry of electronics and information technology (MeitY), titled Adoption of EHR: A Roadmap for India, indicated that a **large investment in hardware and software** is required to ensure a robust ICT infrastructure.
- Regulation and technological advancement and high security to avoid any leakage of the health repositories.
- **Conduct pilot studies** to assess the use of technology for streamlining patient flows and medical records and thereby increase efficiencies across different typologies of hospitals and facilities.

With increased ease of use, acceptance by the people and adaptation by service providers, digital health interventions can accelerate progress towards Universal Health Coverage (UHC) and improve population health outcomes. By establishing a comprehensive, nationwide integrated digital health ecosystem, NDHM will contribute significantly in achieving the goals of National Health Policy 2017 and the SDGs related to health. NDHM will mark a new beginning for the Indian digital healthcare ecosystem, enabling more effective delivery of healthcare services and moving towards health to all.

H214- Mental Health

As per the Lancet study published in 2021, 37% of global suicide deaths among women and 24% among men occurred in India. This highlights the growing mental health challenge India is currently battling with. Further, with the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, several reports have indicated a worsening of mental health issues among individuals across age groups.

What is the meaning of mental health?

Meaning:

- According to the **World Health Organization (WHO)**, mental health is “a state of well-being in which the individual realizes his or her own abilities, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to his or her community.
- The **Mental Healthcare Act, 2017** defines “mental illness” as a **substantial disorder of thinking, mood, perception, orientation or memory that grossly impairs judgment, behavior, capacity to recognize reality or ability to meet the ordinary demands of life.**
- Within the health-related **SDGs**, two targets are directly related to mental health and substance abuse.
 - **Target 3.4** “By 2030, reduce by one third premature mortality from Non-communicable diseases through prevention and treatment and promote mental health and well-being.”
 - **Target 3.5** requests that countries: “Strengthen the prevention and treatment of substance abuse, including narcotic drug abuse and harmful use of alcohol.”

What is the status of mental health in India?

- According to **WHO Report “Depression and Other Common Mental Disorders – Global Health Estimates” (2017)**, the estimated prevalence of depressive disorders in India is **4.5% of the total population.**

- Further, 38 million people suffer from anxiety disorders.
- According to **the National Mental Health Survey (2015-16)** nearly 13% suffer from minor to major mental disorders.
- According to **2011 Census**, there were 15 lakhs mentally retarded and 7.2 lakh mentally ill people in India.



Figure 1: Mental Health statistics in India

- The **Covid-19** pandemic has further accentuated this mental health crisis, with reports from across the world suggesting that the Virus and associated lockdowns were having a significant impact on the population – particularly younger individuals.
- A study by the **India State-Level Disease Burden Initiative** showed that the disease burden in India due to **mental disorders increased from 2.5% in 1990 to 4.7% in 2017** in terms of **DALYs (disability-adjusted life years)**, and was the leading contributor to YLDs (years lived with disability) contributing to 14.5% of all YLDs in the country (**India State-Level Disease Burden Initiative, 2017**).

What are the causes of depreciating mental health?

Social causes:

- **Poverty:** Persons from lower socio-economic groups are more vulnerable to mental health problems. Out-of-Pocket health spending to access mental health services and lost

productivity due to disability can also lead to poverty. (Vicious cycle)

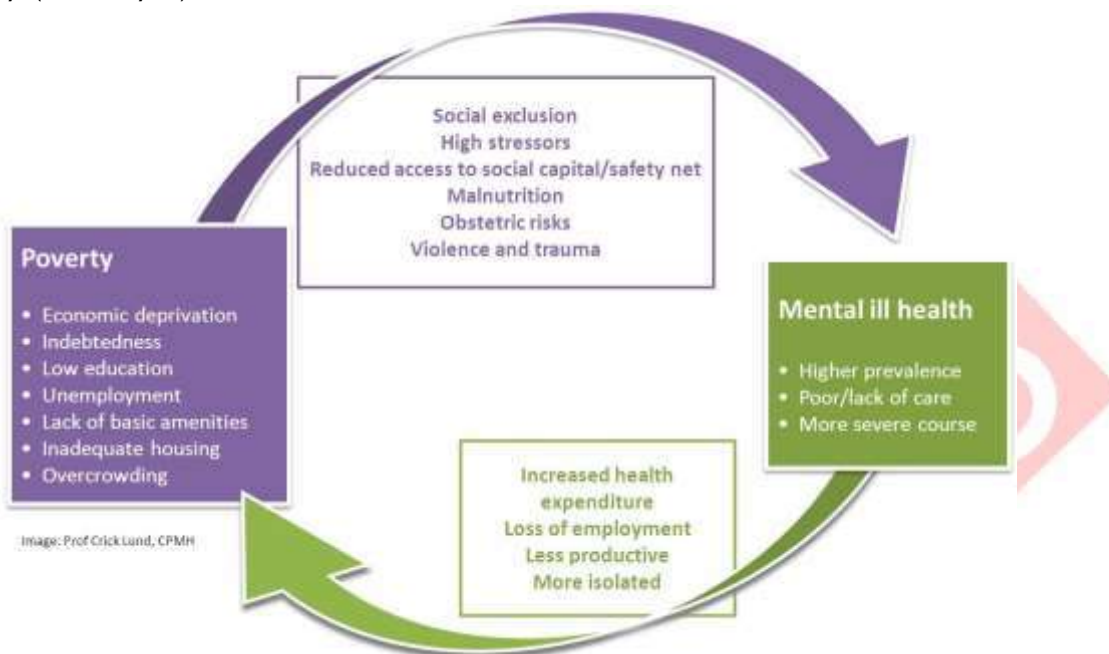


Figure 2: Social causes linked with Mental Health

- **Social determinants:** In countries like India, the social determinants of health like employment, education, living standards, environment, access, equity and others contribute significantly to both causation and recovery.
- Data from the NMHS reveals that mental disorders were significantly higher in households with lesser income, poor education and limited employment.
- **Other social factors:**
 - a. Death or divorce
 - b. A dysfunctional family life
 - c. Feelings of inadequacy, low self-esteem, anxiety, anger, or loneliness
 - d. Changing jobs or schools
 - e. Social or cultural expectations (For example, a society that associates beauty with thinness can be a factor in the development of eating disorder)
 - f. Substance abuse by the person or the person's parents

Psychological causes:

- Severe psychological trauma suffered as a child, such as emotional, physical, or sexual abuse

- An important early loss, such as the loss of a parent
- Neglect & Poor ability to relate to others

Biological causes:

- **Genetics (heredity):** Mental illnesses sometimes run-in families, suggesting that people who have a family member with a mental illness may be somewhat more likely to develop one themselves.
- **Infections:** Certain infections have been linked to brain damage and the development of mental illness or the worsening of its symptoms.
- **Brain defects or injury:** Defects in or injury to certain areas of the brain have also been linked to some mental illnesses.
- **Prenatal damage:** Some evidence suggests that a disruption of early fetal brain development or trauma that occurs at the time of birth -- for example, loss of oxygen to the brain -- may be a factor in the development of certain conditions, such as autism spectrum disorder.
- **Substance abuse:** Long-term substance abuse, in particular, has been linked to anxiety, depression, and paranoia.

- **Other factors:** Poor nutrition and exposure to toxins, such as lead, may play a role in the development of mental illnesses.

What are the implications of declining mental health?

Cultural impact

- From a cultural perspective, mental disorders are associated with a considerable amount of stigma in Indian society, leading to neglect and marginalization. Such individuals and their families face numerous challenges in daily life, both for managing the condition as well as for making them productive due to prevailing attitudes, media portrayals, societal discrimination and deprived opportunities

Social Impact

- Persons with mental illness are unable to receive quality care due to limited awareness, **availability, accessibility and affordability**; the costs of care are also becoming increasingly prohibitive.
- Persons with mental disorders are also known to be associated with a wide range of social and societal problems if their illness is unrecognized or inappropriately managed.
- As per the **Global Burden of Disease report**, mental disorders account for 13% of total DALYs lost for **Years Lived with Disability (YLD)** with depression being the leading cause

Economic Impact

- The illness affects growth, productivity and the earning potential of individuals.
- The preparedness, responsiveness and capacity of health systems to address these challenges have not been well understood to date. Thus, these issues combined, have not only slowed the growth of mental health services, but also limited its expansion both quantitatively and qualitatively.
- The **World Health Organization** evaluated “In India, the economic damage, due to mental health conditions, within 2012-2030, is 1.03 trillion of 2010 dollars”.

What challenges India faces in dealing with mental health issues?

- **Mental Health Programmes in India are a low priority on the public health agenda.** The current mental health programmes in India are hampered by the lack of valid, reliable, timely, sensitive and specific outcome indicators for mental health developed on routine data gathering methods.
- **The paucity of mental health specialists:** The limited availability of specialist mental health human resources (psychiatrists, clinical psychologists and psychiatric social workers (existing ones are also mostly in urban areas)) has been one of the barriers in providing essential mental health care to all.
- **Institutional care is still limited;** needs capacity building and innovative use of resources.
- **No supportive legislature:** Though the states reported the implementation of mental health legislations to varying extents and levels, no formal or informal evaluation reports were available to examine their coverage, efficacy and effectiveness.
- **Low mental literacy:** Current mental health education activities are isolated, sporadic and invisible in nature and lack focus and direction. The need for IEC activities in all states is exemplified by low mental health literacy, prevailing stigma and the huge treatment gap.
- **Lack of coordination:** Timely coordination of activities was absent and coordination between the Centre – state–districts – departments–institutions – peripheral agencies was functionally absent leading to delays in implementation. The reason was the lack of a designated nodal unit for mental health at the state level.
- **Programme monitoring and evaluation are totally missing.** Except for Tamil Nadu and Gujarat, none of the other states reported the presence of any mechanisms for meaningful monitoring on a regular or periodical basis.
- **Limited research:** Mental health research is limited. Research programmes focusing on different priorities are required to address knowledge gaps. In most of the surveyed states,

national or state research activities are largely missing

What needs to be done to tackle mental health issues effectively?

- A **well-planned and organised mental health system** has immense scope for enhanced service delivery, positive outcomes and improved human rights for people with mental disorders.
- **Strengthening preventive measures:** Policy makers will be able to organize and deliver high-quality mental health services, close the mental health- treatment gap and strengthen preventive / promotive measures along with rehabilitation services with a systems framework.
- **Systems approach:** to mental health becomes critical not only to advance mental health, but also because of its impact on the nation's commitment to implement Mental Health Action plans and to achieve **Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 11** in the coming years.
- **Joint responsibility:** The delivery of mental health care to Indian citizens is the joint responsibility of the central and state governments. Mental health services should be comprehensive (promotion, care, management and rehabilitation), integrated (within and between different sectors) and delivered to the entire population
- **Critical role of medical colleges:** As India moves beyond mental hospitals, it is important to increase the role of medical colleges and district hospitals in delivering mental health care.
- **Engaging private sector:** Private sector institutions should also actively engage themselves. The need for clear guidelines to achieve these aims cannot be over-emphasized.
- **Mental health should be integrated with programmes of NCD prevention and control,** child health, adolescent health, elderly health and other national disease control programmes.
- **Funding:** The funding for mental health programmes needs to be streamlined with good planning, increased allocation, performance based timely disbursement, guaranteed complete utilization and robust mechanisms for oversight and accountability.
- **Drug logistics system:** Drug logistics system at state level needs strengthening in indenting, procurement at state and local levels, distribution and ensuring availability on a continuous and uninterrupted basis in all public sector health facilities.
- **Human resource development** for mental health in health and all related sectors should be systematically planned and implemented. This should include:
 - **Sensitization of policy makers** and professionals in education, welfare, women and child development, law, police and others.
 - **Training all existing and new state mental health programme officers** in programme implementation
 - Building skills and knowledge of doctors (modern and traditional), health workers, ANMs, ASHAs and USHAs, Anganwadi workers and others.
 - **Prioritize mental health questions** should be included in ongoing future national surveys like NCD risk factor survey, National Family and Health Survey, NSSO and others.

WHO's response

- WHO supports governments in the goal of strengthening and promoting mental health.
- It has evaluated evidence for promoting mental health and is working with governments to disseminate this information and to integrate effective strategies into policies and plans.
- In 2013, the World Health Assembly approved a "**Comprehensive Mental Health Action Plan for 2013-2020**".
 - The Action Plan's overall goal is to promote mental well-being, prevent mental disorders, provide care, enhance recovery, promote human rights and reduce mortality, morbidity and disability for persons with mental disorders.

- It focuses on **4 key objectives** to:
 - strengthen effective leadership and governance for mental health;
 - provide comprehensive, integrated and responsive mental health and social care services in community-based settings;
 - implement strategies for promotion and prevention in mental health; and
 - strengthen information systems, evidence and research for mental health

Best Practice: Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala

- Since 1999, Thiruvananthapuram District has been integrating mental health services into primary care.
- A multidisciplinary district mental health team provides outreach clinical services, including direct management of complex cases and in-service training and support for primary care workers.
- The free and ready availability of psychotropic medications in the clinics has enabled patients to receive treatment in their communities, thus greatly reducing expenses and time spent travelling to hospitals.
- Currently, mental health clinics are operating in 22 locations throughout the district. Services provided include diagnosis and treatment planning for newly-identified patients, review and follow-up for established patients, counselling by the clinical psychologist or psychiatrist, psychoeducation and referrals as needed.

Atmiyata Project: It is a community led project which aims to improve community awareness and facilitate access to both mental health and social care. Community volunteers are trained to provide psychological counselling, social care and referral services to those with mental health problems.

SAATHI: It is a South-Asian Mental Health Outreach Program of ASHA International which aims to promote awareness about mental health and emotional wellbeing, improve access to care and connect people to community supports and wellness resources.

Practice of Open Dialogue:

- It is a therapeutic practice that originated in Finland,
- This practice, conducted in homes or in service settings, combines individual and systemic family therapy with a focus on the centrality of relationships and promotion of connectedness through family and support networks.

What are the important provisions of Mental Health care Act 2017? What are the issues and challenges associated with the act?

Mental Healthcare Act, 2017:

The Act seeks to ensure rights of the person with mental illness to receive care and to live a life with dignity. The key features of the Act are:

a) Rights of Persons with Mental Illness:

- **Right to Access to Healthcare–** Every person shall have a right to access mental health care and treatment from mental health services run or funded by the appropriate government. It also assures free treatment for those who are homeless or below the poverty line. The Act also requires insurance policies to place mental health treatment at par with physical health.

- **Right to live with dignity:** Every person with mental illness shall have a right to live with dignity
- **Right to Confidentiality:** A person with mental illness shall have the right to confidentiality in respect of his mental health, mental healthcare, treatment and physical healthcare

b) Advance Directive:

- The Act empowers person with mental illness to make an advance directive that states how he/she wants to be treated for the illness and who his/her nominated representative shall be.

c) Authorities:

- The Act mandates the government to set up Central Mental Health Authority at national-level and State Mental Health Authority in every State.
- Further, every mental health institute and mental health practitioners including clinical psychologists, mental health nurses and psychiatric social workers will have to be registered with the Authority.

d) Mental Health Treatment:

- A mentally ill person shall not be subjected to electro-convulsive therapy without the use of muscle relaxants and anesthesia. Further, electroconvulsive therapy cannot be used on minors
- Sterilization will not be performed on such people.
- They shall not be chained in any manner or under any circumstances
- They shall not be subjected to seclusion or solitary confinement.

e) **Decriminalization of Suicide:** Until recently suicide was a punishable offence under IPC Section 309. The Act decriminalizes suicide stating whoever attempts suicide will be presumed to be under severe stress, and shall not be punished for it.

Issues Involved:

I. Issues with Mental Healthcare Act, 2017:

- The Act neglects the prevention and promotion of mental well-being and recognizes mental illness as a clinical issue which can only be treated by medicines and clinical procedures.
- The Act does not provide for advance directives to minors, provides a narrow and restricted definition of mental health professionals and does not include psychotherapists, counsellors and psychoanalysts.
- The Centre and State both have responsibilities as per the Act; it does not provide for sharing of funds between them. Infrastructural and human resource constraints, the implementation of the Act poses a huge challenge. All the States have different financial conditions; the Central government has to assure funds for meeting the legal obligations.

2. **Treatment Gap:** According to estimates nearly 92% of the people who need mental health care and treatment do not have access to any form of mental health care. The treatment gap is the difference between those suffering from mental illnesses and those availing medical/psychiatric care.

3. Mental Healthcare Resources:

- Mental healthcare resources in India are inadequate with poor infrastructure and abysmally low number of healthcare professionals.
- Further, there is huge rural-urban disparity with most of the mental healthcare facilities being concentrated in urban areas.

4. **Social stigma:** A potent mix of superstition, social stigma and discrimination and reliance on 'faith healers' is a major concern. Lack of awareness and illiteracy contributing to social stigma further aggravates the issues related to mental health and hinders treatment and social inclusion of patients.

5. **Economic Burden:** The economic burden of mental illness contributes significantly to the treatment gap in India. There are both direct (cost of long-term treatment) and indirect costs (the inability of the patient and caregiver to work,

social isolation, psychological stress) contribute significantly to the economic burden.

6. **Human Rights Violation:** Violations of human rights have been reported in mental asylums and also at homes and places of traditional healing. In India, mental hospitals still practice certain obscure practices that violate human rights. Further poor infrastructure such as closed structures, a lack of maintenance, unclean toilets and sleeping areas etc. clearly violate the basic human right to a life with dignity.

What are other initiatives taken by the government to tackle mental health?

- **National Mental Health Programme (NMHP) in 1982**
 - To ensure the availability and accessibility of minimum mental healthcare for all in the foreseeable future, particularly to the most vulnerable and underprivileged sections of the population.
- **The National Mental Health Policy (NMHP) in 2014:** To promote MH, prevent mental illnesses, enable recovery from the mental illness, promote destigmatization and desegregation, and socioeconomic inclusion of PWMI by providing accessible, affordable, and quality health and social care to all persons through their lifespan within a rights-based framework
- **Mental Healthcare Act, 2017**
 - It was passed in 2017, came into effect in May 2018 and replaced the Mental Health Act of 1987.
 - To the joy of most Indian medical practitioners and advocates of mental health, the act decriminalized suicide attempts in India.
 - It also **included WHO guidelines in the categorization of mental illnesses.**
 - The most significant provision in the **act was “advanced directives”, which allowed individuals with mental illnesses to decide the course of their treatment and also appoint someone to be their representative.**

- It also **restricted the use of electroconvulsive therapy (ECT)**, and banned its use on minors, finally introducing measures to tackle stigma in Indian society.
- **Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2017**
 - The Act acknowledges mental illness as a disability and seeks to enhance the Rights and Entitlements of the Disabled and provide effective mechanism for ensuring their empowerment and inclusion in the society
- **Manodarpan Initiative**
 - An initiative under Atmanirbhar Bharat Abhiyan, aims to provide psycho-social support to students for their mental health and well-being.
- **Kiran Helpline**
 - The helpline is a giant step towards suicide prevention, and can help with support and crisis management.
 - The helpline aims to provide early screening, first-aid, psychological support, distress management, mental well-being, and psychological crisis management and will be managed by the Department of Empowerment of Persons with Disabilities (DEPwD).
- **Ayushman Bharat:** It is a flagship scheme of Government of India, offers up to 5 lakhs insurance cover. For the first time, it offers cover for mental illness. **It has 17 packages for mental health disorders, which also includes psychoactive substance use.**

How COVID-19 pandemic affected mental health?

The uncertainty caused by the pandemic and consequent prolonged stays at home, WFH etc. has affected mental health in multiple ways as discussed below:

- People are experiencing fear, worry, and stress due to the pandemic.
- The fear of contracting the virus has led to significant changes in the daily lives of people.
- The new realities of working from home, temporary unemployment, home-schooling of children, and lack of physical contact with other

family members, friends and colleagues, are creating mental health issues.

- A survey by the **Indian Psychiatry Society** indicated that 20% more people suffered from poor mental health since the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic. Emerging evidence indicates that during the Covid-19 pandemic, women exhibit relatively higher levels of psychological stress among the urban poor.

A National Commission on Mental Health comprising of professionals from mental health, public health, social sciences, the judiciary and related backgrounds should be constituted to oversee, support, facilitate, monitor and review mental health policies – plans – programmes in a continuous manner. Such a task force that works closely with the Ministries of Health at the national and state levels can provide strategic directions for mental health care programming to ensure speedy implementation of programmes.

H215- Health Miscellaneous Topics

1. **Surrogacy (Regulation) Act 2021**
2. **Euthanasia**
3. **Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA)**
4. **PM- Jan Arogya Yojana (PM-JAY)**

female partner's eggs and male partner's semen of the intended couple.

I. Surrogacy (Regulation) Act 2021

Why in the news?

The central government on **25 January 2022 notified the Surrogacy (Regulation) Act 2021**. The Act aim to regulate **in vitro fertilization (IVF)** clinics and **prohibit commercial surrogacy** in India.

Context:

Over the last few years, surrogacy has gained immense importance in the country. With the rise of 20-25 million infertile couples in the country, this **Assisted Reproductive Technology (ART)** has been a huge help to childless couples.

What is meant by Surrogacy?

Meaning:

- The word "Surrogacy" comes from the **Latin word "Surrogatus"** which means a "substitute" or an alternate option. **Surrogacy is an act of reproductive practice where a third person (female) conceives and gives birth to a child.**
- The intending parents and surrogate mother enter into a **contractual arrangement** which states that after the child is born, the surrogate mother would hand over the child to the intending parents without having any legal or parental obligation over the child.
- Reproduction through surrogacy can be performed by two methods: Traditional and Gestational.
- In Traditional Surrogacy, the surrogate mother is fertilized with the semen of the male partner of the intending couple, whereas, in Gestational Surrogacy, an embryo is created in a laboratory using the

Some Examples: -

- In **2008, Manji, a Japanese baby girl** born through a commercial surrogacy arrangement in a Gujarat IVF clinic. Baby's return was complicated due to divorce of couple and the ambiguous status of surrogacy in Japan.
- One case happened in **2009 when Balaz twins of German couple**, born through commercial surrogacy in India were refused to accept by Germany because surrogacy is subject to prosecution in Germany.

What are the key provisions of surrogacy act 2021?

- **Definition:** The act defines 'surrogacy' as a practice where a woman undertakes to give birth to a child for another couple and agrees to hand over the child to them after birth.
- **Mandate:** The Surrogacy Act aims to regulate the surrogacy part of a rather flourishing infertility industry in the country.
- **Key features of the act include:**
 - a. **Regulation of Surrogacy: The act prohibits commercial surrogacy.** The Surrogacy law **allows only altruistic surrogacy** wherein only the medical expenses and insurance coverage is provided by the couple to the surrogate mother during pregnancy. No other monetary compensation will be permitted under the law.
 - b. **Medical Grounds:** Under the act, only a married couple can opt for surrogacy only on medical grounds. The act also prescribes age criteria with the women being in **the age group of 23-50 years and man between-55 years.**
 - c. **Ineligibility Criteria:**
 - o Couples having their own child will not be eligible for Surrogacy.

- o Law allows single women to resort to surrogacy, she should either be a widow or a divorcee, between the age of **35 to 45 years**.
 - o Single men are, however, not eligible.
 - d. Criteria for Surrogate mothers:**
 - o Only a close relative of the couple can be a surrogate mother, one who is able to provide a medical fitness certificate.
 - o She should have been married, with a child of her own, and must be between 25 and 35 years, but can be a surrogate mother only once.
 - e. Criteria for intending couple:** The intending couple should have a '**certificate of essentiality**' and a '**certificate of eligibility**' issued by the appropriate authority. A certificate of essentiality will be issued upon fulfilment of the following conditions:
 - o Certificate of proven infertility of one or both members of the intending couple from a **District Medical Board**.
 - o An order of parentage and custody of the surrogate child passed by a Magistrate's court; and
 - o **Insurance coverage** for a period of 16 months covering postpartum delivery complications for the surrogate.
 - f. Gestation period:** As per **Section 53 of the Surrogacy (Regulation) Act, 2021**, there is a gestation period of 10 months from the date of coming into force of the aforesaid Act to existing surrogate mothers to protect their wellbeing.
 - g. Offences and Penalty: The offences under the Bill include:**
 - o Undertaking or advertising commercial surrogacy
 - o Exploiting the surrogate mother
 - o Abandoning, exploiting or disowning a surrogate child; and
 - o Selling or importing human embryos or gametes for surrogacy
 - o The penalty for the above offences is imprisonment up to 10 years and a fine up to 10 lakh rupees. The Bill specifies a range of offences and penalties for other contraventions of the provisions of the Bill.
 - h. Parentage and abortion of surrogate child:** A child born out of a surrogacy procedure will be deemed to be the biological child of the intending couple. An abortion of the surrogate child requires the written consent of the surrogate mother and the authorization of the appropriate authority.
 - i. Registration of surrogacy clinics:** Surrogacy clinics cannot undertake surrogacy related procedures unless they are registered by the appropriate authority.
 - j. National Surrogacy Board (NSB):** The act aims to regulate surrogacy in India by abolishing a **National Surrogacy Board** at the Central level and State surrogacy boards and appropriate authorities in states and union territories.

Functions of NSB includes:

 - a. Advising the central government on policy matters relating to surrogacy
 - b. Laying down the code of conduct of surrogacy clinics
 - c. Supervising the functioning of SSBs.
 - k. Purpose for which surrogacy is permitted:** Surrogacy is permitted when it is:
 - o For intending couples who suffer from proven infertility
 - o Altruistic
 - o not for commercial purposes
 - o not for producing children for sale, prostitution or other forms of exploitation; and
 - o for any condition or disease specified through regulations
- **Altruistic surrogacy** involves **no monetary compensation** to the surrogate mother other than the medical expenses and insurance coverage during the pregnancy.
 - **Commercial surrogacy** includes surrogacy or its related procedures undertaken for a monetary benefit or reward (in cash or kind) exceeding the basic medical expenses and insurance coverage.
- What is the need to regulate surrogacy in India?**

- **Rented womb:** India has emerged as a **hub for infertility treatment**, attracting people from the world over with its state-of-the-art technology and competitive prices to treat infertility.
- **By 2012, India had become the 'surrogacy capital' of the world with surrogacy tourism valued at approximately \$500 million annually.**
- **To curb unethical practices:** Lack of specific legislation led to unregulated growth of Commercial surrogacy services. Hence, to curb unethical practices related to issues of sex selection and exploitation of the surrogate, specific legislation was required.
- **Socio-economic inequality:** Due to **prevailing socio-economic inequities**, underprivileged women found an option to 'rent their wombs' and thereby make money to take care of their expenses.
- **Exploitation of women:** Once the information of the availability of such wombs got out, the **demand also picked up, and exploitation of these women began.** Several instances began to emerge where women, in often desperate straits, started lodging police complaints after they did not receive the promised sum.
- **Narrow definition:** The term “**intending couple**” is defined narrowly—only a legally married man and woman above the age of **21 and 18 years of age**, respectively, who have been medically certified to infertile, that is, one or both of the couple are suffering from “proven infertility.”
- **Lack of clarity:** Without an infrastructure or any appointment of authority, there is **no clarity about what to do for current treatment.** Treatment is to be done only after registration with authorities but there is no authorities appointed yet.
- **The women who are on hormonal treatment are in limbo as the law will create a problem in egg donation.** Egg donors are in a precarious state as clinics are unsure whether to do their egg collection or not.
- **Certificate of Essentiality:** Those included within its ambit are required to have a 'certificate of essentiality' stating that it is biologically impossible for the person(s) to have a child in any other way.
- **Restrictive in nature:** The act is very restrictive, which promotes unscrupulous activities as it does not allow commercial surrogacy and surrogate has to be relative of the couple. Finding a relative/known person to do surrogacy is going to be a tough path for couples.

What are the criticisms against the act?

- **Excessive Regulation:** The effect of these provisions is that even if a surrogacy clinic and a surrogate mother (who meet the conditions of the bill) were to be willing, they cannot lawfully offer surrogacy services, even altruistic surrogacy, to single people, those in a live-in relationship or **lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ)** couples, due to criminal sanction.”
- **Underground surrogacy industry:** Excessive regulation and banning of Surrogacy may lead to the growth of the Underground Surrogacy Industry, leading to the exploitation of underprivileged surrogate mothers.
- **Criminal sanctions:** While there are criminal sanctions (imprisonment and fine) on institutions, which offer commercial surrogacy, even intending couples or anyone who seek to have a child through any means that are not “**altruistic surrogacy**” are subject to criminal sanctions under Chapter VII of the bill.
- **Limits the ground:** The 2021 bill further limits the grounds on which a surrogate mother and intending couple can avail of surrogacy—it can only be availed on “**altruistic grounds,**” that is the intending couple gives nothing more than medical

expenses and insurance coverage to the surrogate mother

- **Children with Disability:** The act considers having children with physical and special needs as childless. It further encourages considering surrogacy if the couple has a child with a life-threatening disorder. This clause directly violates the right of the children with disability, thus denying them treatment with dignity.

Highlight Surrogacy (Regulation) Rules, 2022?

The Central Government has recently on 21 June 2022 notified Surrogacy (Regulation) Rules, 2022.

The key highlights of the Rules are given below:

- **Surrogacy clinic:** It provides Form and manner for registration and fee for a surrogacy clinic and the requirement, and qualification for persons employed, at a registered surrogacy clinic.
- **Working staff:** Surrogacy clinics shall have at least one gynecologist, one anesthetist, one embryologist and one counselor. The clinic may employ additional staff from the **Assisted Reproductive Technology Level 2** clinics; normally the Director, Andrologist shall appoint such staff as may be necessary to assist the clinic in day-to-day work.
- **The number of attempts** of any surrogacy procedure on the surrogate mother shall not be more than three times.
- **Termination of pregnancy:** Surrogate mothers may be allowed for abortion during the process of surrogacy in accordance with the **Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1971**.
- **Registration:** An application for registration for a surrogacy clinic shall be made by the surrogacy clinic which is carrying out procedures related to the Surrogacy.
- **Metropolitan Magistrate:** The intending couple/woman shall sign an affidavit to be sworn before a Metropolitan Magistrate or a Judicial Magistrate of the first-class.

- **Insurance coverage:** The intending woman or couple shall purchase a general health insurance coverage in favor of surrogate mother for a period of thirty-six months from an insurance company or an agent recognized by the Insurance Regulatory and Development Authority.

2. Euthanasia

What is Euthanasia?

The word euthanasia, originated in Greece means a good death. A doctor is allowed by law to end a person's life by a painless means, as long as the person and their family agree. The main purpose of euthanasia to ensure a painless death to a person who is suffering from incurable disease since long time.

Types of euthanasia:

There are five types of euthanasia which are the following:

1.Active Euthanasia: when a doctor gives a lethal dose or injection to a patient who are suffering from irreversible stage of life with an object to give him/her painless death.

2.Passive Euthanasia: when a patient who is in vegetative stage survives with the help of life support system and if a doctor stops or off that support system then, it is known as 'Passive Euthanasia'. In this doctor are not actively killing that person but they withdrawing that support system with whose help the patient is surviving.

3.Voluntary Euthanasia: End of life of a person who is terminally ill with the consent of that person. He /she expresses their desire by exercising his/her choice to die for their best interest and others also, known as voluntary euthanasia.

4.Involuntary euthanasia: Death of a competent patient without his expressed desire or consent, known as involuntary euthanasia. It is also against the purpose of euthanasia and considered as '**murder**'.

5.Non-Voluntary euthanasia; death of person who is not competent to make consent. Here, the patient did not leave any living will as he/she may not have time for doing so and not guessed the misfortune. In this death is caused with the consent of family members of patient.

Assisted suicide

- A doctor assists an individual in taking their own life if the person requests it.
- **“Intentionally helping a person take their own life by providing drugs for self-administration, at that person’s voluntary and competent request.”**

What are the arguments for and against euthanasia?**Arguments in favor of Euthanasia:**

- **Freedom of choice:** Advocates argue that the person should be able to make their own choice.
- **Quality of life:** Only the individual really knows how they feel, and how the physical and emotional pain of illness and prolonged death impacts their quality of life.
- **Dignity:** Every individual should be able to die with dignity.
- **Witnesses:** Many who witness the slow death of others believe that assisted death should be allowed.
- **Resources:** It makes more sense to channel the resources of highly skilled staff, equipment, hospital beds, and medications toward lifesaving treatments for those who wish to live, rather than those who do not.
- **Humane:** It is more humane to allow a person with intractable suffering to be allowed to choose to end that suffering.
- **Loved ones:** It can help to shorten the grief and suffering of loved ones.
- **Caregivers burden:** ‘Right-to-die’ supporters argue that people who have an incurable, degenerative, disabling or debilitating condition should be allowed to die in dignity. The caregiver’s burden is huge and cuts across various domains such as financial, emotional, time, physical, mental and social.
- **Right to die:** Many patients in a persistent vegetative state or else in chronic illness do not want to be a burden on their family

members. Euthanasia can be considered as a way to uphold the ‘Right to life’ by honoring ‘Right to die’ with dignity.

- **Encouraging organ transplantation:** Euthanasia in terminally ill patients provides an opportunity to advocate for organ donation. This in turn will help many patients with organ failure waiting for transplantation.
- **Refusing care:** Right to refuse medical treatment is well recognized in law, including medical treatment that sustains or prolongs life.

Arguments against Euthanasia:

- **Morality and religion:** Some people believe euthanasia is murder and find it unacceptable for moral reasons. Many also argue that the ability to decide your own death weakens the sanctity of life. In addition, many churches, religious groups, and faith organizations argue against euthanasia for similar reasons.
- **The doctor’s role:** Healthcare professionals may be unwilling to compromise their professional roles, especially in the light of the Hippocratic Oath.
- **Physical judgement: Physician-Assisted Suicide (PAS)** is only legal if someone is mentally capable of making the choice. However, determining someone’s mental capabilities is not very straightforward.
- **Ethics:** Some doctors and opponents of PAS are concerned about the ethical complications doctors could face. Doctors take Hippocratic Oath to care for and never harm those under their care.
- **Personal choice: “Death with dignity”** is a movement that encourages legislatures to allow people to decide how they want to die. Some people don’t want to go through a long dying process, often out of concern about the burden it puts on their loved ones.
- **Guilt:** Patients may feel they are a burden on resources and are psychologically pressured into consenting. They may feel that the

financial, emotional, and mental burden on their family is too great.

- **Mental illness:** A person with depression is more likely Trusted Source to ask for assisted suicide, and this can complicate the decision.
- **Slippery slope:** There is a risk that physician-assisted suicide will start with those who are terminally ill and wish to die because of intractable suffering, but then begin to include other individuals.
- **Eliminating the invalid:** Euthanasia opposers argue that if we embrace 'the right to death with dignity', people with incurable and debilitating illnesses will be disposed from our civilized society.
- **Right to life:** It is a **natural right embodied in Article 21** but suicide is an unnatural termination or extinction of life and, therefore, incompatible and inconsistent with the concept of 'right to life'.
- **Social pressure:** Legalized euthanasia would produce huge social pressures on very vulnerable people to 'volunteer', causing much stress and suffering.
- **Malafide intention:** In the era of declining morality and justice, there is a possibility of misusing euthanasia by family members or relatives for inheriting the property of the patient.
- **Commercialization of health care:** Passive euthanasia occurs in the majority of the hospitals across the county, where poor patients and their family members refuse or withdraw treatment because of the huge cost involved in keeping them alive.

What is the position of India on Euthanasia?

- **In India, euthanasia is a crime. Section 309 of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) deals** with the attempt to commit suicide and **Section 306 of the IPC** deals with abetment of suicide – both actions are punishable.
- **Right to life is an important right enshrined in the Constitution of India.** Article 21 guarantees the right to life in India.

It is argued to life under Article 21 includes the right to die. Therefore, the mercy killing is the legal right of a person. After the decision of a five-judge bench of the Supreme Court in **Gian Kaur Vs State of Punjab** it is well settled that the 'right to life' guaranteed by Article 21 of the Constitution does not include the "right to die".

- The **Bombay High Court in Maruti Shripati Dubal Vs. State of Maharashtra** examined the constitutional validity of section 309 and held that the section is violative of Article 14 as well as Article 21 of the Constitution.

Aruna Shaunbag case:

- The Supreme Court, in this landmark judgment, **allowed passive euthanasia and did not allow active euthanasia.**
- In this case a petition was filed before the Supreme Court for seeking permission for euthanasia for one Aruna Ramchandra Shanbaug as she is in a **Persistent Vegetative State (P.V.S.)** and virtually a dead person and has no state of awareness and her brain is virtually dead.
- It made clear that a close relative cannot take a decision on behalf of a terminally ill patient who is incompetent to make decisions.
- The court also recommended **to decriminalized attempt to suicide** by erasing the punishment provided in Indian Penal Code.
- The court further stated that **parents, spouses, or close relatives of the patient can make such a plea to the high court.** The chief justices of the high courts, on receipt of such a plea, would constitute a bench to decide it.

What are the key provisions of the Medical Treatment of Terminally Ill Patients (Protection of Patients and Medical Practitioners) Bill 2016?

The Bill developed from the 24th report of the Law Commission and consists of the following key provisions:

- Any person **who is terminally ill and above the age of 16 years can withhold medical treatment.**
- **Protection:** The Bill offers protection to medical professionals including doctors and nurses from implications for withdrawing or withholding medical treatment and states that palliative care can continue.
- **Competent of the patient:** The medical practitioners should be satisfied that the patient is competent to take the decision and that the decision was taken with free will.
- **Authority to take a final decision:** The final decision to terminate treatment would be taken by a panel of medical experts, and the decision will be taken on the basis of individual cases.
- **Permission for withholding treatment should be obtained from the High Court concerned.**
- **Passive euthanasia:** It talked only about passive euthanasia and not active euthanasia. Active euthanasia is still illegal in India as it could be misused.

Concerns of the Bill:

- **Lack of clarity:** There is no clarity on the concept of the living will in the Bill.
- **Chances of Misuse:** There are chances of misuse of the provisions of the Bill. For instance, a corrupt medical practitioner may manipulate evidence to show that there were no chances of recovery in a particular case when it was not so.
- **Vagueness:** The definition given by the bill for ‘terminal illness’ is subjective and vague. Terminal illness is defined as a persistent and irreversible vegetative condition under which it is not possible for the patient to lead a “meaningful life”.
- **Risky:** The bill allows children to decide something very important as life and death. Child rights activists are also opposing the bill for the same reason.
- **Technology:** Audiovisual recording of obtaining consent and the medical trial could

be helpful in such cases, but the bill does not address any such problems.

3. Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHAs)

Who is Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA)?

- **Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA)** is a **trained female community health activist. Selected from the community itself** and accountable to it, the ASHA will be trained to work as an interface between the community and the public health system.
- Selected from the village itself and accountable to it, the ASHA will be trained to work as an interface between the community and the public health system.
- ASHA must primarily be a woman resident of the village married/ widowed/ divorced, preferably in the age group of **25 to 45 years.**
- She should be a **literate woman with due preference in selection to those who are qualified up to 10 standards** wherever they are interested and available in good numbers.
- ASHA will be chosen through a rigorous process of selection involving various community groups, self-help groups, Anganwadi Institutions.
- ASHA will have to undergo a series of **training episodes** to acquire the necessary knowledge, skills and confidence for performing her spelled out roles.

Role played by ASHA during pandemic:

- India's ten lakh all-women ASHA volunteers were honored by the WHO for their crucial role in providing direct access to healthcare facilities in rural areas and their indefatigable efforts to rein in the coronavirus pandemic in the country.

- Female workers have undertaken a broad range of tasks. This includes conducting surveys, making door-to-door visits, assisting with contact tracing, testing and spreading awareness.
- They have contributed not only towards curbing the spread of the infection but also in helping people to access treatment in both urban and rural areas.

What is the significance of ASHA workers in strengthening healthcare in India?

- ASHA will be **the first port of call for any health-related demands of deprived sections** of the population, especially women and children, who find it difficult to access health services.
- ASHA will be **a health activist in the community who will create awareness** on health and its social determinants and mobilize the community towards local health planning and increased utilization and accountability of the existing health services.
- ASHA will **provide information to the community on determinants of health** such as nutrition, basic sanitation & hygienic practices, healthy living etc.
- She will **counsel women on birth preparedness, importance of safe delivery, breast-feeding** and complementary feeding, immunization, contraception and prevention of common infections including **Reproductive Tract Infection/Sexually Transmitted Infections (RTIs/STIs)**.
- ASHA will **mobilize the community and facilitate them in accessing health and health related services** available at the **Anganwadi/sub-center/primary health centers**, such as immunization, Ante Natal Check-up (ANC), Post Natal Check-up supplementary nutrition, sanitation and other services being provided by the government.
- She acts as a **depot order for essential provisions being made available to all**

habitations like **Oral Rehydration Therapy (ORS), Iron Folic Acid Tablet (IFA), chloroquine, Disposable Delivery Kits (DDK), Oral Pills & Condoms, etc.**

What are the issues faced by the ASHA workers in India?

- **Lack of infrastructure:** ASHAs reported facing **challenges in ensuring access to health services** during and immediately after outbreaks of conflict. They experienced difficulty in arranging transport and **the breakdown of services at remote health facilities.**
- Increasing **burden of work and inadequate training** to undertake the new roles.
- **Denial of adequate safety** from violence and infections is their rightful demands of recognition and respect from the government as well as the community.
- **Lack of adequate and timely remuneration.**
- **Lack of attention by the government on their working conditions** serves to weaken policy outcomes and women employed in the long run.
- **Another issue which ASHA is facing is** to work in coordination with two department activities i.e., ICDS and health and medical department.
- **Poor economic condition:** The government basically considers them volunteers and not as healthcare workers. However, over the course of the pandemic, the work done by them on the ground has been unmatched.

What steps can be taken to further strengthen the role of ASHA in healthcare?

- **Clarity of role and responsibility (job description)** of ASHA is mandatory to improve ASHA performance and provide them a **friendly working environment.**
- **Timely payment and adequate incentives** should be provided to ASHA workers.

- There is a **need to establish coordination between ICDS and the health and medical department.**
- **Issues related to supervision, job security, incentives, and poor transport** need to be addressed.
- There is an urgent need to find new ways to **connect Adivasi populations with ASHA**, who provide their only link to healthcare systems.
- There are **not enough community health workers** who have been recruited by the government. This can make the workers overworked and exhausted, thus reducing productivity. It is **necessary that their working hours be limited** so that they can be healthy.

4. PM- Jan Arogya Yojana (PM-JAY)

What is PM- Jan Arogya Yojana?

- **Ayushman Bharat – Pradhan Mantri Jan Arogya Yojana (AB-PMJAY)** is a **Centrally Sponsored Scheme** having central sector component under Ayushman Bharat Mission under the **Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MoHFW)**.
- **Ayushman Bharat PM-JAY is the largest health assurance scheme** in the world which aims at providing a health cover of Rs. 5 lakhs per family per year for

secondary and tertiary care hospitalization to over 10.74 crores poor and vulnerable families (approximately 50 crore beneficiaries) that form the **bottom 40% of the Indian population.**

- Rolled out by the Prime Minister on 25 Sep, 2018, this health insurance scheme covers about 50 crore citizens in India and already has several success stories to its credit.
- The households included are based on the deprivation and occupational criteria of **Socio-Economic Caste Census 2011 (SECC 2011)** for rural and urban areas respectively.
- PM-JAY was earlier known as the **National Health Protection Scheme (NHPS)** before being rechristened. It subsumed the then existing **Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana (RSBY)** which had been launched in 2008.
- PM-JAY is fully funded by the Government and the cost of implementation is shared between the Central and State Governments.
- key components of 'Ayushman Bharat': The two flagship programmes under Ayushman Bharat programme are: **(a) Health and Wellness Centre** and **(b) National Health Protection Scheme.**

Health and Wellness Centre:

- The **National Health Policy, 2017** has envisioned Health and Wellness Centers as the foundation of India's health system.
- Under this 1.5 lakh health care centers will be established.
- These centers will provide comprehensive health care, including for non-communicable diseases and maternal and child health services.
- These centers will also provide free essential drugs and diagnostic services.
- The contribution of the private sector through CSR and philanthropic institutions in adopting these centers is also envisaged.

National Health Protection Scheme (NHPS):

- The second flagship programme under Ayushman Bharat is the National Health Protection Scheme.

- The scheme aims to cover over 10 crore poor and vulnerable families (approximately 50 crore beneficiaries) providing coverage up to 5 lakh rupees per family per year for secondary and tertiary care hospitalization.
- This is the world's largest government funded health care programme.
- The scheme also ensures enhanced productivity, well-being and averts wage loss and impoverishment.

What are the objectives of the scheme?

- **Universal health coverage:** When fully implemented, PMJAY will become the **world's largest fully government-financed health protection scheme**. It is a **visionary step towards advancing the agenda of Universal Health Coverage (UHC)**.
- **Quality health service:** Entitled families will be able to use the **quality health services they need without facing financial hardships**.
- **Mitigate financial risk:** PMJAY will help **reduce catastrophic expenditure for hospitalizations**, which impoverishes people and will help mitigate the financial risk arising out of catastrophic health episodes.
- The scheme will provide cover **of up to Rs. 5 lakhs per family per year, for secondary and tertiary care hospitalization**.
- **Wider health coverage:** Recognizing the limitations of PM-JAY aims to cover an expanded beneficiary base of 107 million households with no cap on age, gender and family size.
- **Stronger financial risk:** The scheme has helped people get care that would have previously been out-of-pocket or catastrophic health expenses.
- **Decentralized and inequitable implementation:** While PM-JAY is a national initiative, its implementation is fully delegated to the states. With no overarching mechanism to address resource gaps, PM - JAY enrollment and service utilization are concentrated in wealthier states while poorer states are left behind.

- Over 10.74 crore vulnerable entitled families (**approximately 50 crore beneficiaries**) will be eligible for these benefits.
- PMJAY will provide **cashless and paperless access to services** for the beneficiary at the point of service.

Key features of the schemes are given below:

- Ayushman Bharat is a progression towards promotive, preventive, curative, palliative and rehabilitative aspects of Universal Healthcare through **access of Health and Wellness Centers (HWCs) at the primary level and provision of financial protection for accessing curative care at the secondary and tertiary levels through engagement with both public and private sector**.
- It adopts a continuum of care approach, comprising of two interrelated components: **Creation of 150,000 Health and Wellness Centers** which will bring health care closer to the homes of the people.
- The Scheme is principle based **rather than rule based**, allowing States enough flexibility in terms of packages, procedures, scheme design, entitlements as well as other guidelines while ensuring that key **benefits of portability and fraud detection** are ensured at a national level.
- States have the option to use an existing **Trust/Society or set up a new Trust/Society** to implement the Scheme as State Health Agency and will be free to choose the modalities for implementation.
- States can implement the Scheme through an **insurance company or directly through the Trust/Society/Implementation Support Agency** or a mixed approach.

Success/Achievements of the scheme:

- This scheme has successfully averted these disastrous consequences for a large segment of more than 1.3 crore population of India. As a result of AB-PMJAY scheme the access to healthcare and medicines has considerably improved in India.
- So far more than **18 crore Ayushman cards** have been issued nationwide under this scheme.
- **Around 1350 medical and surgical packages** are covered under this scheme which include almost all secondary and most of the tertiary care procedures. As a result of Ayushman Bharat scheme access including **availability and affordability of medicines and healthcare in India has drastically improved.**
- **Wide coverage:** AB-PMJAY covers a larger population, provides more comprehensive benefit packages and incorporates a wider network of hospitals for healthcare delivery.
- **Agency and Ministry of Skills Development & Entrepreneurship (MSDE)** on 27th August 2018 in New Delhi.
- **Aarogya Mitras training is being conducted in collaboration with the National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC) and Ministry of Skill Development** to strengthen implementation and operational preparedness.
- **IT systems update: Beneficiary Identification System (BIS)** has been developed to identify and verify the beneficiaries at CSCs and point of care.

What are the issues associated with the PM-Jan Arogya Yojana?

- **Identification of beneficiaries** will be a huge challenge
- **Access and connectivity** will pose a challenge for hospitals in a remote area.
- Latest **Socio-Economic Caste Census (SECC) data** are being used to determine the list of beneficiaries. **There are huge infirmities in these data.**

What steps can be taken to further improve the implementation of PM- Jan Arogya Yojana?

- **Emphasis needs to be laid upon reduction of financial burden** as a result of OOPE in ambulatory or outpatient care by extending the insurance cover under PM-JAY to out-patients too in due course of time.
- **Extreme care should be taken not to surrender it to private insurance companies or profit-making organizations** since that will kill the basic essence and spirit of this scheme.
- Prompt settlement of claims raised by hospitals is critical to the success of the

scheme. It is essential to keep hospitals interested.

- **Out-of-pocket expenses** on outpatient care, especially medicines, must be addressed by exploring integration with the PM-JAY benefits package.
- It is important to **streamline referrals between health and wellness centers** and PM-JAY facilities.
- **Quality of care** is critical to the success of PM-JAY. Since most of India's health system is privatized with loose regulation, it is important to strengthen state-level capacity to empanel and regulate private providers.
- **Increase transparency:** Initiatives such as the **National Digital Health Mission** can also improve data management and transparency.
- **The financial sustainability** and success of PM-JAY is related to the **availability of funds** required for implementation, as well as the willingness of the government to meet large-scale budget commitments.

The government and civil society organizations should aim towards universal health coverage. The first step should be strengthening the public health system. Proximity is an issue for most people in rural or semi-urban areas. These people have to travel very far for decent and specialized treatment. Further, if testing facilities were available at more locations, it would ease the lives of these communities as well as the community workers.

Ayushman Bharat – Pradhan Mantri Jan Aarogya Yojana (AB-PMJAY) is a paradigm shift from sectorial, segmented and fragmented approach of service delivery through various national and State schemes to a bigger, more comprehensive and better converged and need based service delivery of secondary and tertiary care.

H216- NGOs

Definition and Facts: -

NGOs are voluntary organizations, that work toward a social cause and social justice. They are involved in developmental activities like poverty reduction, environment protection and implementing government policies. According to Central Statistical Institute, there are more than 3.3 million NGOs in India. In the last two decades the role of NGOs have become significant in the social sector development- education, health etc. They are typically Non Profit entities typically active in humanitarian work and are formed independent of government.

Types of NGOs: -

1. On Basis of Registration:-
 - a) **As Charitable Company** -NGO is started as a company then the NGO should be registered under section 8 of the Companies Act 1956. Purpose of the section 8 company is to do charity and social service.
 - b) **As a Trust** - to open your NGO as a trust then you should register your NGO under the Indian Trust Act. There should be minimum 2 members. **There can be a private and public trust.**
 - c) **As a Society** - to open your NGO as a society, then you should register your NGO under the Societies Act. There can be a National level Society (minimum members needed are 8) and State level Society (minimum members needed are 7).
2. On Basis of Level of Operation: -
 - a) **Community Level NGOs** – They aim to address issues of certain community in a society. For eg:- Help Age India aims to help elderly population.
 - b) **City Level NGOs** - These NGOs work to solve the different types of problems on the city level. They include organizations such as the Rotary Club, chambers of commerce and industry, coalitions of business, ethnic or educational groups and associations of community organizations.
 - c) **National NGOs** – They have presence at national level. They are organizations such as the Red Cross, YMCAs/YWCAs, professional organizations etc
 - d) **International NGOs** – Their presence is wide and global. For eg:- CARE and Oxfam International.
3. On Basis of Sector: -
 - a) **Health Sector** – like Doctors Without Borders/Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) which is an independent international humanitarian organisation that delivers essential medical aid to people affected by armed conflict, epidemics, natural and man-made disasters.
 - b) **Education sector** – like Pratham NGO working to provide quality education and skilling to the children and youth of India
 - c) **Environment sector** – like Sankalp Taru, Mukti etc
 - d) **Women Empowerment** – like Shanti Sahyog has been actively working as a NGO Working for Women Empowerment in Delhi.
 - e) **Food security** – NGOs like Fight Hunger Foundation, Feeding India etc are fighting malnutrition and hunger in India.
4. Based on Orientation:-
 - a) **Charitable Orientation** – here the NGO is authoritarian while beneficiary has minimal involvement in activities. For eg:- NGO involved in disaster relief.
 - b) **Service Orientation** - towards the promotion and awareness of education, health, family planning for the underprivileged section of the society.
 - c) **Participatory Orientation** - they collect donations in terms of money, land, tools, labour, material, etc
 - d) **Empowering Orientation** - aim is to provide aids to the deprived section and nurture the understanding of the social,

political & economic aspects affecting their lives.

Need of NGOs: -

1. **Mass Mobilisation and Community participation** is possible with help of NGOs.
2. **Policy Watchdog** – They act as Independent auditors of the government.
3. **Instruments of Social Change** – They are responsible for initiating social change in the society . For eg:- NGO Common Cause Using a writ petition brought up the right to die with dignity before the Supreme Court.
4. **Contribute towards Development** - Supplement government efforts in **developmental efforts**. For eg:- Akshay Patra - Mid day Meal Programme implemented by Akshaya Patra provides meals to 1.8 million children across India.
5. **Voice of Voiceless** - Voice the concerns of voiceless and vulnerable sections of the population. For eg:- YUVA is a non-profit development organisation committed to enabling vulnerable groups to access their rights.
6. **Human rights protection** - The contribution of NGOs to human rights and public awareness is significant in India. The recognition of the rights of homosexuals and transgender people, for instance, has been pursued by NGOs.
7. **Protection of Environment** - helping to plug gaps by conducting research to facilitate policy development, building institutional capacity.
8. **Fighting Social Evils** – They are partner in fighting against discrimination against marginalised sections. For eg:- MARD NGO fighting against sexual assault and sexual abuses faced by women on daily basis.
9. **Specialisation** – For eg:- Bachpan Bachao Andolan of Kailash Satyarthi specialises in protecting children from forced labour.
10. Gaps in **last-mile delivery of public services** can be addressed. For eg:- During covid lockdown, a number of NGOs, voluntary groups distributed food, ration and vegetables for the homeless and the migrants.

Issues associated: -

1. **Engineered Dissent** – Some NGOs are accused of pursuing anti-national objectives and goals. For eg:- Three NGOs, opposed the Russian-built nuclear plant in Tamil Nadu's Kudankulam.
2. **Misuse of NGOs** – NGOs are becoming safe heavens to channelise the black money, tax evasion. For eg:- Only about 10 per cent of NGOs file their annual income and expenditure statements.
3. **Religious Conversion**: - Home ministry has suspended the foreign funding licence of 13 NGOs and associations for allegedly indulging in religious conversion in tribal-dominated areas.
4. **External Propaganda** - The Federation of Indian Mineral Industries, a lobby for Indian business interests has highlighted the role of Rockefeller Family Fund among others in provoking organised agitations against mega-mining projects in India.
5. **Fake NGOs scams** - Delhi high court has called for toughening of licensing norms for NGOs observing that 99% of them are "fraud" and "merely money-making devices.
6. **Small size** – Most of the NGOs operating in India are small in size and therefore limited in their impact.
7. **Lack of Volunteerism/Social work among Youth** due to less attractive career opportunities and pay scales.
8. **Strict Regulation by Government** - Government data indicates that over 20,000 Indian NGOs have been stripped of their foreign funding licenses since 2011. The 'big brother attitude' of the government officials and their mindset of construing NGOs simply as contractors fulfilling staffing requirements is not conducive
9. **Difficulties to get funds**: The majority of NGOs have experienced difficulties in getting enough, and continuous funding in order to do their work
10. **Lack of proper networking**: For some NGOs, it is difficult to develop networks. Having a poor network leads to lack of communication

11. **Threat to age old practices** – For eg:- Ban of Jallikattu after a Public interest litigation filed by PETA.
12. **Limited Developmental Work** -It is estimated that only about 1.5 percent of NGOs actually undertake developmental work.

Laws regulating NGOs: -

1. FCRA Act 2010 –It regulates the foreign funding received by NGOs. It is implemented by Ministry of Home Affairs.
2. FEMA Act 1999 -law relating to foreign exchange.
3. NGOs under RTI - NGOs “substantially” financed by the government fall within the ambit of the Right to Information Act as Supreme Court held in a judgment in 2019.
4. Constitutional Provisions: -
 - a) Article 19(1)(c) – allows the right to form associations.
 - b) Entry 28 of Concurrent List – mentions charitable institutions, charitable and religious endowments etc
5. FCRA Amendment Rules 2020:-
 - a) It aims to regulate grants, gifts, funds, donations from Non-Indian residents.
 - b) Public Official is prohibited from accepting foreign contributions
 - c) Aadhar is mandatory for officials of the recipient organisation.
 - d) Every NGO needs mandatory FCRA account in SBI.
 - e) Foreign Contribution once received cannot be transferred to any entity/ organisation.
 - f) Only 20% of contribution can be used for administrative expenses.
 - g) Government can now investigate the recipient organisation.

Steps Taken by Government: -

1. **NGO Darpan Portal** - enables VOs/NGOs to enrol centrally and thus facilitates creation of a repository of information about VOs/NGOs, Sector/State wise. The Portal facilitates VOs/NGOs to obtain a system generated Unique ID which is used to apply for grants under various schemes of Government.

2. **E–Samvad** - initiative of the Ministry of Women and Child Development to provide a platform for NGOs and civil society to interact with the Ministry.
3. **Civil Society Window** – to increase and improve engagement between Government and NGOs.
4. **9th Five Year Plan** – envisioned role of NGOs in PPP Model.
5. **National Policy on Volunteer Sector 2007** –
 - a) create an enabling environment for VOs that stimulates their enterprise and effectiveness, and safeguards their autonomy
 - b) enable VOs to legitimately mobilize necessary financial resources
 - c) encourage VOs to adopt transparent and accountable systems of governance and management.
6. Supreme Court in **DAV College Trust Case** brought NGOs getting government fund under RTI.
7. Union Budget 2019-20 mooted **Social Stock Exchange** which is a platform for listing of social enterprise, voluntary and welfare organisations so they can raise capital.

Way Forward: -

1. **Vijay Kumar Committee Recommendations: -**
 - a) Registration procedures be modernised so as to facilitate the seamless operation of the applicable provisions of the IT (Income Tax) Act and FCRA (Foreign Contribution Regulation Act) with respect to NGOs
 - b) It recommends that reduce the need for a physical interface between NGOs and public officials
 - c) Committee has drawn up a framework of guidelines for the accreditation of NGOs, audit of their accounts
 - d) It recommends a Nodal body to oversee the various interfaces between NGOs and the government
 - e) It recommended an overarching legislation with best practices that would replace various State-level and existing Central laws

- f) A central database with information related to NGOs.
2. Need for a Grievance redressal mechanism for NGOs.
3. **National Accreditation Council** -it would develop, upgrade and promote norms and practices for the accreditation of voluntary organisations.
4. **Promote Volunteerism** – encourage more college going students to join NGOs and participate in developmental activities.
5. **Information, Communication and Technology:** All NGOs should be using a minimum of Internet, email, a basic website and relevant social medial platforms.
6. **Inter Ministry Coordination** – to ensure monitoring of working of NGOs and regulate fund misuse.
7. **Training of Staff and Capacity building** – to ensure outcome and objectives of NGO are met.
8. **Increase footprint in Rural areas** – most of the NGOs work in urban areas which neglects the rural areas.
9. **Timely filing of expenditure and returns** – to ensure trust building between government and NGOs.
10. **CAG Audit** – Former CAG Vinod Rai suggested NGOs should be brought under CAG purview for better accountability and transparency.

H217- Self Help Group (SHGs)

Why in the news?

In a bid to increase the coverage of self-help groups, the Ministry of Rural Development on 16 Sep 2022 announced a nationwide campaign to expedite the inclusion of women who are left out of the umbrella of Self-Help Groups (SHGs) under the **Deen Dayal Upadhyay National Rural Livelihood Mission**.

The government is planning to create a total of **75 lakh Self Help Groups by 2022 to enable more women to get a livelihood**.

What are self-help groups?

Meaning:

Self-Help Group (SHG) is a **small informal voluntary association** of people, preferably from the same **socio-economic background**, who come together with the purpose of **solving their common problems and improve their living conditions** through self-help and mutual help. SHGs are mostly formed in **rural areas**, and they can very well integrate and partner with **Gram Panchayats (GPs) for alleviating rural poverty** to achieve greater development.

Definition:

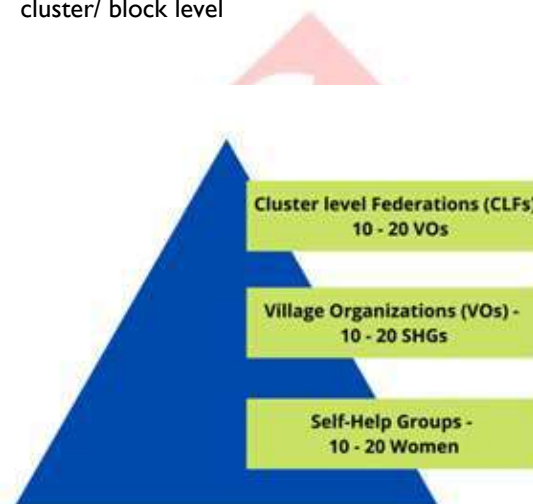
- **NABARD** defines SHGs as “**small economical homogenous affinity groups of rural poor, voluntarily formed to save and mutually contribute a common fund to be lent to its members as per group decision**”
- The concept of Self-Help Groups was introduced in 1992 under the guidelines of RBI and NABARD.
- **NABARD guidelines on SHG -**
- The ideal size of an SHG is 10 to 20 members.
- The group need not be registered
- From one family, only one member is allowed.
- Members have the same social and financial background

Institutional structure of SHGs:

The institutional structure of SHGs under DAY-NRLM follows a 3-tier structure –

- SHGs at the ward level

- Village Organizations (VOs) at the village level
- Cluster Level Federations (CLFs) at the cluster/ block level



Institutional Structure of SHGs

Figure: Institutional structure of SHGs

Origin of SHGs:

- The origin of SHGs can be traced back to the **Freedom Struggle** whereas a proper structure began to evolve after the formation of **Self-Employed Women’s Association (SEWA) in 1972**.
- Another **notable initiative of SHG is Kudumbashree in Kerala formed in 1998**. It is also a **female-based community-oriented approach for reduction of poverty**. They aim at improving the entrepreneurial and leadership skills of women. They work under the **Community Development Society (CDS)**, a unit of Local Self Government thus improving decentralization.
- At an **Institutional level, NABARD-SHG Bank Linkage program was formed in 1989**. Under this scheme many SHGs that have a proven track record borrow from banks.

History of SHG-led women empowerment in India

- **Grameen Bank model:** In 1984, for the first time, the concept of social mobilization and business development through the organizing of SHGs was introduced based on **Prof. Yunus's 'Grameen Bank' model.**
- **SHGs-Bank linkage programme:** Initially, the **National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD)**, along with empaneled Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) designed and developed the SHGs-Bank linkage programme.
- **Recognition by RBI:** In the year 1990, the **Reserve Bank of India** recognized SHGs as an **alternate credit flow model.**
- **Prof. S. R. Hashim (1997) committee** reviewed the poverty alleviation and employment generation programmes recommended shifting focus from an individual beneficiary approach to a group-based business development approach. Hence, **Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDIP)** and its associated schemes were merged and a new scheme called **'Swamjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana' (SGSY).**
- **SGSY was launched** to provide self-employment to below the poverty line households through the formation of SHGs to bring them out of poverty during 1999 to 2011.
- **Prof. R. Radhakrishna (2009) Committee** reviewed the performance of SGSY and suggested changes in its design from a **'top-down poverty alleviation'** approach to a **'community-managed livelihood'** approach.
- **National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM):** Based on **Radhakrishna Committee** recommendation, SGSY was restructured into **National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM)** to focus on poverty elimination in 2010. Later, the NRLM was renamed as **Deendayal Antyodaya Yojana - National Rural Livelihoods Mission (DAY- NRLM).**

Characteristics of the SHG:

- SHG members should preferably have homogeneous background and common interest.
- It should have been in active existence for at least a period of six months.
- It should have successfully undertaken savings and credit operations from its own resources.
- It should be democratically working, wherein all members feel that they have an equal say.
- The group is maintaining proper accounts/records.
- Bankers should be convinced that the group has not come into existence only for the availing benefits and there should be genuine need to help each other and work together among the members.

What is the role played by SHGs in development of India?

Role of SHGs in poverty alleviation:

- SHGs, especially women SHGs, **promote the habit of thrift** so that economically weaker households could save and utilize those funds either for productive or consumptive purposes. Moreover, these thrift savings prevent these households from falling into extreme poverty in times of crisis.
- Members pool their funds and then lend to the needy members from that fund at low interest rates. Thereby, **increasing the access to non-collateral credit for those who cannot afford institutional credit.**
- **SHGs promote entrepreneurship** among members through credit support and hand-holding in product development, marketing, etc.
- Many SHGs either **promote self-employment or support members in getting jobs.** Some even develop their own group enterprise thereby generating employment opportunities.
- For instance, Shri Mahila Griha Udyog Lijjat Papad started as a SHG.
- **SHGs also enhance human capital through training, workshops, skilling, etc. Which further aids in reducing poverty.**

Role of SHGs in Women Empowerment:

Empowerment is a larger process to enable women to build capacity aimed to greater participation, effective decision making and build greater leadership in them. SHGs plays following role in empowering women:

- **Awareness of basic rights:** Women are generally less aware about their basic rights for example domestic violence, sexual harassment, or economic exploitation. Women SHGs educate women and help them in knowing their fundamental rights and laws.
- **Provides Employment:** The women SHGs' play an instrumental role in **arranging for various kinds of trainings for women** relating to improved farming

practices, livestock development, sewing, bookkeeping and general management. These trainings open various employment opportunities for the women.

- For Example, currently, there exists a network of over **61 lakh Self-Help Groups with about 690 lakh women members under the Mahila Kisan Sashaktikaran Pariyojana (MKSP), a sub-component of DAY-NRLM.** Their primary objective is to create sustainable livelihood opportunities, targeting the poorest, most vulnerable women.
- **NABARD's SHG- Bank Linkage Programme** help to avail formal banking facilities.

Women SHGs during COVID Pandemic:

Women SHGs in India have risen to the extraordinary challenge of COVID-19 pandemic to reduce the distress of poor especially in rural areas.

Following are the **key reasons underlining the importance of SHGs in alleviating the distress** of poor during a crisis:

1. They have a **better understanding of local communities**, and in times of crises, have immediate access on the ground.
2. They serve as an **integral community communication channel**, help reach the last mile, and are **trusted by local communities**.
3. they can provide **short- and medium-term social and economic protection**, serving as a critical conduit for providing relief to the most vulnerable.
4. They **quickly set up the production of relevant items** using their well-honed skills and use village distribution and supply chains.

Efforts of SHGs during COVID Pandemic:

- **Food Security-** Lockdown caused loss of livelihood and migration of huge numbers of informal workers. Amid food supply chains getting disrupted, **SHGs have set up over 10,000 community kitchens across the country to feed stranded workers, poor, and the vulnerable.**
- In Jharkhand, where poverty is high, SHGs helped district administrations identify pockets of hunger and starvation to guide efforts to ensure food security.
- **Economic Security:** SHGs women working as **banking correspondents (Bank Sakhis)** were deemed as **an essential service. Even during the lockdown, they continued to provide doorstep banking services** to far-flung communities, in addition to **distributing pensions** and enabling the poor to **access direct benefit transfers (DBT).**

- **Health Security-** As reported by 27 State Rural Livelihood Missions (SRLMs), around 1.96 crore masks have been produced by SHG members (as on 8th April 2020). These masks were sold at affordable price. Additionally, **over 100,000 Liters of sanitizer** and **nearly 50,000 Liters of handwash** were also produced.
- **Information Security-** The **devastating impact of misinformation on migrant labour** in wake of lockdown shows **criticality of authentic information** reaching to grassroots. SHGs disseminate COVID related messages among hard-to-reach populations. For example, **Break the Chain campaign of Kerala was led by Kudumbashree** to raise awareness about hand hygiene and social distancing through mobile phones, posters and weekly meetings.

Socio-economic and political development:

- **Social Empowerment:** SHGs create **awareness of rights among women**. They come together and gain strength from each other to deal with exploitation **acting as pressure groups against social**. Issues like dowry system. **For instance, Azadi Mahila of Jhansi** have come together to keep their gram panchayat free of alcohol shops.
- **Political Empowerment:** SHGs develop **leadership qualities** among women, who hold Panchayats accountable in terms of use and distribution of public resources. It enables women to **develop their communication skills to speak at Grama Sabha, public meetings**, etc.
- **Psychological Empowerment:** SHGs enhance role of women **as participants, decision-makers and beneficiaries** in every sphere of life. It inculcates a **great confidence in rural women** towards success in their day-to-day life strengthening their characteristic and personality.

Role of SHGs in Financial Inclusion:

- **Financial Inclusion: Priority Sector Lending** norms and assurance of returns incentivise banks to lend to SHGs. The **SHG-Bank linkage programme** pioneered by NABARD has made access to credit easier and reduced the dependence on traditional money lenders and other non-institutional sources.
- **Saving and Financial Decision Making:** One of the primary benefits of participation in a SHG is the opportunity to **save regularly, access**

formal savings institutions and participate in the management of these savings.

- **Access to credit:** A corollary of participation in SHGs is an **improvement in access to credit**. The **financial mobility due to participation in the SHG** has led to an **improvement in the quality of life**, according to some of the successful groups.
- **Employment:** The implementation of SHG has generated Self-employment opportunities for the rural poor. The SHGs since inception have assisted **Swarozgaris** in establishing their own micro-enterprises.
- **Women economic empowerment:** After joining the self-help group the women are economically and socially empowered. This empowerment cannot be transformed or delivered it must be self-generated such that it enables those who are empowered to take control over their lives.
- **Participation in local government:** Because of SHG, women know about their local political institutions such as the **Gram Panchayats** and have better knowledge of where to report certain types of grievances.
- **Access to Amenities:** After joining the SHG the members have improved in getting access to amenities like medical, sanitation, education, market, water supply, transport.
- **Social integrity:** SHGs encourages collective efforts for combating practices like dowry, alcoholism etc.

Role of SHG in rural development:

- **Credit availability**– Bank credits are not easily accessible to individual poor, but by forming a SHG, there are better prospects for bank credits.
- **Entrepreneurship**– Opportunities for self-employment through setting up a micro-enterprise.
- **Skill development**– Skill development program undertaken by SHGs improves employability of members involved.
- **Improved living standards**– As a result of increased jobs there is a rise in income which enhances access to food, health services and an overall rise in living standards.
- **Literacy rates**– with more women participation and their enhanced status address issues such as nutrition poverty and low literacy rate.
- **Social capital**– The SHGs provide a forum in which people can meet on a regular basis and discuss various issues or concerns that the members face in their day-to-day life which acts as the basic source of social capital generation.

Successful examples:

- **Kudumbashree** in Kerala has helped in providing skill training and poverty eradication of women.
- They act as pressure groups for policy framing as seen in legislation- making for **prohibition in Bihar** which was the result of pressure from several women SHGs in Bihar.
- **Tamil Nadu** used SHGs to inculcate sanitation habits among the community people under Swachh Bharat Abhiyan.
- **Haryana** government used SHGs for increasing sex ratio and making beti bachao beti
- SHGs like **SEWA, Lizzat papad** promotes Entrepreneurial culture among women.
- **Andhra Pradesh** Government programme of poverty alleviation by successful integration of women by SHG formation.

What are the concerns associated with the SHGs in India?**Various socio-cultural hurdles faced by Self Help Groups (SHGs) in promoting participation in development programmes:**

- **Illiteracy:** About 30% of rural people are illiterate according to government data. They don't know the importance and working of SHGs. **Lack of practical knowledge and information** adversely affects the efficacy of SHG.
- **Lack of Stability:** In the case of SHGs dominated by women, it is found that there

is no stability of the units as, many married women are not in a position to associate with the group due to the shift of their place of residence.

- **Social barriers:** Women SHGs in India face various social barriers. For example, women in villages are still seen as caretaker of children and housewife. They are not allowed to work or participate. This hinders women's participation in SHG.
- **Caste and Religion:** In rural areas **caste and religious systems dominate** and are very deep. Group formations based on caste and religious lines hinder the working of SHGs.
- **Patriarchy:** Prevalence of **patriarchal mindset** in the rural areas, see women as weak in all respects. **Female child discrimination** restricts the women to take active part in various decision-making processes.
- **Lack of funding: Rural people lack funds or are not ready to spend out of pocket.** The financial authorities are not giving adequate subsidies to meet even the labor cost requirements.
- **Ignorance of Participants: Even** though the authorities take measures to create awareness among the group members about the schemes beneficial to them, still majority

of the group are unaware of the schemes of assistance offered to them.

- **Inadequate Training:** The training facilities given to the members of SHGs in the specific areas of product selection, quality of products, production techniques, managerial ability, packing, other technical knowledge are not adequate to compete with that of strong units.
- **Problems of Marketing:** Marketing is an important area of functioning of the SHGs. This area faces different problems in the marketing of products produced by them.
- **Exploitation by strong member's** Strong members try to earn a lion's share of the profit of the group, by exploiting the ignorance and illiterate members.

What measures are taken by the government to promote the SHGs?

Government is promoting SHGs through following programmes:

- **Priority Sector Lending:** GOI has included SHG as a priority sector to enhance lending for SHGs with specific focus on women SHG.
- **SHG-Bank linkage programme:** It is world's largest microfinance project lending to SHGs. **Women SHGs Development Fund** was launched to address issues related to imbalances and State wise disparities in the SHG Bank Linkage programme
- **Deen Dayal Antyodaya Yojana– National Rural Livelihoods Mission (DAY-NRLM):** DAY-NRLM was launched with objective of **organizing rural poor women into SHGs** and continuously nurturing them to take economic activities. It aims to ensure that **at least one-woman member from each rural poor household** is brought into the fold of women SHGs.
- **Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana:** Enacted in 1999-2000 as an integrated program to bring the low-income families above the poverty line by organizing the rural poor into SHGs through the

process of social mobilization, training, capacity building, etc.

- **DAY– National Urban Livelihoods Mission:** It aims to reduce poverty and vulnerability of urban poor households. Under **Social Mobilization and Institution Development component**, mission envisages **universal social mobilization of urban poor into SHGs** by bringing at least one member from each urban poor household, preferably a woman, under the SHG network.
- **Budget 2021:** GOI has proposed a **village storage scheme** which will be run by SHGs. The scheme will allow women SHGs to regain their position as '**Dhan Lakshmi**' and they can avail Mudra loans for opening storage facilities.
- **States** are also assisting SHGs, for example, **Orissa allowed empty government building to be used by women SHGs** as their offices.
- **eShakti or Digitization of SHGs is an initiative of Micro Credit and Innovations Department of NABARD** in line with dream of electronic digital India.
- **Lakhpati SHG women initiative:** The initiative aims to enable **rural Self-Help Group (SHGs)** women to earn at least Rs.1 lakh per annum. **This will be achieved by focusing on diversifying livelihood activities** at the household level ranging from Agriculture and allied, Livestock, NTFP (Non-timber Forest Products) and other interventions.

Scheme for promotion of Women SHGs (WSHGs) in backward & Left-Wing Extremism (LWE) districts of India:

- Scheme for promotion and financing of **Women Self Help Groups (WSHGs)** in association with Govt. of India is being implemented across 150 backward and **LWE** affected districts of the country since March-April 2012.
- NABARD will provide **need-based awareness and capacity development**

programmes for key stakeholders under the project.

- To **facilitate implementation of the Scheme**, an exclusive fund viz. '**Women SHG Development Fund**' was set up by Dept. of Financial Services, Ministry of Finance.
- Under the Scheme, in addition to working as an SHPI, the Anchor agencies are also expected to serve as a **banking / business facilitator for the Nodal implementing Banks**.
- **Objective of the scheme:**
 - **Saturating the districts with viable and self-sustainable** WSHGs by involving Anchor agencies who shall promote & facilitate credit linkage of these groups with Banks
 - **Provide continuous handholding support**
 - **Enable their journey to livelihoods** and also **take the responsibility for loan repayments**.
 - All loans to new WSHGs promoted shall preferably be under the cash credit mode.

What are the further steps required to improve efficacy of the SHGs in India?

- **SHGs must be provided some representation in Gram Panchayats**. SHG members must be nominated in Standing Committees of Panchayati Raj Institutions.
- **More financial power must be devolved to GPs** so that they can keep aside some resources for the development of SHGs.
- GPs can take steps to **strengthen the SHG-Bank linkage program** by providing third-party

assurity and enforcing credit discipline among the SHG members.

- **Awareness: Frequent** awareness camps can be organized by the Rural Development department authorities to create awareness about the different schemes of assistance available to the participants in the SHGs.
- **Funding:** Financial institutions must provide **adequate financial assistance** to the SHGs on the basis of their performance. Efforts must be made to provide loans to SHGs at less interest rates.
- **Removing taboos:** Efforts must be made by removing various taboos and awarding people about **Increasing role of women**. **Gender sensitization** efforts must be made.
- **Ensuring women participation:** Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) can play a significant role in **empowering women entrepreneurs** by providing basic education, motivation training, and financial help.
- With more than 65% of India living in rural areas, we **need to emphasize SHG movement on women's entrepreneurship as an engine of growth in rural India**. Rural women through SHGs can play a significant role to **achieve the various SDGs** of India and **help rural India** progress in various field.

SHGs can play a vital role in socio-economic development of rural women. Government should play the role of facilitator and promoter, for growth and development of women SHGs. There is need to establish a separate SHG women facilitator cell in every state, which should work towards supporting and transforming women SHGs.

H218- Pressure groups

Pressure group is a group of individuals who are actively organised influence the working and policies of the government in order to promote and defend their interests. They exert pressure on the political or administrative system of a country to extract benefits out of it and to advance their own interests.

Features of Pressure Groups:

- Membership of pressure groups are limited by common interests.
- They are dependent on financial support of group members for operation.
- Pressure groups defend common interest of members without participating in elections.
- They quickly change political allegiance, as that suits to their conditions and protects their interests

Classification of Pressure Groups:

(by Gabriel Almond - classified them into 4 groups)

- **Institutional Pressure Groups** - They are formally organised groups and form part of the government. They raise demands using legal and constitutional means. These usually include institutions like Army, Bureaucracy, political parties etc. For e.g.:- IAS Association, IPS Association etc.
- **Associational Pressure Groups** – They are specialised groups with specific interests

like Business groups, Farmer Groups, Trade Unions etc

- **Non-Associational Pressure Groups** - They are ethnic, class, status, region, kinship and lineage groups. They are informal in nature. For e.g.:- Caste Based Groups, Language Groups etc.
- **Anomic Pressure Groups** - consists of persons whose demands are not properly defined or articulated and arise and when there is no organization for the expression of their demands. For eg:- They use riots and street demonstrations to pressurise the government.

Types of Pressure Groups in India:

- **Agrarian Groups** – They include farmer groups like Bhartiya Kisan Union (BKU), All India Kisan Sabha.
- **Professional Groups** – They include people from specific professions like Indian Medical Association (IMA), Bar Council of India (BCI).
- **Business Groups** – They represent the interest of businesses and corporates like FICCI, CII etc.
- **Student Groups** – they represent the causes and grievances of students in India like NSUI (Congress student wing), ABVP (BJP student wing), SFI (CPI student wing) etc.

Comparison between Pressure Groups and Political Parties:

Pressure Group	Political Party
(a) A pressure group has a specific interest and it works for the collective interests of the members.	(a) A political party has a broad-based programme for the society with a view to promote collective good.
(b) It is an informal, often reserved, self centred and conspiratorial and sometimes even an unrecognised entity.	(b) It is a formal, open and recognised part of the political system competing for power.
(c) Its membership is limited and that too of a particular kind, i.e. a students' pressure group will consist only of students and not of traders.	(c) Its membership is very broad-based and it is wide coalition of diverse members.
(d) It resorts to agitational politics like marches, demonstrations, strikes and fasts.	(d) It uses only constitutional means to achieve its aims.

- **Trade Unions** - organized association of workers in a trade, group of trades, or profession, formed to protect and further their rights and interests. For e.g.:- All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), Hind Mazdoor Sabha etc.
- **Religious Groups** - people that belong to the same religion and wish to influence government decisions in favour of their belief or members. For e.g.:- Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Jamaat-e- Islami etc.
- **Caste Groups** -group where people of same castes are organised actively for promoting and defending their common interest. They try to influence government policies to secure socio-economic benefits. For e.g.:- Marwari Association, Harijan Sewak Sangh, Nadar Caste Association etc.
- **Linguistic Groups** – Members identify with each other on basis of spoken and written language. For e.g.:- Tamil Sangh, Andhra Maha Sabha etc.
- **Anomic Groups** - **Anomic pressure groups** refer to those spontaneous groups which are formed with a collective response through riots, demonstrations, assassinations, etc. For e.g.: - ULFA, JKLF, Naxalite groups etc.
- **Ideological Pressure Groups** – they consolidate their position to attain or realise their ideological goals. In a broader sense they are also interest groups. They have a large social base. For e.g.: - Chipko Movement, India Against Corruption etc.

Role of Pressure Groups:

These groups try to pressurize the administrative and political system of a country either to ensure that their interests are promoted or to see that at least their interests are not relegated to the background.

- **Public Participation** – individuals participate in the public policy making through pressure groups.

It helps in convergence of individual interests and group interests.

- It makes government more efficient by enhancing the quality of the decision-making process – the information and advice provided by these groups helps to improve the quality of government policy and legislation.
- Pressure groups overcome the democratic deficit that builds up as most people's political participation is to cast a vote every five years.
- **Political Stability** – groups allow grievance redressal as people can present their collective demands to the government. Pressure groups increase social cohesion and political stability by providing an outlet for individual and collective grievances and demands.
- **Political Accountability** – groups work towards highlighting the failure of public policy and ensure inclusive policies are enacted.
 - As a result, it shores up the accountability of the government and serve as a vital check on state actions and inaction.
 - It helps in building a pro-active government. For e.g.:- Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS) was responsible for the RTI Movement in India after it succeeded in making people question the fund utilisation by authorities.
- **Quality of Governance** – groups follow a consultative approach which improves the quality of decision making and efficiency of government. The information and inputs by pressure groups is vital to the quality of policies enacted by the government.
- **Mobilisation of Public Opinion** – groups gather mass support through different techniques

to attract government attention towards their issues.

- They act as a link between the State and the citizen – they act as a platform and link for communication between the government and the people.
- **Protect Minority Interest** – groups become voice of the marginalised sections of society which otherwise may not be able to express their concerns.
 - They act as a safety valve – as minority groups and marginalised sections can express their concerns in a democracy through interest groups.
 - They enable new issues and concerns reach the political agenda, thereby preventing social stagnation.
- **Supplement Democratic traditions** - they keep the government in touch with public opinion between elections. This deepens democracy in the country.
 - They even support opposition in exposing faulty policies of the government which in turn deepens democracy in the country.
- **Educate the masses** - create a better informed and more educated electorate by promoting political debate, discussion and argument.
 - They compile the data and provide specific information to legislators and people. This forms more informed and aware citizenry.

Cause of Rise of Pressure Groups in India:

- **Economic Growth** – It has led to rise in Business pressure groups trying to extract benefits out of government policies.
- **Rise in Inequality** - Market-based reforms led to the economic disparity between the rich class and the poor class. Social Sectors like Health, education were ignored in this reform which has led to poor health sector development and lousy educational growth.
- **Zero Sum Game** – With limited resources and multiple stakeholders in development, pressure groups try to secure resources for their own members.

- **Threat to Culture** – Due to homogenisation of culture, minorities are facing cultural threat.
- **Nature of Democracy** – In India, every group has freedom to form association and raise its concerns.
- **Failure of Political Parties** – Political parties have seen limited success in representing interest of people which has led to more number of pressure groups collectively securing their own interest rather than relying on political parties to fight for their interests.
- **Societal Diversity** – Indian society is diverse with different linguistic groups, ethnic groups, caste groups, religious groups etc each trying to have a voice.

Rise of Pressure Groups after LPG reforms of 1991:

Initial attempts towards liberalisation were made in 1980s but it was Balance of Payment Crisis which prompted the government to come up with LPG reforms in 1991. Main aim of the reforms was to make the economy more market and service-oriented by expanding the role of private and foreign investment. However, this also led to rise in pressure groups in India.

- There was strengthening of business pressure groups like **FICCI, CII** as they tried to influence the Finance Ministry, bureaucrats to safeguard their interest and push for more favourable economic policies.
 - Today, businessmen engage in pre-budget meetings and discussions with legislators to shape the budget formulation.
 - After the LPG reforms, government is becoming more business friendly which is seen as a chance by business houses to maximise their profits through lobbying.
- Apart from business groups, trade unions too have tried to safeguard their interest as capitalism strengthened after 1991 reforms.
 - They have been vocal in their demands and used techniques like strikes and protests to draw attention of political parties.

- Their main demands have been - increase in wages, bonus and job security. In 2011, there were strikes at Maruti factory in Manesar.
- At the centre of this tussle between the management and **Maruti Suzuki** and its workers was the latter's demand for recognition of a new trade union — **Maruti Suzuki Employees Union**.
- Various trade unions like the Communist Party of India led All India Trade Union Congress (**AITUC**) supported the strikes.
- Reforms also led to rise of lower castes coming up with their own pressure groups. For example - Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (**DICCI**) was established in 2005 by Milind Kamble.
 - Its membership base is rapidly expanding as more Dalit entrepreneurs become aware. This is helping in social mobility of lower castes through economic means.
- Mobilisation of masses by pressure groups has also increased with the advent of social media. This has helped pressure groups in widening their base and educating people about their own efforts and government policies. This has seen a jump after advent of technology in wake of LPG reforms.
- Market-based reforms led to the economic disparity between the rich class and the poor class. Social Sectors like Health, education were ignored in this reform which has led to poor health sector development and lousy educational growth. With limited resources and multiple stakeholders in development, pressure groups try to secure resources for their own members.

Today pressure groups are considered integral to any political setup. After 1991 reforms, inequality has also increased which has led to marginalisation of peasants, workers and vulnerable sections. As a result, not only business groups have strengthened but new pressure groups have also emerged to protect interest of their members.

Pressure Groups and Environmental Activism:

Environmental activism is defined as the efforts made to conserve environment through collaboration of various stakeholders like government, businesses, pressure groups.

- The main idea behind environmental activism is to ensure environmental sustainability and come up with solutions for protecting the environment from pollution by businesses.
- There are various pressure groups which are involved in environmental activism like **Greenpeace, PETA, World Wildlife Fund etc.**

Importance of Pressure groups in environmental Activism:

- Environmental activism has contributed to environmental awareness among people. There is larger awareness about the impact of anthropogenic activities on nature. To fulfil their objectives, pressure groups try to push for policy formulation by influencing politicians.
- This has contributed to governments coming up with proactive steps to protect the environment and animals. For eg:- **PETA India** has written to Prime Minister requesting that **Section 28** of The Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (PCA) Act, 1960 – which allows any animal to be killed in any manner for religious purposes – be deleted.
- Pressure groups are also responsible for making businesses adopting greener technology for manufacturing. Environmental pressures can also be positive for both new firms and established ones as there are many opportunities awaiting. Businesses respond to environmental pressures because following environmentally friendly will benefit them in the following ways:
 - (a) **Improved competitiveness.** Obeying government regulations and standards can give a business a competitive advantage over other less environmentally friendly businesses.

- (b) **Financial incentives.** Governments may provide financial incentives such as subsidies or lower corporate Taxes to encourage firms to use environmentally friendly methods of production.
- (c) **Good publicity.** Pressure groups may approve businesses that have environmentally friendly practices giving those businesses good publicity. Sometimes, business will need to take legal action against pressure groups to defend business decisions in order to maintain their image, which may have been unfairly damaged by pressure groups.
- (d) **Opportunities to increase sales.** Favourable publicity gained from greener methods of production can attract new customers, high-quality employees and new investors, as well as keep the existing ones.
- Pressure groups are also coming forward for climate justice. Parallel to mainstream governmental institutional initiatives are a variety of informal and voluntary movements and pressure groups. **Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, Client Earth and various campaigns for climate justice** are some of the examples of pressure groups. They try to achieve environmental justice by pushing for environmental policies through political process.

With increased public awareness of environmental issues and access to information on the environmental performance environmental pressure groups have become more proactive in pursuit of environmental justice.

Techniques used by Pressure Groups:

They adopt techniques like financing of political parties, sponsoring such candidates at the times of elections which are their close associates and who can be depended upon and to ensure that such persons

hold executive jobs in the government who look after their interests.

- **Lobbying** – they influence the policy makers, legislators, bureaucrats, judges etc to favour their own interests. It is used to influence all three organs of the government. Lobbying by pressure groups now-a-days penetrates all corridors of power.
- **Electioneering** – they influence the choice of candidates and try to ensure victory of these candidates without directly participating in elections.
- **Propaganda and Mass Media** - they serve their interests and use means of mass media for securing public support for their demands and interests. Press is used to support campaigns favouring their interests. Discussion over radio and television are used to mobilise public opinion. Placards, posters etc are used to generate public opinion.
- **Strikes** – are used by suspending work to attract attention to secure their interests. The main aim is to show unity and solidarity of group members. It is used to demonstrate the harm, loss and inconvenience those results from the stoppage of work.
- **Gherao** - It is used to confine the officials or employer to a location and prevent them from doing work. It is a coercive tool to force the employer to get their demands accepted. It is usually used by anomic groups to secure their interests.
- **Demonstrations** - Demonstrations involve processions, Dharnas, black flag demonstrations, silent processions, rallies, submission of memoranda, etc. It is again a means of direct action.

Lobbying – should it be legal?

It is any attempt by individuals or private interest groups to influence the decisions of government. Lobbyists try to shape laws, legislation, and public policy to the benefit of the group or entity that employs them. Today, however, there are debates on lobbying and if it should be made legal or illegal.

Arguments in favour of making it legal:

- Making lobbying legal will add to the government's income by levying good amount of fee and charges on the same.
- It would help in curbing corruption in government offices.
- Many countries like USA, Germany other European countries have made the lobbying legal.
- Specific provisions like quarterly disclosures on amount spent in lobbying can bring more transparency.
- Making lobbying legal will bring forward open debates and discussions. This would improve policy making by government.
- Lobbying brings more competitiveness and improvement in quality of product offered by companies.
- Lobbying is further supported as an inherent part of participatory democracy.
- For our government to succeed and protect the rights of its citizens the citizens must participate; lobbying is a way for our citizens to do that.
- Lobbyists represent the interests of citizens who do not have the opportunity or access to represent them personally to the government.
- Lobbying helps to cover any gaps in knowledge. With each issue brought to legislative attention, lobbyists present research and facts about their issue.

Arguments against making it legal:

- It may lead to rise in Crony Capitalism in India.
- Lobbyists will make the corruption legal.
- It may increase inequality in the country. Those who have more power will become greater lobbyist and will watch their interest while the common one will stand nowhere.
- Lobbying in defence production and purchases might put national security at stake.
- Rampant lobbying may even impact the fair and free elections as unchecked influence of lobbyists may impact integrity of government institutions.

It has often come to light that lobbying is done by various groups in India. Such activities have a huge impact on the working of the government. Therefore, it is high time that the government should either make

lobbying legal or declare it as illegal by framing detailed and objective laws.

Challenges related to Pressure Groups:

Pressure groups while play important role in modern democracies, they also present some challenges like:

- **Demosclerosis** - which means the failure of government to adapt and effectively solve problems. This is due to presence of multiple pressure groups each trying to secure their own interests.
- **Crony Capitalism** - as business pressure groups try to influence the politicians through lobbying and bribes. Political Funding during election time is also used to secure interests.
- **Extremism** – It is used by anomic interest groups to pressurise the government to accept their demands. Naxalism is an example of extremism against state.
- **Vote Bank Politics** -vote banks can raise the bargaining power of individuals and groups. As a result, they can push for favourable policies.
- **Unconstitutional methods** – Gheraos, riots, strikes etc affect the essential services and cause law and order situation in the society.
- **Communalisation** – Religious pressure groups have divergent interests which lead to 'communal otherization' and confrontation in society. It affects secular fabric of society.
- **Self-Interests** – to safeguard own interests, pressure groups pressurise the government which leads to inequality and subversion of collective interests. Self-interests over societal interests are preferred.
- **Lack of resources** – many pressure groups have limited life due to fund crunch and it becomes difficult to sustain the movements.
- **Tyranny of Minority groups** – Some experts believe minority groups affect decision making due to opposition and seeing government policies as an attempt to promote majoritarianism.
- **Non-Legitimate power** – Pressure groups are centre of power in pluralistic democracy but they aren't elected by the people. This weakens democracy also.

Pressure Groups and Democracy:

Pluralist theorist view of democracy sees pressure groups as centres of power which allow atomistic individual to approach those in power for favourable policies. Therefore, their role in democracy becomes very important. Pressure Groups according to some experts contribute towards deepening of democracy and ensuring broad participation of citizens.

- Pressure Groups are responsible for articulating their interests in a structured form. This is done through various techniques like lobbying, electioneering etc. Thus, policy formulation is done through a stakeholder approach by means of influencing the legislative process. For example, **FICCI** is known to influence parties before GST council meetings related to inclusion and exclusion of products from the GST net.
- They bring the needs and demands of citizens in front of the government. Collectiveness ensures better bargaining power and draws attention of those in power. For eg:- Bharatiya Kisan Union (**BKU**), which had spearheaded the 13-month-long **farmers' protest** against the Centre's three farm laws.
- Pressure groups actively participate in filling knowledge gaps among its members. This leads to active participation of citizens in democracy rather than being mute spectators. As a result, public opinion is curated around issues affecting people. This is crucial during elections as voters vote for candidates who pay attention to their needs.
- This is crucial in ensuring power is distributed widely and **preventing concentration of power** in few hands. Strong presence of pressure

groups acts as a check on arbitrary use of power by state. It acts as a control mechanism.

At the same time, there are negative opinions about pressure groups. Some believe, excessive presence of pressure groups has **potential to subvert democracy**.

- It is believed that pressure groups can be **obstructionists** by halting the legislative process. This can lead to Hyper-pluralism. Such actions are rooted in politics of self-interest over public interest.
- In India, pressure groups are centered around **identities** like religion and caste also. This leads to **identity politics** taking over politics of development. This goes against the grain of democracy as **real problems get eclipsed** while vote bank politics take over.

While pressure groups are centres of power, they misuse this position by threatening order in society. For e.g. – During recent farmer protest, some rogue elements tried to bring down national flag at Red Fort. This can create law and order breakdown and lead to damage of public property. Such acts promote lawlessness and anarchy. At times they are also seen to be involved in usage of unconstitutional methods like violence by Naxal groups.

In Democracy, debates, discussions, consultations only enrich the legislative process. For this purpose, pressure groups are crucial link of communication to ensure participative democracy. However, they should only act as tools of broadening democracy and not tools to subvert democracy.

H219- Development Issues

Development is a process that creates **growth, progress, positive change** or the addition of physical, economic, environmental, social and demographic components.

- The **purpose** of development is a **rise in the level and quality of life** of the population, and the creation or expansion of local regional income and employment opportunities, **without damaging the resources of the environment**.
- **Indicators of development:**
 - **Economic:** Increasing **national wealth**.
 - **Social:** Improving the **well-being** (nutrition, education, health and wealth) of the majority of the population.
 - **Political:** Ensuring people's **freedom**.

Various dimensions of Development:

- **Human Development:** In a broader sense the notion of human development **incorporates all aspects of individuals' well-being**, from their health status to their economic and political freedom.
 - UNDP- "**human development is the end - economic growth a means.**"
- **Social Development:** is about **creating environments that enable children and youth to thrive** and not merely survive.
 - The aim of social development is **to improve the availability of support systems** in the community that prevent negative outcomes (like crime, poverty, substance abuse, etc.) before they occur or buffer (lessen) their impact.
 - It can be summarily described as the **process of organizing human energies and activities** at higher levels to achieve greater results.
- **Political Development:** is the **development of the institutions, attitudes and values that**

form the political power system of a society and help in solving political problems.

- Political development **enhances the state's capacity to mobilize and allocate resources**, to process policy inputs into implementable outputs.
- **Economic Development:** refers to the **sustained, concerted efforts** of the policymakers and the community **to promote the standard of living** of people in general and the **economic health of all sectors or specific areas** in particular.
 - Such effort can involve **development of human capital, critical infrastructure, regional competitiveness**, etc.
- **Sustainable Development:** is a development **that meets the needs of the present, without compromising the ability of future generations** to meet their own needs.
 - At the core of sustainable development is **to balance different, and often competing needs against an awareness of the environmental, social and economic limitations** we face as a society.

Different Paradigms of Development:

- A. **Welfarism:** Classic liberalism or laissez faire practices led to concentration of wealth and inequality in society.
 - The Welfarism paradigm demands that we judge the state of a society in general, and just distributions in particular, by the welfare of the people concerned, and by their welfare only.
 - Welfarism intends to move from consumerism towards **welfare and from the concentration of wealth towards the equitable distribution of wealth**.
 - It expects the State to protect and promotes the economic and social well-being of its citizens, based upon the principles of equal opportunity, equitable distribution of wealth, and public responsibility for citizens

unable to avail themselves of the minimal provisions for a good life. **(A welfare state)**

B. Neo-Liberal paradigm: It is an ideology and policy model that emphasizes the value of **free market competition**.

- The welfare state became unsustainable due to high debts and inefficiency. It was believed that markets can best distribute the resources.
- Neoliberalism is often characterized in terms of its belief in sustained economic growth as the means to achieve human progress because:
 - its **confidence in free markets** as the most-efficient allocation of resources,
 - its emphasis on **minimal state intervention in economic and social affairs**, and
 - its **commitment to the freedom of trade and capital**.

However, considering limitations and advantages of both, most economies adopt mix of both to minimize limitations and maximize advantages.

Various Stakeholders in Development:

- **Government:** as it performs vital functions- policy planning and implementation, grievance redressal, resource distribution etc.
 - **State and International institutions:** To ensure that development is just, equitable and sustainable. For example, NABARD and World Bank.
- **Citizens:** through participation in governance and taking up economic activity.
- **Media:** by raising the issues of public importance and lacunas in govt functioning.
- **Corporate sector:** by giving employment and generating surplus resources.
- **Non-government organizations:** filling the gap where government lags.
- **Civil Society Organizations:** through awareness generation.

Despite various welfare measures undertaken by governments why is India still a developing country?

- **Colonial legacies:** Practices like **corruption and communalism** obstruct development of communities in a big way.
- **High population and limited resources:** India constitute 16% of the world's population but only 4% of land area of the world.
- **Delay in LPG reforms:** Closed economy of initial decades alongside red tapism and inefficiency influenced Indian growth story in significant manner.
- **Unfavorable external environment:** Post-independence wars with Pakistan and China alongside territorial disputes meant that India had to divert her limited resources from welfare to defence and military.
- **Political instability:** highlighted during the Coalition era (since 1970s) had an effect on development story of India as most of the energy was utilised in saving governments instead of governance.

Steps required to make India a developed country:

- **PM Modi's five pledges** to transform India into developed country:
 - Having bigger resolutions and aim of developed India.
 - Removing any sign of servility/colonial mindset.
 - Pride in heritage and culture of India.
 - Strength of unity.
 - Fulfilling our duties.
- **Atma-nirbharta / Self-reliance:** building robust presence especially in critical areas like – electronic- semiconductors, defense etc.
- **2nd Generation economic reforms:** like land and labour can deepen the roots of development.
- **Skill development and Reskilling:** in accordance to the demand of the industry to take a full benefit of **demographic advantage**.

Development is vital in today's society as it affects every aspect of everyday life. It requires proper attention from all the stakeholders to fulfil the **Gandhian dream of 'Antyodaya'** which believes in keeping the poorest of the poor at the center of policy making and implementation.

Evaluation of some important developmental initiatives

I. WASH strategy

A. WASH:

- **WASH – Water Sanitation and Hygiene** is the combined term for Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene.
- WASH services offer water accessibility and quality, attendance of sanitation services and availability of soap and water for hand washing.
- Due to the **co-dependent nature** of these three components, these three core concerns are gathered together.
- In 2010, the **UNGA explicitly recognized water and sanitation as human rights** that are “essential for the full enjoyment of life and all human rights”.

Water:	Sanitation:	Hygiene:
Essential liquid for survival of humans, animals and plants. It includes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access and availability of safe drinking water. • Access to adequate water supply. 	Conditions related to clean drinking water and adequate treatment and disposal of human excreta and sewage. It includes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clean toilets; • Management of water and waste material; • Clean household or environment, etc. 	Hygiene is vital to avoid disease and the health of the children. It includes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal hygiene. • Handwashing with soap. • Menstrual hygiene. • Food hygiene.

B. Importance of WASH for Development.

- **Good health services:** Adequate water, sanitation and hygiene are essential

components of providing basic health services.

- A **WHO study** conducted in 2018 noted that **good sanitation can save more than one lakh lives on an annual basis** – year after year.
- **Critical for children:** Clean water, basic toilets and good hygiene practices are essential for the survival and development of children. Without this, millions of children are at risk.
 - For children under five years of age, water- and sanitation-related diseases are one of the leading causes of death.
 - **Over 700 children under age 5 die every day (297,000 annually) of diarrhea** due to lack of appropriate WASH services. (UNICEF).
- **Reduce respiratory infections:** Evidence suggests that washing hands with soap after defecation and before eating food can cut the respiratory infection rate by up to 25%.
- **Improves education: Poor WASH measures increase the barriers to children’s attendance and performance** in schools, especially those of girls.
- **Reduces health burden:** Prevent infections and spread of diseases; Prevents 9.1% of the global disease burden and 6.3% of all deaths.
 - Improvement of drinking-water quality, such as point-of-use disinfection, would lead to a 45% reduction of diarrhea episodes.
- **Economic benefits:** Increases economic benefits ranging from \$ 5 to \$ 46 per US\$ 1 invested in WASH initiative.
- **Cascading effect:** SDG-6 on ‘Water and Sanitation’ is closely related to SDG-3, which is about ‘Good Health and Well-being’. This is something unique about WASH.
 - The progress we make in this sector has a cascading impact on many other development indicators.

II. Jal Shakti Abhiyan

A. Features:

- **Integrated approach** to water conservation interventions;
- **Water availability: Time-bound, mission mode approach to improve water availability** including groundwater conditions in the water-stressed blocks of 256 districts.
- **Five specific targets:** Water conservation & rainwater harvesting, renovation of traditional and other water-bodies/tanks, reuse and recharge of bore-wells, watershed development and intensive afforestation.
- **Participatory: Community participation** and involving citizen-participation during the monsoon season.
- **Jan Andolan:** moving on as a Jan-Andolan similar to the lines of the Swachh Bharat Mission;
- **Collaborative:** The Jal Shakti Abhiyan is a **great collaborative effort of various Ministries** of the Government of India and State Governments coordinated by the Department of Drinking Water and Sanitation.

B. Significance:

- **Reduced health burden:** clean availability of water will reduce the health burden.
- **Women empowerment:**
 - Women do not have to long distances to fetch water, this will save their time and labour which can be utilised elsewhere.
- **Improved Water accessibility:** Increase the availability of water, particularly ground water.
- **Reduce stress:** Counter effects of droughts on availability of ground water.
- **Better management due to Community ownership:** Makes community owner of water projects.

C. Achievements: As per the ministry of Jal Shakti following milestones have been achieved since the launch of programme in 2019 till Sept 2022:

- **6,15,631 water conservation and Rain Water Harvesting works** have been completed.
- 97,354 traditional water bodies have been renovated.
- 6,89,492 watershed development projects have been completed.
- Intensive afforestation – 58,10,78,656 (tree saplings).

D. Issues:

- **May increase wastewater generation:** With access to piped water supply in households, water use is expected to increase in rural areas, leading to more wastewater generation.
 - Currently there is no mechanism to regulate water use.
- **Prevention of groundwater extraction:** JSA cannot claim much success until excessive extraction of groundwater is prevented.
 - While groundwater recharge is a commendable action, the actual percolation of water down to the confined aquifer is a time taking process.
- **Enforcement of regulations:** Low priority is accorded to the enforcement and proper implementation of environmental regulations governing industries and municipalities.
- Watershed development is a **long-term intervention and requires proper technical understanding** for identification of sites and management along with intensive human efforts, time, and sufficient resources allocation.
- **No separate funding:** JSA is being promoted as a community driven programme, for which no separate funds

have been allocated by the centre or the state.

- MGNREGA is the primary vehicle of this mission and districts where prior payment of workers under MGNREGA was not released, witnessed reluctance to take up further work.
- Urban centres also reported **paucity of funds as a major reason for not planning fresh interventions.**
- **No mechanism to cross check reporting by the districts:** Due to it instances like a top ranking JSA districts reporting old programmes undertaken prior to JSA, as JSA-led activities have happened.
 - This led to a **higher number of interventions been reported than were actually undertaken.**

E. Way forward:

- **Wastewater policy:** There is a dire need for a wastewater policy that promotes water use efficiency, recycling and reuse.
- **Legislations:** Two bills the **Model Bill for the Conservation, Protection, Regulation and Management of Groundwater, 2016** and the **National Water Framework Bill, 2016**, that are waiting for enactment, can have a large implication in controlling exploitation of groundwater and managing river water.
- **Compliance:** Ensuring stricter compliance for proper treatment and disposal of sewage and effluents before being discharged into water bodies.
- **Afforestation:** It has to be taken up with more vigour as forested catchments supply a high proportion of water for domestic, agricultural, industrial and ecological needs, help regulate climate and reduce flooding.
- **Develop a review mechanism to cross-check reporting by districts.**
- **Need to develop capacities of functionaries and the community.**

III. Swachh Bharat Mission

A. Objectives:

- **Eliminate open defecation.**
- **Conversion of insanitary toilets** to pour flush toilets,
- Eradication of manual scavenging,
- 100% collection and scientific processing/disposal reuse/recycle of Municipal Solid Waste,
- To bring about a **behavioural change** in people regarding healthy sanitation practices,
- **Generate awareness** among the citizens about sanitation and its linkages with public health.
- **Strengthening of urban local bodies** to design, execute and operate systems,
- To create an **enabling environment for private sector participation** in Capital Expenditure and Operation & Maintenance (O&M) costs.

B. SBM 2.0: Increased focus on:

- **Faecal sludge management and wastewater treatment,**
- **Source segregation of garbage,**
- **Reduction in single-use plastic,**
- Reduction in air pollution by **effectively managing waste from construction and demolition activities.**
- **Bioremediation of all legacy dump sites.**

C. Achievements: As per various estimates and studies:

- Under SBM (R), **10.28 crore toilets have been constructed** in 36 states/UTs.
- **603,175 villages were declared open defecation free** in five years.
- More than 30 crore people participated in the behaviour change campaigns under the world's largest behaviour largest programme.
- **Rural sanitation coverage of almost 100% has been achieved** due to availability

of toilet facilities to all villagers and their motivation to use toilets.

- **55 crore people changed their behaviour and started using toilets.**
- Significant reduction in water and sanitation related diseases.
- **Annual profit of more than Rs. 50,000 per household in rural India** due to reduced cost on healthcare spending.
- After becoming ODF, many villages have seen a **reduction in the number of deaths due to diseases like diarrhea, malaria** etc. Child health and nutrition have also improved.

D. Issues and Challenges:

- **Doubts over ODF status:** The ODF status has been questioned by the CAG 2018 report. There were **many instances of open defecation found despite ODF status.**
- **Over reporting of Data:** It has also been alleged that there is over reporting of government set targets of toilet construction.
- **Construction quality:** The 51st Report of the Standing Committee of the Parliament (2017-18) highlighted the concerns over durability and quality of construction of toilets.
- **Toilet usage:** Though there has been significant toilet construction, **toilet usage remains unsatisfactory in many areas.**
 - The NFHS-4, 2016-17 found that open defecation remained fairly high in the rural areas of the BIMAROU states.
- **Behavioural issues:** Open defecation remains a common practice in different rural areas due to cultural and societal factors which shape the behaviour towards sanitation.
- **Waste Treatment:** Though there has been significant progress in door-to-door waste collection, **only one-third of the waste being generated is being processed.**

E. Way forward:

- **Awareness:** The government should concentrate on creating a demand for toilets.
 - Policymakers must ensure that a larger proportion of funds are directed towards educating people about hygiene and the social marketing of toilets.
- **Robust mechanism for verification:** To address the issue of over/under reporting of government set targets, verification of facts on the ground is extremely important
- **Disposal: Proper facilities for the disposal** of excreta should be created.
- **Treatment:** Various cost-effective technologies should be adopted for sewage treatments and proper disposal of waste from toilets.
- **Use of technology:** Technology can play an important role in eradicating the practice of manual scavenging.

IV. Rurban Mission

A. Goal/ Objective:

- **Development of a cluster of villages that preserve and nurture the essence of rural community life** with focus on equity and inclusiveness **without compromising with the facilities perceived to be essentially urban** in nature, thus creating a cluster of 'Rurban villages.
- to stimulate local economic development, enhance basic services, and create well planned Rurban clusters.
- **Bridging the rural-urban divide** - viz: economic, technological and those related to facilities and services.
- **Stimulating local economic development** with emphasis on the reduction of poverty and unemployment in rural areas.
- Spreading development in the region.
- Attracting investment in rural areas.

- Rurban Mission (2016) will develop 300 clusters in the country holistically by provisioning economic, social and physical infrastructure facilities.

B. Achievements:

- Out of 300 rurban clusters, **291 Integrated Cluster Action Plans (ICAPs) and 282 Detailed Project Reports (DPRs) have been developed** by States /UTs with a proposed investment of Rs. 27,788.44 (Critical Gap Fund + Convergence Fund).
- **Out of total 76,973 projected works, a total of 40,751 (55%) works are either completed or near completion.**

C. Significance:

- SPMRM growth clusters are **playing a role in reducing urban migration** by ensuring that basic infrastructure and utilities are provided and industrialization is promoted.
- It is very relevant for ensuring transformational developments as against transitional developments in India's rural development sector.

D. Challenges:

- Though role has been given to state governments to delineate the clusters, **role of PRIs has not been demarcated.**
- Further poor implementation of the 73rd amendment act to achieve meaningful devolution of funds, functions and functionaries' risks jeopardizing any significant socio-economic growth of rural areas.
- A **multiplicity of schemes** in this regard in the form of Sansad Adarsh Gram Yojna, Backward Region's Grant Fund (BRGF) etc. can lead to delayed decision making and confusion.

E. Way forward:

- **Give prominent role to PRIs** in developing RURBAN Mission projects.
- **Nodal officers should be appointed for faster clearance** and timely implementation of projects.
- **A proper oversight mechanism** is needed to ensure compliance with regulations.

V. Smart City Mission

A. Features:

- **Objective:** To promote cities that **provide core infrastructure, clean and sustainable environment and give a decent quality of life** to their citizens through the application of 'smart solutions'.
- **Cities: 100 cities** have been selected to be developed as Smart Cities under the mission.
 - A **minimum of five years** is given for a city to be completed.
- **Application of technology: Every Smart City will have a Smart City Centre (SCC)** (i.e. Integrated Command and Control Centre).
 - The SCC functions as a city's nervous system where digital technologies are integrated with social, physical, and environmental aspects of the city, to enable centralised monitoring and decision making.
 - Projects related to e-governance, mobility, integrated traffic management and solid waste management have also been envisaged.
- **Implementation:** The implementation of the Mission at the City level will be done by a **Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV).**

B. Achievements:

- Tenders have been issued for 6,130 projects worth INR 1,814.91 billion. Of these, **2,898 (47 percent) projects worth INR 504.22 billion have been completed.**

- **Impact of SCCs is being felt, especially in five areas** such as enhanced quality of services, safety and resilience, inclusiveness in city operations, faster emergency response management, and environmental sustainability.
- **Boost to the start-up industry:** it has provided a fillip to the entrepreneurial spirit of urban residents, thereby increasing employment.

C. Success Stories in Smart Cities Mission:

- **Rajkot:** The crime rate has reduced by 18% over the past two quarters and there has been an improvement in traffic challans issuance, indicating behavioural change thanks to monitoring through CCTV cameras.
- **Pune:** has installed flood sensors at key points around the city, which feed data to the SCC, enabling timely warning and response mechanism.
 - Emergency callboxes have been installed at 120 locations to contact the nearest police station with just the press of a button.
- **Ahmedabad:** free Wi-Fi on BRTS corridors has increased ridership by 20,000 in March 2018, compared to Feb 2018.

D. Prevailing Issues:

- **Misaligned priorities:** The mission is emerging as too project specific, a small area based “smart technology enclaves” are planned over just 5% of city areas consuming 80% of allocated money, which otherwise could have been spent over whole city.
- **Discrimination:** The mission neglects the poor and marginalized populations that contribute their sweat and blood in building cities but rarely find their right to adequate housing honored.
- **Disregard for human rights:** Smart city mission is plagued by the glaring absence of a

rights-based approach. There have been cases of **slum clearances for city beautification**.

- **Bureaucratization:** Citizens and their elected grass root representatives have less power to take decisions in their city planning.
- **Increasing focus on limited sectors of the Smart City:** Services like Transportation, Energy and Ecology, Water and Sanitation, Housing and Economy constitute almost 80% of the SCM budget.
 - Other categories of IT, Governance, Culture and Heritage, and Health and Education constitute only 15% of the funding.

E. Way forward:

- **Rights-based implementation:** It must develop a **special focus on the needs, concerns and human rights** of the marginalized groups, individuals and communities.
- **Governance:** There should be **meaningful participation and engagement of the people** in the selection and execution of smart city projects in all cities.
- **Inclusiveness:** The **rights to adequate housing, work/livelihood, security** of the person and home, water, sanitation, health, food, privacy and information must be protected.
- **Commitment:** The mission should align with India’s legal commitments-
 - **New Urban Agenda 2016** and
 - **SDG 11:** Sustainable Cities and Communities which strives to make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable.

VI. AMRUT mission

A. Features:

- **Purpose:** Providing basic services (e.g., water supply, sewerage, urban transport) to households and building amenities in cities

which will improve the quality of life for all, especially the poor and the disadvantaged, is a national priority.

- **Coverage:** The Mission covers 500 cities that includes all cities and towns with a population of over one lakh with notified Municipalities.
- **Approach:** AMRUT adopts a project-approach to ensure basic infrastructure services relating to water supply, sewerage, storm water drains, transport and development of green spaces and parks with special provision for meeting the needs of children.
- **Incentive:** Under this mission, 10% of the budget allocation will be given to states/union territories as incentive based on achievement of reforms during the previous year.

B. Significance:

- **Coverage:** It tries to ensure that every household has access to a tap with assured supply of water and sewerage connection
- **Aesthetics:** It increases the amenity value of cities by developing greenery and well-maintained open spaces e.g., parks and
- **Pollution:** It helps in reducing pollution by switching to public transport or constructing facilities for non-motorized transport e.g., walking and cycling.

C. Issues:

- **AMRUT focused only on big cities** as opposed to the JNNURM that covered smaller towns as well.
- AMRUT covers roads, transport, water and sewerage, but waste management was transferred to the massive sanitation programme — the Swachh Bharat Mission (SBM).
- **Issues in monitoring:** Project sanction process has been decentralized. But this has hampered project monitoring, which, in turn, affected the dissemination of information.
- **Overlapping:** The larger gamut of sanitation services was included under AMRUT, while SBM remains the flagship scheme for sanitation.

D. Way forward:

- **Human rights perspective:** There is a need to revamp AMRUT to address the problems of forced evictions & land acquisitions, slums, disasters, lack of proper rehabilitation and resettlement and lack of access to justice to victims.
- **Prioritize health:** With the global COVID-19 pandemic, AMRUT needs to prioritise issues of health- sanitation, sewage, nutrition, hygiene etc.
- **Feedback:** Community groups comprising of NGOs and residential groups (citizens) could propose ideas and provide feedback towards the working of schemes under AMRUT.

H220- Poverty

Usually poverty is defined in economic terms but **Amartya Sen** sees it as deprivation of choices available for an individual to live a life they have reason to value and also the deprivation of individual's abilities to exercise that choice. It is a Multidimensional phenomenon and depends upon the context that one looks at.

- **Professor Mohammed Younus** defines it as – Poverty is that characteristic of being in a state of joblessness, illiteracy, landlessness, homelessness, lack of adequate capital, facilities, and food to earn a decent living and also powerlessness.
- **SDG 1 aims to End poverty in all its forms everywhere.** India has reaffirmed its commitment to SDGs.

Types of Poverty

- **Absolute Poverty** - it involves the scarcity of basic food, clean water, health, shelter, education and information. It is prevalent in developing country. World Bank has set the limit of \$1.9 a day as threshold of poverty line.
- **Relative Poverty**- It measures income inequality as it is seen from a social perspective. It is usually used to measure poverty in developed nations.
- **Generational Poverty** - defined as a family having lived in poverty for at least two generations. Generational poverty is lasting and systemic. People affected by it lack any means to change their situation for themselves or their children, which makes it intergenerational — affecting them, their kids and those after them.
- **Situational Poverty** –it occurs when a family experiences poverty for a brief period due to a crisis. It could be due to disaster, job loss, or health problems.
- **Rural Poverty** – It is found in rural areas due to less job opportunities, less access to services, less support for disabilities and quality education opportunities.

- **Urban Poverty** – It is found in urban areas like metropolis due to factors like inadequate housing, congestion, joblessness, pollution etc.

Poverty estimation in India: -

A. Pre-Independence:

- **Dada Bhai Naoroji** estimated poverty in India in his work, “Poverty and Un-British Rule in India”.
- He formulated a poverty line ranging from Rs 16 to Rs 35 per capita per year.
- Later, **National Planning Committee (NPC) of 1938** estimated a poverty line ranging from Rs 15 to Rs 20 per capita per month.
- In 1944, '**Bombay Plan**' suggested a poverty line of Rs 75 per capita per year.

B. Post-Independence:

- **VM Dandekar and N Rath (1971)** made assessment of poverty based on minimum calorie consumption. They estimated it to be income which can provide 2250 calories/day.
- **Alagh Committee (1979):** -
 - It assessed poverty on basis of nutritional requirements and related consumption expenditure.
 - For Rural areas – 2400 calories
 - For Urban areas – 2100 calories.
- **Lakdawala Committee (1993):** -
 - Constituted to review methodology for poverty estimation.
 - It suggested that: -
 - Consumption expenditure should be calculated based on calorie consumption as earlier.
 - State-specific poverty lines should be constructed.
 - Use the Consumer Price Index of Industrial Workers (CPI-IW) in urban areas and Consumer Price Index of Agricultural Labour (CPI-AL) in rural areas.

- **Tendulkar Committee (2009):** -
 - It made some suggestions like: -
 - Shift away from calorie consumption-based poverty estimation.
 - Uniform poverty line basket (PLB) across rural and urban India.
 - Incorporation of private expenditure on health and education while estimating poverty
 - It finally concluded that all India poverty line was **Rs 446.68 per capita per month in rural areas** and **Rs 578.80 per capita per month in urban areas** in 2004-05.
- **Rangarajan Committee (2012):** -
 - Poverty line should be based on certain normative levels of adequate nourishment, clothing, house rent, conveyance and education, and a behaviourally determined level of other non-food expenses.
 - New poverty line thus worked out to be **monthly per capita consumption expenditure of Rs.972 in rural areas and Rs.1,407 in urban areas in 2011-12**. For a family of five, this translates into a monthly consumption expenditure of Rs.4,860 in rural areas and Rs.7,035 in urban areas.
 - Poverty rate, according to criteria laid down by committee, was **29.5%**.
- **Multidimensional Poverty Index of (Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative) OPHI:-**
 - Idea behind this index is to measure acute multidimensional poverty across developing countries using various indicators like Health, Education and Living standards.
 - According to global MPI 2021, **India ranks 66 out of the 109 countries.**

Causes of Poverty:

Poverty is often defined by one-dimensional measures – usually based on income. But no single indicator can

capture the multiple dimensions of poverty. There are multiple factors responsible for poverty.

• **Social Factors:**

- **Illiteracy-** Poverty and illiteracy are closely linked. India's literacy rate is about 74% – leaving a quarter of the population without basic reading and writing skills. As a result, illiteracy is accountable for poverty as it creates a vicious cycle of life.
- **Social Exclusion** – Certain individuals and communities aren't able to participate in society due to lack of resources due to social exclusion.
- **Caste System** – This unbalanced and unfair system is another leading cause of poverty. For eg:- 97.25% people involved in manual scavenging are whose caste data is known are SCs. Due to rigid caste system, the low caste people could not participate in the game of economic progress.
- **Population** - rapid population growth far outpaces economic development, countries have a difficult time investing in the human capital needed to secure the well-being of its people and to stimulate further economic growth

• **Economic Factors:**

- **Low Agricultural Growth** - the contribution of agriculture in poverty reduction is dominant since the majority of poor people are relied on this sector for their sustenance. According to World Bank estimates, 20% Indian farmers are living below poverty line.
- **Unemployment** – It is a sign of poverty in the country and people in India are unemployed to a large extent. According to Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE), in September 2022, unemployment rate has reached 6.43%.
- **Inflation** – Inflation acts as a tax on poor. Inflation refers to an increase in the prices of goods and services. Poverty and inflation have a close relationship in that a country with high inflation is likely to have high poverty rates as well.

- **Population** - rapid population growth far outpaces economic development, countries have a difficult time investing in the human capital needed to secure the well-being of its people and to stimulate further economic growth.
- **Political Factors:**
 - **Corruption** - The poor are much more affected by administrative corruption than the better off. Any bribes they have to pay represent a much greater share of their income.
 - **Failure of Poverty Alleviation Programmes-** Despite various strategies to alleviate poverty, hunger, malnourishment, illiteracy and lack of basic amenities continue to be a common feature in many parts of India.
- **Climate Change:** Frequent climate related disasters like flood, famine, earthquake and cyclone cause heavy damage to agriculture as a result, the price of food increases, and access becomes more and more limited, putting many at higher risk of hunger and subsequently increase poverty.
- **Historical Factors:** Historically Bihar and Central and Eastern UP have not seen a major green revolution which brought prosperity to North Indian states.
- **COVID induced poverty:** COVID Lockdown led to economic slowdown and resultant loss of jobs.

Consequences of Poverty:

- **Economic Consequence:** Poverty leads to higher unemployment rate which subsequently leads to lower economic growth in all aspects. It also adds to financial burden on exchequer as more resource allocation is needed for poverty alleviation programmes.
- **Social Consequences:**
 - **Child labour and Bondage labour** - Poverty forces poor people to send their children to work instead of sending them to schools.
 - **Violence and Crime** - Due to unemployment and marginalization, poor

people often indulge in wrong practices such as prostitution, theft, and criminal activities.

- **Lack of Housing** - In India, 78 million people live in such slums, tenements, and makeshift houses and account for 17% of the world's slum-dwelling population.
- **Communalism and Radicalism** - are results of poverty as it is easy to emotionally surcharge poor people on basis of caste, regions, religion or ethnic identities.
- **Feminisation of Poverty** - it is an increase in the difference in the levels of poverty among women and men or among female versus male and couple headed households.
- **On Education levels** - Poor children typically go to badly maintained schools. Their lack of education in turn restricts them and makes their own children to suffer from poverty, once again helping to ensure a vicious cycle of sadly continuing poverty across generations
- **On Health** - According to the Health Profile of India report, 75 % of patients, who visit private hospitals, settle medical bills from their household income or life savings (out of pocket expenditure) while another 18 % borrow money from private lenders to pay medical bills causing high level of impoverishment.

Impact of COVID on Poverty:

- **According to World Relief,** an estimated three to four years of progress in ending extreme poverty has been lost because of COVID-19.
- **State of Working India 2021: One Year of Covid19' report findings on impact of COVID on poverty:**
 - On employment – **100 million jobs were lost** during the **April-May 2020 lockdown**
 - On Income -Monthly earnings of workers fell on an average by 17% during the pandemic, with self-employed and informal salaried workers facing the highest loss of earnings.
 - Informal sector - Nearly half of salaried workers had moved into informal work,

- either as self-employed (30%), casual wage (10%) or informal salaried (9%).
- Impact on women - only 19% remained employed while 47% suffered a permanent job loss, “not returning to work even by the end of 2020”
- Poverty rate increased - With **230 million** falling below the national minimum wage threshold of Rs. 375 per day during the pandemic, poverty rate has **increased by 15 percentage points in rural and nearly 20 percentage points in urban areas.**
- In addition to above findings, **Pew Research** also highlighted impacted COVID impact: -
 - Low Income Group shrunk- group **shrank from 119.7 crore to 116.2 crore per day**, with about **3.5 crore dropping below the poverty line.**
 - Record increase in **Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS)** participants as proof that the poor were struggling to find work.

Poverty Alleviation Schemes:

1. MNREGA:

- It is a demand driven wage employment Scheme.
- The core objective of the Scheme is to provide **not less than 100 days** of unskilled manual work as a guaranteed employment in a financial year to **every household** in rural areas as per demand, resulting in creation of **productive assets** of prescribed quality and durability.
- If work is not provided within **15 days** of applying, applicants are entitled to an **unemployment allowance.**
- This programme guarantees the “**right to work**”.

2. Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awas Yojana:

- In order to achieve the target of “**Housing for All**” in rural areas, the Ministry of Rural Development is implementing Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana- Gramin (PMAY-G)
- The objective is to provide assistance to eligible rural households with overall target

to **construct 2.95 crore pucca houses** with basic amenities

- Under PMAY-G, out of the total targets allocated to the States/UTs till date, 2.44 crore houses have been sanctioned by the states/UTs and 1.89 crore have been completed as on 21.07.2022.

3. Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana:

- Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana (PMJDY) is National Mission for **Financial Inclusion** to ensure access to **financial services**, namely, **Banking/ Savings & Deposit Accounts, Remittance, Credit, Insurance, Pension** in an affordable manner.

● Objectives:

- i. Ensure access of financial products & services at an affordable cost
- ii. Use of technology to lower cost & widen reach

- In today's COVID-19 times, we have **witnessed the remarkable swiftness and seamlessness** with which Direct Benefit Transfer (**DBTs**) have empowered and provided financial security to the vulnerable sections of society. An important aspect is that DBTs via **PM Jan Dhan accounts** have ensured every rupee reaches its intended beneficiary and preventing systemic leakage.
- As on 10th August '22 number of total PMJDY Accounts: 46.25 crore; 55.59% (25.71 crore) Jan-Dhan account holders are women and 66.79% (30.89 crore) Jan Dhan accounts are in rural and semi-urban areas

4. Deen Dayal Antyodaya Yojana –National Rural Livelihoods Mission (NRLM):

- It was launched by the Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD), Government of India in June 2011 as a restructured version of Swarna Jayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojna (SGSY).
- **Objective** –It aims at mobilizing about 9-10 crore rural poor households into Self Help Groups (**SHGs**) in a phased manner and provide them long-term support such that they diversify their livelihoods, improve their incomes and quality of life

- As on 30th November 2021, Mission has its footprints in 6769 blocks of 706 districts in 30 states and 6 UTs. It has mobilised a total of 8.01 Crore women from poor and vulnerable communities into 73.19 lakhs SHGs.
 - DAY NRLM has been able to facilitate a total of Rs. 4.35 lakh crore of Bank Loan to the SHGs.
- 5. Deendayal Antyodaya Yojana – National Urban Livelihoods Mission (DAY-NULM): -**
- Objective** –It aims at reducing poverty and vulnerability of urban poor households on a sustainable basis. It aims to enable the poor to access gainful employment and skilled wage employment opportunities.
- 6. PM Garib Kalyan Anna Yojana:**
- Under the extended PM-GKAY each beneficiary will get **additional 5 kg free ration per person per month** in addition to his normal quota of foodgrains under the **NFSA**. This means that every poor household would get nearly double the normal quantity of ration
 - benefit of free ration can be availed through portability by any migrant labour or beneficiary under **One Nation One Ration Card (ONORC)** plan from nearly 5 lakh ration shops across the country. So far, over 61 Crore portability transactions have benefitted the beneficiaries away from their homes.
- 7. PM SVANIDHI Scheme:**
- Objective** - It focuses on enhanced collateral free affordable loan corpus, increased adoption of digital transactions and holistic socio-economic development of the Street Vendors and their families.
 - It is expected to benefit nearly 1.2 crore citizens of Urban India. As on April 25, 2022, 31.9 lakh loans have been sanctioned and 29.6 lakh loans amounting to Rs. 2,931 crore have been disbursed.
- 8. Poshan Abhiyan:**
- Objective** - aim to achieve improvement in nutritional status of Children under 6 years, Adolescent Girls, Pregnant Women and Lactating Mothers in a time bound manner by adopting a synergised and result oriented approach.
 - Steps have also been taken to improve nutritional quality and testing, strengthen delivery and leverage technology under Poshan Tracker a robust ICT enabled platform, to improve governance with regard to real time monitoring and provisioning of supplementary nutrition for prompt supervisions and management of services.
- 9. Right to Education Act 2009:**
- It mandates the appropriate Government to provide **free and compulsory elementary education to every child of the age 6 to 14 years** in a neighbourhood school.
 - It mandates reserving a minimum of 25% seats for children belonging to economically weaker sections (**EWS**) and disadvantaged groups.
- Way Forward:**
- Economic growth forms the backbone of the development of any nation. It is imperative that the Indian economy is placed at the right trajectory which leads to prosperity. The following steps can be taken:
- Boost Manufacturing Growth** – Economic Survey suggests job creation in labour intensive sectors like leather and textile sectors.
 - Boost Agricultural Growth** -NITI Aayog's recommendations relate to raising productivity in agriculture, giving remunerative prices to farmers, measures aimed at 'second green revolution' in rainfed areas in general and eastern India in particular, reform of tenancy laws to help small and marginal farmers, and building safety nets to bring quick relief for farmers in times of natural disasters.
 - Capability Approach** - normative approach to human welfare that concentrates on the actual capability of persons to achieve lives they value rather than solely having a right or freedom to do so.
 - Increase role of Gram Panchayats** - Panchayat may ensure that the BPL families get all government benefits.

- **Human Capital Development** – through increasing education budget and health budget.

Feminisation of Poverty:

Feminization of poverty refers to a trend of increasing inequality in living standards between men and women due to the widening gender gap in poverty. This phenomenon largely links to how women and children are disproportionately represented within the lower socioeconomic status community in comparison to men. It is attributed to variety of reasons like: -

- **Lack of Education - Gender disparity** is evident in India's childhood literacy rates 82% of boys are literate and only 65% of girls can read and write, according to the 2011 Census of India.
 - Statistics show that about 10% more girls enrolled in Indian high schools by 2019 compared to 2011.
 - According to UNICEF, another obstacle to educating girls is the lack of hygiene in schools across the country. In many schools, there are no separate toilet facilities for girls. Separated toilet facilities are important once girls reach puberty.
- **Sexual Violence** – Those who engage in sexual violence target vulnerable sections. Women that are victims of these sexual violent acts find escape difficult due the life due to abuse of power and insufficient laws to protect them.
- **Lack of Employment** - According to the Union Budget 2022, the overall workforce participation rate in India is 20.3%, of which 18.2% is in Urban India presently. In 2022, Women's employability is at 51.44 per cent for 2022, compared to 41.25 per cent in 2021. COVID pandemic has further worsened the situation for them as many suffered permanent job loss.
- **Feminisation of Agriculture** - Women lack viable livelihood alternatives, and are forced to undertake farm activities that have been left by men due to agrarian distress.

According to scholars, feminization of agriculture in India is actually “**feminization of agrarian distress**”.

- **Health Inequality** – Government data suggests Females account for only 33% of hospital visits among children and 43% among the elderly. These shares are lower for more expensive types of care.
 - Also, Women in poverty are also more vulnerable to sexual violence and risk of HIV/AIDS, as they are less able to defend themselves from influential people who might sexually abuse them.
 - Other ailments such as malnutrition and parasite burden can weaken the mother. According to National Family Health Survey (NFHS)-IV (2015-16), **the prevalence of anemia among adolescent girls aged 15-19 years is 54%**.
- **Climate Change** - Women and girls are, and will continue to be, more vulnerable to the effects of climate change and environmental degradation.
 - According to the World Economic Forum, less than 20% of land in the world is owned by women. As a result, women's livelihoods take longer to recover after economic and climate shocks
- **Single mothers** – They are at high risk of poverty due to economic burden. Low income leads to poor education of their girl child and it creates a vicious cycle of poverty.
- **Culture** – Socio- cultural inequality deprives women of capabilities, particularly employment, which leads to women having a higher risk of poverty.
 - This increase in occupational gender segregation and widening of the gender wage gap increases women's susceptibility to poverty.
 - Purdah System, Dowry are some examples of cultural discrimination which lead to undermining of women in families.

While the government has come up with various initiatives to improve status of women like – Beti Bachao Beti Padhao, Stand up India, SHG movement, Ayushman Bharat, KIRAN scheme, Ujjawala scheme, Gender based Budgeting etc, there is a need of paradigm shift by following an equity based approach to counter the menace of feminisation of poverty.

Poverty and Inequality in India:

Poverty is defined in economic terms i.e. state where a person lacks a usual or socially acceptable amount of money or material possessions. **Inequality** on the other hand, is uneven and unfair distribution of opportunities and rewards that increase power, prestige, and wealth for individuals. They are intricately related to each other. In India, while economy is growing at a fast pace, rich sections are getting richer at a much faster pace compared to poor. This is not only adding to poverty but also leading to increase in inequality.

A. Income Inequality

- According to Oxfam Report, the top 10% of the Indian population holds 77% of the total national wealth. 73% of the wealth generated in 2017 went to the richest 1%.
- In such a situation, basic needs become luxuries and leads to marginalisation of the poor. This further leads to possibility of human trafficking, child trafficking, bondage etc.

B. Health Inequality –

- In Oxfam's Commitment to Reducing Inequality Report 2020, India ranks 154th in health spending, fifth from the bottom.
- When it comes to healthcare, people in general category are better off than Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) households; Hindus are better off than Muslims; the rich do better than the poor; men are better off than women; and the urban population fares better than the rural.
- According to the report, 12.6 per cent more children are stunted in SC households than those in general category homes. And, the chances of a child dying before the age of five are three times higher for the bottom 20 per

cent of the population compared to the top 20 per cent.

C. Social inequality- In India, social inequality is multi-dimensional. There is inequality based on:

- **Religion** – According to Pew research, In all, **17% of Indians report facing recent discrimination based on their religion.** In the past, **Sachar Committee Report** brought the issue of Muslim Indian inequality too.
- **Caste** - According to the Agricultural Census of 2015-16 reported that **Dalits own only about 9% of the total agricultural land.** This is due to caste based hierarchy which exists in the society.
- **Tribal inequality** – Due to development projects, mining leads to large-scale land dispossession for Adivasis and consequentially to the pauperisation and destruction of their communities, which are traditionally reliant on access to land and forests.
 - They are displaced and become vulnerable to bondage and trafficking. For eg: – **Sardar Sarovar Dam** alone displaces more than 41,000 families (over 200,000 people) in the three states of Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Madhya Pradesh. Over 56 % of the people affected by the dam are adivasis.
- **Regional Inequality** - In a diverse country like India, there are many factors like difficult terrains, violence, ethnic differences, early mover advantage and sometimes historical reasons which leads to regional inequality.
 - For eg:- North East India has seen low levels of development due to combination of these factors in the past.
- **Gender Inequality** - World Economic Forum's **Global Gender Gap Report 2022**, ranks India **135 out of 146 countries. There are many factors which contribute to gender-based inequality in India like**
 - (a) Cultural institutions in India, particularly those of patrilineality

(inheritance through male descendants) and patrilocality (married couples living with or near the husband's parents)

- (b) **Son Meta Preference** - culturally ingrained parental preference for sons – emanating from their importance as caregivers for parents in old age is linked to poorer consequences for daughters. (c) Poverty and lack of education drives countless women to work in low paying domestic service, organized prostitution or as migrant labourers.

As a result, inequality exists at multiple levels. There are many **implications of inequality** in the country as follows:

- **Higher Vulnerabilities to Extreme Events:** Poor people have little to no savings or wealth which makes it very difficult for them to survive in extreme situations like Pandemic, Disasters etc.
- **Hampers progress of Future Generations:** Lack of access to income and wealth hampers the ability of the poor to access the levers (like education) that enable upward mobility. Children born in poor families remain trapped in poverty, perpetually.
- **Undermines Dignity:** People with less resources have to work day and night without any day off unlike the affluent section. They starve for food, clothing and other basic things which undermines their **right to a dignified life under Article 21**.
- **High Crime Rates:** A study published in the journal 'Nature' showed that more unequal societies tend to have higher crime. Inequitable distribution of wealth leads to lower social trust.

- **Lower Investment Levels:** Marginal propensity to save is high in upper income levels while marginal propensity to consume is more at the lower levels. One cannot spend beyond a limit. The surplus goes into savings, which, in turn, get transformed into increased investments for the economy through financial intermediaries.

The current inequality situation raises an alarm bell to take proactive steps and provide justice to the masses at the bottom of the inequality pyramid. Therefore, **following steps** are needed to address inequality in the country:

- **First**, the government should raise the minimum wage rate especially in the unorganized sector wherein people get very less social security benefits. Assurance of minimum wage can be done by proper implementation of MGNREGA and introduction of a similar scheme in urban areas.
- **Second**, the debate on **Universal Basic Income** has been going on for quite some time. The Government can now shift to action mode and take steps for a speedy rollout that would give sufficient cushion to the masses.
- **Third**, there should be higher allocation of money towards social services. India requires 6% of GDP in **Education** and 2.5% of GDP in **Health** to ensure equitable development.
- **Fourth**, there should be greater focus on digitization and JAM usage in order to reduce inclusion and exclusion errors in schemes.

Therefore, a multidimensional approach to tackle the increasing inequality is needed to reaffirm our commitment to **SDG 10** which envisions reduction of inequality.