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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS INDIA AND THE WORLD



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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (INDIA AND THE WORLD)

S. No.	Content	Page No.
1.	THE HISTORY	01 – 38
2.	BASICS	39 – 59
3.	INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY	60 – 82
4.	INDIAN DIASPORA	83 – 93
5.	INDIA'S BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH MAJOR POWERS	94 – 139
	INDIA AND USA	94 – 106
	INDIA AND CHINA	106 – 123
	INDIA AND RUSSIA	123 – 134
	RIPPLE EFFECTS FROM RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR ON GLOBAL ECONOMIES	135 – 139
6.	INDIA AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD	140 – 200
	INDIA AND PAKISTAN	140 – 151
	INDIA AND BANGLADESH	152 – 160
	INDIA AND BHUTAN	160 – 166
	INDIA AND SRI LANKA	167 – 175
	INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN	175 – 184
	INDIA AND MALDIVES	185 – 186
	INDIA AND MYANMAR	186 – 195
	INDIA AND NEPAL	195 – 201

S. No.	Content	Page No.
7.	EXTRA REGIONAL OUTREACH OF INDIA	201 – 274
	INDIA AND SOUTH EAST ASIA	201 – 205
	INDIA – VIETNAM RELATIONS	206 – 209
	INDIA IN THE INDIAN OCEAN	209 – 220
	INDIA AND EURASIA	220 – 223
	INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA	224 – 227
	INDIA AND AFRICA	227 – 234
	INDIA AND EUROPE	234 – 237
	INDIA AND WEST ASIA	237 – 245
	ISSUES IN WEST ASIA	245 – 255
	INDIA AND IRAN	256 – 262
	INDIA AND ISRAEL	262 – 265
	INDIA- SAUDI ARABIA TIES	265 – 270
	INDIA AND LATIN AMERICA	270 – 274

Chapter – 1

THE HISTORY

THE MAKING OF THE MODERN WORLD

International relations, as it is presented in the flow of daily news, concerns a large number of disparate events: leaders are meeting, negotiations are concluded, wars are started, acts of terror committed, and so on. In order to make sense of all this information we need to know a lot about the contemporary world and its history; we need to understand how all the disparate events hang together. At university, we study these topics, but it is a basic tenet of the academic study of international politics that this rather messy picture can be radically simplified. Instead of focusing on the flow of daily news, we focus on the basic principles underlying it. This is what we will try to do in this chapter. So, let us begin by thinking big: what is international relations, how was it made, and how did it come to be that way?

The state is a good place to start. There are a lot of states in the world – in fact, according to the latest count, there are no fewer than 195 of them. States are obviously very different from each other, but they are also similar to each other in important respects. All states are located somewhere, they have a territorial extension; they are surrounded by borders which tell us where one state ends and another begins. In fact, with the exception of Antarctica, there is virtually no piece of land anywhere on earth's surface that is not claimed by one state or another and there is no piece of land that belongs to more than one state (although, admittedly, the ownership of some pieces of land is disputed).

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS FROM MODERN TIMES TILL THE ONSET OF THE COLD WAR

Situation of Europe in the modern times

From the study of the previous chapter it is quite clear that the Renaissance, Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution had put Europe on a path of recovery and rise. The time was not far for Europe to become one of the strongest contenders of world power. The Industrial Revolution had led many European nations to lead the search for resources and new markets. One of the manifestations of this was imperialism and colonialism. Africa and Asia were the new battlegrounds for an imperialist Europe. As Industrial Revolution progressed in Europe, it created stronger, more powerful economies back home. If the Peace of

Westphalia in 1648 led to the emergence of strong political entities in the form of the nation states, then it is Industrial revolution that created strong economies in Europe. Some prominent economies by 1900 were France, Britain, Belgium, the Hapsburg Empire, Japan, Italy, USA and Germany.

Diplomatic Crisis in Morocco

Key Treaties: The 1904 British and French Entente Cordiale

In 1904, the British and French had signed an Entente Cordiale. Germany was quite alarmed to witness the treaty between the two erstwhile rivals and wanted to see if this entente cordiale would genuinely hold fast under duress. It tried to test the entente in Morocco. Morocco was one area in Africa which was not yet fully colonised by any European power but the French were adamant to control the Moroccan police and its banking system. The Germans openly began to assert their support to the Moroccan Sultan. In order to put an end to the rivalry in Morocco, the Germans organised a conference in 1906 in Algeiras in Spain. The British understood that in case the Germans are able to control Morocco through their support to the sultan, it would be a victory of German diplomacy and would ultimately strengthen German Weltpolitik. Realising this in the conference in Algeiras, British began to support the French. To Germany's surprise, the French also got support for their plan to control the bank and police of Morocco from Spain, Russia and Italy. This conference in Algeiras ultimately ended in support for the French by the majority and was not only a big diplomatic boost to the British and French cordiale but a big blow to Germany.

Bosnian Annexation and the Rise of Serbian Hostility

Key Treaties: Treaty of Berlin, 1878; Germany-Austria alliance, 1882

As we saw above, as per the Treaty of Berlin 1878, Austria would administer Bosnia. Let us elaborate it upon this situation a little more. Bosnia was a Turkish province. Turks administered Bosnia. But in 1878, the Treaty of Berlin clarified that Bosnia would remain a part of Turkey but would be administered by Austria. This upset the Turks but they were not in a position in 1878 to challenge the mighty Austro-Hungarian Empire. But in 1908, a small group of Turks called Young Turks emerged forcefully on the national scene and demanded that Bosnia be given back to Turkey and Turks be allowed to control and administer Bosnia and Austria. Seeing this, Austria decided to annex Bosnia.

Thus one thing is clear, Balkan crisis made the Balkan territory extremely volatile.

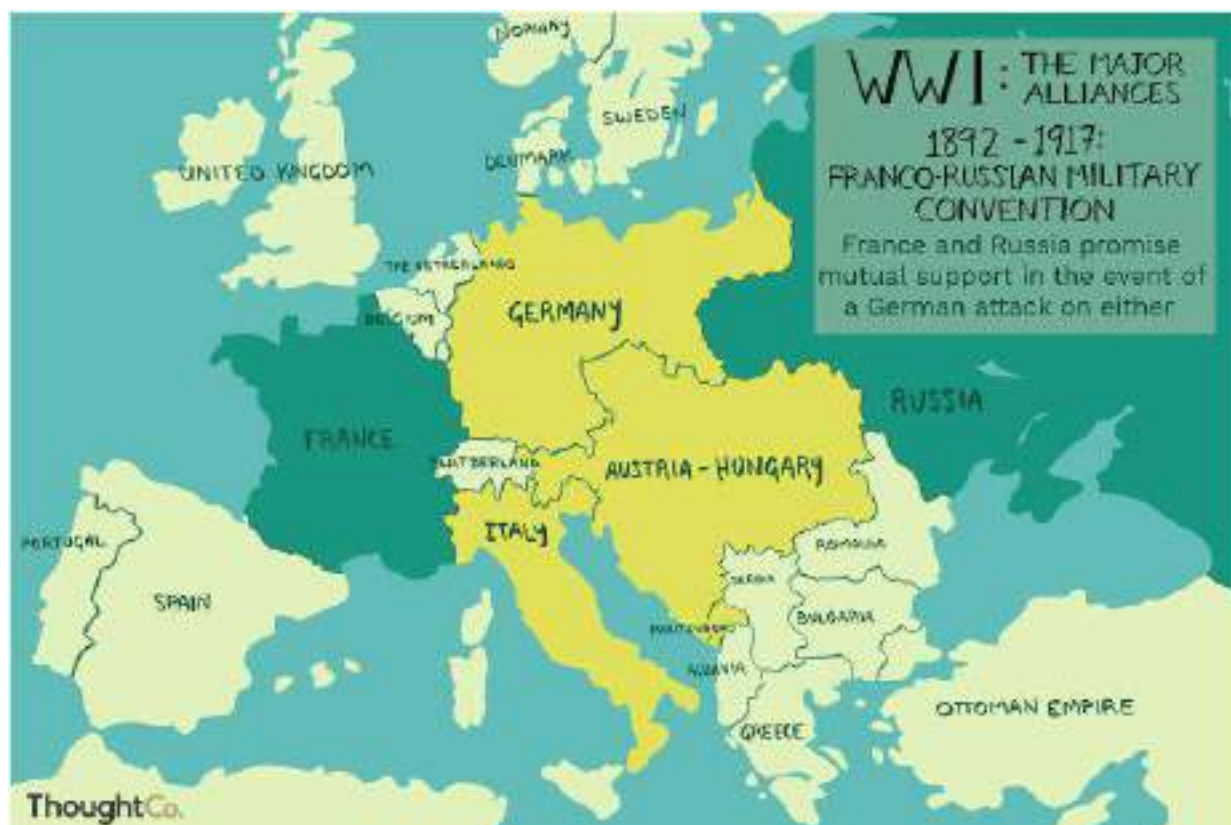


Alliances Executed Leading to World War-I

Key Treaties: Entente Cordiale and Triple Alliance

As the Balkan wars of the previous case prove, the situation in the Balkans was very volatile. One of the reasons of volatility was the settlement plan which had upset many Balkan states. On 28th June 1914, the Austrian Archduke, Franz Ferdinand, while on tour in Sarajevo, Bosnia, was shot dead by a Serbian terrorist, Gavrilo Princip. The Austrians blamed Serbia for this. On 28th July, 1914, Austria declared a war on Serbia. Serbia asked for military help from Russia. Russia obviously never wanted a repeat of its failure to help Serbia as earlier, and so, it ordered immediate military mobilisation. Germany ordered a halt to Russian mobilisation. The outright refusal by Russians to comply with Germany's request compelled Germany to declare a war on Russia. Germany went on to even declare a war on France as Germany thought that the Russians and the French have an agreement and Russia would eventually get French help. When Germany decided to attack France, it had to cross over Belgium, which had thus far remained a neutral state. Belgium had not formed any alliances. In fact in 1839, even Britain had assured Belgium that they respected, and would uphold, their neutrality. As Germany proceeded to attack France and entered Belgium, the British ordered Germany to withdraw. The Germany refused to comply, leading Britain to declare war on Germany. Towards 1917, the USA found out that Germany was trying to persuade Mexico to wage a war on the USA. In the entire duration of the war, Germany was reluctant to help Russia as it was under the rule of autocratic Tsar but by 1917 April there was a Revolution in Russia (to be explained ahead). The USA was already supplying men and material support to Britain and France and after the





Chapter – 2

BASICS

Alliance

An agreement between two or more states to work together on mutual security issues. States enter into such cooperative security arrangements in order to protect themselves against a common (or perceived) threat. By pooling their resources and acting in concert, the alliance partners believe that they can improve their overall power position within the international system and their security relative to states outside the alliance.

Cold War

The term was coined by HB Scope, who was an American journalist. Walter Lipmann popularised the term, and stated that Cold War describes a situation where there is no war, yet no peace. It is a term that signified the global ideological tensions in the world created in the aftermath of the World War II by the US and the Soviet Union.

Colonialism

Colonialism is a form of imperialism where one country tries to control the politics and economy of another country. A country is made into a colony by a mother country, whereby the territory that gets colonised becomes a subordinate and servile country. The period from fifteenth to nineteenth century saw Portugal, British, France, Holland and Spain colonising the Americas, Asia and Africa. In the present context, non-colonialism is a term used to signify domination by developed countries of post-colonial independent states. Similarly, internal colonialism as a term is used when a peripheral region is treated as a subordinate by an economically dominant segment of the state. For example, central Asian Republics were victims of internal colonialism post disintegration of the erstwhile Soviet Union. A process where a colony undertakes independence from a colonial power is called decolonisation. After the World War II, the world witnessed

COLONIALISM VERSUS IMPERIALISM

Imperialism is a policy of extending a country's power and influence through military force or diplomacy	Colonialism is the practice of acquiring partial or full control over another country and exploiting it economically
The ideology that drives colonialism	Practice of extending territories, forming colonies and settlements & exploiting their resources
Can be categorized into formal and informal imperialism	Produced two main types of colonies: settler colonies and dependencies
	Pediaa.com

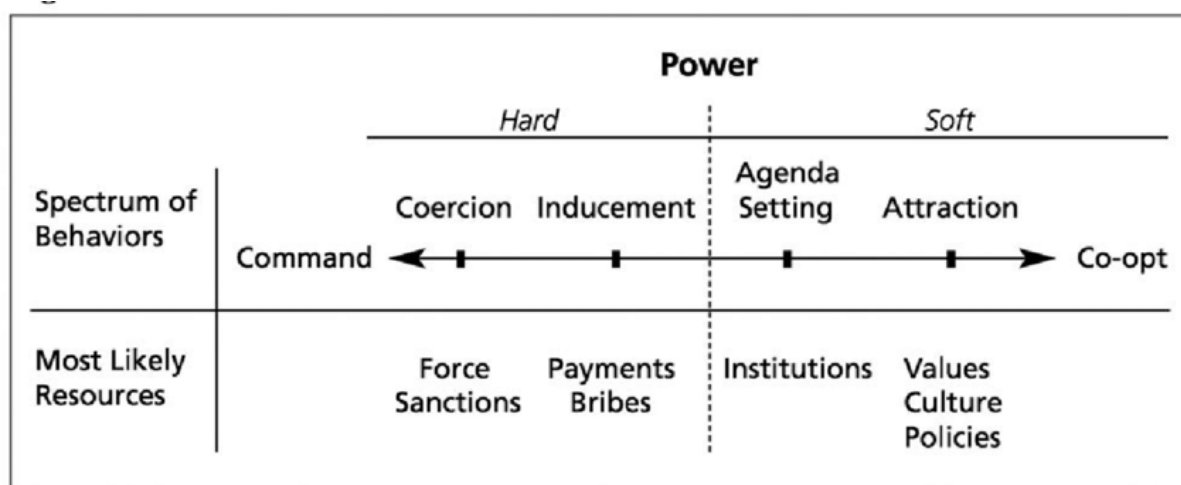
a surge of states gaining independence from colonial rulers and a term called the ‘Third World’ began to be used as a collective expression for these new states.

Ping-pong Diplomacy

In the initial years of the Cold War, the US perceived China as a threat because of the Chinese propensity to lean towards the Soviet. In Early 1970s, the US and China began to exchange table tennis players. These table tennis matches paved a way for the two to open up communication channels which ultimately culminated in Nixon’s visit to China. The ping pong refers to the table tennis opening up diplomatic channels of communication.

Soft Power Diplomacy

A concept of diplomacy coined by Joseph Nye where he explains that it 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.



Sphere of Influence

It refers to a situation where an outside state exercises particular economic or military exclusiveness over another region. In the context of a sphere of influence, there is no sovereign control over the other territory. When one state exercises its sphere of influence over another state, it restricts the rights of the other power to exercise influence and also imposes limitations on the autonomy of states on which influence is exercised.

Strategic Depth

Let us suppose that there are three hypothetical states—A, B and C. Strategic depth is a policy whereby state A may try to enhance its influence in state B to the extent that it emerges in a position to prevent the state C to exercise political influence in the state B. For instance, Pakistan has enhanced its presence in Afghanistan to ensure that there is a favourable regime in Afghanistan since a regime favourable to

Pakistan in Afghanistan will allow Pakistan to limit the political influence of India in Afghanistan. Thus, Pakistan pursues a policy of strategic depth against India in Afghanistan.

Strategic Partnership

Two countries normally have bilateral diplomatic relations. However, as the depth in bilateral diplomacy increases, the countries would favour changing their diplomatic niceties into strategic partnership, just stopping short of an alliance. The important elements of cooperation could manifest in the form of convergence in security diplomacy, defence diplomacy and even commercial diplomacy. The origin of the concept of strategic partnership goes back to the Cold War era. During the Cold War, states were allied to the two power blocks. However, as at the end of the Cold War the states found themselves independent, each of them began to stitch an important relationship with a more superior power by using the term strategic partnership.



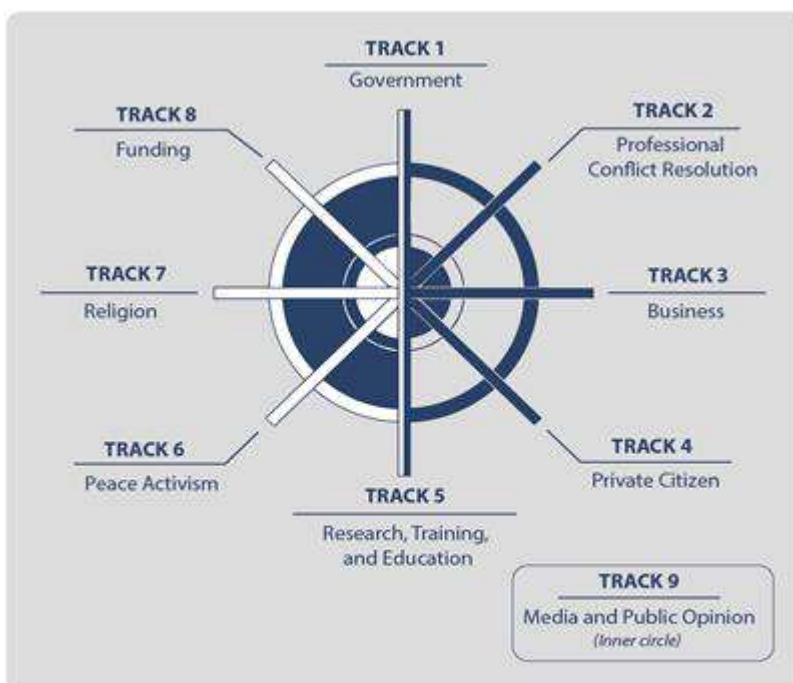
Summit Style Diplomacy

The origin goes back to the Cold War times when Winston

Churchill used the term to define the summit meetings between the leaders of great powers. It is a form of international negotiation where leaders meet, negotiate and resolve issues. In summit level meetings, Churchill favoured face-to-face interactions with the leaders. In fact, Lloyd George also advocated that to settle things, leaders should meet face to face and talk. He is, in fact, known as the initiator of the idea of summit style diplomacy. In modern times, leaders meeting face-to-face to resolve issues are more common.

Treaty and Conventions

A treaty is a written agreement which is signed by countries or international



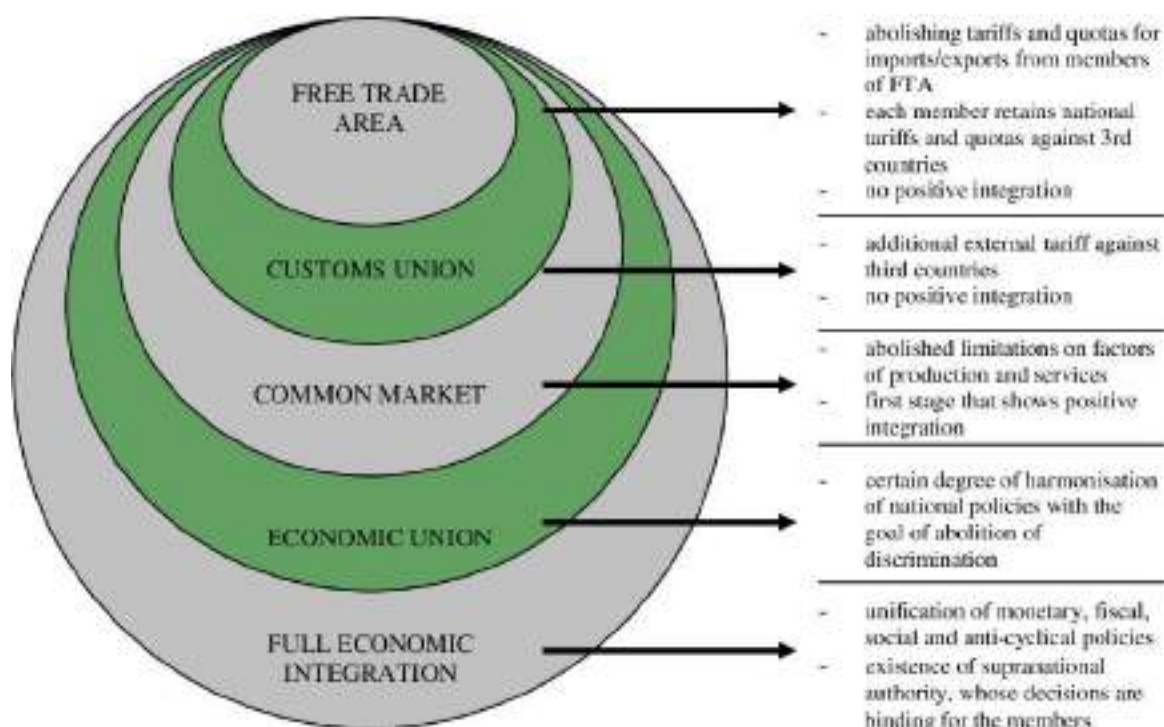
I · M · T · D Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy

organisations, making it obligatory for the signatory parties to accept certain rules that have been consensually agreed upon in the contract. On signature of the treaty, the signatory parties agree to follow the written obligations while agreeing to accept liabilities on failure to follow said obligations. The treaties are governed through the Vienna Convention (1969), which is also called the laws of treaties or the treaty of treaties. One important thing to remember is that when a state signs a treaty, it remains a party to the treaty even if domestically, after signing a treaty, the state government changes. On the other hand, a convention is a special treaty that concludes the discussion of an issue of global significance leading to the creation of an agreement to be ratified by the member states discussing the global issue. For instance, climate change and its consequences are discussed in conventions attended by several global member states.

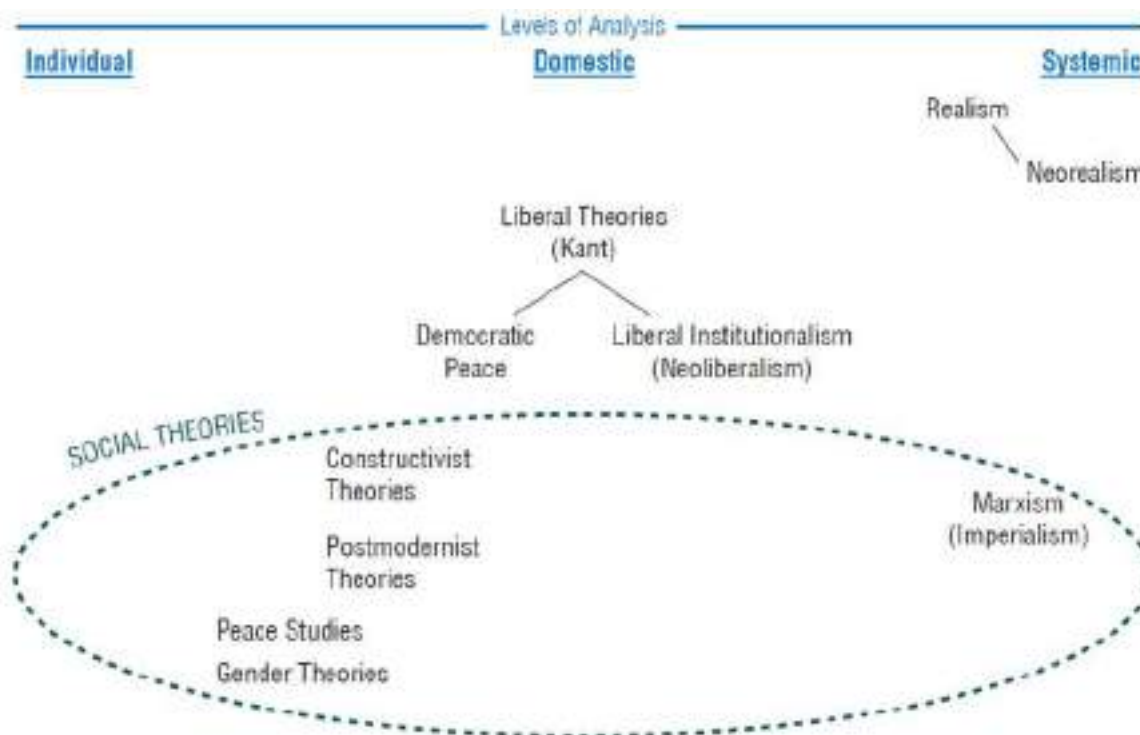
The term "protocol" is used for agreements less formal than those entitled "treaty" or "convention".

Early Harvest Scheme

An Early Harvest Scheme (EHS) is a precursor to an FTA/CECA/CEPA between two trading partners. For example early harvest scheme of RCEP has been rolled out. At this stage, the negotiating countries identify certain products for tariff liberalization pending the conclusion of actual FTA negotiations. An Early Harvest Scheme is thus a step towards enhanced engagement and confidence building.



THEORIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



THEORY OF IDEALISM

Core thinkers: Woodrow Wilson, Hugo Grotius, Gautam Buddha, Mozi, Emmanuel Kant, Dante Alighieri

Theory of Realism

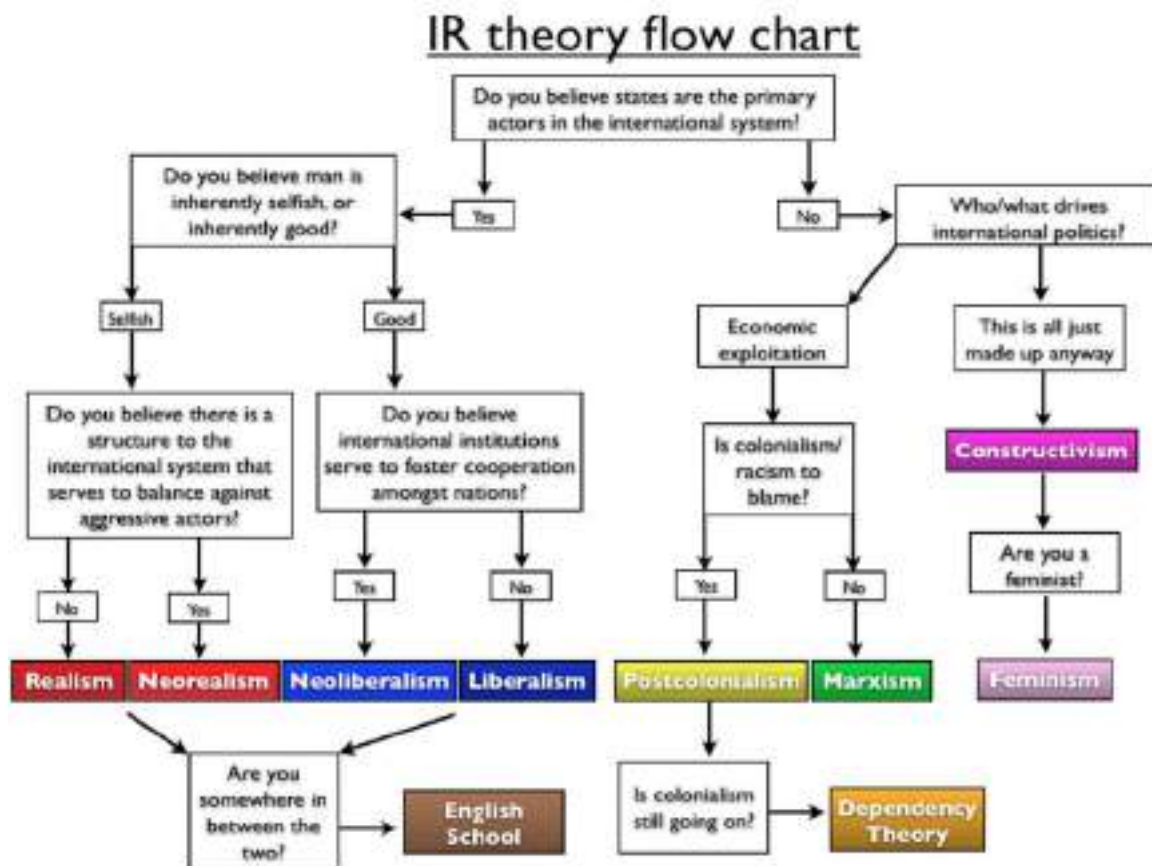
Core thinkers: Thucydides, Sun Tzu, Kautilya, Nicholas Spykman, Reinhold Niebuhr, E H Carr, Hans Morgenthau, Kenneth Waltz, Mearsheimer, Machiavelli, Rousseau

THEORY OF LIBERALISM

Key thinkers: John Locke, John Burton, J.P. Swell, Paul Taylor, Joseph Nye, Christopher Mitchell, Robert Keohane, Michael Doyre, Karl Deutsch

Idea of human behaviour

The central explanation of Liberalism is that man has cognitive capabilities to think and undertake reasoning. Accordingly, it is understood that man acts upon self-interest only upto a point as his basic urge is to cooperate. In fact, it will not be wrong to assert that, for the assumptions of liberalism, man is a cooperative animal. Man wants to cooperate for the welfare of others and also for his own intellectual stimulation.



*Source: POLI 330 International Organization, Shaoshuang Wen, University of South Carolina

	Neo-Realism	Neo-liberalism	Neo-Gramscianism
Actors to pursue hegemony	States as rational actors	States as rational actors	States comprised of a ruling class of civil and political societies
Conditions for hegemony	Material capabilities of military and economy to sustain and increase actors' hard power	Control over resources: raw materials, sources of capital, markets and possess competitive advantages in producing highly valued goods	Material and social capabilities of three pillars: social (ideas and norms), political (institutions) and economic (material power)

Chapter – 3

INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

HISTORICAL FOREIGN POLICY- ARTHASHASTRA

It is important to understand Kautilya's Arthashastra as it is an Indian treatise on statecraft and diplomacy and also gives valuable insights into our international relations and foreign policy. Kautilya is India's own realist as his ideas resonate with realism. Realism, for example, Kautilya says, is when a state, as an instrument, focusses on power enhancement as the international situation is one of anarchy. In this context, the policy of the state should be to acquire power. This is also the basis of theory of Realism we have.

For Kautilya, the state is the most important and legitimate instrument which enjoys sovereignty. The responsibility of the king is to guard his subjects and ensure their protection and survival. This should be the primary national interest of the state. The core objective of the state is to acquire wealth, deliver justice and undertake expenditure. A state has to be strong and to be strong it needs good administration, stability and justice. This results in a conducive situation for wealth creation and leads to military expeditions for conquests. Kautilya talks about how a strong state is needed to create wealth. The wealth in the state is generated by an elaborate taxation machinery. The Dharma of the king is the welfare of the people. If the king is unable to make the people prosper, it is inevitable that people will become restless and they will rebel. The rebellion can take any form, including that of violence. Thus, the primary focus of the king should be welfare. Welfare can only be occasioned by the king if he takes steps to promote wealth creation as wealth augments power. The Kautilyan idea of national interest is, therefore, based on welfare of people. If people prosper, so will the state. Kautilya's concept of power begins from society. He says power is of three kinds. The first is intellectual strength.

GUJRAL DOCTRINE

What is Gujral Doctrine?

Former Prime Minister, Late Mr. L.K. Gujral propounded the Gujral Doctrine when he was the Union Minister of External Affairs in 1996-1997 in the H.D. Deve Gowda Government.

The Gujral doctrine was a five-point roadmap which sought to build trust between India and neighbours, of solution to bilateral issues through bilateral talks and to remove immediate quid pro quos in diplomatic relationship between India and her neighbours. The 'Doctrine' emphasized on the importance of unilateral accommodation for friendly and warm relations with India's neighbours.

The five principles are:

1. With neighbours like Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka, India does not ask for reciprocity, but gives and accommodates what it can in good faith and trust.

In international relations and treaties, the principle of reciprocity states that favours, benefits, or penalties that are granted by one state to the citizens or legal entities of another, should be returned in kind.

2. No South Asian country should allow its territory to be used against the interest of another country of the region.
3. No country should interfere in the internal affairs of another.
4. All South Asian countries must respect each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. 5. They should settle all their disputes through peaceful bilateral negotiations.

The essence of Gujral Doctrine has been that being the largest country in South Asia, India can extend unilateral concessions to neighbours in the sub-continent.

APPLICATION OF THE DOCTRINE

Sharing of Ganga Water with Bangladesh:

It is in pursuance of this policy that late in 1996 India concluded an agreement with Bangladesh on sharing of Ganga Waters. This agreement enabled Bangladesh to draw in lean season slightly more water than even the 1977 Agreement had provided.

Freezing of Border Dispute with PRC:

The confidence building measures agreed upon by India and China in November 1996 were also a part of efforts made by the two countries to improve bilateral relations, and freeze, for the time being, the border dispute.

Chapter – 4

INDIAN DIASPORA

INTRODUCTION

The term "Diaspora" is derived from a Greek word, meaning dispersion. It was used by the Jewish people, denoting their world-wide dispersion outside their homeland, the Land of Israel. In Hebrew it was called Golah or Galut, meaning "Exile". Since the Jewish people refused to assimilate and were confronted with repression, they moved out of Israel. Jews survived due to migration, adaptation to the new countries and clung to their faith and traditions. Migration also extended the boundaries of the Jewish Diaspora. The model of Jewish Diaspora was followed by the Armenian, Chinese, African (slavery) and Indian communities. The difference with the Jewish Diaspora is that Indian communities have been dispersed owing to their chosen countries of migration.

The origin of the Indian Diaspora has always been the regional social structures of the emigrants and migrants. On the basis of regional cultures and languages in Europe, Indians create their Bengali, Punjabi and Telugu Diasporas. However, when there is a question of the Indian Diaspora, they always feel a part of it. It is the shared cultural heritage of Indians which lays the foundation for the Indian Diaspora.

Globalization of the Indian diaspora had already started during the emigration period to the plantation colonies. The terms of Jahaji bhai (ship brotherhood) and dipua bhai (depot brotherhood) were the cementing factors and beyond caste, religion and language created a globalised feeling of being the Indian Diaspora. In Europe it was the 'circle of friends', who brought Indians together and formed associations. These associations jointly created feelings of belonging to the Indian cultural heritage and of keeping relations with India. With the help of telephone, transport and cyber technology, they developed cross-border relations, which in turn helped them to meet other Indian communities. This developed first individually but later as a form of collective transnationalism across borders. This became a basis for creating a World Indian

Challenges Faced by Indian Diaspora

1. Heterogeneous diaspora

Indian Diaspora has different demands from the Indian Government. The diaspora from the Gulf, for example, look to India for support on welfare issues. While those from wealthier nations such as the US

look to India for investment opportunities. The Indian communities in countries such as Fiji and Mauritius, meanwhile, desire to reconnect with the country on cultural grounds.

2. Anti-Globalization

With the rising Anti-globalization wave, there has been an increase in the incidents of suspected hate crimes against the Indian community.

3. West Asian Crisis

The volatility in West Asia, together with the fall in oil prices, has caused fears of a massive return of Indian nationals, curtailing remittances and making demands on the job market.

4. Returning Diaspora

India must also realise that diaspora in West Asia is semi-skilled and mainly engaged in the infrastructure sector. After the infrastructure boom will get over India should be ready for the eventuality of Indian workers returning.

5. Regulatory Cholesterol

There are many inadequacies of the Indian system for the diaspora to collaborate with India or to invest in the country. For example, grievances like red tape, multiple clearances, distrust of government are acting as hindrances in fulfilling opportunities presented by Indian Diaspora.

6. Negative Fallout

It must be remembered that having a strong diaspora does not always translate to benefits for the home country. India has had problems with negative campaigning and foreign funding, coming from abroad, for separatist movements like the Khalistan movement.

Conclusion

One could argue that Diaspora policy and Indian foreign policy are two sides of the same coin. As discussed above, it is productive and counter - productive as well. India is yet to utilize the potential of Indian Diaspora in its domain of foreign affairs. For instance, India has been demanding for permanent seat in the UN Security Council, but it has not been realized so far. Indian Diaspora can be utilized for achieving the long due aspirations of India. In the recent decades, the international migration of semi-skilled and high skilled Indians has seen an upsurge due to demand of software Industry and H1-B visa phenomena. A tangible and scrupulous Diaspora policy is imperative to leverage upon the growing Indian Diaspora population. With the versatile role of Diaspora, India could fulfill its cherished dream of being a super power and it could make much head way in its international and foreign affairs.

Chapter – 5

INDIA'S BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH MAJOR POWERS

INDIA AND USA

Introduction

India-U.S. bilateral relations have developed into a "global strategic partnership", based on shared democratic values and increasing convergence of interests on bilateral, regional and global issues. The emphasis placed by the Government in India on development and good governance has created opportunity to reinvigorate bilateral ties and enhance cooperation under the motto --- "ChaleinSaathSaath: Forward Together We Go", and "SanjhaPrayas, Sab ka Vikas" (Shared Effort, Progress for All) adopted during the first two summits of Prime Minister Modi and President Obama in September 2014 and January 2015 respectively. The summit level joint statement issued in June 2016 called the India-U.S. relationship an "Enduring Global Partners in the 21st Century".

Regular exchange of high-level political visits has provided sustained momentum to bilateral cooperation, while the wide-ranging and ever-expanding dialogue architecture has established a long-term framework for India-U.S. engagement. Today, the India-U.S. bilateral cooperation is broad-based and multi-sectoral, covering trade and investment, defence and security, education, science and technology, cyber security, high-technology, civil nuclear energy, space technology and applications, clean energy, environment, agriculture and health. Vibrant people-to-people interaction and support across the political spectrum in both countries nurture our bilateral relationship.

Defence Cooperation

Defence relationship has emerged as a major pillar of India-U.S. strategic partnership with the signing of 'New Framework for India-U.S. Défense Relations' in 2005 and the resulting intensification in defence trade, joint exercises, personnel exchanges, collaboration and cooperation in maritime security and counter-piracy, and exchanges between each of the three services. The Defence Framework Agreement was updated and renewed for another 10 years in June 2015.

The two countries now conduct more bilateral exercises with each other than they do with any other country. India participated in Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC) exercise in July-August 2016 for the second

time with an Indian Naval Frigate. Bilateral dialogue mechanisms in the field of defence include Defence Policy Group (DPG), Defence Joint Working Group (DJWG), Defence Procurement and Production Group (DPPG), Senior Technology Security Group (STSG), Joint Technical Group (JTG), Military Cooperation Group (MCG), and Service-to-Service Executive Steering Groups (ESGs). The agreements signed during the past one year include, Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Association (LEMOA) signed in August 2016, Fuel Exchange Agreement signed in November 2015, Technical Agreement (TA) on information sharing on White (merchant) Shipping signed in May 2016 and the Information Exchange Annexe (IEA) on Aircraft Carrier Technologies signed in June 2016.

Definition of White Shipping Agreement

The white shipping information refers to the exchange of prior information on the movement and identity of commercial non-military merchant vessels. Recently, India and the U.S had signed the White Shipping Agreement (WSA) as it establishes an information network protocol that allows the navies of both countries to exchange information about ships in their oceanic territories. Ships would be classified into white (commercial ships), grey (military vessels), and black (illegal vessels).

Galwan Clash

On June 15, 2020, Indian and Chinese troops engaged in a brawl that left twenty Indian soldiers dead while causing an unspecified number of Chinese casualties. The clash is a part of a broader border standoff along the Galwan River between the two forces on the Line of Actual Control that is yet to be resolved. The Indian strategic community is broadly in agreement that this border dispute marks an implacable decline in India-China ties. They argue that the very basis of relations that emerged after former Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Beijing in 1988 has been shaken, if not destroyed. Yet, how did the two countries manage to reach this nadir in ties, and furthermore, what does the Galwan clash signify for the future of Sino-Indian relations?

What is the issue?

The Indian and Chinese armies are engaged in the standoff in Pangong Tso, Galwan Valley, Demchok and Daulat Beg Oldie in eastern Ladakh. A sizable number of Chinese Army



personnel even transgressed into the Indian side of the de-facto border in several areas including Pangong Tso. The actions on the northern bank of Pangong Tso are not just for territorial gains on land, but enhanced domination of the resource-rich lake.

World's longest disputed border

India and China share the longest disputed border in the world but no bullet was fired in nearly 50 years until the June 15 incident.

Both countries claim vast swaths of each other's territory along the Himalayan frontier, with the border problems rooted in the demarcation of boundaries by British colonial rulers.

The border can be grouped into three different sectors: the Eastern, Central and Western.

Beijing has never recognised the 1914 border drawn by British officer Henry McMahon. China currently claims 90,000 square kilometres (34,750 square miles) of territory - nearly all of which constitutes India's Arunachal Pradesh state. Beijing shows it as Southern Tibet in its map.

On the other hand, India claims 38,000sq km (15,000sq miles) of land currently under Chinese control, which includes Aksai Chin plateau near the Ladakh region.



Eastern sector - Arunachal Pradesh

Population: 1.4 million

Highest altitude: 7,000 m

Arunachal Pradesh, which shares a 1,129km (700-mile) border with China, forms part of the Eastern sector. The state, which is claimed by Beijing, was at the centre of a full-scale border war in 1962 when India lost some territory to China.

Central sector - Doklam Plateau

Highest altitude: 4,600 m

The Central sector is the shortest with a distance of 89km (55 miles). In early May, fights erupted at Nathu La Pass in the Indian state of Sikkim between Indian and Chinese soldiers.

The sector has remained largely peaceful but it was the site of a weeks-long confrontation in 2017 at the Doklam Plateau, which is at the trijunction of India, China and Bhutan.

Western sector - Ladakh

Population: 280,000

Highest altitude: 5,300 m

The Himalayan region of Ladakh, which was carved out of Indian-administered Kashmir last August, and border regions of Himachal Pradesh form the Western sector of the China-India border.

Rival soldiers have clashed in Pangong Tso Lake, Galwan Valley, Depsang plains, and Demchok in Ladakh after PLA soldiers built bunkers and brought armoured trucks and artillery.

Hundreds of soldiers remain poised eyeball-to-eyeball in Ladakh region.

In the last decade or so, India has started to bolster its border infrastructure across the border, including the building of roads and airports near the LAC.

Experts say India's defence upgrade near the border in Ladakh and last year's change of status of Kashmir triggered the latest Chinese pushback.

Past clashes

India and China have mostly avoided border clashes since the 1962 truce. Border protocols agreed after several rounds of talks since the late 1980s have largely prevented violence except for episodic border standoffs.

► 1962 - Sino-Indian War

In 1962, the two sides fought a four-week war over a border dispute that left thousands dead on the Indian side. Beijing retained Aksai Chin, a strategic corridor linking Tibet to western China.

The war ended with a truce and the formation of the de facto boundary, known as the LAC.

► 1967 - Nathu La clashes

Another flashpoint was Nathu La, India's highest mountain pass in northeast Sikkim state, which is sandwiched between Bhutan, Chinese-ruled Tibet and Nepal.

During a series of clashes, including the exchange of artillery fire, New Delhi said some 80 Indian soldiers died and counted up to 400 Chinese casualties.

► 1975 - Tulong La ambush

This skirmish was the last time shots were officially reported to have been fired across the disputed border. Four Indian soldiers were ambushed and killed along the dividing line in Arunachal Pradesh.

New Delhi blamed Beijing for crossing into Indian territory, a claim dismissed by China.

► 2017 - Doklam standoff

India and China had a months-long high-altitude standoff in Bhutan's Doklam region after the Indian army sent troops to stop China from constructing a road in the area.

The Doklam plateau is strategically significant as it gives China access to the so-called "chicken's neck" - a thin strip of land connecting India's northeastern states with the rest of the country. It is claimed by both China and Bhutan, an ally of India. The issue was resolved after talks.

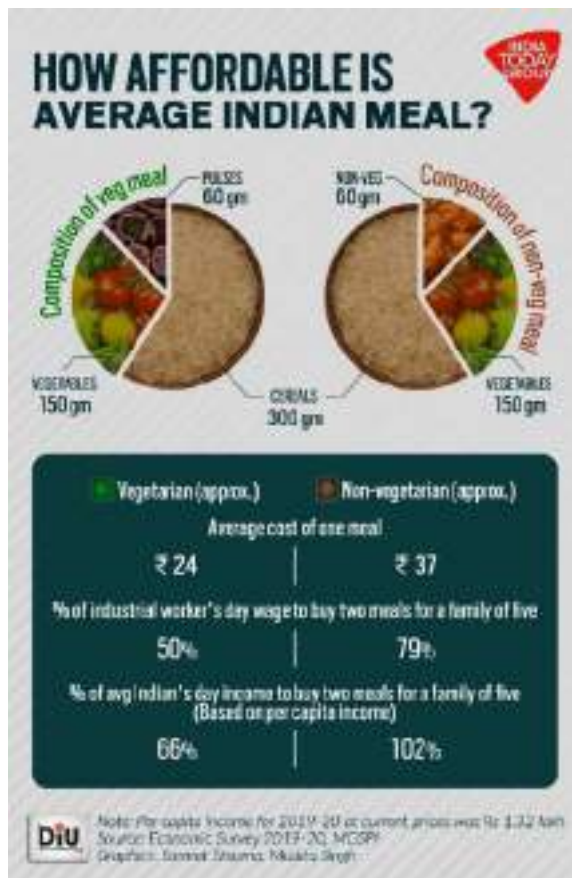
► 2020 - Ladakh confrontation

On June 15, tensions led to hand-to-hand combat that killed 20 and wounded 76 Indian soldiers. The clash followed weeks of low-level tensions after several Indian and Chinese soldiers were injured in a high-altitude fistfights on the border in Sikkim state in early May.

Within days, said Indian officials, Chinese troops encroached across the demarcation line further west in Ladakh region and India then moved in extra troops to opposite positions.

The stand-off at Ladakh's Galwan Valley has escalated in recent weeks due to the infrastructure projects that India has undertaken in the recent years. India is building a strategic road through the Galwan Valley - close to China - connecting the region to an airstrip. China is opposed to any Indian construction in the area. In 1962, a stand-off in the Galwan area was one of the biggest flashpoints of the 1962 war.





Top 10 oil producers

Countries by million of barrels produced in a day

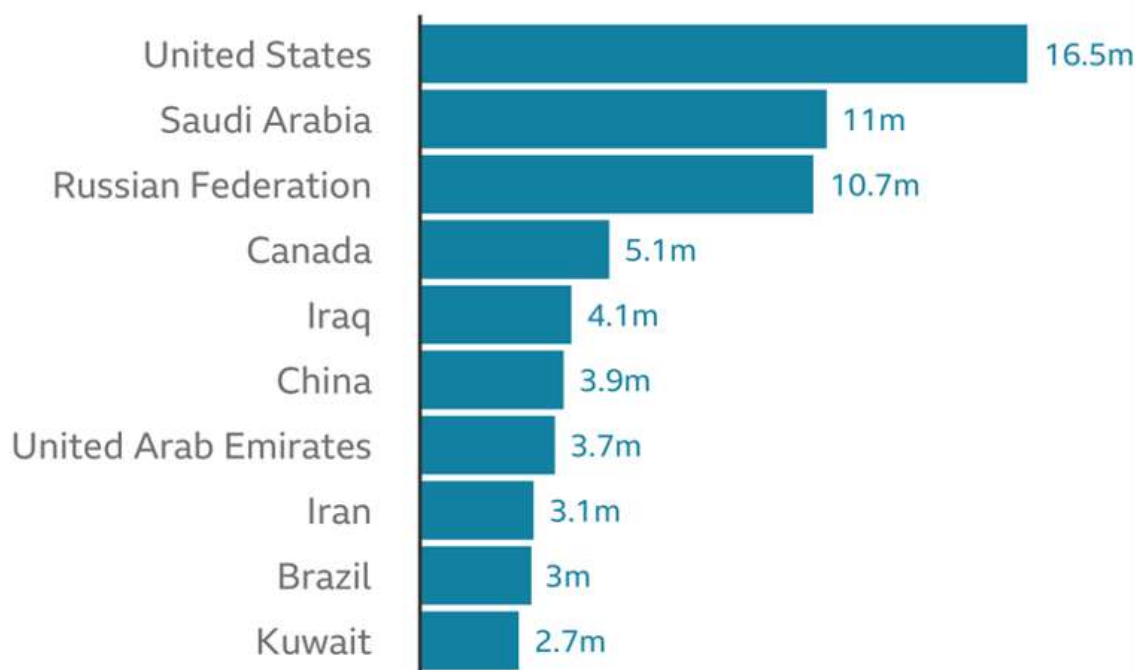
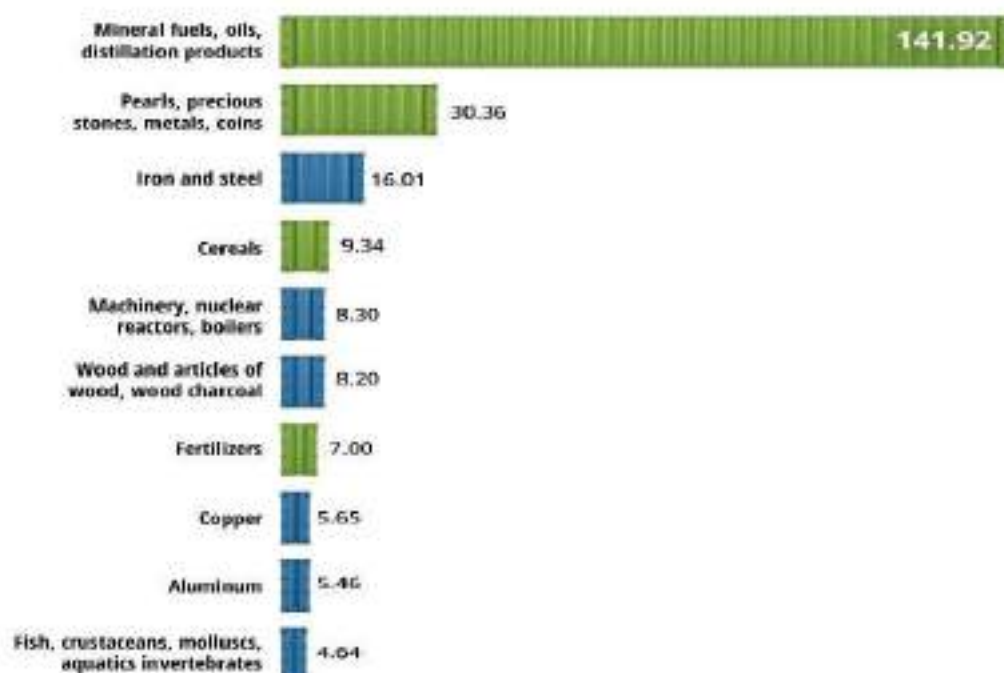


FIGURE 1

Russia exports sizeable quantities of oil, metal, and agricultural commodities

Russia's exports by category (2020, US\$ billion)

Oil, agricultural, and metal exports: Other exports

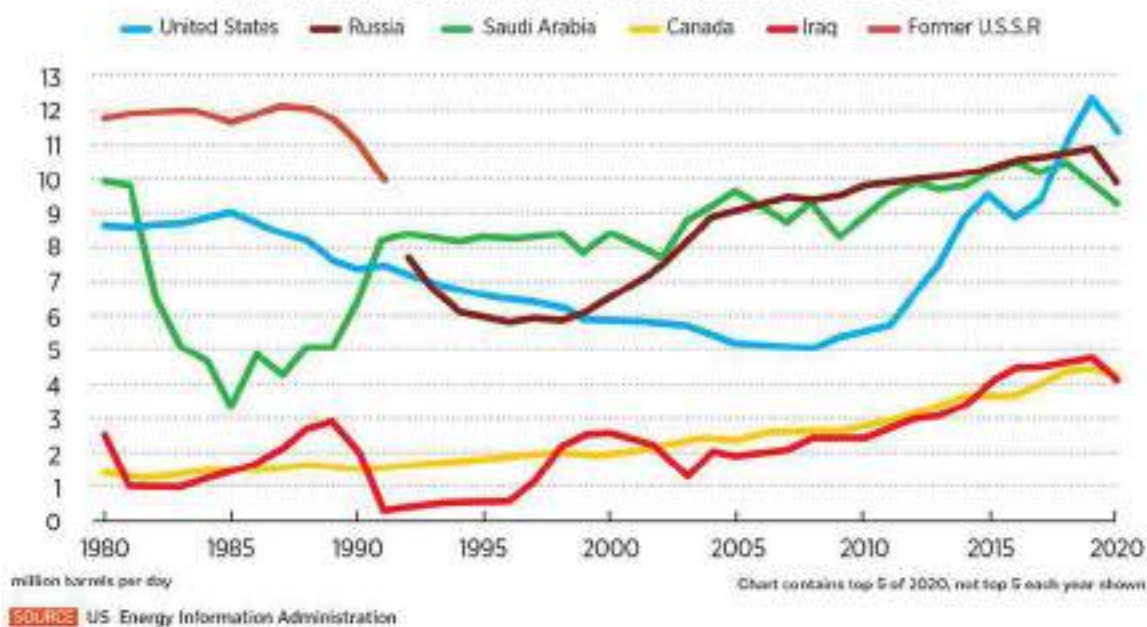


Sources: UN Comtrade Database; Deloitte analysis

Deloitte insights | deloitte.com/insights

The world's largest crude oil producing countries 1980-2020

Top five crude oil producing countries, 1980-2020



Chapter – 6

INDIA AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Indo-Pak Relations – A brief history

India and Pakistan share linguistic, cultural, geographic, and economic links, yet their relation has been mired in complexity due to a number of historical and political events.

Indo-Pak relations have been defined by the violent partition of British India in 1947, the Jammu & Kashmir conflict and the numerous military conflicts fought between the two nations.

The partition of British India was one of the largest human migrations ever seen and sparked bloody massacres of refugees across the region. It displaced up to 12.5 million people, with an estimated loss of life of 1 million. India became a secular nation with a Hindu majority population and a large Muslim minority, while Pakistan emerged as an Islamic republic with an overwhelming Muslim majority population and a very small population subscribing to other faiths.

1947-1948

The first war between India and Pakistan was fought over Jammu & Kashmir. Armed Pakistani tribesmen aided by the newly created Pakistani Army invade Jammu & Kashmir in October 1947. The legal ruler of the State of Jammu & Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh, faced with internal revolt as well an external invasion, requested the assistance of the Indian armed forces and agreed to accede to India. He handed over control of his defence, communications and foreign affairs to the Indian government.

Fighting continued through the second half of 1948. The war officially ended on 1 January 1949, when the United Nations (UN) arranged a ceasefire, with an established ceasefire line, a UN peacekeeping force and the recommendation that a referendum on the accession of Jammu & Kashmir to India be held.

Pakistan controlled roughly one-third of the State of Jammu & Kashmir, referring to it as Azad (Free) Jammu & Kashmir and claiming that it was semi-autonomous. A larger area, including the former kingdoms of Hunza and Nagar, was controlled directly by the central Pakistani government.



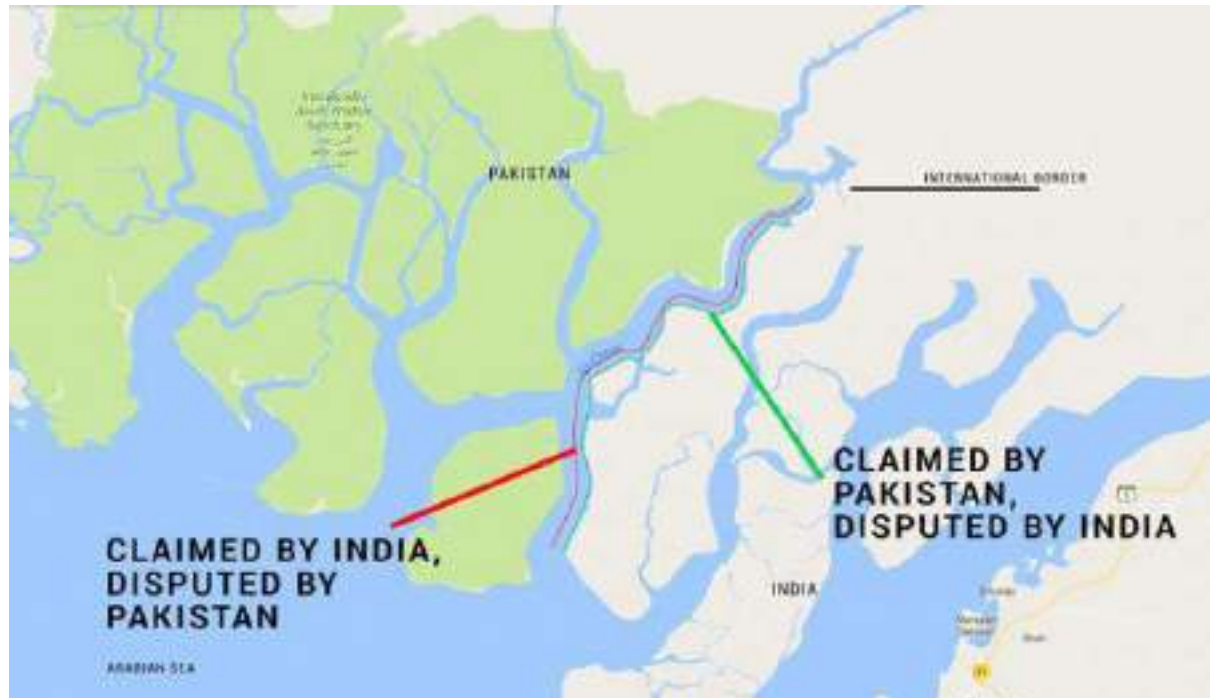
On 26 February, the Indian government carries out 'non-military pre-emptive' strikes targeting Pakistan-based terrorist group JeM's 'biggest training camp' near Balakot in the Pakistani province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. After initially denying that any such incident had occurred, Pakistan subsequently acknowledges that Indian fighter aircraft had indeed penetrated deep into Pakistani territory undetected and had dropped bombs near Balakot. Major General Asif Ghafoor, spokesperson for the Pakistan armed forces, however, said that the strikes hit an empty area.

What's the dispute?

The dispute lies in the interpretation of the maritime boundary line between Kutch and Sindh. Before India's independence, the provincial region was a part of the Bombay Presidency of British India. But after India's independence in 1947, Sindh became a part of Pakistan while Kutch remained a part of India.

Pakistan claims the entire creek as per paragraphs 9 and 10 of the Bombay Government Resolution of 1914 signed between then the Government of Sindh and Rao Maharaj of Kutch. The resolution, which

demarcated the boundaries between the two territories, included the creek as part of Sindh, thus setting the boundary as the eastern flank of the creek popularly known as Green Line. But India claims that the boundary lies mid-channel as depicted in another map drawn in 1925, and implemented by the installation of mid-channel pillars back in 1924.



What's the importance of Sir Creek?

Apart from the strategic location, Sir Creek's core importance is fishing resources. Sir Creek is considered to be among the largest fishing grounds in Asia.

Another vital reason for two countries locking horns over this creek is the possible presence of great oil and gas concentration under the sea, which are currently unexploited thanks to the impending deadlock on the issue.

Indus Water Treaty

The Indus system comprises of main Indus River, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. The basin is mainly shared by India and Pakistan with a small share for China and Afghanistan. Under the treaty signed between India and Pakistan in 1960, all the waters of three rivers, namely Ravi, Sutlej and Beas (Eastern Rivers) were allocated to India for



exclusive use.

While, the waters of Western rivers - Indus, Jhelum, and Chenab were allocated to Pakistan except for specified domestic, non-consumptive and agricultural use permitted to India as provided in the Treaty.

India has also been given the right to generate hydroelectricity through run of the river (RoR) projects on the Western Rivers which, subject to specific criteria for design and operation is unrestricted.

Land Boundary Agreement

Following the independence of Bangladesh, India and Bangladesh signed the 1974 Land Boundary Agreement ("1974 LBA"), in an effort to resolve outstanding issues. In 1974, a Land Boundary Agreement (LBA) was designed which clarified the need to exchange 111 Indian enclaves in Bangladesh and 51 Bangladeshi enclaves in India. In these enclaves, citizens were living with no available rights and facilities.

The agreement was signed but was not ratified by India and thereby the exchange under the LBA could not proceed successfully. The 1974 LBA was amended in 2011 by an additional Protocol ("2011 Protocol", together with the 1974 LBA, the "Land Boundary Agreement").

Implementation of Land Boundary Agreement

As the implementation of the Land Boundary Agreement involved the acquisition and cessation of territory by India, its ratification by India required an amendment to the Constitution. This was affected by the Constitution (One Hundredth Amendment) Act 2015.

Thus, the 2015 LBA implements the unresolved issues, which were first addressed in the 2011 Protocol. It is important to note that in the land swap, Bangladesh gained more territory than India did.

The Land Boundary Agreement entered into force on 6 June 2015. Implementation of the Land Boundary Agreement deals with three outstanding border issues, relating to:

(i) Adverse possessions;

Adverse possessions

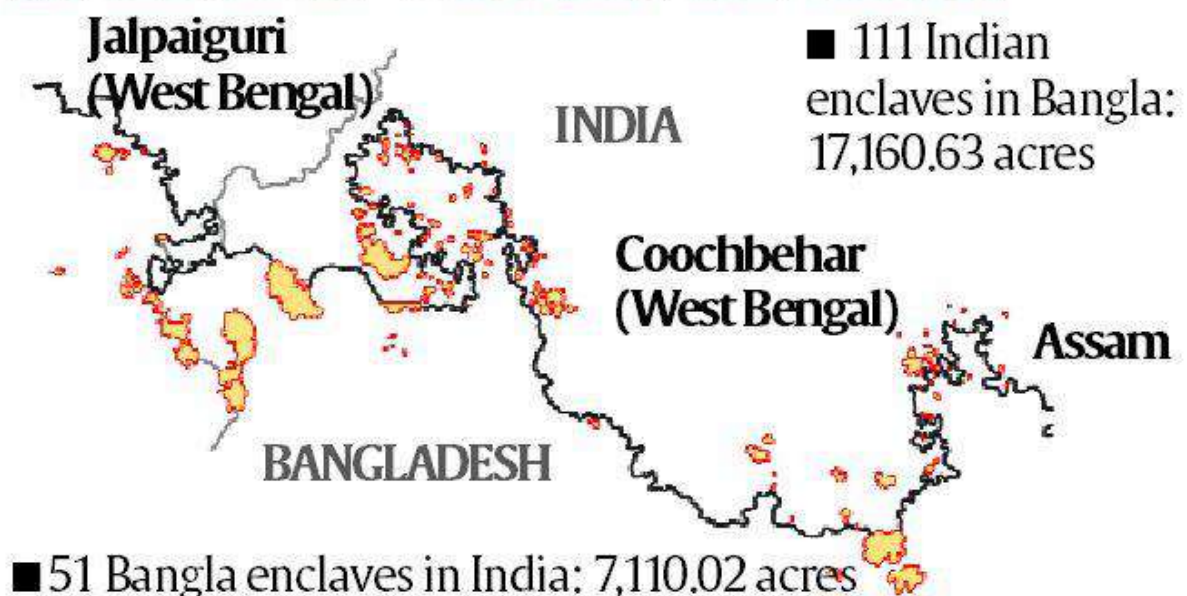
Adverse possessions are territories contiguous to the border of one country and within the control of that country, but legally part of the bordering country (e.g. contiguous to India's border and within Indian control, but legally part of Bangladesh). Residents of these adverse possessions were considered to be citizens of the country in adverse possession, despite the territory being legally part of the bordering country.

(ii) Enclaves; and

Enclaves

An enclave is a territory of one State which is surrounded completely by the territory of another State (for example, West Berlin before the reunification of Germany). The enclaves on the India-Bangladesh border were hundreds of years old, but remained unsettled following the independence of India and East Pakistan.

ENCLAVES IN WEST BENGAL SECTOR



(iii) An undemarcated land boundary of approximately 6.1 km.

Bilateral Trade and Investment

- The first Trade Agreement between India and Bangladesh was signed in 1972
- The **India-Bangladesh Trade Agreement** was last renewed in PM's visit in June 2015 for a period of 5 years with a provision for auto renewal
- There are a number of other trade related agreements that have been signed between both countries.
- India has provided duty free quota free access to Bangladesh on all tariff lines except tobacco and alcohol under **South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA)** since 2011.

INDIA AND SRI LANKA

Introduction

India is Sri Lanka's closest neighbour. The relationship between the two countries is more than 2,500 years old and both sides have built upon a legacy of intellectual, cultural, religious and linguistic interaction. In recent years, the relationship has been marked by close contacts at the highest political level, growing trade and investment, cooperation in the fields of development, education, culture and defence, as well as a broad understanding on major issues of international interest.

Bilateral exchanges at various levels over the past year and significant progress in implementation of developmental assistance projects for the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and disadvantaged sections of the population in Sri Lanka has helped further cement the bonds of friendship between the two countries.

The nearly three-decade long armed conflict between Sri Lankan forces and the LTTE came to an end in May 2009. During the course of the conflict, India supported the right of the Government of Sri Lanka to act against terrorist forces. At the same time, it conveyed at the highest levels its deep concern at the plight of the mostly Tamil civilian population, emphasizing that their rights and welfare should not get enmeshed in hostilities against the LTTE.

The need for national reconciliation through a political settlement of the ethnic issue has been reiterated by India at the highest levels. India's consistent position is in favour of a negotiated political settlement, which is acceptable to all communities within the framework of a united Sri Lanka and which is consistent with democracy, pluralism and respect for human rights.

Geopolitical Significance of Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka's location in the Indian Ocean region as an island State has been of strategic geopolitical relevance to several major powers. Some examples that highlight Western interests in Sri Lanka's strategic location are the British Defence and External Affairs Agreement of 1948, and the Maritime Agreement with USSR of 1962.

Even during the J.R Jayewardene (1978-1989) and Ranasinghe Premadasa (1989-1993) tenures, Sri Lanka was chosen to build the Voice of America transmitting station (suspected of being used for intelligence gathering purposes and electronic surveillance of the

Indian Ocean). It was the massive Chinese involvement during the Rajapaksa tenure that garnered the deepest controversy in recent years.



Post 2015, Sri Lanka still relies heavily on China for Port city project and for continuation of Chinese funded infrastructure projects in Sri Lanka. Although the Hambantota harbour is reportedly making losses, it too has potential for development due to its strategic location.



Kachchatheevu is a small island located about 10 miles north east of Rameshwaram. The fishermen used it to dry their nets and catch fish. It has been a part of Raja of Ramnand's territory who was controlling it as the lead zamindar. When the Zamindari system was abolished, Kachchatheevu became a part of the Presidency of Madras. When India became independent and initiated a boundary negotiation at the maritime level with Sri Lanka, Kachchatheevu was a disputed territory between Ceylon and the British and there was never an agreement on boundary ever. In 1947 and 1976, as per agreements, the issue was



bilaterally resolved between India and Sri Lanka, and the resultant maritime agreement has allowed Indians to visit Kachchatheevu for pilgrimage for which no visa is required. The Indian government has maintained that the right of access to Kachchatheevu does not cover any fishing rights. In 2008, the AIDMK filed a petition in the Supreme Court (SC) asking that the SC declare the 1974 and 1976 agreements as unconstitutional. The Indian government produced the facts in the highest court and clarified the issue of Kachchatheevu, stating that the island has not been ceded. Consequently, the AIDMK's petition was disposed of by the court.

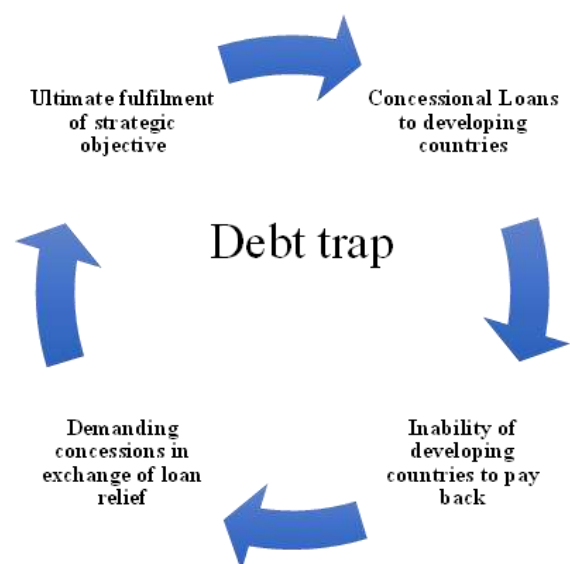
The 13th amendment issue

After the defeat of the LTTE, Sri Lanka has announced the execution of the 13th Plus Amendment act where the idea is to devolve more powers to its provinces. The members of Provincial Councils have consistently complained about their dependence on the central government of Sri Lanka for finances, with no powers to the highly restricted Provincial Councils to raise finances.



China is one of the largest bilateral creditors to Sri Lanka, accounting for around 20 percent of overall Sri Lankan debt. The Chinese loans, which were mostly been used to build economically nonviable “white elephant” projects, are seen as one of the factors that hastened the economic collapse of Sri Lanka and gave rise to allegations of “debt-trap diplomacy.” Despite these allegations, China has deepened its engagement with the island by making huge investment in various projects, especially related to maritime infrastructure.

From India's point of view, China financial heft and Sri Lankan dependence on Beijing's largess can greatly bolster Chinese leverage, which may lead to an increased use of Sri Lankan infrastructure for strategic-military purposes – as evidenced by the recent



docking of the Chinese navy's scientific ship Yuan Wang 5 in Hambantota port and the allegations of Sri Lankan tankers providing mid-sea logistical support to Chinese naval ships. The Sino-Indian geopolitical rivalry, coupled with India's aspiration of being a net provider of security and stability in the region, have made it imperative for New Delhi to deepen its developmental and humanitarian engagements in Sri Lanka.

Since the onset of Sri Lanka's ongoing crisis, India has acted with alacrity to provide succour to the island nation. With Colombo facing an acute shortages of funds, India extended \$4 billion to keep the country's accounts afloat. India has also vocally supported Colombo's demands for an International Monetary Fund bailout package and restructuring of its debt. In one instance, the Indian naval ship Gharial was deployed to deliver supplies of medicines, highlighting the expeditious manner in which India sought to extend humanitarian help to Sri Lanka.

PROJECT SAGARMALA

Background

The concept of Sagarmala was approved by the Union Cabinet on 25th March 2015. As part of the programme, a National Perspective Plan (NPP) for the comprehensive development of India's 7,500 km coastline, 14,500 km of potentially navigable waterways and maritime sector has been prepared which was released by the Hon'ble Prime Minister, on 14th April, 2016 at the Maritime India Summit 2016.

Mode of Transportation	Transportation Cost (Rs/Ton-Km)
Road	2.0-3.0
Rail	1.2-1.5
Waterways	1.1-1.2
Pipelines	0.1-0.15



1. The third factor is the location of industries / manufacturing centres vis-à-vis the ports. While cost differential between India and China is not significant on a per tonne km basis, China still has a lower

container exporting cost, than the cost in India, due to lower lead distances . Presence of major manufacturing and industrial zones in coastal regions in China, which were developed as part of the Port-Led Policy of the government is the main reason for lower lead distances

Any programme for port-led development needs to consider the above-mentioned factors to effectively harness the potential of India's long coastline.

Components of the Sagarmala Programme:

- Port Modernization & New Port Development: De-bottlenecking and capacity expansion of existing ports and development of new Greenfield ports.

2. Port Connectivity Enhancement: Enhancing the connectivity of the ports to the hinterland, optimizing cost and time of cargo movement through multi-modal logistics solutions including domestic waterways (inland water transport and coastal shipping).

3. Port-linked

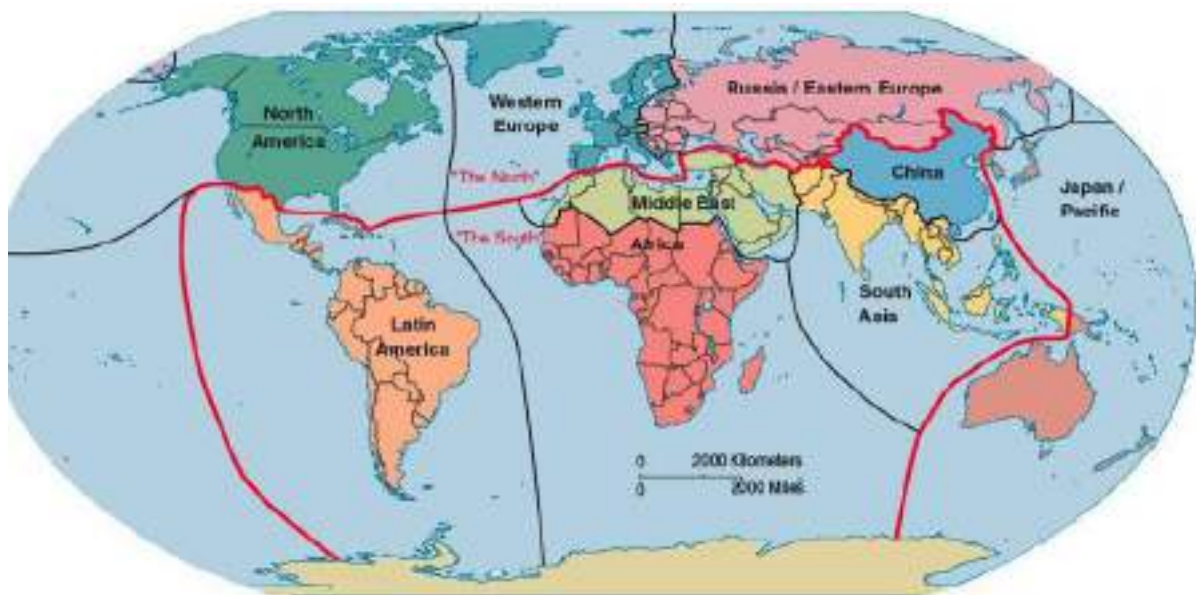
Industrialization: Developing port-proximate industrial clusters and Coastal Economic Zones to reduce logistics cost and time of EXIM and domestic cargo.

4. Coastal Community Development: Promoting sustainable development of coastal communities through skill development & livelihood generation activities, fisheries development, coastal tourism etc.
5. Coastal Shipping & Inland Waterways Transport: Impetus to move cargo through the sustainable and environment-friendly coastal and inland waterways mode.



Chapter – 7

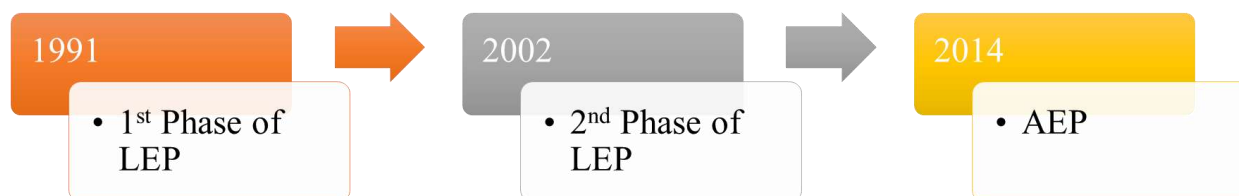
EXTRA REGIONAL OUTREACH OF INDIA



INDIA AND SOUTH EAST ASIA



Phases of EP



From Look East Policy to Act East Policy











As the LEP paid rich dividends, India was not only able to economically integrate itself with the ASEAN but also able to secure an FTA in both goods (2010) and services (2014). The Indo–ASEAN trade reached \$100 billion. In 2011, during her visit to India, Hillary Clinton urged India to not merely Look East but Act East. The suggestion was made at a time when the UPA government was in power. Ideologically, the Congress government was not very inclined towards deep liberalisation. Clinton's suggestion of Act East demanded more action oriented economic integration with SEA and East Asia (EA). Nothing materialised during the UPA regime. In 2014, after the coming of the NDA government to power, the new Indian PM Narendra Modi, at the 12th Indo–ASEAN summit at Nay Pi Taw in Myanmar, announced the transition from LEP to the Act East Policy (AEP). The basic theme of the AEP was to focus on integration with the ASEAN by improving connectivity with the ASEAN states. India, under the AEP, wants to promote connectivity, cultural ties and commercial ties with SEA and EA.

Under the AEP, India wishes to reinvigorate ties and explore strategic dimensions of its relationship with Vietnam, Singapore, and Myanmar. There is an enhanced focus on connectivity and increased levels of historical interaction. The aim is to have an accelerated engagement with the Asia-Pacific region at a strategic level with focus on transnational crimes, marine piracy, nuclear issues, and freedom of navigation the focus is upon improving connectivity at land, air, and maritime levels. India has contributed to three funds.



One of the core dimensions of the AEP is to also promote people relationships based upon civilizational links of common language, religion, tradition, dress and crafts. If LEP was about improving economic-cum-security relationship with SEA and EA, then AEP is about adding strategic content to the relationship across Asia-Pacific with focus on connectivity, culture and commerce. In 2015, India and Singapore concluded a strategic partnership agreement. India has also upgraded its strategic partnership with Vietnam, Japan and Malaysia.



	Chinese offshore naval bases and maritime development projects (L to R): Djibouti; Gwadar, Pakistan; Ihavandhippolhu Atoll, Maldives; Hambantota, Sri Lanka; Chittagong, Bangladesh; Kyaukpyu, Myanmar; Kra Isthmus, Thailand.
	Indian naval bases and maritime operations (L to R, counter clockwise): Western Naval Command, Mumbai; Forward Operating Base, Lakshadweep; Southern Naval Command, Kochi; Tri-services Command, Andaman & Nicobar Islands; Eastern Naval Command, Vishakhapatnam.
	Indian berthing rights in Maputo, Mozambique
	Indian access to French naval bases in Indian Ocean under Logistics Agreement with France: Mayotte Island and La Réunion
	India planning to develop military base in Assumption, Seychelles
	Indian Navy offshore listening post in Northern Madagascar
	Indian development of dual-use logistics facilities in Agalega, Mauritius ongoing
	Indian access to port of Duqm in Oman for military use and logistical support
	Indian access to United States naval base in Diego Garcia under LEMOA
	Australian naval base in Cocos Island



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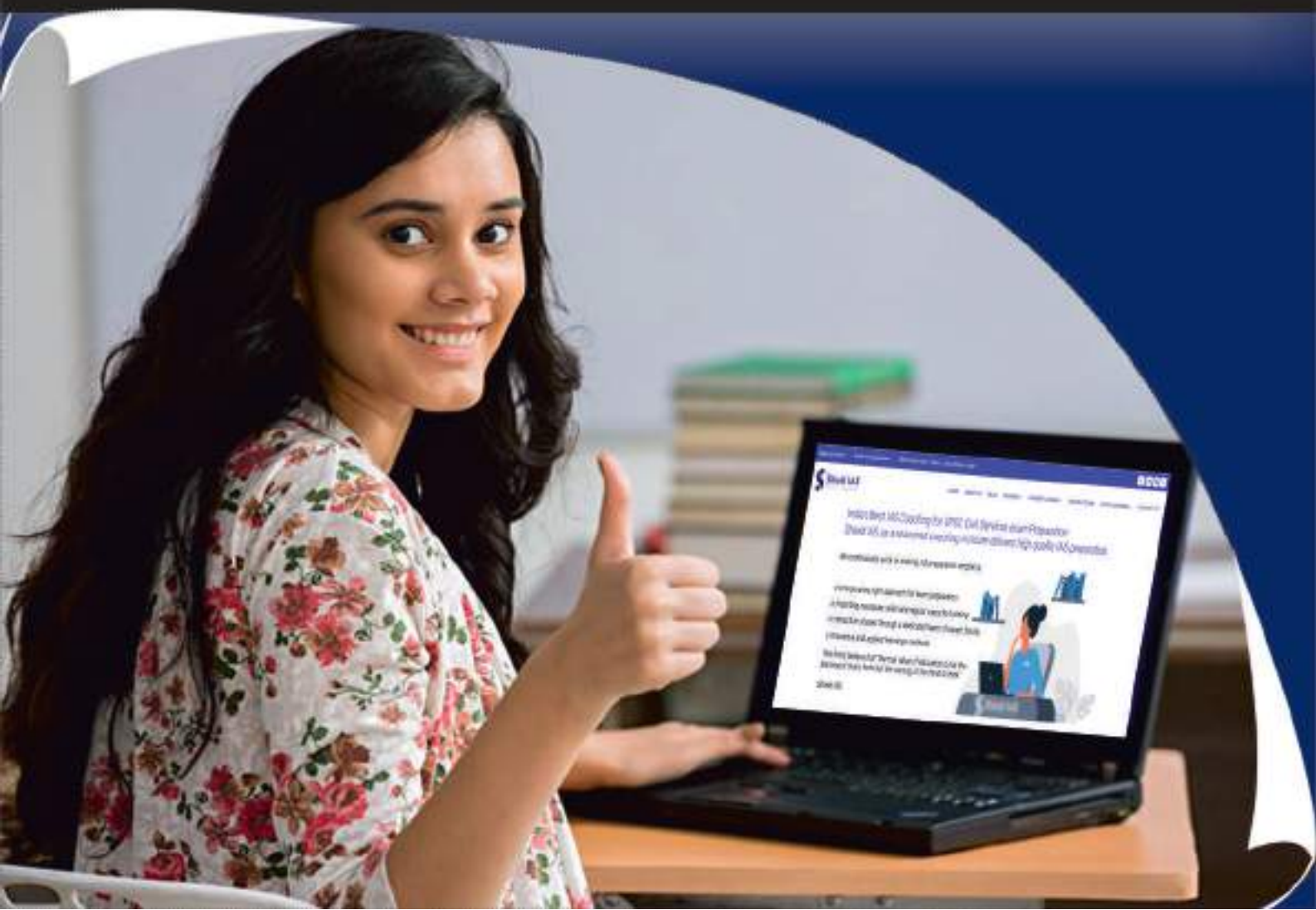
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