

International relations

Notebook: Conflicting Changes

Created: 08-09-2018 17:45

Updated: 19-01-2020 15:51

Location: New Delhi, Delhi, India

1. Brexit

- Border controls
- Exit from customs union to negotiate trade deals freely with other countries

Issues faced

- Whether UK should also leave Euratom: Europe's nuclear regulator.
- Coalition partner Democratic Unionist Party of Northern Ireland want open borders with Irish republic
- Divorce bill likely to be 60 billion euros.
- As immigration falls, essential services like NHS already facing labour crunch
- Uncertainty has led to major financial firms exiting from London. Financial regulator has warned firms to prepare for 'hard' Brexit
- Many Brexit promises unfulfilled: NHS was to get additional funding as no need to pay EU, but this has not happened
- Will be excluded from EU space project Project Galileo. Lose scientific funding from EU
- Issue of referendum itself: Should such a big decision be decided in such a manner? Should simple majority be the cutoff? Was the question framed properly?

Current problems

- Inflation rising, disposable income falling fastest since 2011

Withdrawal process under article 50 of treaty of Lisbon

- Status on British and EU migrants
- Britain's Brexit bill
- Border between Northern Ireland and Republic of Ireland

Relooking at the Commonwealth after Brexit

- Britain can look up to its old partners including India
- India benefits as diverse nationalities covering the entire world . 1/3 population
- In the past, Nehru, Indira and Rajiv used it for leverage during the cold war
- But renewed interest in dealing with trade, climate change, investments etc post Brexit
- Next London Summit of 52nd Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in 2018
- It needs to stop its **prescriptive approach** to democracy and human rights as countries can always side with China

Poor show in CHOGM 2018

- Baton passed onto Charles, rather than to some other person from some other country. Shows it is still Britain's show
- Very little on migration
- Reluctant on services migration , detrimental to India
- Issues on Windrush generation

New Brexit plan approved by May (July 2018)

- EU-UK FTA
- UK aligned to EU's single market on agri and goods via a 'common rulebook', service sector excluded
- UK will also remain within a 'combined customs territory'
- Ending free movement, ECJ jurisdiction, exiting EU's common agri policies

Analysis

- Should benefit India in services, as UK might be willing to negotiate with Ind

India-UK bilateral issues

- Treatment to Indians by British Immigration authorities
- Refusal to extradite Indians due to poor condition in Indian jails
- Asylum given to Mallya and Nirav Modi

Positives

- Largest G20 investor in India
- 400 British companies generating 4.5 lakh jobs
- UK is India's second biggest research partner
- Bilateral trade has grown in double digits
- Indians continue to receive the highest number of skilled visas in the UK
- Common challenges: Terrorism, climate change, cyber security
- UK has committed to join ISA
- Renewed importance after Brexit

2. Malabar trilateral exercise

- Maintain rule of law and maritime security in the region
- Show off strength and unity against China, symbolism
-

3. Doklam standoff: different from other India China standoffs

- Neither side willing to cede ground.
- High rhetoric and threats from China
- Actually a dispute between Bhutan and b China. But India supporting Bhutan as per Friendship Treaty 2007
- For India, it is 'national security', for China, 'territorial sovereignty'
- If Chinese claims accepted, it would be within striking distance of chicken's neck
- Diplomacy not working here
- China more advantageously n placed, as India's allies unlikely to pressure n China
- Both sides do not want war due to economy, Chinese Congress session

Way Forward

- Special Representative meeting (SRM) to tackle earlier border disputes

Lessons from Doklam

- India all alone in fight b against China, as all other powers have economic relations with China
- China will enter India's neighborhood. India needs to stop big brother treatment to its neighbours. Need to give more aid

- Need careful considerations before coming to military aid of Bhutan. The Friendship treaty of 2007 does not require India to militarily help Bhutan
- Hyper nationalism not to be used against China
- India should be part of BRI, as China wanted to teach India and Bhutan a lesson for not attending BRI summit. India can also let China be a part of its projects

1962 war

- Not just about teaching India a lesson
- Idea was to win the hearts of population in NEFA. But that failed.

India China contentious issues

- NSG
- Masood Azhar- **Update:** China has withdrawn its technical hold. So, he is designated as a terrorist by UN
- BRI
- Border disputes
- Malabar exercise and pivot to US and Japan
- Dalai Lama
- China's plans on BRICS plus, that includes Pak
- String of pearls
- China's support to Pak
- China and Russia both want negotiations with Taliban
- South China sea and freedom of navigation. ASEAN nations agreed to a **Code of Conduct** in the SCS inspite of the PCA ruling
- Competitor in Africa. China is Africa's largest trading partner and arms supplier
- Diversion of Yarlung Tsangpo Brahmaputra water. China provides data on the rivers for \$125000 to India, but for free to Bangladesh.
- China contributes 7.92% in the UN but India only 0.74%. Its presence in peacekeeping forces rapidly increasing but mainly used for national security purposes. Eg Africa. India contributes largest, but returns in UN powerplay low.
- India imports 80% of API though cost competitiveness same: Chinese companies have large capacities, cheap loans, lax pollution norms and liberal approval of chinese firms bby India

India China positives

- Large Chinese investments in Indian firms. Eg alibaba
- India a buyer of Chinese's goods
- BRICS and NSG
- AIIB with second largest shareholding by India
- China recently invited to science meet in India
- Amicable disengagement in Doklam
- China also needs India to act as a bulwark against US influence in Asia , and to gain acceptance as a responsible world power.
- China has also agreed into looking at pharma exports from India and tech exports, and the constraints they face in China. China **drops tariffs on soybean, soymeal**, rapeseed from India (june 2018)
- NITI CEO proposes: **Produced by China, made in India**
- China proposes 2+1 mechanism: Beijing and New Delhi can jointly hold a dialogue with a third country in South Asia
- **Post Wuhan Summit:** staggered patrols, meetings, new drills lower Sino-Indian tensions

Smart-balancing China

- Focus on security , especially in Indo-Pacific
- Build military strength

- As Chinese tourists increase in Pakistan, can pressurise China to deal with Pak terrorism.
- China already working on a Digital Silk Road: optical fibre cables with Nepal and Pak, SL part of Beidou navigation system. India needs to ramp up space, digital and science cooperation in neighbourhood. eg: South Asia Satellite, RuPay card launched in Singapore

Explaining Deng Xiaoping's Reform's Success

- "Reform and Opening Up"
- SEZ: Along China's coast. Involved experimentations and pilot projects on a small scale and then scaling up, rather than basing it on a priori theoretical assumptions.
- Flows of foreign investment transformed small fishing villages like Shenzhen into global mfg hubs
- Cooperative medical care schemes
- Abolishing controls on movement of workers from rural to urban
- CPC preserved its power by bringing prosperity to the middle classes and bringing them into their fold.
- Taking up environmental pollution
- Governance reforms: Term limits, retirement ages and internal report cards for officials

Differences with Xi Jinping

- Scrapping of presidential term limit
- Hyper-nationalism with emphasis on 'hostile foreign forces' and goes against Deng's strategy of 'hiding strength and biding time'.

China's BRI push

- China and EU countries part of 16+1 group-for collaborating on infra ventures
- Western democracies should eschew protectionism and promote rules-based open and free global competition

4. India Afghanistan projects

- Zaranj Delaram highway connecting to Iran
- Chabahar Port in Iran
- Herat dam
- Parliament complex in Kabul
- Doshi Charikar power project
- Air corridor (recent) but problems of lack of cargo planes. Advantage: circumvent Pak through wagah
- TAPI pipeline but slow start

Current Problems

- US beginning direct talks with Taliban, Ghani willing to recognise it as a political group. WII increase ISI influence in Af
- Combat capabilities of police and military eroding
- Opium production risen by 87% (UNODC)
- If India wants to become a party to the talks, India would also have to become a party to any power sharing arrangement with Taliban in Kabul
- If that so, India must carefully study the implications of that departure from past policy
- India assist Afghanistan to ensure that country's elections are as peaceful and participative as possible
- India's development assistance should plan more ambitious projects apart from small ones launched in 2016 like drinking water plans for several cities including Kabul, supply of buses, construction of low-cost housing, assistance in health and education
- India must move quickly to provide helicopters and Engineering/tech support for Afghan hardware

- India's plans at Chabahar are important
- Consistent undermining of SAARC because of problems with Pak is also weakening AF's engagement with the sub-continent.

Current US-Taliban negotiations

- Counterterrorism
- Troop withdrawal
- Intra-Afghan dialogue
- Ceasefire

India draws new Red Lines

- All sections of Afghan society must be included
- Any process should respect the constitutional legacy- achieving democratic rights, voting for women, human rights etc
- Process should not lead to any ungoverned spaces where terrorists and their proxies can relocate- mainly referring to threats from al-Qaeda, Haqqani network etc

5. India Israel

- For India , terrorism in Pak and Afghan. Israel, it is Iran and Hezbollah
- Good relation with china. Israel wants to be part of BRI, unlike India
- China has much larger investments in Israel. Eg India Israel Innovation Fund 40 million USD. But China Israel Fund is 300 million
- Shared interests: defence, space, agriculture, water, renewables
- Now, a Strategic Partnership

Problems with Israel's new law declaring it as homeland of Jews

- Similar to the idea of Muslim Caliphate, demanding allegiance of all Muslims to the Caliphate. Will lead to growing anti-semitism in other parts as loyalties of jews to their countries will be questioned.
- Israeli Arabs will be denied full citizenship- will affect loyalty of Arab citizens to Israel
- Blow to peace process with Palestone
- Make it difficult for Saudi Arabia to normalise relations with Israel
- Strengthen hard-line elements in Iran

6. India Iran

- Influence has dimmed
- China Russia investments much higher in Iran
- Iran wants to be part of BRI
- India protested against Iran's decision to grant development rights of Farzad B gas block to other parties by reducing oil imports from Iran
- Iran third largest oil supplier: Iraq>Saudi> Iran (Update: Iraq>Iran>Saudi Arabia)

Withdrawal of USA from JCPOA

- Will create problems for Indian investments in Iran
- Rising crude prices. As sanctions take effect, SBI decides to withdraw credit funding to IOC for Iranian oil
- India will have to maintain balance between US and Iran
- India might have to allow Chinese investments in Chabahar as Iran becomes increasingly dependent on China
- India needs to find alternative strategy to counter Chinese presence in Iran.
- US strategy aimed at bringing regime change in Iran, favoured by both Israel and Saudi Arabia

Consequences

- Inability to stick to rules and norms will dissuade existing non nuclear states from signing protocols etc
- NK might refuse to denuclearise
- Has shaken US relationship with EU
- Moderate President Rouhani will face opposition from hardliners at home
- Can destabilize the region
- India needs to pay Iran in rupees for Oil shipments to avoid US sanctions

Update: Acc to IAEA, Iran has accelerated Uranium enrichment, but not yet clear when stockpile limits would be breached.

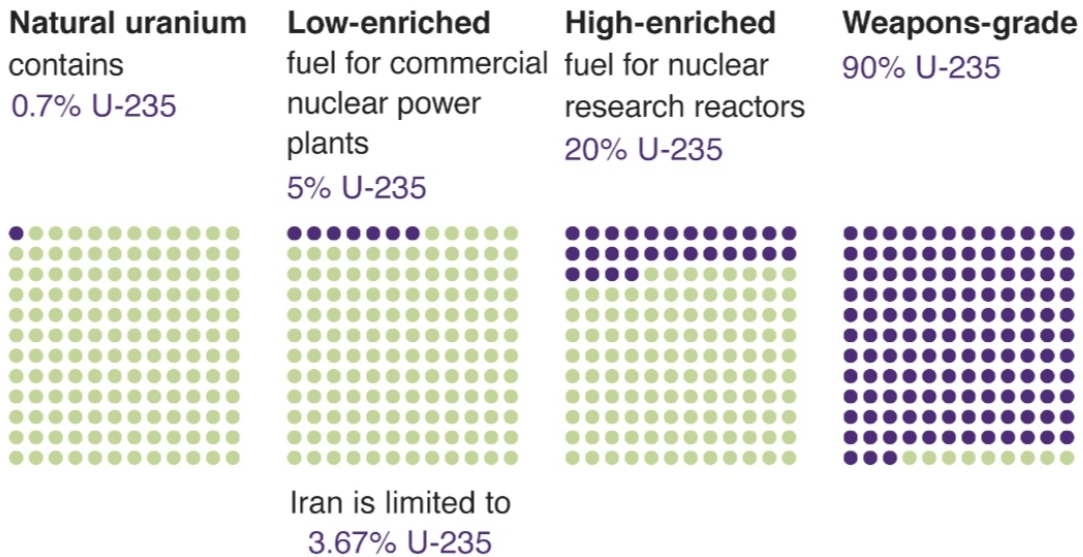
<https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/irans-us-sanctions-nuclear-deal-5811753/>

Salient features of JCPOA

- Signed between Iran and P5+1 (Germany)
- Limits U-235 enrichment to 3.67% and total uranium allowed in the country not to exceed 300 kg
- Dismantling of centrifuges, and Arak heavy water research reactor cannot undertake R&D using spent fissile material that contains Plutonium
- Iran must give access to IAEA inspectors full access to its plants. Iran recently signed the Additional Protocol with IAEA
- Joint Commission to be established to investigate cases of breach and impose punishments
- In return, EU and US to withdraw punitive sanctions against Iran

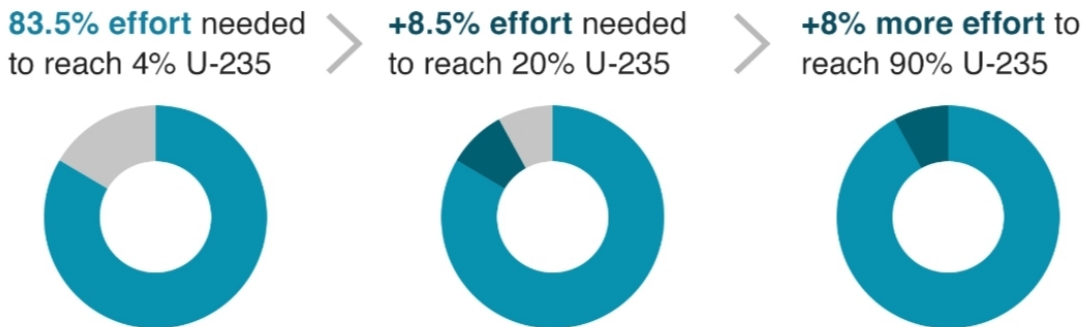
Uranium enrichment process

Increasing the concentration of **U-235** atoms, by removing **U-238**, means it can be used for nuclear fuel or bombs



How much effort is required to get to weapons-grade uranium?

Very little extra effort is needed to get from 20% enriched uranium to bomb material



Source: Nuclear Threat Initiative, World Nuclear Association

BBC

2 safeguards on Iran

- Forward defence through its allies - Hezbollah, Assad, Houthis
- Lack of unity in rival camp- especially among Saudi Arab and other Gulf countries. Turkey coming closer to Iran

7. India South and SE Asia

- ASEAN divided. Allowed China's aggressive entry
- South china sea under china
- China building large port in Hambantotta in Sri Lanka, even when it has good relations with India
- String of Pearls by China

- Improved relations with Vietnam and Thailand. Need to leverage that with Act East Policy
- Japan a strong ally
- Need to improve relations with Russia

8. Bay of Bengal diplomacy

- Shared concerns: climate change and disaster management
- Need cooperation and preparation of joint regional plans
- Develop capacity building and engage in technical cooperation for knowledge sharing
- BIMSTEC DMEEx 2017 being held in India. First ever regional disaster management exercise
- India to host first BIMSTEC war games in September 2018 along with Conclave of Army chiefs
- India to provide flash-flood forecasts to Asian nations, as per WMO

9. Nuclear deterrence vs disarmament

- Nobel to International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN)
- Treaty for Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons signed at the UN recently. Nuclear powers stayed away
- Treaty doesn't ban nuclear weapons. But delegitimises the use of such weapons as tools of statecraft. To name and shame nuclear weapons states
- Arguments for nuclear possession
- Deterrence and prevents devastating wars
- Protection to states facing existential threats from nuclear powers . Eg Israel
- Arguments against proliferation
- Creates potential catastrophe
- Diversion of funds
- Nuclear accidents and waste disposal
- Need for civil society to engage in debates around proliferation, especially in nuclear possession states and those seeking nuclear weapons

10. China's oil dependence

- Largest importer of crude. 50% from middle East
- Developing maritime silk route and SCS to reduce vulnerabilities on straits of Malacca and Hormuz
- Also investing in solar, wind and nuclear power
- Playing diplomacy with Saudi Arabia and Iran

11. Impact of Russian Revolution

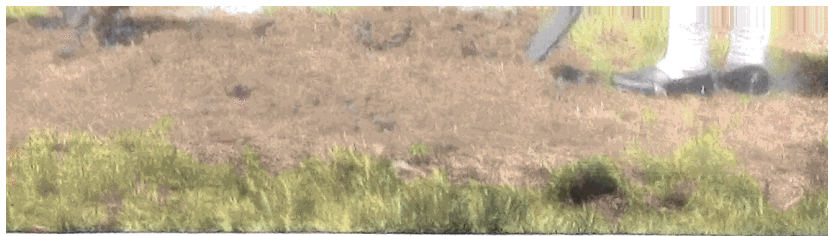
- Objective was emancipation of masses and end of colonialism
- Inspired Indian leaders like Gandhi and Nehru
- Lenin urged eastern countries to develop their own forms of communism.
- But Stalin killed his opponents and oppressed other nationalities like Ukraine. Similar to Hitler
- Stalin not sympathetic to national freedom movements
- Two series of reforms: khrushchev and Gorbachev
- Present Russia similar to the earlier Romanovs due to weak institutions of the Soviet era.
- **India** gained after khrushchev reforms
- Received loans and support in UNSC
- **Rupee rouble trade:** USSR accepted rupee payments from India in return for imports like defence, fertilizers etc. Saved hard currency.
- Eastern countries adopting western capitalism suffered from loss of biodiversity, natural resources, etc
- Today, we have neoliberalism. High inequality and class conflict. So rulers relying on fascism and nationalism to consolidate power.

12. Quad talks

- India, US, Australia, Japan
- <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/india-highlights-indo-pacific-cooperation-at-the-first-quad-talks/article20317526.ece>
- India needs to be careful about forging alliances with US as US has agreed to be a part of China's Silk Road Fund under People's Bank of China. So US may not be serious about counter BRI. India can also participate with vigour in Russia's International North South Transport Corridor

Way Forward

- 4 countries must match up to China in terms of infra development and not just oppose BRI. Asia-pacific need around \$26 trillion of infra spending
- It has to be more consensus based and decentralized.
- US can increase its Asian footprint after pulling out of the TPP through quad



■ Modi at the inauguration of the Narendra Modi Resilient Rice Field Laboratory at the International Rice Research Institute in Los Banos, Philippines, on Monday. PTI

ies —
ndian

at IIRRI
lerant
y said,
of sub-
ie 1-3
stare in

esistant
thstand
gence
nd en-
nity tol-
all help
is saline.
So saw a
nxiety that
Times of
ted Modi
n drones
e agricultural-
ratory' was also
he insti-
ie mark-
of the
nt Rice

India to
lian rice
RI gene

ot
s'

ith be-
rlo sh-
Foot is
eeting
ar-old
er Phi-
lanila.
nts to
eted,
" my
o see
gs to
ing-

India at centre stage with the phrase 'Indo-Pacific'

SHUBHAJIT ROY
MANILA, NOVEMBER 13

HAVING HELD the first quadri-lateral, India, USA, Japan and Australia, in an unusual manner, put out four different statements instead of a joint statement.

While the readouts reflected the countries' own concerns and priorities, India appeared to be the most cautious in its use of phrases that may antagonise Beijing. New Delhi also carefully avoided catchphrases which have been used in various other bilateral joint statements in the past.

Although Indian diplomats repeatedly said that the grouping is not directed at a particular country, a careful reading of the four official statements give us a picture that India is possibly most mindful of China's sensitivities, followed by Japan.

It is learnt that the idea of an official-level meeting was arrived at after a leaders-level meeting was knocked off.

New Delhi, which has been put at the centre stage through the use of the phrase Indo-Pacific, appears to strike a balance and maintain a more restrained approach, even as it becomes a part of grouping that has the US and its allies.

Here is a theme-wise unpacking of their statements, which were put out within 12 hours of each other.

Interestingly, only the US and Australia used the term "Quadri-lateral" in their statements. Perceived to be more mindful of Beijing's concerns and sensitivities, Japan and India did not use the phrase.

■ Free and Open Indo-Pacific:

All four mentioned the phrases, indicating their common meeting ground on the issue. The shift from Asia-Pacific to Indo-Pacific was endorsed by all countries, putting India at the centre stage.

INDIA: A free, open, prosperous and inclusive Indo-Pacific region serves the long-term interests of all countries in the region and of the world at large.

US: Shared vision for increased prosperity and security in a free and open Indo-Pacific region.

JAPAN: Measures to ensure a free and open international order based on the rule of law in the Indo-Pacific.

AUSTRALIA: A shared vision for increased prosperity and security in the Indo-Pacific region and to work together to ensure it remains free and open.

■ Freedom of navigation and overflight:

The common theme of freedom of navigation and overflight was curiously missing from New Delhi's statement, while they have reaffirmed in the past, especially in joint statements with the US and Japan. All three mentioned it.

INDIA: Not mentioned.

US: Freedom of navigation and overflight.

JAPAN: Ensuring freedom of navigation and maritime security in the Indo-Pacific.

AUSTRALIA: Freedom of navigation and overflight.

■ Respect for international law:

This, again, was absent from the Indian statement, whereas it has been staple in Indian joint state-

ments with the US and Japan.

INDIA: Not mentioned.

US: Respect for international law.

JAPAN: Respect for international law in the Indo-Pacific region.

AUSTRALIA: Respect for international law.

■ **North Korea:** India was cautious and did not name North Korea. But it subtly drew links between Pakistan and China with the North Korean nuclear programme.

INDIA: Proliferation linkages impacting the region.

US: Further cooperating to curtail North Korea's nuclear and missile programmes and unlawful acts.

JAPAN: Tackling proliferation threats, including North Korea's nuclear and missile issues, against which maximised pressure needs to be applied.

AUSTRALIA: Address threats to international peace and security posed by the proliferation of WMDs.

■ **Terrorism:** The formulation ranged from "addressing" to "countering" to "coordinating", and it showed the importance attached to the issue — New Delhi identified it as a common challenge.

INDIA: Addressing common challenges of terrorism.

US: Coordinating on counter-terrorism.

JAPAN: Countering terrorism.

AUSTRALIA: Coordinate on efforts to address the challenges of countering terrorism.

FULL REPORT ON
www.indianexpress.com

ANCIENT LINK

Ramayana was performed at the opening ceremony of the 31st ASEAN Summit. What is the connection between the Philippines and the ancient Indian epic? Apparently, Hindu influences and folk art arrived in the Philippines around the 9th or 10th century AD. The Philippines' famous dance 'Singkil' is based on the Ramayana. The Ramayana in the Philippines is called 'Maharadia Lawana' which means 'King Ravana'. In Manila, a troupe performed ballet, 'Rama Hari', based on 'Maharadia Lawana'.

FLAG DRILL

During bilateral meetings, Indian diplomats were seen carrying their national flags. Apparently, the dimension of the flags organised by ASEAN secretariat was not correct, or some of them had only 22 spikes in the Ashoka Chakra instead of 24. So, the diplomats carried their own flags to be put up during the bilateral meetings with US President Donald Trump. Philippines President Rodrigo Duterte, on Tuesday, a similar drill will be followed.

GAS PLANK

PM Modi hit out at Congress for making 'gas cylinders' their priority during 2014 polls. He said the party's view was limited to LPG. Addressing the community, he said it was a time when he would celebrate gas connections. He had got a Mercusol used to get 25 LPG gas connections annually to use of their constituents. Imagine, gas connections

DMK leaders dismiss idea of alliance with BJP; Stalin will never agree

Foreign
in Ame
colleac

13. North Korea

- China follows a 'suspension for suspension' policy in which NK agrees to suspend its nuclear programme in return for US suspending its military drills in the region.

14. ICJ

- Settles legal disputes between nations
- Provides advisory legal opinion
- 15 Judges elected for 9 year terms. 5 elected every 5 years
- For election, need majority in both UNGA and UNSC
- In the deadlock, UK wanted a conference mechanism, involves selecting a panel of 3 members each from UNGA and UNSC who would then elect the judge.

Success at the ICJ

- Britain losing its clout in world affairs
- India getting support from developing countries.
- To find a louder global voice, India must put more emphasis on ties with countries away from the high table.
- Faster reforms of UNSC
- Involved a quid pro quo with post brexit Britain as it needs Indian support in CHOGM and other matters.

Kulbushan Jadhav: India's arguments

Pak violated Vienna Convention by

- Not immediately informing consular officials of his arrest
- Failure to inform him of the rights he enjoyed under the convention

It also violated the ICCPR.

Pak's counter

- Vienna Convention not applicable to alleged spies
- Cited a bilateral agreement of 2008- cases of national security would be decided on its own merits

ICJ's verdict

- Trial of a civilian in a military court failed due process
- Jadhav denied a fair trial, his confessions taken in captivity without adequate legal representation and consular access is not admissible

15. ASEAN vs SAARC

- Cooperation and dialogue between partners vs deep mistrust and animosity between India and Pak
- Rapid growth of trade and investment through ASEAN comprehensive Investment Agreement vs trade makes up less than 3.5% of total volume of trade
- Federation of ASEAN Travel Associations (FATA) allows costless travel across countries vs Subregional initiatives like MVA of BBIN failed to take off
- SAARC visa exemptions limited to only dignitaries, not to common citizens.
- India trying to sideline Pak with BIMSTEC.
- ASEAN political leaders behaved pragmatically to save international ties. Indian politicians more inclined towards satisfying local voter base.
- ASEAN meets more frequently and less interference in internal matters
- Both these blocs make up less than 5% each of India's trade

16. Rohingya crisis

- China brokered **3 phase** solution between Bangladesh and Myanmar (November 2017): ceasefire, repatriation of refugees, long term solution to end crisis.
- China has interest in Myanmar as an oil pipeline goes through Myanmar
- India gave insufficient aid under operation **Insaniyat**. India plans to deport 40000 Rohingyas.
- India also boycotted Bali declaration and UN meet on Rohingya crisis, as it believes in non interference in Myanmar's internal affairs.
- But this has sidelined India in world affairs and goes against India's policy of looking after refugees
- India should use BIMSTEC and ASEAN to engage constructively with both Bangla and Myanmar.
- India has built **250 pre-fab homes in Myanmar** for use by returning Rohingyas
- Refer to Whether Rohingya should be allowed to enter India in Governance and Security

17. India Japan

- Japan filling up the space left behind by US retreat from Asia, in order to counter China. Providing other countries with loans, technical assistance and technology that benefits local population. Using democratic credentials to win friends
- India a key partner. Formation of quad, Asia Africa Growth Corridor
- Japan has helped India in Chabahar, Trincomalee and Dawei port along Thai-Myanmar border.
- High speed railway line Mumbai-Ahmadabad
- Civil nuclear deal
- Possibility of buying Japanese submarines and search-rescue planes

18. India Eurasia

- Neglected by India
- But China making rapid inroads through BRI and Russia and US receding
- India needs to participate more actively in SCO
- Didn't attend C-CEEC group of 16+1. Should try to gain membership.

19. New passport colours

- Orange passports for ECR citizens and dark blue for others
- Response to leaving the last page blank to please single mothers or children with single parent
- ECR: Emigration check required- for those who haven't passed matric or do not pay IT, to protect them from getting exploited in foreign country
- But this will make the poor easily visible in airports, and separate and stigmatise them

20. Players in Syria

- IS, alqaeda, al nusra
- Syrian Arab army and Russia
- Syrian Democratic Forces and US (Syrian Kurd led)
- Free Syrian army (led by turkey)

21. 3Cs to improve ASEAN ties

- Commerce: focus on exports, investments, services and digital market, RCEP
- Connectivity: increase the number of flights, first complete the
- IMT trilateral highway before embarking on increasing the road even further
- Culture: provide more scholarships to ASEAN students to study in IITs and iims. Presently, Nalanda provides scholarship
- Focus also on security: maritime, freedom of navigation, terrorism, piracy

India can act as a 'consensus builder' first, before being a net security provider

Rise in ASEAN India **naval games**: CORPAT with Indonesia and a trilateral with Singapore and Thailand

The **CSCAP** is the Track II organ of ASEAN's security-related bodies, such as the ASEAN Regional Forum, East Asia Summit and the ASEAN Defence Minister Plus Forum. India acceded membership in 2000

22. India Canada

Positives

- Nuclear cooperation
- Joint statement on tackling terrorism
- State of the art technology in renewables and clean energy
- Increasing bilateral investments
- Both are plural and inclusive democracies. Canada has 1.3 million strong Indian diaspora
- Canada-India Track 1.5 Dialogue on Innovation, Growth and Prosperity launched in Delhi February 2018

Negatives

- Canada's support to khalistan elements
- India's cold shoulder in recent Trudeau visit Feb 2018

23. Refugee policies in the world

- 1951 Geneva Convention (main principle: non refoulement)
- 1967 protocol on the status of refugees
- 1997 convention against torture
- 2016 new York declaration to protect human rights of refugees

24. India's declining influence in neighborhood

- Poor relations with Pak
- Maldives refused to isolate Pak in SAARC, recent emergency and crackdown on opposition loyal to India
- Nepal: New Oli govt invited Pak PM recently. Good relations with China due to 2015 blockade by India
- Sri Lanka: local election win by rajapaksa party show possibility of moving away from India
- Elections in Bangladesh and Kabul's overtures to Taliban
- China controls strategic real estate in Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives, which can be easily fortified. It's also improved involved in Political mediation, as seen in rohingya crisis recently

Lessons from the past

- India must shed its aggression, and treat its neighbours on an equal footing
- Stop meddling in domestic affairs like in Sri Lanka or Nepal
- Promises on infrastructure must be kept.
- Instead of competing with China on infra, focus on areas of comparative advantage like institution building and soft power.

Way Forward

- Improving relations with Bhutan
- Using soft power of culture and shared history
- Building infra and economic assistance (unconditional) to SAARC nations
- Reviving SAARC by learning from ASEAN
- Joining BRI and cooperating with China after appropriate change of names to CPEC, like BCIM
- India must be willing to take a back seat in decision making, and give smaller members the role. Eg: Indonesia ceded leadership to Singapore. Has helped ASEAN

India's new approach under Modi 2.0

- Greater focus on **Neighbourhood First** policy- but focus on BIMSTEC, IOR and away from SAARC
- 3-pronged message to **Maldives**: High-level contacts, as development partners, people-people ties.
- With **Lanka**, solidarity after Easter bombings, and commitment to bilateral cooperation on jt devt projects agreed to in 2017.

India has added the following 4 things:

- Not always insisting on reciprocity- India to incentivise cooperation in the neighbourhood
- India prefers to work on quick-impact projects that bring socio-economic benefits to people
- Recognising its limited capabilities, India will have no problem in forging a trilateral devtpartnershi involving India and Japan in a neighbouring country
- SHifting focus towards BIMSTEC away from SAARC

25. India France

Government to government

- Strategic partnership since 1998
- Defence: Jaguar, mirage, Rafael, Varuna naval exercises since 1983, scorpene submarines
- Space: Ariane rocket to lift Indian satellites from French Guyana, help build sriharikota launch site
- Logistics cooperation agreement with defence forces
- Nuclear: Areva and NPCIL to build Jaitapur plant. Largest
- First P5 country to support India's permanent membership in UNSC
- Important player in IOR
- Joint statement released recently (March 2018)

Beyond govt

- Trade at \$10 billion. Nearly 1000 French companies in India. Many Indian businesses in France
- Gateway to Europe after brexit
- French working in Chandigarh, Nagpur and puducherry under smart city mission
- Target set for 10000 students to study in France by 2020
- Mutual recognition of academic degrees, Knowledge Summit
- Tourism. Increase number of flights to France . Target 335000 French tourists by 2020

26. India Nepal

Issues

- Review of 1950 Treaty
- Recruitment of Nepali nationals in the Gurkha regiment of Indian Army
- Resolving fallout of demonetization

- Long pending hydro projects like Pancheshwar, Kosi and Gandak Barrage . Installed capacity is just 700MW but potential is 80000
- Only one ICP at Raxaul-Birgunj has been completed, out of 4 planned.
- Revival of SAARC
- Getting closer to China in hydro-energy sector and power-trade agreements and railways

Positives

- 1950 Treaty of Friendship, long historical and cultural links
- Training of police, civil servants in India
- Military exercises like Surya Kiran
- Recently, Nepal included in 'Ramayana Circuit'
- Arun III hydroelectric plant 900 MW.
- India sending fertilisers to Nepal under G-2-G agreement for relief supplies and to avoid procedural hassles

Way Forward

- Effective delivery on pending projects
- Remaining ICPs
- 5 railway connections
- Postal road network in the Terai region
- Completing the petroleum pipeline at Motihari-Amlekhgunj
- Eminent Persons Group set up 2 years ago to review bilateral relations including 1950 Treaty to submit report in July 2018.

27. Qingdao declaration in SCO 2018

- Group of 8 countries including India, China, Russia and Pak to deal with **political, economic and security cooperation**
- 3 evils: terrorism, extremism and separatism
- Special role of RATS in combating these
- Call to youth to not get influenced by terrorism . Joint Appeal to Youth
- Work on CCIT
- Effectively fulfilling requirements of UNSC resolutions to counter terror finance
- Acknowledge threat of fighters returning home
- Combating illegal drug trafficking
- Interference in domestic affairs of other countries not acceptable

Significance to India

- Met with resource rich central Asian countries: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia
- Invited Kazakhstan to join ISA
- Uzbekistan will use Chabahar Port for goods movement
- Pak not the only sponsor of terrorism to allow access to central Asia.
- Provides platform for Indo-Pak discussions and engagement and resolve disputes like the way China resolved its boundary dispute with Russia
- Iran and Afghanistan planning to join SCO- opportunity for India to play a larger role in Central Asia through SCO and act as net security provider in the region
- Security and defence cooperation through RATS and anti-terrorism military exercises in which India and Pak will participate together.
- Platform for articulating non-western perspective on global issues based on opposition to regime change, self-serving HR issues, non-interference in domestic affairs.
- India can forward its interests on INSTC, Chabahar, Ashgabat, BCIM, IMT etc
- India- China and India-Russia will be key partnerships
- India works on the 'Shanghai Spirit'- harmony, non-interference on others' internal affairs and non-alignment

Challenges

- Chinese dominance in SCO if Russia-US relations sour or sanctions widen forcing Russia to be dependent on China
- Reduced US military presence in the region if Korea talks bear fruit. Then Chinese dominance
- While India need to cooperate with Russia and China, it must avoid being labelled the 'anti American gang'
- India using RATS to fight terrorism with countries that pose the biggest security threat to India
- All SCO members support China's BRI
- Russia will pressurise India to buy S-400 systems, while India will have to manuevre to avoid US CAATSA sanctions

28. Korea Issues

- Denuclearization: US wants full verifiable and irreversible denuclearization, NK has committed to it but not offered the specifics
- End Korean war 1950-53 and reunification. Panmoujam Declaration between SK and NK on these lines.
- Normalisation of ties with ROW and easing of sanctions. It's exports have collapsed from \$240 million in 2016 to \$50 million by 2017. Exports to China fallen by 81%.
- Human Rights: ending the labor camps and giving freedom of speech and press
- Guaranteeing security of the regime

Significance of Singapore Summit (June 12, 2018)

- NK committed to denuclearization and US willing to provide unique guarantees to preserve regime.
- US willing to suspend war games with SK, but will not ease sanctions till NK completely ends its weapons programme.
- Use of Gaddafi's model has scared the regime
- Important role of SK president Moon in sustaining the negotiations and working towards reunification
- India is NK's 2nd largest trading partner. Easing of sanctions can give boost to trade.

Ways to reset ties with South Korea

- Moon unveiling 'New Southern Policy' to engage with ASEAN, India and Australia. Need to leverage this with our Act East Policy
- Strengthen economic partnership, especially innovation and electronics. Need to move away from POCSO steel case in Odisha
- Expanding bilateral security cooperation to promote a stable Asia with freedom of navigation
- Make the 'Korea Plus' cell effective to allow EODB for Korean firms.
- Assert itself in Korean peace process

Recent SK meet

- Bilateral deals on trade (upgrading CEPA), research and railway tech
- Trade deficit \$12 billion, mainly due to electronics
- Commitment to open, peaceful, rules based region
- Early harvest clause in 2010 CEPA will benefit Indian seafood exporters and food processing units. India can send yoga trainers, while Korea will send Taekwondo
- Joint capacity building prog in Afghanistan

29. India's new foreign policy

- Based on 'strategic autonomy' : independence in foreign policymaking, while maintaining cordial relations with major powers. Our friendships are not alliances of containment: PM
- Ensuring a stable relationship with China while protecting its territorial integrity by opposing CPEC

- Ensuring a rules based Indo Pacific with freedom of navigation
- A democratic, inclusive and pluralistic engagement with other countries.

Is India's Foreign Policy declining?

Yes

- Skipping of NAM summit by PM in 2016 shows move towards US, and no longer neutral
- Relations with US souring over trade, IPRs, Iran/ Russia sanctions. Reflected in postponed 2+2 dialogue
- Russia unhappy with close US ties, Russia supplying choppers to Pak and held military exercise DRUZBA 2017. **Vostok 2018** largest military exercise involving Russia, China, Mongolia
- China and BRI resulting in Doklam, aggressive entry into India's neighbourhood
- declining relations with Pak
- Nepal blockade forcing it to move closer to China
- Sri Lanka, Maldives (returning of choppers etc), Seychelles (no clearance on Assumption Island base)
- Declining influence in Afghanistan
- Inability to get NSG membership

No

- Improvements in US relationship: US National Security Doctrine welcomed India as 'leading global power' , LEMOA, NSG, MTCR, Wassenaar, AG support
- US supporting Indian role in Afghan
- EU and Britain attaching importance to India in trade and investments
- Act East policy boosting ASEAN ties
- Improvements with Gulf states like UAE, Saudi Arabia
- Relations with Israel going up
- Chabahar Port
- Cultural (Hindu and Buddhist civilisational linkages, yoga) and Commercial Diplomacy, by leveraging diaspora
- Deployment of military for HADR overseas, and surgical strikes shows resolve

Institutional challenges

- Continuing a policy of non-alignment and nuclear disarmament when practice has been to the contrary
- Number of diplomats and foreign corps very low. Current number close to Belgium's
- IFS not a lucrative service anymore as compared to IAS, IPS, IRS. A Public Diplomacy Division has been set up in MEA to woo diaspora, work with foreign business, creating brand name for India, leverage social media.

Indian foreign policy during Nehru era (closely aligned with NAM)

- Focus on decolonization and anti-racism (eg: Apartheid)
- Global Disarmament initiatives: in the process, Nehru didn't let India develop its own nuclear arsenal. Only peaceful purpose-nuclear power sought
- Increased economic assistance to developing world. Criticism of Israeli involvement in Suez crisis 1956
- Full participation in UN and peacekeeping missions (eg: Belgian Congo). In Korea war 1950-53, India sent a medical corps. Also Head of **Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission (for repatriation of PoWs)**
- Tried to reduce East-West tensions
- 1962 defeat suffered a setback in India's image. Also, Nehru began army modernization

Shastri era

- Eased Indian pressure on JK by attacking Punjab, but later returned the acquired territories including Haji Pir Pass (in JK) as per Tashkent agreement (as per agreement, no use of force to decide Kashmir issue)
- Gave the nod for **Subterranean Nuclear Explosions Project for Peaceful Purposes (SNEPP)** in Nov 1964 , which was the precursor to India's nuclear weapons programme.

Indira era

- Greater distance from US and closer ties with USSR
- Green Revolution
- Indo-Pak war 1971
- Pokhran 1974
- Strengthening of LTTE in response to President Jayawardene's overtures to US

Rajiv era

- Visit to PRC
- Failure in Sri Lanka IPKF
- Gradual reforms, opening up the economy
- Ordered the building of Nuclear weapons in response to Pak's nuke programme
- Dealing with JK insurgency
- Bofors scandal

Post 1990

- Collapse of USSR and change in alignments. Initially, cautious move towards US
- Gulf War and India's initial support to Saddam and then to US. Chandra Shekhar allowed US aircraft to refuel in India.
- Move towards SAARC
- LPG reforms and closer ties with US
- India at odds with CTBT at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva as it sought Indian ratification that would limit India's ability to conduct Nuclear tests
- Kashmir issue in the forefront with greater US focus on HR violations
- Closer ties with Israel, with full diplomatic status in 1992
- Closer ties with Iran for 1. Fuel, 2. Sympathy on Kashmir. President Rafsanjani visited India in 1995
- Act East policy. Earlier just good ties with Vietnam due to 1. Anti-colonial movement, 2. US attack on Vietnam 3. Close ties with USSR and mistrust of PRC. Now, move towards Myanmar
- Pokhran II and initial sanctions from US under Clinton and finally to N Deal under Bush
- Indo Pak ties go downward after Kargil and Parliament attack, and then ceasefire. Failure of Op Parakram

30 India Maldives

Positives

- Historical relationship
- Many Indians working there
- Coordinate maritime and EEZ patrols together, in the IOR. Also, maritime security
- India helped govt against coup in Op Cactus 1988
- Maldives follows India First policy
- When Nasheed was deposed in 2012, he sought refuge in Indian Embassy
- New **govt under Solih** has reaffirmed - India First Policy. India has announced **\$1.4 billion financial package**- budgetary support, currency swap and concessional Lines of credit.
- Other areas: tourism, fisheries, health, education, IT, communications, renewable energy.
- Focus on people-centric welfare measures as per priority of Maldives, in contrast to China's extension of massive loans for mega infra projects that end up in a debt trap

- India has identified- climate change, terrorism, balanced Indo-Pacific as the key challenges for the region.

Negatives

- Growing bonhomie with China, especially after signing FTA and allowing a Chinese base
- India refused to entertain the envoy who wanted to explain the recent emergency to Indian govt.
- India allegedly voted against Maldives in UNSC non-permanent member in favour of Indonesia
- Maldives will not extend lease of Indian helicopters or visas of personnel manning them beyond June 30.
- India has condemned Maldivian actions by President Yameen against judiciary and opposition members
- Growing Islamist extremism
- Weakened institutions under Yameen.

31 India USA

Positives

- Nuclear deal
- Large skilled diaspora, especially in health and silicon valley. India gets many US tourists
- Defence agreements, including LEMOA, Apache choppers, Guardian drones, Major Defence Partner, M777 ultra light Howitzers (ULH)
- Quad and Indo Pacific (PACOM changed to INDOPACOM).
- Common enemy: China, ensuring rules-based international order
- Space and scientific cooperation through NASA, US universities, LIGO etc
- Large trade surplus with US, large FDI coming from US, including Walmart acquisition of Flipkart.
- Oil trade recently opened up. Texas oil reaching India
- New 2+2 Dialogue, the first at the ministerial level: replaced the Strategic and Commercial Dialogue under Obama administration

Negatives

- IPR, especially for medicines and plant protection (Monsanto)
- Trade , local content requirement in JNNM, public stockholding for foodgrains
- Climate change
- Russian sanctions under CAATSA and India's strong Russian relations acting against waiver under NDAA (National Defence Authorisation Act). [**Update:** US Congress agrees to a 'sanctions waiver authority', can relax sanctions for India in purchase of S-400 Triumf]
- Similar problems with Iran: US wants oil imports from Iran to fall to zero by Nov 4. Will also affect Chabhar agreement. India already committing \$500 to the port
- US coming closer to Pak again. Pak mediated Eid ceasefire between Taliban-Afghan Govt.
- New **VISA restrictions** under extreme vetting- social media activity of last 5 years to be monitored. Will affect at least 10 lakh Indians directly- for both immigrant and non-immigrant visas. **Criticisms:** **1.** Questions of civil liberties and privacy, **2.** Individuals might not recall their social media presence in the last 5 years, **3.** What constitutes grounds for rejection?- posting memes of Trump or criticism of US foreign policy? **4.** Increased litigation by applicants against a discriminatory US policy, **5.** Processing delays as social media activity checked.
- **Human rights**, religious freedom and civil society, NGOs
- e-commerce and **data localisation**

3 Foundational Agreements

- LEMOA (allows each country to replenish from other's bases)

- COMCASA (transfer of communications security between Indian and US and facilitate interoperability between their forces)
- BECA (not yet begun)
- US push for COMCASA: India dependent on less-secure communications systems, unable to share data on real-time with other countries, problems of interoperability during HADR exercises
- Indian concerns on COMCASA: intrusive American access to Indian systems, lot of Russian-origin equipments might not be compatible, political issue in election year

Why new NSS of US not compatible with Indian interests

- Omitted some of India's most vital interests: Bay of Bengal, Arabian Sea, Straits of Malacca
- US wants India to offer more investment to Asian countries. But India needs Chinese investments to upgrade its own infra and is nowhere near China as an investor in ASEAN
- US wants a direct relationship with India, but India wants to balance its strategic ties with China, Russia and US at the same time.

32 Problems of R2P

- Such intervention undertaken with objective of regime change but without any thought to state rebuilding, resulting in state failure. eg: Libya
- Human interventions undertaken mainly by P-3 . If unable to garner UNSC support, they form 'coalition of willing' . They take those interventions that suit their interests. Eg: Iraq, but not Gaza
- R2P merely legitimises major powers' right to intervene in other countries

33 Why West continues to dominate world affairs?

- US has a growing population, remains most productive and innovative
- Most of the best educational and research facilities in the West
- Most brilliant and creative minds from all over world work here
- Formidable military might
- Robust legal, administrative systems, democracy and social security

Way Forward for Asia

- Need revolution in governance and public accountability

34 Possibility of space wars

- US planning a space force: 6th arm of its AF
- China and Russia will also retaliate
- China already has tested Anti-Satellite system
- Issue of space debris generated by space warfare
- India follows PAROS: Prevention of Arms Race in Outer Space
- GOI should engage multiple stakeholders and come out with a white paper on space weapons

35 BRICS

- News portal being opened by collaborating across media outlets like Xinhua, Hindu, Sputnik etc
- BRICS has grown in influence
- Expanded its arc of its interests
- Established new new institutions and partnerships in its first decade

- Created for its members the habits of working together. Infra-BRICS cooperation is on a rising trajectory.

Initial goals:

- Reform of global financial governance
- Democratization of the UN
- Expansion of Security Council

Why BRICS is far from achieving its initial goals?

* 2 of its members (China + Russia) do want other 3 (India, SA & Brazil) to obtain parity in global pecking order.

Johannesburg Summit stressed:

- * The centrality of rules-based
- * transparent
- * non-discriminatory,
- * open and
- * inclusive multilateral trading based on the ITO

This stemmed from their broader commitment to cooperate for strengthening

- multilateralism.
- rule of law
- an equitable international order
- China doesn't follow this in Asian affairs
- Another big idea is to prepare for the 4th industrial Revolution

BRICS partnership on New Industrial Revolution (PartNIR) should

- engage with pvt sector
- young innovators working at the cutting edge of technology
- BRICS Business Council actively enhancing trade and economic cooperation in diverse sectors

Africa Outreach:

- African leaders want big loans from NDB for infrastructural projects
- China introduced BRICS plus format at the Xiamen summit last year by inviting a few countries from different regions.
- An immediate benefit is the immense opportunities it provides for networking among leaders.

Unity and Divergence :

- 40% of world's population and 22% of global GDP
- China's dominance is a reality though the grouping asserts sovereign equality of all members
- Brazil played a low-profile role because of its political and social travails
- 4 paragraphs in summit declaration devoted to international terrorism
- No decision to set up BRICS credit rating agency that India wanted
- India-south Africa partnership made the Johannesburg declaration balanced and well-rounded.

36 Growing Summit Diplomacy

- Started in inter-war period with Chamberlain's meeting of Hitler in 1938. Took a back-seat in post war period. Gaining ground now
- India's examples: Nehru during NAM, Rajiv meeting Deng, Vajpayee meeting Musharraf, Modi meeting Xi and Putin
- Putin-Trump meeting in Helsinki, Trump-Kim meet in Singapore
- Involves strong leadership and move away from traditional diplomacy
- Attempt at showing the impossible is possible (eg; Trump-Kim). Long-term outcomes questionable
- Foreign Ministers and diplomats stay in the background

37 Africa

Growing divergence with China

- **Defence Cooperation:** China's arms exports increasing rapidly. Summits held recently (China-Africa Defence Security Forum). India cannot match as it does not have industrial base. But it can provide military training.
- **Peacekeeping and conflict resolution:** China giving \$100 million grant to establish African Rapid Response Force, also entering mediation and conflict resolution. India has been sending peacekeepers for 50 years. Need to engage even more
- **Counter-terror and money laundering:** Newer areas where India needs to invest. China already doing. India mainly focussing on anti-piracy ops in western IOR
- **Artificial Intelligence:** For better surveillance, China selling AI software to Africa
- **Trade and investment:** CHina's increasing rapidly (largest trading partner with Africa), India's falling. Modi gifts 200 cows to Rwanda under Girinka programme of poverty reduction. India's trade \$63 billion in 2017-18, China's \$166 billion
- **Diaspora:** 3000 PIOs live in Rwanda, most run businesses and were unharmed during the 1994 genocide; 30000 PIOs in Uganda- many coming back under Pres Museveni unlike Idi Amin
- **Differences in focus:** India- enhance Africa's productive capacities, diversifying skills, investment in MSMEs, focus on people-to-people contact; China- resource extraction, infra devt and elite-level wealth creation. Both laying emphasis on infrastructure and connectivity

Indian connectivity initiatives in Africa

- **Mausam:** By culture Ministry, reinvigorate cultural links with East Africa- revive lost linkages with IOR
- **Sagar:** Maritime-port connectivity and Sagarmala
- **Pan African e-Network project:** Digital connectivity, tele-medicine and tele-education
- **Air connectivity:** Direct flights to African cities from India
- **Asia Africa Growth Corridor:** With Japan, to develop industrial corridors, intitutional networks and and promote development cooperation. Consultative initiative between three equal partners: India, Japan and Africa. But China's BRI is top-down, unilateral approach
- **Solar MAMAs**
- **AARDO**
- **ITEC**
- **Lines of Credit through EXIM bank. Also, India African Forum Summit**

38 India Pakistan

Opportunities

- **Trade:** Textiles (supply cotton and RM from Surat to markets of Karachi and Faislabad), Sports (Export leather, bladders, wood etc to OEMs in Sialkot), Health (import cheap medical equipments from Pak)
- Pakistan Business Council requested new govt to not pursue trade agreements with Turkey, Thailand etc
- PBC asked to ensure transparency of costs, benefits, financial flows of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor projects
- The grouping urged increased trade with immediate neighbors like India, Iran, Afghanistan

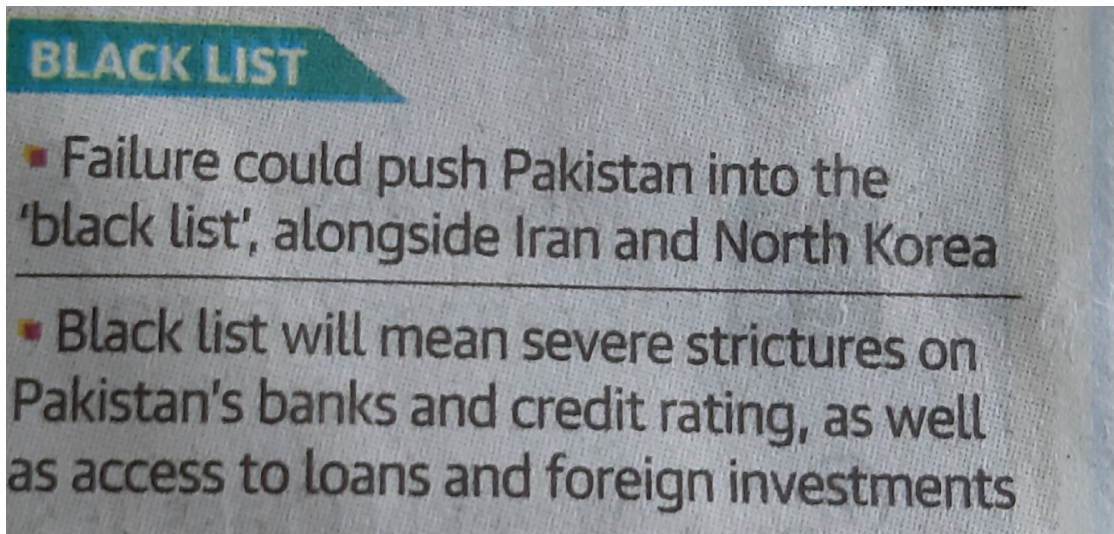
Issues:

- Islamabad-based think tank Sustainable Development Policy Institute identified problems;
- Weak logistics and customs processing

- Technical barriers to trade as sanitary or phytosanitary (SPS) restrictions, visa and travel restrictions, lack of telecommunication connectivity and financial intermediation
- Electricity diplomacy worked with Bangladesh but not with Pakistan. Pakistan wanted to hook up a portion of Lahore with Indian grid in 2015, discussions failed
- Illegal trading rampant mostly routed through West Asian countries and Nepal

Pak actions as per FATF

- Placed on Grey List for not doing enough on terror financing and money laundering
- Pak has seized properties and assets of Pak based terror groups like LeT, FiF, JuD
- As per Asia Pacific Group of FATF, inadequate action in 18/27 areas. Pak faces **estimated loss of \$10 billion** annually for staying in the **GreyList**. If it moves to the black list, its IMF loan commitment of \$6 billion might be threatened.



India Pak dialogue process

- Only in 2004 that a methodology for dialogue with Pak accepted. 3-fold commitment: **1.** India to negotiate seriously on Kashmir, **2.** Pak to create violence-free atmosphere, **3.** joint pursuit of CBMs
- Gained momentum in MMS 1st term
- Expanded CBMs, came close to solving Siachen dispute and broad understanding on Kashmir
- But it collapsed due to repeated violations by Pak army, cross border terror

New elements under Modi Govt

- Hurriyat no longer a factor in talks on Kashmir
- Refuse to talk to Pak till real progress on cross border terror is seen
- Challenge Pak's nuclear impunity through surgical strikes and Balakot

39 Why India gives foreign aid

Development Aid to foreign countries not only serves economic objectives but also as a strategic tool.

- India wants to project itself as major economic power and rightful claimant to **permanent membership to UNSC**.
- **Neighborhood First Policy:** The neighborhood is the biggest recipient of aid from India. Bhutan for years have received the biggest chunk of Indian aid with Rs. 5,368.46 crores in 2015-16, primarily aimed at developing hydro-electric power. Also India is 2nd largest donor in Afghanistan.
- **Ethnic Issues:** In Sri Lanka, India is undertaking the construction of houses for rehabilitation of Tamil population displaced by nearly three decades long war.
- **Soft Power:** India offer aid to extend the reach of its soft power.
- Another major reason is to counter the influence of China in India's neighborhood.
- South Asia is disaster prone and many countries in the regions can't carry out relief work on its own.

Example

- Mauritius to hold 11th World Hindi Conference by World Hindi Secretariat stationed in Port Louis. Part of India's soft power
- Indians not getting work permits in Maldives due to worsening relations between the govts.
- Hwasong 15 of NK has range of 13000 km.
- India's naval base in Assumption Island in Seychelles rejected by Seychelles govt.

40 BIMSTEC

- Will be challenges for India from both within and outside
- India currently the largest contributor to BIMSTEC's secretariat's budget: Annual contribution was Rupees 2 crore for 32% of the total secretariat budget for 2017-18.
- Secretariat planning to strengthen capacity by increasing HR and no of officials representing member states, India needs to allocate more resources
- India's generosity would be a key test of its commitment to subregional grouping
- India needs to counter the impression that BIMSTEC is an India dominated bloc, a problem that it faced for a long time in SAARC
- Another challenge for India: China's desire to be a part of SAARC. Some SAARC members want to bring China, want to balance India's dominance
- China has observer status in SAARC.
- BIMSTEC includes countries of the Bay of Bengal region and seeks to act as a bridge between South and Southeast Asia
- All 7 countries have sustained annual growth rates between 3.4% and 7.5% from 2012 to 2016
- A fourth of world's traded goods cross the bay every year
- Bangladesh views BIMSTEC as a platform to position itself as more than just a small state in the BOB
- Sri Lanka seeks to connect with Southeast Asia and serve as the subcontinent's hub for the wider Indian Ocean and Pacific regions.
- Nepal and Bhutan: to reconnect with BOB region and escape their landlocked geographical position
- Myanmar and Thailand: connecting more deeply with India across BOB , would allow them access to a rising consumer market, balance Beijing and develop an alternative to China's massive inroads into SE Asia
- India: With shared values, histories, ways of life and destinies that are interlinked, BIMSTEC is a natural PF to fulfil our key foreign policy priorities of "Neighborhood First" and "Act East" (Modi)
- BIMSTEC could allow India to push a constructive agenda to counter Chinese investments
- It would allow India to follow best practices for connectivity projects based on recognised international norms

- BOB can be showcased as open and peaceful contrasting it with China's behaviour in South China Sea
- It could develop codes of conduct that preserve freedom of navigation
- A BOB Zone of Peace that seeks to limit any bellicose behaviour of extraregional power

BIMSTEC Way of Working:

- Planned to hold summits every 2 years, ministerial meetings every year, senior officials meeting twice a year
- But only 3 summits taken place in 20 years
- BIMSTEC leaders need to reduce 14 chosen field of cooperation to 6
- Priority sectors should be: trade and investment, connectivity, energy, people to people exchanges, counter terrorism and Blue Economy
- BIMSTEC's engagements with other groupings: ASEAN, BBIN(Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal), IORA, MGC, CMLV

Current efforts a "rediscovery of the old routes that once connected these nations".

41 India's contribution to WW I

- in 1914, 3 Indian Expeditionary Forces sailed from Mumbai to Egypt and Ottoman Iraq
- Indian regiments fought against the Turks, took control over Iraq, Lebanon and Palestine
- Single largest Allied force in Turkish theatres- 7,60,000 Indian troops deployed
- A total of 1.5 million troops served in the Indian Army
- Most soldiers illiterate, didn't write memoirs, wrote letters but these were censored by British. Thakur Amar Singh, a Rajput officer, wrote a diary
- Treaty of Lausanne 1923- led to modern day division of Middle East.

Negatives

- Forced recruitment from Punjab. Led to revolts and clashes with British authorities.
- Curtain of fear: flogging by British, less pay than whites, segregated in camps, barred from senior command

Positives

- Gave new ideas on colonialism that boosted national movement at home.

42 Nuclear Arms Control Agreements:

- US developed layered missile defences and conventional Prompt Global Strike (PGS) capabilities that use conventional payloads against strategic targets
- Other countries responded with hypersonics and lower head tactical warheads
- With growing dependence on space-based and cyber systems, such asymmetrical approaches only increase the risks of accidental and inadvertent nuclear escalation
- Key difference with today's return of major power rivalry is that it is no longer a bi-polar world, and nuclear arms control is no longer governed by a single binary equation.
- In Dec 2001, U.S unilaterally withdrew from the 1972 ABM Treaty with the USSR which limited deployment of ABM systems
- NPT succeeded in delegitimising nuclear proliferation but not nuclear weapons.

43 India EU

Positives

- 6000 EU companies work in India, 6 million jobs generated
- Working on sustainable development, world peace and security
- Climate change and clean energy
- Clean Ganga

- Horizon 2020- biggest EU research and innovation programme- co-funding projects with the Indian government. Every year, 50000 students from India travel to 4000 European universities
- Fight against piracy in Horn of Africa. Cooperation in Afghanistan.
- Strengthening of multilateral institutions like UN, G20, WTO.
- EU will join ISA. Indian ships will escort World Food Programme vessels to transport food to Somalia.

Negatives

- Differences over Bilateral Investment Treaties
- Issues over human rights

44 India Gulf

Positives

- Hydrocarbon
- Diaspora
- Security cooperation, especially counter terrorism
- Defence cooperation

Possibilities

- UAE is 4th largest importer of weapons
- Major player in logistics sector, due to development of Dubai as major port and aviation hub
- UAE is important cosmopolitan centre
- Moderate Arab centre- openness, religious tolerance, women's empowerment
- Cooperation in Indian Ocean, especially Horn of Africa, after Saudi and UAE brokered peace with Eritrea and Ethiopia.

45 India Sri Lanka

How India is perceived in Lanka

- Overwhelmed by India's presence. Resisting India's closer cooperation seen as Lanka maintaining an independent stance in its foreign policy
- Cultivating China as counter to India makes strategic sense.
- China delivers, while Indian bureaucracy delays. Only China can provide the large capital outlays needed for SL's infrastructure requirements
- SL wants to expand beyond IOR, and develop closer ties with ASEAN. Disenchanted with SAARC and BIMSTEC
- Lankan industry fears being flooded with Indian goods and professionals.
- SL Tamils support proactive policy stance by India.

46 India Bhutan

- Need to negotiate a fair tariff for 720 MW Mangdechhu Hydro Project . India also needs to start the 2.5 GW Sunkosh Reservoir Project
- Reducing Indian support in Bhutan's 12th FYP from 23% in 11th FYP to 14%
- Waiving off Central GST for Bhutan. Instead pay State GST.

47 India Bangladesh

Positives

- Important for India's Act East Policy, BIMSTEC, BBIN
- Denial of support to insurgent groups
- Largest trading partner \$9 billion- benefited from SAFTA
- Cooperation in cyberspace
- Connectivity: Two trains, ICPs at Akhaura-Agartala, Petrapole-Benapol
- Nuclear cooperation- Roopur power plant will be built with Indian help
- Bangladeshis are largest groups of tourists in India
- People-people interaction and capacity building under ITEC programme

Negatives

- Adverse balance of trade with India. Demand constraints of Bangladeshi exports and limited items in the export basket
- Radicalisation and fundamentalism
- Rohingya issue
- NRC and CAB
- Growing presence of China

48 Importance of AIIB to India

- Only country after China to enjoy permanent seat on Bank's board of directors
- Healthy mix of complementarity between WB, ADB and AIIB
- AAA credit rating from 3 major ratings agencies in US
- 90-odd countries are founders
- Flexible financing, lean organisational structure, special funds mechanism

Way Forward

- Bring more transparency to its functioning
- Leverage with NDB
- Invest in newer areas of clean energy, smart cities, SWM etc

49 India South Africa

Positives

- Military cooperation- Denel, a SA PSU in defence mfg will participate in Indian military equipment procurement, joint training exercises on sea
- Organisations: IBSA, BRICS, IORA
- Agreements between various think tanks in SA and India. eg: RIS of India and Institute for Global Dialogue in SA
- Track 1.5 dialogue going on

Negatives

- Small size of SA economy inhibiting investment
- Lack of direct air connectivity
- Rigid business visa regime
- Slow Indian implementation

Way Forward

- Focus on agri-processing, mining tech, financial sector, defence

50 India Saudi Arabia

Positives

- Historical ties going to third millennium BC- science, arts, trade, literature, languages
- 3 million Indians: Largest expatriate community in Kingdom
- India's Haj quota increasing
- Saudi Aramco has nearly \$2 billion in material-service sourcing with Indian companies
- \$44 billion integrated refinery and petrochemicals complex at Ratnagiri in MH, jointly with Saudi Aramco, Abu Dhabi National Oil Co and Indian PSUs
- PM met MBS and agreed to set up high level mechanism to boost concrete actions in investment and tech
- Newer areas like food processing and organic industries, health, education, defence and ICT

Negatives

- Still good relations with Pak as- 1. Supporter of MbS, 2. Geopolitical relations over Afghanistan and Sunni Jihad, 3. Both have worsening relations with Iran

51 Change in India's strategy in West Asia

- Earlier, India tried to play a balancing approach between Saudi Arabia, Iran and Israel
- But this constrained its ability to press its geopolitical interests in the region
- Now, tilting towards Saudi Arabia, Israel and UAE away from Iran
- Saudi Arabia and UAE fighting Islamist extremists, including Muslim Brotherhood and Iran-backed militias. This brings them closer to Israel and also India
- Saudi and UAE also making massive investments in India, like \$44 billion in Ratnagiri plant in MH, \$100 billion investments announced recently, UAE's sovereign fund etc
- Defence and security cooperation with Israel
- Iran losing out due to US sanctions, hanging investments in Chabahar and Farzad B
- But Iran plays an important role in the region: Chabahar, Afghanistan and Taliban, INSTC etc

52 Snub at the OIC

- Abu Dhabi declaration did not contain an expression of thanks to the Indian External Affairs Minister
- OIC welcomes the positive initiatives taken by Pak PM Imran Khan
- Condemned the atrocities and HR violations in Indian administered Kashmir

Positives

- Reflection of India's growing economic and political stature internationally
- Good relations with Gulf countries.
- Opportunities provided by India's growing economy and skilled workforce

53 TIR Carnets- United Nations TIR (Transports Internationaux Routiers) Convention

- Help in fast and easy movement of goods across multiple countries under a common customs document and guarantee
- No need for physical checkings by custom officials
- Help in multi-modal movement of goods through Chabahr and INSTC
- First consignment arrived from Afghan through Chabahar at Mumbai

54 India's need to go beyond South Asia in IOR

- Focus on Comoros, Seychelles, Reunion, Mauritius and Madagascar on the Western IOR

- In the Eastern IOR, focus on Singapore, Thailand, Myanmar and Indonesia with which we share maritime borders
- Important sea-lines of communication along islands like- Cocos and Keeling (Australia)- and of strategic importance for development of AN and Lakshadweep
- Limitations of SAARC structural and enduring- arising from Partition and Pakistani state-sponsored terrorism. Many of the disputes are bilateral with India, and cannot be resolved in a multilateral forum like SAARC

India needs to keep the following in mind:

- Island territories in IOR of great strategic importance in the power rivalry in the region
- island states in SW IOR must be dealt in an integrated framework
- Focus on developing AN islands need to be seen from perspective of cooperation with Singapore, Thailand and Indonesia
- India needs to develop its own national capabilities-especially delivery of strategic and security assistance to island states.

The 3 island arcs

- AN island chain in Bay of Bengal. Great Nicobar Island can dominate the western gates of Malacca Straits
- From Gwadar to Laccadives- Chagos archipelago to Diego Garcia- India battling to retain Sri Lanka and Maldives from China, while US base in Diego Garcia is embroiled in a sovereignty dispute
- From Djibouti along the East African coast through Mozambique channel to the island Zanzibar- Chinese presence is highest here. India needs to retain the arc

Steps taken by India in Indo-Pacific

- Sagarmala
- SAGAR
- Cooperation on Blue Economy in BIMSTEC

55 India Nigeria

Positives

- Common challenges: Terrorism, sectarian divide, unemployment and corruption, fragile neighbourhood
- Nigeria is India's largest trading partner in Africa- vehicles, pharma products, textiles, iron and steel plastics
- Nigeria has a trade surplus with India, as we import oil from there. India is Nigeria's largest trading partner
- Exports to Nigeria surged 27% last year
- 180 Indian companies operating in Nigeria- 50000 Indians residing there
- Skilling being done

Potential

- Medical tourism and education-need to tweak our visa procedure
- Direct connectivity in air travel, banking and shipping
- Upstream hydrocarbons, agriculture, health and skilling
- Defence cooperation
- Nigeria participated in 3rd India-Africa Forum Summit, 2015. Need to fully engage the Joint Economic Commission between the two countries.

56 Current challenges in Foreign Policy

- US-China trade and tech war
- Brexit and Euroskepticism
- US-Russia arms control agreements erosion
- Growing arms race in nuclear, cyber and space arenas
- US withdrawal of JCPOA and Iran sanctions
- Saudi Iran tensions

Current problems in the neighbourhood

- Power transition in Southern Asia- As US recedes, and China enters, countries quickly reorienting their alliances
- Extreme trust deficit across nations and their partners- India- Pak, India-China, Russia-china, India-Nepal
- Escalation of war- US-Iran conflict (Op **Sankalp** launched to protect Indian merchant ships in Persian Gulf- **IFC-IOR** monitoring situation), US-China trade war, India-Pak confrontations

5 balancing acts India should do

- Balance **US-India** closeness with the desire to ensure that China is not provoked
- **West Asia** policy- Balance ties between Iran, Saudi Arabia and Israel
- Dealing with **Russia-China** partnership. Since ties between two strained, India can leverage good strategic ties with Russia to come closer
- Strategic partnership between **China and Pakistan** needs to be handled well
- Deal with **Afghanistan** and Taliban issue

What India needs to do

- Focus on neighbourhood as a net provider of security, not meddle in internal affairs, use soft power and mutual consent. Use forums like BIMSTEC IOR, BCIM, BBIN, and even SAARC
- Counter China, but also cooperate. Ensure US is not able to use its objectives against China through India
- Keep an eye on growing Sino-Russian bonhomie
- India can act as a regional maritime security provider in the Gulf and Straits of Hormuz as US retreats and other countries search for security assistance in the region

57 The new US-China rivalry

- Trade War
- Fight for control of the Pacific, SCS and ensure freedom of navigation
- Technology war- with respect to 5G and Huawei

How it is different from Cold War

- China US more evenly matched economically- Chinese GDP will overtake US GDP by 2030. USSR GDP never crossed 40% of US GDP
- China catching up technologically with US. Massive investments in 5G, AI, Space etc
- Strong economic and investment ties between the two nations, unlike US-USSR
- China does not have allies like the US, nor bases. But it is using its BRI to increase its presence in the world.

Why India should not take sides

- Bipolar world is likely to continue for the next 10 years.
- Current international trend is the diffusion of political, economic and military power rather than its concentration in a single country

- Traditional North-South divide not there. Nor are ideological differences. It is more issue-based and India needs to advance its economic and security interests. This requires both US and China
- While US relation will get greater weight given China is an adversarial power, China will not harm India as long as it does not turn against China
- Most challenges we face currently are cross-cutting and global in dimension- climate change, terrorism, cyber warfare, bio-terrorism, health epidemics, WMDs. Need to focus on multilateral, consensus based dialogue mechanisms

58 India Russia

Positives

- Defence cooperation- BRAHMOS, INS Chakra, Su-Khois, MiGs
- Nuclear cooperation- Kudankulam
- INSTC
- ONGC Videsh involved in oil exploration in Sakhalin
- Russia wants India in the Far East Region- to reduce Chinese dominance, transferring skilled labourers to offset Chinese demographic threats and economic cooperation
- Russia keen on India joining Arctic Territory Dialogue Forum
- Russia supported India's membership to the SCO

Negatives

- S-400 deal and threat of sanctions
- Russia moving closer to China. Supports BRI
- Russia organising talks between Taliban and others, excluding India

59 India's recent election to the UNSC

- Was unanimous. Had support of even Pak and China
- India's turn would have come in 2021-22. But it asked Afghanistan to withdraw, which it did

Significance

- India should not be 'fence-sitting' by abstaining from votes when it is required to take a stand on a principle
- Can use the seat to strengthen the multilateral world order
- Towards reforms and expansion of the UNSC

What India needs to do at the UNSC

- Increase its financial contribution, which has fallen below Germany and Japan
- India needs to argue against R2P. It should work towards a rules-based global order. Help protect institutions like WTO, UNESCO, UN Human Rights Council etc
- Use Sanctions Committee to target individuals involved in terrorism irrespective of nationality
- Become a consensus-builder in the Council- take the lead in dealing with climate change, disarmament, terrorism trade etc
- Activate UNSC's Military Staff Committee for better coordination of military ops
- Help in non-discriminatory elimination of WMDs, global warming, safeguarding outer space from weaponising

60 India at the G20

- Appeared towards finding a **solution on the trade issue** between India-US
- On **data**, it sided with BRICS- **1**. Data rules should be framed within WTO , not G20, **2**. Data is a new form of wealth, and US needs to take into consideration the interests of developing countries
- On **5G**, no assurance given to US to exclude Huawei. Rather, only collaboration on R&D with US on telecommunication industries.
- In informal BRICS, India stressed on terrorism as the biggest threat. Need to ensure transparent, rules based multilateral order

EXPLAINED

For India, wins — and a loss

India's primary concern on terrorism was not given due prominence at G-20 this year. But its concerns on black money, cross-border flow of data, BRI and importance of FATF were given due importance. Delhi will now have to start thinking about its agenda for 2020, especially since it is going to shape the agenda in 2022 as host of G-20.

61 Indo-Pacific

Different meanings to different countries

- Australia views it as a natural region for establishing connectivity across ASEAN, India and China, and for maritime security
- US defines it as extending from west coast of US to west coast of India- a theatre of conflict between two civilizations- US and China. Objectives are to establish freedom of navigation, rules based international order and reduced Chinese influence. National Security Strategy wants India to be a part of the bulwark against China
- India wants the definition extended to the east coast of Africa, given India's strategic and cultural ties with East Africa and West Asia (IOR). But it is more guarded in its approach- views this region as that of peace, stability and cooperation. Does not want to antagonise China
- All 4 Quad Countries agree- moving away from Asia Pacific to Indo-Pacific is to redefine the region away from China's economic and strategic dominance.

Why Africa gaining significance in Indo Pacific

- China's BRI has footprint throughout Africa
- India-Japan working on Asia Africa Growth Corridor
- Anti-piracy operations
- Diaspora
- New Scramble for Africa taking place

Why ASEAN and India have common interests in Indo-Pacific

- It is likely to be ASEAN led and ASEAN centric, with East Asia Summit and ADMM (ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting +) playing a supporting role, as it has China, India, US and Russia
- Both see this as a region of stability, peace and security, not as an exclusive club or theatre of conflict
- Aspire for more connectivity, more trade and investment.

