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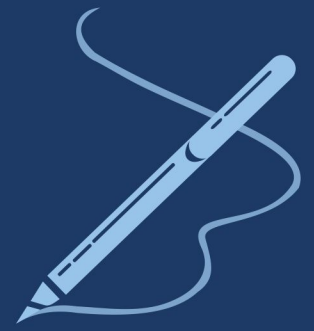
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RELATIONS &
INTERNAL SECURITY**



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PREFACE

Dear Aspirants,

International Relations and Internal Security constitute a very important section of GS Paper II and GS Paper III syllabus of UPSC Mains exam, respectively. Together both sections account for 80-100 marks in the mains exam. This section, if prepared well, is very rewarding for candidates, as questions are mostly based on current affairs.

Our approach in this Mains Compass is producing a comprehensive textbook for International Relations and Internal Security for the coming mains exam. We have tried to cover the entire syllabus. Students hopefully will benefit from the book.

For the best results, students are advised to refer to this book along with RAU's MAINS QIP program wherein there will be extensive testing and discussions on the important themes from the coming Mains exam point of view.

All the best!!!

Rau's IAS Team

CONTENTS

SYLLABUS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 01

PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS AND THEME MAP 02

SECTION-1 NEIGHBOURHOOD

07

- ▶ PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS 07
- ▶ INDIA'S NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY 08
 - ▶ INDIA-CHINA 10
- ▶ CHINESE DAMS ON BRAHMAPUTRA 13
- ▶ GEOGRAPHICAL OVERVIEW OF BRAHMAPUTRA RIVER 14
 - ▶ INDIA AND BANGLADESH 15
 - ▶ INDIA AND NEPAL 17
 - ▶ AFGHAN ISSUE AND OPTIONS FOR INDIA 20
 - ▶ INDIA AND PAKISTAN 24
 - ▶ INDIA – SRI LANKA 26
 - ▶ INDIA - MYANMAR 29
 - ▶ INDIA AND BHUTAN 30
 - ▶ INDIA AND MALDIVES 32

SECTION-2 EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

34

- ▶ PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS 34
 - ▶ CENTRAL ASIA 35
 - ▶ INDIA - WEST ASIA 37
 - TRADE AND INVESTMENT 38
 - ▶ LOOK WEST POLICY 39
 - ▶ INDIA – UAE 39
 - ▶ INDIA – IRAN 39
 - ▶ US WITHDRAWAL FROM IRAN - NUCLEAR DEAL 40

- ▶ CHABAHAR PORT ISSUE 41
- ▶ ABRAHAM ACCORDS 41
- ▶ ISRAEL PALESTINE CONFLICT 42
- ▶ SOUTH EAST ASIA 44
- ▶ ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS - ASEAN 45
- ▶ RCEP 47
- ▶ INDIA & AFRICA 48
- ▶ GEOPOLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ARCTIC 50

SECTION-3 BIG POWERS

52

- ▶ INDIA AND U.S.A 52
- ▶ CAATSA 54
- ▶ INDIA AND RUSSIA 56
- ▶ INDIA AND JAPAN 59
- ▶ INDIA AND AUSTRALIA 61
- ▶ INDIA – UK 63
- ▶ INDIA-EU 65
- ▶ INDIA-FRANCE 66

SECTION-4 INDO-PACIFIC

68

- ▶ INDIA AND INDIAN OCEAN REGION 68
- ▶ INDO-PACIFIC GEOPOLITICS 71
- ▶ INDIA AND INDO PACIFIC 72
- ▶ QUAD 73
- ▶ FIRST QUAD SUMMIT 73
- ▶ AUKUS - TRILATERAL SECURITY PARTNERSHIP 75

SECTION-5 ORGANISATIONS

78

- ▶ PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS 78
- ▶ UN AND THE RETREAT OF MULTILATERALISM 79
 - ▶ REFORMED MULTILATERALISM 80
 - ▶ UNSC REFORMS 81
 - ▶ WHO CRISIS 83
 - ▶ VACCINE NATIONALISM 84
 - ▶ G7 - NEED FOR EXPANSION 85
- ▶ SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANISATION 86
 - ▶ BRICS 89
 - ▶ BIMSTEC 90
 - ▶ SAARC 91
 - ▶ FATF 93
 - ▶ UNCLOS 93
- ▶ UN WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME 94

SYLLABUS INTERNAL SECURITY 96

PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS AND THEME MAP 97

SECTION-1 BASICS OF INTERNAL SECURITY

100

- ▶ WARFARE 100
- ▶ NATIONAL SECURITY 100
- ▶ CHANGING NATURE OF INTERNAL SECURITY 100
- ▶ CHANGING EXTERNAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT 100

SECTION-2 TERRORISM

102

- ▶ TERRORISM 102
- ▶ CAUSES OF TERRORISM 103
 - ▶ KINDS OF TERRORISM 103
- ▶ MEANS OF TERRORISM 104

- ▶ NARCO TERRORISM 106
- ▶ TERROR FINANCING 107
- ▶ ANTI-TERROR LAWS IN INDIA 109
- ▶ ARMED FORCES SPECIAL POWERS ACT (AFSPA) 111
- ▶ STEPS TO COUNTER THREAT OF TERRORISM 112
- ▶ TERRORISM IN INDIA 114

SECTION-3 DEVELOPMENTAL CHALLENGES & EXTREMISM

117

- ▶ PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS 117
- ▶ LEFT WING EXTREMISM 118
- ▶ INSURGENCY IN NORTH-EAST 120
- ▶ NAGA PEACE TALKS 122

SECTION-4 CHALLENGES FROM MEDIA AND SOCIAL MEDIA

124

- ▶ PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS 124
- ▶ RADICALIZATION 125
- ▶ SOCIAL MEDIA AND RADICALISATION 125
- ▶ FAKE NEWS 127

SECTION-5 BORDER SECURITY & MANAGEMENT

130

- ▶ PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS 130
- ▶ BORDER AREA MANAGEMENT 131
- ▶ PROBLEMS OF BORDER MANAGEMENT 131
- ▶ GOVERNMENT SECURITY APPARATUS FOR BORDER MANAGEMENT 132
- ▶ CHALLENGES ALONG INDIA - BANGLADESH BORDER 133
- ▶ CHALLENGES ALONG INDIA - MYANMAR BORDER 134
- ▶ CHALLENGES ALONG THE INDIA - PAK BORDER 136
- ▶ CHALLENGES ALONG INDIA - NEPAL BORDER 138

SECTION-6 CYBER SECURITY

140

- ▶ PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS 140
 - ▶ CYBER SECURITY THREAT 141
- ▶ TYPES OF CYBER SECURITY THREATS 141
 - PEGASUS 141
 - MALWARE 142
 - DISTRIBUTED DENIAL OF SERVICE 142
 - BUFFER OVERFLOW 142
 - BOT 142
 - RANSOMWARE 142
 - MAN-IN-THE-MIDDLE (MITM) ATTACKS 143
 - PHISHING 143
 - SPEAR PHISHING 143
 - WEB CRAWLER 143
 - DARKNET 143
 - ▶ IMPACT OF CYBER ATTACKS 144
 - ▶ CYBER SECURITY PREPAREDNESS 144
- ▶ CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIES IN INDIA'S CYBER SECURITY 146
 - ▶ SECURING SECURE CYBER ECOSYSTEM 146
 - ▶ CYBER FRAUDS 146
 - ▶ NATGRID 147

- ▶ CYBER SECURITY POLICY - NEED FOR REVIEW 149

SECTION-7 MONEY LAUNDERING

151

- ▶ MONEY LAUNDERING 151
- ▶ INTERNATIONAL BODIES DEALING WITH MONEY LAUNDERING 153
- ▶ PREVENTION OF MONEY LAUNDERING ACT, 2002 (PMLA) 153

SECTION-8 MISCELLANEOUS

155

- ▶ INTEGRATED THEATRE COMMANDS IN INDIA 155
- ▶ INDENISATION AND MODERNISATION OF DEFENCE 156
- ▶ INDIA NUCLEAR DOCTRINE 158
- ▶ DRONE ATTACK 160

Syllabus

International Relations

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

Previous Year Questions and Theme Map

THEME 1: INDIA AND NEIGHBOURHOOD RELATIONS

SUB-THEME	YEAR	UPSC MAINS QUESTIONS	IMPORTANT THEMES FOR MAINS 2021
INDIA AND NEIGHBOURS	2017	'China is using its economic relations and positive trade surplus as tools to develop potential military power status in Asia', In the light of this statement, discuss its impact on India as her neighbor.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. India & Bangladesh 2. India & Maldives 3. India & Bhutan 4. India & Nepal 5. India & Pakistan Dialogue Process 6. India & China 7. India & Sri Lanka 8. India & Afghanistan
	2015	Project 'Mausam' is considered a unique foreign policy initiative of the Indian Government to improve relationship with its neighbors. Does the project have a strategic dimension? Discuss.	
	2015	Terrorist activities and mutual distrust have clouded India-Pakistan relations. To what extent the use of soft power like sports and cultural exchanges could help generate goodwill between the two countries? Discuss with suitable examples.	
	2014	With respect to the South China sea, maritime territorial disputes and rising tension affirm the need for safeguarding maritime security to ensure freedom of navigation and over flight throughout the region. In this context, discuss the bilateral issues between India and China.	
	2013	The proposed withdrawal of International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) from Afghanistan in 2014 is fraught with major security implications for the countries of the region. Examine in light of the fact that India is faced with a plethora of challenges and needs to safeguard its own strategic interests.	
	2013	What do you understand by 'The String	

PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS AND THEME MAP

		of Pearls'? How does it impact India? Briefly outline the steps taken by India to counter this.	
	2013	The protests in Shahbag Square in Dhaka in Bangladesh reveal a fundamental split in society between the nationalists and Islamic forces. What is its significance for India?	
	2013	Discuss the political developments in Maldives in the last two years. Should they be of any cause of concern to India?	
	2013	In respect of India — Sri Lanka relations, discuss how domestic factors influence foreign policy.	
	2013	What is meant by Gujral doctrine? Does it have any relevance today? Discuss.	

THEME 2: INDIA AND OTHER NATIONS + INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SUB-THEME	YEAR	UPSC MAINS QUESTIONS	IMPORTANT THEMES FOR MAINS 2021
INDIA AND OTHER NATIONS	2020	India diaspora has a decisive role in the politics and economy of America and European Countries. Comment with examples.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. India & Japan 2. India & Russia 3. India & United States 4. India & Africa 5. India & the Indian Ocean Region 6. South Asian Regionalism 7. U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan 8. West Asian Politics: Saudi Arabia, Israel & Iran 9. Indo-Pacific Geopolitics 10. QUAD 11. Multilateralism 12. Reform of International organisations 13. USA withdrawal from global leadership role
	2020	Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad) is transforming itself into a trade bloc from a military alliance, in present times. Discuss.	
	2020	What is the significance of Indo-US defence deals over Indo-Russian defence? Discuss with reference to stability in the Indo-Pacific region.	
	2019	'The time has come for India and Japan to build a strong contemporary relationship, one involving global and strategic partnership that will have a great significance for Asia and the world as a whole.' Comment.	
	2019	"The long-sustained image of India as a leader of the oppressed and marginalised Nations has disappeared on account of its new found role in the emerging global order". Elaborate.	
	2019	"What introduces friction into the ties	

PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS AND THEME MAP

		between India and the United States is that Washington is still unable to find for India a position in its global strategy, which would satisfy India's National self-esteem and ambitions".	
	2018	In what ways would the ongoing US-Iran Nuclear Pact Controversy affect the national interest of India? How should India respond to this situation?	
	2018	'India's relations with Israel have, of late, acquired a depth and diversity, which cannot be rolled back.' Discuss.	
	2017	The question of India's Energy Security constitutes the most important part of India's economic progress. Analyze India's energy policy cooperation with West Asian Countries.	
	2017	Indian Diaspora has an important role to play in South-East Asian countries' economy and society. Appraise the role of Indian Diaspora in South-East Asia in this context.	
	2016	Evaluate the economic and strategic dimensions of India's Look East Policy in the context of the post-Cold War international scenario.	
	2015	Increasing interest of India in Africa has its pros and cons. Critically examine.	
	2013	Economic ties between India and Japan while growing in the recent years are still far below their potential. Elucidate the policy constraints which are inhibiting this growth.	

THEME 3: INDIA AND BILATERAL, REGIONAL AND GLOBAL GROUPINGS

SUB-THEME	YEAR	UPSC MAINS QUESTIONS	IMPORTANT THEMES FOR MAINS 2021
INDIA AND GROUPINGS	2018	A number of outside powers have entrenched themselves in Central Asia, which is a zone of interest to India. Discuss the implications, in this context, of India's joining the Ashgabat Agreement, 2018.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ASEAN & RCEP 2. Shanghai Cooperation Organisation 3. BRICS & BRICS+ 4. Quadrilateral Group 5. BIMSTEC 6. SSARC 2.0 7. SAARC vs. BIMSTEC

PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS AND THEME MAP

THEME 4: IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

SUB-THEME	YEAR	UPSC MAINS QUESTIONS	IMPORTANT THEMES FOR MAINS 2021
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS	2020	Critically examine the role of WHO in providing global health security during the COVID-19 pandemic.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. South-South Cooperation 2. Financial Action Task Force 3. WHO Crisis 4. WTO 5. UNESCO 6. UNFCCC 7. UN Reform 8. NAM
	2019	'Too little cash, too much politics, leaves UNESCO fighting for life.' Discuss the statement in the light of US' withdrawal and its accusation of the cultural body as being 'anti-Israel bias'.	
	2018	What are the key areas of reform if the WTO has to survive in the present context of 'Trade War', especially keeping in mind the interest of India?	
	2017	What are the main functions of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)? Explain different functional commissions attached to it.	
	2016	"The broader aims and objectives of WTO are to manage and promote international trade in the era of globalization. But the Doha round of negotiations seem doomed due to differences between the developed and the developing countries." Discuss in the Indian perspective.	
	2016	What are the aims and objectives of the McBride Commission of the UNESCO? What is India's position on these?	
	2015	Discuss the impediments India is facing in its pursuit of a permanent seat in UN Security Council.	
	2014	The aim of Information Technology Agreements (ITAs) is to lower all taxes and tariffs on information technology products by signatories to zero. What impact should such agreements have on India's interests?	
	2014	Some of the International funding agencies have special terms for economic participation stipulating a	

PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS AND THEME MAP

		substantial component of the aid to be used for sourcing equipment from the leading countries. Discuss on merits of such terms and if, there exists a strong case not to accept such conditions in the Indian context.	
	2014	India has recently signed to become founding a New Development Bank (NDB) and also the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). How will the role of the two Banks be different? Discuss the significance of these two Banks for India.	
	2014	WTO is an important international institution where decisions taken affect countries in profound manner. What is the mandate of WTO and how binding are their decisions? Critically analyse India's stand on the latest round of talks on Food security.	
	2013	The World Bank and the IMF, collectively known as the Bretton Woods Institutions, are the two inter-governmental pillars supporting the structure of the world's economic and financial order. Superficially, the World Bank and the IMF exhibit many common characteristics, yet their role, functions and mandate are distinctly different. Elucidate.	

SECTION-1

N EIGHBOURHOOD

Previous Year Questions

YEAR	UPSC MAINS QUESTIONS
2017	'China is using its economic relations and positive trade surplus as tools to develop potential military power status in Asia', In the light of this statement, discuss its impact on India as her neighbor.
2015	Project 'Mausam' is considered a unique foreign policy initiative of the Indian Government to improve relationship with its neighbors. Does the project have a strategic dimension? Discuss.
2015	Terrorist activities and mutual distrust have clouded India-Pakistan relations. To what extent the use of soft power like sports and cultural exchanges could help generate goodwill between the two countries? Discuss with suitable examples.
2014	With respect to the South China sea, maritime territorial disputes and rising tension affirm the need for safeguarding maritime security to ensure freedom of navigation and over flight throughout the region. In this context, discuss the bilateral issues between India and China.
2013	The proposed withdrawal of International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) from Afghanistan in 2014 is fraught with major security implications for the countries of the region. Examine in light of the fact that India is faced with a plethora of challenges and needs to safeguard its own strategic interests.
2013	What do you understand by 'The String of Pearls'? How does it impact India? Briefly outline the steps taken by India to counter this.
2013	The protests in Shahbag Square in Dhaka in Bangladesh reveal a fundamental split in society between the nationalists and Islamic forces. What is its significance for India?
2013	Discuss the political developments in Maldives in the last two years. Should they be of any cause of concern to India?
2013	In respect of India — Sri Lanka relations, discuss how domestic factors influence foreign policy.
2013	What is meant by Gujral doctrine? Does it have any relevance today? Discuss.

NEIGHBOURHOOD

► INDIA'S NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY



CHALLENGES IN INDIA'S NEIGHBOURHOOD

- India's neighbourhood is a complex one. Certain features of India's neighbourhood are:
- **Baggage of colonialism:** The region has a shared past of colonial exploitation.
- **Large population:** South Asia is the largest region in the world by population.
- **Diversities:** The region is marked by large diversities on the lines of ethnic diversities, religious and linguistic identities. The boundaries of the region have not been formed in a very scientific way; this often creates tensions between countries.
- **Least economically and logistically integrated region:** South Asia is **one of the least integrated regions** with tremendous deficits in terms of infrastructure, connectivity, and interdependence.
- **Regional multilateralism in the region is not function:** Institutions like ASEAN and EU have failed to develop in the South Asian region. SAARC remains a dysfunctional body.
- **Exposed to geopolitical competition:** South Asian region is now being **exposed to various geopolitical competition dynamics** because of rise of China and increasing US influence in the region.

NEW DYNAMICS IN THE REGION

- India has been accused of acting like 'Big-Brother' by its smaller neighbours in the region. India being the

most powerful and resourceful country in the region likes to see the South Asian region as its backyard and is the regional hegemon in the region.

- An increasingly assertive China has been making strong outreach to countries in the region, China's unsettled border issue India, long India-China standoff on India China border, increasing naval presence of China in Indian Ocean and the increasing power asymmetry between India and China in terms of economic and military has been creating security dilemma for India against China.
- India and Pakistan have fought four wars since 1947. Both nations have nuclear weapons, Pakistan's continued support for extremism and terrorism in Kashmir and claim over Kashmir has long created tensions between India and Pakistan. China-Pak axis has been concretising in the continental neighbourhood in terms of the CPEC corridor and the influence on Taliban in Afghanistan.
- Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan and the US withdrawal poses threats to India's interest in the Central Asia besides posing the possibility of increase Pak-Taliban supported terrorism in Kashmir.
- India has been aligning with the US in the form of Quad and Malabar naval exercise to counter the Chinese influence in the maritime arena. AUKUS security partnership is giving new direction to the security aspect of the Indo - Pacific concept.
- India's structural dominance in the South Asia has been facing challenges because of rising Chinese influence. Neighbouring countries are using the China-Card in their negotiations with India.

SOME OF THE EVENTS IN INDIA'S NEIGHBOURHOOD

- **Chinese influence** has been posing challenge to India in the following ways:
 - Growing competition for influence in South Asia by carrying out various infrastructure projects and encircling India under the **String of Pearls theory**. Example - Sri Lanka, Myanmar etc.
 - China - Pakistan axis has considerable influence on the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.
 - Chinese aggression along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) poses the possibility of a **Two Front War** on India's norther borders.
 - It also extended a massive **\$1.4-billion Line of Credit to Pakistan**. A **new defense pact** has been signed between China and Pakistan.
 - All the SAARC countries are part of the **Chinese BRI Project** except India and Bhutan.

NEIGHBOURHOOD

- Majority of these countries are under **Chinese debt pressure**. As such China has started to provide partial debt waivers to the Maldives and Sri Lanka.
- **Territorial claims of China in the region**
 - Due to the unsettled border between India and China, China claims part of **Ladakh and Arunachal as its territory**.
 - China has laid claim to **Bhutan's Sakteng natural reserves**.
 - China has **annexed around 150 hectares of land along the Nepal border**.
- India has witnessed **border issues with Nepal** along the Kalapani. Nepal has amended its constitution to include the disputed territory within its political map.
- In Sri Lanka the domestic politics and the Chinese influence is impacting its ties with India.
- **Regional SAARC has taken a backseat in India's regional pursuits -**
 - It is said that the format of SAARC is outdated and does not serve the complex, fluid regional cooperation agenda any longer. This is mainly because **India has refused to attend the SAARC meeting in Pakistan** over terrorism issue.
 - Further, Pakistan is pursuing its regional connectivity goals exclusively with China in the form of CPEC. While India does not align itself with Chinese BRI project. India started focussing on the Indian Ocean region and towards eastern neighbours of India and BIMSTEC. This has led to a split of the subcontinent between India and Pakistan which has effectively stagnated the SAARC.
 - India has revived **BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation)** and worked in the **BBIN (Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal)** quadrilateral for a framework on motor vehicle and water governance.
 - However, India should understand that India's neighbouring countries other than Pakistan have shown interest in the working of the SAARC.
- Under its 'Neighbourhood First' policy, Government is committed to developing friendly and mutually beneficial relations with all its neighbours. India is an active development partner and is involved in several projects in these countries.
- India's policy of 'Neighbourhood First' focuses on creating mutually beneficial, people-oriented, regional frameworks for stability and prosperity.
- Our engagement with these countries is based on a consultative, non-reciprocal and outcome-oriented approach, which focuses on delivering benefits like greater connectivity, improved infrastructure, stronger development cooperation in various sectors area, security and broader people-to-people contacts.
- With Pakistan, the Government desires normal neighbourly relations and is committed to addressing all outstanding issues bilaterally and peacefully in accordance with the Shimla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration. However, any meaningful dialogue can only be held in an atmosphere free from terror, hostility and violence. The onus is on Pakistan to create such a conducive atmosphere.

→Infrastructure

- India has stepped up the delivery of Infrastructure in the region.
- Completion of railway lines to Bangladesh and Nepal, riverine projects, ferry service to the Maldives, identifying other services to Sri Lanka and IOR islands.
- India has provided **line of credit to the tune of \$ 400 million to Maldives**.

→Welcoming entry of other powers to counter China

- India has welcomed the U.S.'s new military dialogue with the Maldives.
- America's Millennium Challenge Corporation's (MCC) projects in Afghanistan, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bangladesh
- The Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) is an innovative and independent U.S. foreign assistance agency that is helping lead the fight against global poverty. MCC forms partnerships with developing countries who are committed to good governance, economic freedom and investing in their citizens.

→Diplomatic efforts

- India has stepped up the collaboration in the **Quadrilateral security Dialogue**.
- **Malabar naval exercise** has been expanded to include Australia.

WAY FORWARD

INDIA'S RESPONSE TO CHALLENGES IN NEIGHBOURHOOD

India has been pushing forward its **Neighborhood first Policy** and the **SAGAR (Security and Growth for All in the Region) strategy** to handle these recent challenges.

→'Neighbourhood First' policy

NEIGHBOURHOOD

Analysis of India's foreign policy approach in neighbourhood

- India was the first country to warn the global community about dangers of BRI. This framing of problems is widely accepted by most global powers.
- India has also managed to shape the global discourse on the Indo-Pacific.
- China's efforts of teaching lessons to India by the use of force (Galwan valley) has failed.
- India has been pursuing its strategic and economic strategies far more independently. It effectively resisted the Chinese aggression, developed infrastructure along the LAC, reduced trade dependence on China in strategic sectors and has galvanised global support in the Indo - Pacific in the form of QUAD.
- Neighbourhood policy should not be viewed with a narrow lens of wins or losses. A region shaped by two major powers will never follow a linear trajectory. Also the smaller countries in the region have become more assertive and have been pursuing their policies independently.
- The traditional notion of India-Pak rivalry constraining India's foreign Policy options has given way to the increasing influence of China.
- South Asia today is being viewed as pivotal to the concept of Indo-Pacific because of the India's efforts. It is because of this that the BIMSTEC has gained currency replacing the SAARC in the Indian foreign policy circles.
- Focus of BIMSTEC also outlines India's focus on its eastern frontier aligning it with its Look East Policy.
- India has been focusing on defence modernisation and cooperation which is visible in the recent signing of foundational defence agreements with US, S-400 missile deal and purchase of Rafael military aircrafts.

Future course of action

- India's engagement with our neighbouring countries should not be episodic. It should not be event-oriented; it should be process-oriented. India needs to have a plan for continuous engagement at various levels.
- India has realised that there is a **need for greater connectivity and integration in the region**, especially because of the increasing Chinese influence in its neighbourhood.
- Further to check the growing Chinese influence in the neighbourhood, **India should focus on creating**

interdependence in the region with the aim of extracting strategic leverage.

- We know that India has taken over various connectivity initiatives, in terms of energy, interdependence, infrastructural connectivity, grants and loans.
- However, it is being said that these connectivity initiatives will be meaningless if there is lack of economic integration and easy movement of people and capital.
- India should not be averse to the idea of cooperation in the subcontinent by the way of SAARC.
- Also, if India moves away from SAARC it is quite possible that China can be invited to this forum. This will make things even more difficult for India.

► INDIA-CHINA

OVERVIEW OF INDIA - CHINA RELATIONS

- In 1988 Rajiv Gandhi visited China to become the first PM to do so after 34 years following the vacuum caused by Sino-India war of 1962. At this visit an important principle was adopted by the two nations for the future engagement. It was accepted that if peace and tranquillity was maintained in the border areas, the rest of the relationship could be normalized in terms of economic exchanges, trade, science and Technology etc.
- All subsequent Prime ministers have largely followed the same policy in dealing with China. This policy is also reflected in the India- China joint statement of 2015 under the present Indian government.
- The understanding between the two nations started to change with China's launch of the Belt Road initiative in 2013. It is a part of China's geoeconomics and geopolitical strategy. In 2015 China launched the CPEC that passes through the Pakistan occupied Kashmir which breaches India's sovereignty.
- India at this point highlighted that all connectivity projects must be based on internationally recognised norms and should respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty.
- China at this juncture opposed India's entry into the nuclear supplier's group and insisted that if India was admitted, Pakistan should also be treated in a similar manner.
- China blocked the designation Masood Azhar as terrorist under the 1267 committee.

NEIGHBOURHOOD

- India worked closer with the US and other European powers to put pressure on Pakistan via the FATF grey listing.
- Finally, Quad was revived in 2017 which is widely perceived as an anti-China alliance. This was followed by integration of Australia into the Malabar Naval exercise.

INDIA - CHINA BOUNDARY DISPUTE

- India shares a 3488-long boundary with China along the states of **Jammu and Kashmir, Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh**.
- However, the border between India and China is not clearly demarcated throughout and there is no mutually agreed Line of Actual Control (LAC).
- The difference in perception of boundary lines between India and China has resulted in one of longest political battles over boundaries in the history.
- British India had failed to produce a single integrated and well-defined northern boundary separating the Indian subcontinent from Xinjiang and Tibet.

ON THE WESTERN SECTOR

Western sector i.e. Aksai Chin Sector

- The two sides differ over the **boundary line that separates Jammu and Kashmir from Xinjiang province** of China.
- India accuses China of illegally occupying Aksai Chin, and some other parts of Ladakh region.
- According to China, Aksai Chin is the extension of Tibet plateau whereas India claims it as an extension of Ladakh plateau.
- The region is mostly uninhabited.
- Aksai chin is important for China as it connects two backward provinces of China i.e. Tibet and Xinjiang.
- British policy advocated farther northern Kashmiri border in the form of **Johnson Line where Aksai Chin was part of Kashmir** and another time when they **advocated McDonald line under which Aksai Chin falls under Xinjiang Province of China**.
- As a result the disagreement prevails with India claiming Johnson Line to be correct and China claiming McDonald Line to be correct.
- In the official map of India in 1950 India marked east of Karakoram range as "Boundary Undefined".
- Currently though the LAC at present separates India and China in the absence of a mutually agreed boundary, there is a difference in perceptions about the alignment of the line.



EASTERN SECTOR: MCMAHON LINE

Background

- In the eastern sector, the boundary was delineated in the 1914 Shimla conference of British India, China and Tibet.
- Accordingly the British proposed the formation of Outer-Tibet bordering India and Inner-Tiber bordering China.
- A boundary demarcating Tibetan region of China and the North-east Frontier Areas of India (current Arunachal Pradesh) was agreed upon by British and Tibetan representatives which came to be called the McMahon Line.
- This is another contentious issue because China does not recognize the McMahon line as it was signed between British and Tibet which was not a sovereign state at the time.
- As a result China claims Arunachal Pradesh especially Tawang as a part Tibet.
- India on its part while recognizes Chinese suzerainty over Tibet and considers McMahon line to be the official boundary.



INITIATIVES TO RESOLVE BORDER ISSUES

- A solution to the Sino-India border dispute continues to elude the two countries after nearly 45 rounds of talks since 1960.

NEIGHBOURHOOD

Shimla agreement of 1914:

- Through this agreement, McMahon Line was recognised as the legal boundary between India and China.
- However, China rejects the Shimla agreement and the McMahon line, contending that Tibet was not a sovereign state and therefore did not have the power to conclude treaties.

Panchsheel Agreement of 1954:

- The "Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India" was signed in 1954. It is remembered as the Panchsheel Agreement.
- The doctrine indicated the willingness to 'Respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity'.

Confidence Building Measures (CBMs)

- The two countries are also engaged in Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) on the border with bilateral agreements signed in 1993, 1996, 2005, 2012 and 2013.
- In 2003, the two sides agreed on the **appointment of Special Representatives (SRs) for consultations aimed at arriving at a framework for a boundary settlement** that would provide the basis for the delineation and demarcation of the border.
- By the beginning of the 21st century, the two sides had agreed not to let the border dispute affect bilateral engagements. This was inked into the **Agreement on Political Parameters and Guiding Principles for the Settlement of the India-China Boundary Question signed in 2005**.
- In 2012, India and China agreed on the establishment of a **working mechanism for Consultation and Coordination on India China borders**.
- In November 2018, the Special Representatives of China and India held border talks at Chengdu in southwest China. The talks were aimed to achieve an early solution to the dispute and to maintain peace and tranquility at the borders

ESCALATION ALONG LAC

20 India soldiers died in a clash with People's liberation army of China in a clash at the Galwan valley in Ladakh region

Strategic Importance -

- It is strategically located between Ladakh in the west and Aksai Chin in the east, which is currently controlled by China as part of its Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.

- At its western end are the **Shyok river** and the **Darbuk Shyok Daulet Beg Oldie (DSDBO) road** which provides **India the access to Karakorum pass**.
- Its eastern mouth lies close to China's vital **Xinjiang Tibet road**, now called **the G219 highway**.



Contested valley

For the first time since 1962, the Galwan Valley has emerged as a site of dispute



REASONS FOR ESCALATION ALONG LAC

- China wanted to distract the world from **COVID-19 crisis** for which it is being held responsible.
- It is a reaction to India's **political rhetoric on the Aksai Chin** after the Jammu & Kashmir reorganisation (**Abrogation of Article 370**) in August last year.
- India is also carrying out **infrastructural development along LAC**. – Ex – Construction **Darbuk Shyok Daulet Beg Oldie (DSDBO) road**
- China's geopolitical view of the region as **strategically important for its CPEC** which passes through the POK. India has said that **CPEC Violates Indian Sovereignty**.
- Under Xi Jinping China has moved away from the **principle of peaceful rise** (used for the economic rise of China in the past decades) towards **asserting itself as the next superpower**.
- **Chinese aspiration of asserting itself as a superpower** is reflected in China engaging itself on multiple fronts like handling COVID crisis at home,

NEIGHBOURHOOD

crackdown in Hong Kong and Escalation on India-China border.

- China's limited scope military expeditions on the long-contested border is cost effective for the PLA given the **ever-growing conventional military superiority** that it enjoys with India. (Such skirmishes won't provoke nuclear warfare)
- Further China thinks that India will overlook such small standoffs in order to avoid further escalation of the issue.
- China wanted to distract the Chinese population from the local issues of China.

INDIA'S TILT TOWARDS AMERICA

- In the present Geopolitical theatre of action, India is being seen as tilting towards USA. This tilt towards USA is perceived negatively by China. And this view has been echoed in past border discussions.
- There has been Geopolitical convergence between India and US on the **Indo-Pacific strategy** which is mainly directed against China.
- India is today a member of the **Quad group** (the U.S., Japan, Australia and India), which is seen as a regional counterweight to China.
- America's plan of expanding G7 includes India, while excludes China from it.

Deteriorating Bilateral relations between India and China

- India is the only main Asian country that stands against the Belt Road Initiative of China.
- India has opposed the CPEC on the grounds of violation of Sovereignty.
- Further India was the first one to put curbs on Chinese FDI with the objective of preventing **"opportunistic takeovers" of firms** hit by the lockdown induced by the COVID-19 outbreak.
- There is rising anti-China propaganda within India. Ex - Calls for boycotting Chinese products.

CONVERGENCES BETWEEN THE TWO

- **Multilateral Forum:** Both India and China have shown their belief in upholding of the United Nations charter and its non-interference policy, Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), World Trade Organization (WTO)- where both fight for G7 countries, East Asian Summit.
- **Climate Change:** Upto some extent both the nations have shown their seriousness on environment related issues. In the BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, India and

China) minister's meet, the ministers from these nations advocated for the different capabilities and differing responsibilities of individual countries in addressing climate change.

- **Economic:** On several platforms, both the nations have called for support to multilateralism, and appreciate the central role of the U.N. in international affairs.

DIVERGENCE

- Both the nations accuse each other of interfering in internal matters. New Delhi reacted in the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) and argued that India has been keeping "a close watch on recent developments" in Hong Kong given the presence of a large Indian community there.
- Under the influence of China, 15 RCEP countries have decided to pen down the agreement on 13 March 2020 without India.
- China raises its concerns about India's role (being a member of Quad) in the Indian Ocean region.
- Both are competing to pursue the interests in Middle east, Africa and the Latin America. Middle is important to both for energy security.
- Chinese economy is suffering due to the Covid pandemic and US-China trade war. India has also banned many of the Chinese app and there is an anti-Chinese sentiment in India.
- China is worried about China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) due to rising insurgency in Baluchistan and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa region where it considers that India has deeply rooted impact.
- China has been actively engaging with Taliban, while India has been reluctant to do so.

► CHINESE DAMS ON BRAHMAPUTRA



NEIGHBOURHOOD

► GEOGRAPHICAL OVERVIEW OF BRAHMAPUTRA RIVER

- China intends to triple its hydropower capacity and therefore is increasingly damming trans-boundary Rivers to achieve its hydropower targets.
- China also intends to undertake gigantic water diversion projects which include building a dam on the Great Bend of Yarlung, where the river curves into the Assamese plains of India.

RIPARIAN COTENSTATIONS

- China is the only country in the region which is completely upper riparian which lends it an unparalleled advantage and power to influence the flow of water to nations downstream. India functions as a middle riparian state. It is a lower riparian state in relation to China, but an upper riparian state vis-a-vis Pakistan and Bangladesh.
- The upper and lower riparian nations often make incompatible claims about their rights over river waters.
- The upper riparian nations base their claim on the principle of **'absolute territorial sovereignty'**, meaning the right to use the river waters unilaterally regardless of lower riparian concerns.
- The lower riparian states base their claims on **'absolute territorial integrity'** which argues that upper riparian actions should not affect the water flowing downstream.

IMPORTANCE OF TIBET

- China distinctive position as a completely upper riparian nation allows it to act as a **hydro-hegemon in the region**. China's hydro-hegemony is made possible by its control over Tibet. The Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau extends over a vast area spanning 2.5 million sq. km & is often referred to as the 'third pole' and 'roof of the world.'
- It is home to the largest fresh water reserves outside north and south poles. It is the source of some of the Asia's most important river systems including the Indus, Ganga, Brahmaputra, Irrawaddy, Salween, Mekong, Yangtze and Huang He. All these rivers are trans-boundary in nature, with the exception of Yangtze and Huang He.

CHINESE PROJECTS

- China completed the Zangmu Dam built on the upper reaches of Brahmaputra in 2010, with three more dams at Dagu, Jiacha and Jeixu are at present under construction.

- Zam hydropower station, which will be the largest dam on Brahmaputra, too commenced in 2015.
- China has built more dams on its rivers than the rest of the world combined, and yet has no water sharing agreement or treaty with any of its neighbours including India.
- Lack of communication by China has created an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust in India, especially in its north-eastern region.

INDIAN CONCERNS

- As a lower riparian State with considerable established user rights to the waters of the trans-border Rivers, India carefully monitors all developments on the Brahmaputra River.
- Government has consistently conveyed its views and concerns to the Chinese authorities and has urged them to ensure that the interests of downstream States are not harmed by any activities in upstream areas.
- The Chinese side has conveyed that they are only undertaking run-of-the-river hydropower projects which do not involve diversion of the waters of the Brahmaputra.
- India's concerns are that these dams are large enough to be converted and used as storage dams. **China depriving India of water during lean seasons becomes a possibility.**
- The release of flood waters during the monsoon season, which **could inundate the already flooded Brahmaputra river basin in Assam**. There is much apprehension that the Brahmaputra may lose the silt, which makes the plains in its basin fertile, because of sediment trapping in the dams.
- All hydropower projects, particularly around the Great Bend, are located in a highly **volatile tectonic zone**. Their proximity makes them extremely earthquake-prone.
- In building its dams, **China has also polluted its rivers**. The quality of water that flows downstream into India needs to be taken into account. The disruption of natural flood cycles of the river could also adversely affect the rich **geo-environmental and bio-physical settings in India's northeast**.
- The principle of prior appropriation, which favours neither the upstream nor the downstream State but the one that puts the water to first use, thereby protecting the right to first use of water as in the past. China has priority rights since it was the first to build dams on Yarlung Tsangpo.

NEIGHBOURHOOD

- By building dams especially near the Great Bend, after which the river flows into India through Arunachal Pradesh, **China could be seeking to leverage its claim over the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh.**

INDIAN STRENGTH

- India too has decided to commence construction of 14 hydropower projects in Arunachal Pradesh, most of which were located lower down on Brahmaputra. This might be viewed as India's effort to establish its **'lower riparian right' to counter China's first use priority rights.** However, such projects like Lower Subansiri hydroelectric power project are stuck in red-tape.
- The **volume of precipitation varies across the Brahmaputra sub-basin substantially.** It receives primarily two types of precipitation, rainfall and snowfall. In this respect, the Tibetan part being located in the Himalayas, receives much less rainfall as compared to the southern part of the basin in India and Bangladesh.
- The total annual outflow of Yarlung from China is about 31 billion cubic metres (BCM), while the annual flow of Brahmaputra at the end of the sub-basin in Bangladesh, and is 606 BCM. Around **80% of the flows of Brahmaputra emerge within the Indian boundary.**
- Various issues relating to trans-border Rivers are discussed with China under the ambit of an institutionalized Expert Level Mechanism which was established in 2006, as well as through diplomatic channels.
- The Brahmaputra also gets mightier as it flows downstream within India because of the flow contribution of tributaries such as Dibang, Lohit and Subansiri.
- Bangladesh as lower riparian State has also supported Indian position for pressuring China on forming a river sharing agreement. Similarly, India can work other lower riparian countries of river originating from China such as Mekong to end the hydro-hegemony of China.

WAY FORWARD

- **Boundary Disputes:** Currently boundary settlement continues to dominate the bilateral relationship between India and China. With 22nd Special Representative meeting due to happen, India is in favour of a 'package deal', essentially clarification of

LAC by China. China is proposing a Border Code of Conduct as a new Confidence Building Measures (CBM), which India is open to if it respects the sovereign rights of both countries.

- **Strategic:** There is a need for defining, demarcating and delineating the borders so as to avoid the tensions and strengthen the ties.
- **On the economic front,** China has a huge trade surplus with India, which it needs to be brought down. Service sector can be used in reducing the trade deficit.
- India is said to be the Pharmacy of the world and excels in software services. It should try to enter into Chinese market and balance the trade. Also, in the RCEP, equitable distribution and differences between the two nations needs to be bridged.
- Both countries can effectively use their soft power (in the form of tourism) to further integrate their economies.
- Tourism should be promoted through education, spiritual visits especially on the Buddhist circuit, etc.
- Issue between both the countries are difficult to resolve in short time, therefore, both should try to minimize gaps, narrowing the divergences and maintaining the status quo. This will take more than usual time.

► INDIA AND BANGLADESH

India and Bangladesh are celebrating 50 years of Diplomatic ties. Indian Prime Minister also attended the 50th Independence Day celebrations in Bangladesh. In this context, let us understand the key areas of cooperation and issues between India and Bangladesh.

INDIA-BANGLADESH PARTNERSHIP

- India was the first country to recognize Bangladesh as a separate and independent state and established diplomatic relations with the country immediately after its independence in December 1971.
- The relationship between India and Bangladesh is anchored in history, culture, language and shared values of secularism, democracy, and countless other commonalities between the two countries.
- It is based on sovereignty, equality, trust, understanding and win-win partnership that goes far beyond a strategic partnership.

NEIGHBOURHOOD

SECURITY & BORDER MANAGEMENT

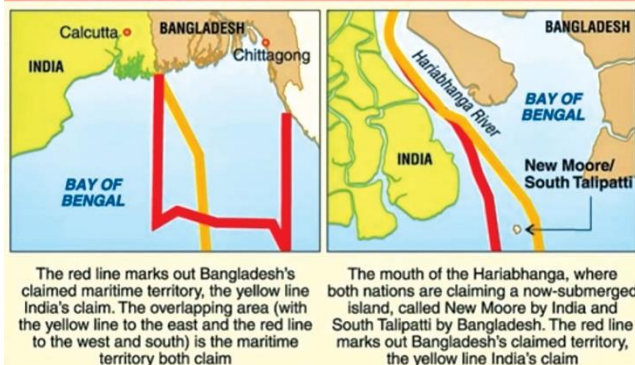


- India and Bangladesh share 4096.7 km. of border, which is the longest land boundary that India shares with any of its neighbours.
- **India-Bangladesh Land Boundary Agreement (LBA)** came into force in 2015 under which enclaves of India and Bangladesh in each other's countries were exchanged and strip maps were signed.



- Maritime dispute was resolved by the United Nations (UN) tribunal award.

WHAT THE NEIGHBOURS ARE FIGHTING OVER



The red line marks out Bangladesh's claimed maritime territory, the yellow line India's claim. The overlapping area (with the yellow line to the east and the red line to the west and south) is the maritime territory both claim

The mouth of the Hariabhanga, where both nations are claiming a now-submerged island, called New Moore by India and South Talipatti by Bangladesh. The red line marks out Bangladesh's claimed territory, the yellow line India's claim

- A number of agreements related to security cooperation have been signed between both the countries.
- The **Coordinated Border Management Plan (CBMP) signed in 2011** aims to synergize the efforts of both the Border Guarding Forces for checking cross border illegal activities and crimes as well as for maintenance of peace and tranquility along the India-Bangladesh border.
- Bangladesh side reiterated the request for 1.3 km Innocent Passage through river route along River Padma near Rajshahi District. The Indian side assured to consider the request.
- Both sides are working to expeditiously conclude the MoU in the area of **disaster management cooperation**.
- Both the sides recognize that **terrorism** remains a threat to global peace and security and have reiterated their strong commitment to eliminating terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.
- **Security in North East States** - Bangladesh cooperated with India in sorting out security issues in the Northeast. Bangladesh handed over leaders and shut down their training camps.
- **Ranjan Daimary** - the founder-chief of National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB)
- Anup Chetia of the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA).

TRADE PARTNERSHIP

- Bangladesh is India's largest trading partner in South Asia.
- Between 2009-10 and 2015-16, the trade deficit grew in India's favour at a staggering 164.4%. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) from India to Bangladesh is \$3.11 billion.
- India has extended 3 Lines of Credits to Bangladesh in the last 7 years amounting to US\$ 8 billion. This makes Bangladesh the largest recipient of LOC funds from India till date.
- Duty Free and Quota Free access is being given to Bangladeshi exports to India under SAFTA since 2011.
- Both the countries are working on the prospect of a bilateral Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA).

NEIGHBOURHOOD

CONNECTIVITY

- Both jointly inaugurated the newly restored railway link between **Haldibari (India) and Chilahati (Bangladesh)** and noted that this rail link will further strengthen trade and people to people ties between the two sides.
- To facilitate better connectivity and simplify movement of passengers and goods, both the countries agreed to an early operationalization of the **BBIN (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India and Nepal) Motor Vehicles Agreement** through expeditious signing of the Enabling MoU for Bangladesh, India and Nepal to commence the movement of goods and passengers, with provision for Bhutan to join at a later date.

COOPERATION IN WATER RESOURCES, POWER AND ENERGY

- Bangladesh highlighted the need for early signing of interim agreement for sharing of the **Teesta waters**, as agreed upon by both the governments in 2011.
- Both the countries underscored the need for early conclusion of Framework of Interim Agreement on sharing of waters of six joint rivers, namely, Manu, Muhuri, Khowai, Gumti, Dharla and Dudhkumar.
- It was agreed to expedite implementation of projects including India-Bangladesh Friendship Pipeline, Maitree Super Thermal Power Project as well as other projects.

REGIONAL AND GLOBAL PARTNERSHIP

- India thanked Bangladesh for supporting India in its election to the **United Nations Security Council**.
- Both countries agreed to continue working together towards achieving early reforms of the UN Security Council, combating climate change, attainment of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and protection of the rights of migrants.
- Both Prime Ministers reaffirmed the need for developed countries to fulfil their commitments under the Global Partnership for ensuring the means of implementation of the SDGs as enshrined in the Agenda 2030.
- Both the countries while focusing on the regional and global economic scenarios following the outbreak of COVID 19, regional organisations, such as SAARC and BIMSTEC have an important role to play.

- Bangladesh appreciated the work of the New Development Bank and thanked India for inviting Bangladesh to join the Institution.

CHALLENGES IN INDIA BANGLADESH RELATIONS

- Although Economic relations expanding every day, India's Consolidated FDI policy 2017, Bangladesh is put in the same category as Pakistan. Under which a citizen of Bangladesh/Pakistan or an entity incorporated in Bangladesh/Pakistan can invest only under the Government route.
- Despite India-Bangladesh Coordinated Border Management Plan, 294 Bangladeshi Nationals have been killed along the border since 2010.
- Teesta water agreement which was agreed to in 2011 is yet to be signed because of various contentious issues that remain.
- The Citizenship (Amendment) Act (CAA) and National Register of Citizens (NRC) have created a negative impression in Bangladesh of India's intent.
- Bangladesh is China's second-largest arms export destination.
- Chinese firms have been outbidding their Indian counterparts in infrastructure projects.
- In a thaw in relations, Pakistan's high commissioner to Bangladesh recently met the Bangladesh PM as both sides pledged to improve bilateral relations.
- Thus both the nations need to swiftly act on the outstanding issues to move the relations to newer heights.

► INDIA AND NEPAL

India Nepal relations are rooted in geography and history characterized by the term Roti - Beti ke sambhandh. Nepali elites are wary of the Big Brother attitude of India, while India views it from the view of being an elder brother. The Nepal treaty of Peace and friendship of 1950 provides the citizens of both the countries 'National treatment'. However the issues between the two nations spring up because of the Nepali nationalism which breeds upon the Anti - India sentiment. This attitude is clearly reflected in some of the recent issues between the countries including the 2015 Blockade, and the boundary dispute in the Kalapani region.

AREAS OF COOPERATION

NEIGHBOURHOOD

- **Defence** - India has been assisting the Nepal Army (NA) in its modernisation by supplying equipment and providing training. Assistance during disasters, joint military exercises, adventure activities and bilateral visits are other aspects of India's defence cooperation with Nepal. The 'Indo-Nepal Battalion-level Joint Military Exercise SURYA KIRAN' is conducted alternately in India and in Nepal. The Gorkha regiments of the Indian Army are raised partly by recruitment from hill districts of Nepal.
- **Earthquake assistance 2015** - India sent the National Disaster Response Force (NDRF) teams and special aircrafts with rescue and relief materials to Nepal. India helped in restoring 3 power sub-stations in Kathmandu valley. The total Indian relief assistance to Nepal amounted to over US\$ 67 million. The Government of India announced a post-earthquake reconstruction package of US\$ 1 billion (which comprises US\$ 250 million grant and US\$ 750 million concessional Line of Credit).
- **Connectivity and development** - India has been assisting Nepal in development of border infrastructure through upgradation of 10 roads in the Terai area; development of cross-border rail links at Jogbani-Biratnagar, Jaynagar-Bardibas; and establishment of Integrated Check Posts at Birgunj, Biratnagar, Bhairahawa, and Nepalgunj. The total economic assistance earmarked under 'Aid to Nepal' budget in FY 2019-20 was INR 1200 crore. The 'India-Nepal New Partnership in Agriculture' was launched with a focus on collaborative projects in agricultural research, development and education.
- **Energy Cooperation** - Nepal has potential of 40000 MW of Hydro - power potential. However presently it produces only 1000 MW and imports about 600 MW electricity from India. Arun III project being undertaken by the Sutlej Jal Vidyut Nigam would generate 900 MW in the coming years. South Asia's first cross-border petroleum products pipeline, constructed and funded by Indian Oil Corporation Ltd., connecting Motihari in India to Amlekhgunj in Nepal was remotely inaugurated recently.
- **Economic ties** - At around \$8 billion, India accounts for about two third of the Nepal's external trade and provide transit for Nepal's external trade. Indian firms

are among the largest investors in Nepal, accounting for more than 30% of the total approved foreign direct investments.

SOME ISSUES BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS

- India's refocus on BIMSTEC amidst stalled SAARC has not been well received by the Nepali political leaders. It is being alleged that India wants it to join a military alliance of the BIMSTEC countries when India called for a military exercise of the BIMSTEC countries.
- Nepal did not call out Pakistan for fostering terrorism in the aftermath of Pulwama attacks of 2019.

SLOW PROGRESS ON DEVELOPMENTAL PROJECTS

- There has been no progress on the 5000 MW Pancheshwar multipurpose project on Mahakali river because of Nepal's reluctance. Progress has also not been witnessed on the dam on Kosi river which would prevent flooding in both India and Nepal because of lack of willingness on the part of Nepal.
- India announced Rupees 100 crore grant for the development of Janakpur in 2018, but no proposal has been received from the Nepalese side.
- Such incidence highlights the lack of progress on the various development projects.

2015 Blockade -

- 2015 Nepal adopted a new constitution declaring it to be a Federal democratic republic. Seven provinces were carved out creating only one in the Madhesi region in the terai foothills along the Indian border.
- The Madhesi community has been targeted by the hill people of Nepal for having close relationship with India. Their marriage rights were curbed by denying the citizenship rights to the foreigners marrying Nepalese. Madhesi's have had age old custom of marrying across the border and this restriction is targeted at the age old Roi - Beti ties.
- Madhesi's were disaffected and there was great deal of unrest and andolan. This led to disruption of supply chain of goods, petroleum along the border region from India. The hill Nepalese blamed India for orchestrating this blockade. This event has led to a strongly negative feeling in the Nepalese minds against India, which they accuse of being responsible for the blockade.

NEIGHBOURHOOD

The new Constitution redraws the country from five regions to seven

'BLOCKADE' AT THE BORDER

HOW IT STARTED

- > Sept 20, 2015, Nepal Constituent Assembly passes new Constitution, redraws regional borders
- > Communities in Terai, Madhesi and Janajatis, are alarmed that proposed boundaries of new provinces could lead to their political marginalisation

40% of the country's population made up of Madhesi and Janajati

- > Madhesi share close ethnic ties with people in India

THE PROTEST

- > Madhesi protesting since then, blockaded Birgunj, the major entry point of supply trucks from India, from Sept 24
- 40** people killed; protesters and cops in agitation
- > Imports of petroleum, medicines and earthquake relief choked
- > Main demand | Revision of state boundaries so Tharu community and Madhesi get separate states

THE POLITICS

- > Nepal accuses India of imposing blockade
- > India's says trucks not entering Nepal for fear of violence
- > Nepal has countered that violence only at Birgunj, several other entry points safe

BORDER ISSUE

- Nepal's parliament gave approval to 2nd constitutional amendment which gave legal status to the new political map of Nepal and its boundaries with India near the Lipu Lekh pass.
- For the Nepal the Kali River originates from **Limpiyadhura** in the higher Himalayas, giving it access to a triangular-shaped land defined by **Limpiyadhura-Lipulekh and Kalapani**. (Originating from treaty Of Sugauli, 1814)



TILT TOWARDS CHINA

- Nepal shares a border of 1400 km with China in the Tibet region. China is Nepal's second largest trading partner. It has undertaken various projects including the development of airports, hydro-power etc.

- Nepal has been using the China card in its dealing with India under the pretext of balancing its relation between the two big neighbours.
- With increasing economic clout of China, Nepal doesn't want to be left out of this success story. It signed a MoU with China on the BRI in 2017.
- China has also started to intrude in the Nepal Army by the way of training and supply of equipment. This is one of the biggest cause of concern for India because of Indian army's links with the Nepal army.
- China is leveraging ties with the Maoist parties of Nepal and occasionally using the cheque book diplomacy to increase its influence.

GLOBALISATION

- Post 1990 Nepalese diaspora has moved out globally. A quarter of Nepalese population is living overseas. Due this the young leaders of Nepal are not schooled in India. This was particularly important because the Nepalese leadership which studied in India provided constant communication and better understanding and empathy between the two neighbours.

POLITICS DURING LOCKDOWN

- The victory of Nepalese communist party in 2017 was mainly based on the anti - India rhetoric after the Blockade of 2015. The two left parties Unified Marxist Leninist and the communist party of Nepal - Maoist Centre (CPN-MC) merged. However issues started after such a merger about Power sharing and this

NEIGHBOURHOOD

opportunity was grabbed by China to meddle into the internal affairs of Nepal.

- However such interference by China did not last long and the NCP unity did not last long and led to dissolution of Nepal's Parliament and the softening stance of the leadership towards India. This was followed by visits of RAW chief, Indian Army Chief and the Foreign secretary.
- Finally the PM KP Oli was removed with President inviting the Sher Bahadur Deuba, leader of the Nepali Congress as the PM. The new Pm is being seen as closer to India. India has been accused of meddling in the internal politics of Nepal.

WHAT SHOULD BE INDIA'S APPROACH

- India should remain fully engaged with Nepal at all levels and across the political spectrum.
- A hands-off policy will only create space for other external influences, some of which, like China, may prove to be hostile.
- However, such engagement should not be seen as intervention in the internal affairs of Nepal.
- India's engagement with Nepal, the Terai belt and its large Madhesi population plays a critical and indispensable role.
- Our engagement with Nepal must find an important place for Nepali citizens who are our immediate neighbours.
- The engagement should not just be limited to the political elites.
- India needs to appreciate that the people-to-people links between our two countries have an unmatched density and no other country, including China, enjoys this asset.
- To counter the Chinese influence, India needs to speed up the unfinished projects that India has committed and create conditions of mutual trust which makes it difficult for China to leverage any dispute that arises in the near future.
- India cannot be complacent about its historical geographical and cultural ties with Nepal. India needs to understand that the Nascent Nepalese democracy will assert independence in its Foreign Policy. But it for India to create conditions which makes it a go to country for Nepal in times of need.
- India also needs to work on its perception in the hill population of Nepal.

► AFGHAN ISSUE AND OPTIONS FOR INDIA

Taliban has taken over the territory of Afghanistan and has formed a government. This is seen as a geopolitical victory for Taliban and the countries that are supporting it especially Pakistan and a major setback for the US which waged a war for 20 years. This poses challenges for the regional security and particularly India's interest in the region which has invested in the development of Afghanistan. In this background let us try and understand the various issues associated with major geopolitical event.

FACTORS THAT LED TO THE SWIFT FALL OF AFGHANISTAN AT THE HAND OF TALIBAN

1. US led peace talks and the associated issues

- US hastily announced the withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan. After 20 years of fighting in Afghanistan and spending trillions of dollars on war effort and development of Afghanistan a fatigue had set in the US against fighting Taliban.
- Analysts also believe that US believed that Taliban has now been weakened enough to not pose a risk directly to US which was far removed from the geography of Afghanistan. Also, by fighting in Taliban, US was actually helping the regional powers such as China and Russia which were more susceptible to terrorism. Thus, these regional powers need to actually contribute more in the peace and stability of Afghanistan.
- The **Doha peace agreement** which the US entered directly with the Taliban enhanced the legitimacy of Taliban and eroded credibility of Ashraf Ghani regime.
- This fall in popularity of the government along with widespread corruption posed governance challenges and provided opportunity to the Taliban to further discredit the Ghani led government.

2. Issues in Afghan army

- The corruption in the Afghan army led to the leakage of Arms and ammunition in the hands of the Taliban.
- Technical dependence on the US for air support, weapon systems, intelligence, a lack of military strategy, poor supplies and logistics, indefensible and thinly manned posts, unpaid salaries, phantom rolls, and a sense of betrayal, abandonment and demoralisation were the major issues faced by the Afghan army.

3. US and NATO did not develop the Afghan capabilities

- US and NATO never prepared the Afghan army to defend the territory. The army was never really

NEIGHBOURHOOD

trained and equipped with the normal attributes of a national army capable of defending territory with adequate mobility, artillery, armour, engineering, logistics, intelligence, air support etc for rugged terrain; and infantry battalions and doctrines designed for it.

4. Pakistan's role

- Pakistan clandestinely supported Taliban from providing hideouts to military training and financial assistance. Pakistan on which US was dependent for the ground lines of communication made sure that the Afghan army remained stunted.
- The Taliban takeover has been described by experts as the "Pakistani invasion with an Afghan face".

5. Unclear US motive

- US motives about the sudden withdrawal have not been clear. But it can be said that US never invested with a strategic motive in the Afghanistan.
- US did not invest in the Afghan economy and never tried to integrate its economy within the US's sphere of influence, like it did after the World War II by integrating the Middle eastern economies and the East Asian economies.
- US also did not invest in deepening the Afghan democracy to counter the Taliban's religious fundamentalism.
- The more intriguing questions is why US ceded a strategic space in a region which is surrounded by its all-time strategic adversaries.
- The most logical explanation to this move is that it has done to destabilise the region to keep China, Russia, Iran, and possibly even Pakistan off balance with Afghanistan. It aims to do so by providing the legitimacy to Taliban through the US - Taliban deal.

PAKISTAN AND THE TALIBAN

- Pakistan gave birth to the Taliban movement along with helping it in its first takeover of Afghanistan in 1996.
- It sheltered the fighters and Taliban leaders in the aftermath of post 9/11 US invasion. Although publicly it claimed to be helping the US in its "war on terror".
- To pull the strings on Taliban Pakistan kept Mullah Baradar the prominent leader of the Taliban in its prison. The political leadership of the Taliban camped in the Baluchistan capital of Quetta. (Quetta shura).
- The Federally Administered Tribal Areas in general, and South and North Waziristan became the revolving door for fighters of Afghan Taliban, and its associated group the Haqqani Network, along with al-Qaeda who

crossed in and out of Afghanistan at will under the benevolent gaze of the Pakistan Army.

- The Indian security establishment has held that fighters of the Lashkar-e-Taiba, a pet jihadist group of the Pakistan military, fought alongside the Taliban against US and NATO soldiers from at least 2017 onwards.

Reasons for Pakistan's Support for Taliban

- Pakistan did this in order to have a free pass over the Afghanistan and use it as - what the Pakistani establishment thinks to be a "**Strategic depth**" against its enmity with India.
- It also wanted such an advantage to counter the leverage that India had with the Ghani government because of the developmental activities and to counter the connectivity projects of India like the Zaranj - Delaram highway via the Chabahar port, which Pakistan thought were aimed at surrounding Pakistan.
- Further Pakistan wanted to counter the **Pashtun Tahafuz movement which is a Pushtun identity movement in the northwest parts of Pakistan** and was supported by the Afghan government.
- Taliban which itself is composed mainly of the Pashtuns claims to be the only representative of the community.

PAKISTAN'S CONCERNS WITH TALIBAN'S TAKEOVER

- Though Pakistan has supported Taliban it views itself as a modern Islamic State and not a conservative Islamic emirate. Many in Pakistan share the concern of shielding itself from this radical wave.
- Influx of refugees and the ensuing strain on already limited economic resources of Pakistan.
- Afghan territory can act as a breeding ground for terrorist organization. Organisations like Tehreek e Taliban which are anti - Pakistan might get emboldened by the Taliban's rise.
- Extremist elements in Taliban might not toe the line of Pak army generals.
- Also, Taliban if it acts as a US ploy against China then it can destabilize the CPEC projects which will further worsen the already bleeding Pakistani economy.
- Pakistan is concerned with the label that it supports international terrorism. It is in danger of being put in the black list of FATF harming its economy.

Larger geo-political fallout

- The sudden US withdrawal has created a **geopolitical vacuum in the Eurasian heartland** which is being filled by regional players like China, Russia,

NEIGHBOURHOOD

Pakistan, and Iran which are actively engaging with the Taliban.

- Most of these regional players harbor an anti-American feeling which will further shrink strategic influence of USA. This geopolitical churning brings new equations to the fore.
- The quick withdrawal of USA and other NATO forces has given Taliban a large bounty in terms of fighter aircrafts and weapon systems. This has made Taliban forces even stronger.

CHINA AND TALIBAN

- The situation in Afghanistan is primarily advantageous to China as it provides it an opportunity to bring all the regional countries except India in the fold of the **Belt & Road Initiative** altering the geopolitical and the geoeconomics of the region.
- With the US withdrawal and the opportunity to increase its influence, China is further likely to sideline India.
- Afghanistan is rich in mineral resources especially in items like gold and rare earth materials.
- Taliban would need economic and financial support to run its government. China can fulfil this requirement and get a leverage over Taliban government.
- China's close relations with Pakistan also gives it a strategic hold over Taliban.
- China has already got assurances from Taliban that Taliban would not support fundamentalist movement in Xinjiang province of Afghanistan. However, Taliban's stand on terrorism will only unfold in coming future.

TERRORISM

- A bigger challenge for India is increase in terrorism and extremism in the region.
- US presence in Afghanistan and FATF controls on Pakistan had a moderating effect on the terror organizations. But with Taliban's comeback the regional terror groups might get emboldened.
- There is lack of any regional approach to counter terror, mainly because the regional countries are taking private assurances from Taliban for not hosting terror groups in Afghanistan.
- UNSC's de facto recognition to Taliban is likely to increase its power in a bargain on terror question.
- Taliban can still use its position to export terror clandestinely for tactical purposes.

INDIA'S INTEREST IN AFGHANISTAN

- India's ambitious connectivity projects for connecting Central Asia and Afghanistan via Chabahar port have come to a standstill.
- Further India's civilian investments in the Afghanistan are all at the mercy of Taliban now.
- In this regard if China-Pakistan-Taliban axis comes together they can further hurt India's geopolitical interest in the region.
- Also, the regional players like Russia, China, Pakistan, and Iran all are merging as an anti-America axis, however, India is getting closer to the US, which will also have repercussions for India's geostrategy.

INDIA'S OPTIONS IN AFGHANISTAN

- Earlier, India had shown reluctance from engaging with Taliban directly. Although, India has formally engaged Taliban in Qatar, it is doing so with a hesitant attitude.
- India was not part of the engagements which major powers had with Taliban. The "Troika plus" of the United States-Russia-China-Pakistan, the US led connectivity Quadrilateral involving Pakistan did not include India.
- Despite being a key player in the developmental sphere, India's role in the strategic sphere in Afghanistan is seen to be very limited. Thus, the options that India has are limited. Yet India needs to carve out a strategy out of nothing to secure its key national interests. A multidimensional policy needs to be evolved.
- **At the United Nations**
 - Leverage India's presence in UNSC to press for conditions on Taliban that Afghanistan is delinked from international terrorism and strong actions follow if such links develop.
 - India is the Chairman of the Taliban Sanctions Committee (or the 1988 Sanctions Committee), India must use its muscle to ensure terrorists such as Sirajuddin Haqqani and other members of the Haqqani group responsible for brutal suicide bombings on Indian embassies and consulates must not be given any exemptions: on travel, recourse to funds or arms.
- **Engagement with Taliban**
 - India must clearly outline its nature of engagement with the Taliban.
 - A tactical engagement, dealing with the safety of Indians and Indian interests, overflight rights and other coordination seems inevitable.

NEIGHBOURHOOD

- The question of whether India should convert back-channel talks with the Taliban and with Pakistan in the past few months into something more substantive remains to be debated.
- **Engagement with friendly sections in Afghanistan**
 - Even while India is not directly engaging with Taliban and has limited leverage on them, India should continue to engage leaders like former Afghanistan President Hamid Karzai and former High Council for National Reconciliation chief Abdullah Abdullah, who continue to have strong ties with India and will continue to be an important voice in evolving Afghan polity.
 - India should roll out a liberal visa and refugee policy towards Afghan people who are trying to escape the Taliban regime. Also, Afghan students in Indian universities should be given visa extensions. This will enhance India's soft power among the liberal Afghan population.
- **Regional Strategy**
 - India can use its relations with friendly countries like Russia, USA and others such as Saudi Arabia, Oman and UAE to press for its concerns in Afghanistan.
 - In a world of hard geopolitical realities, it is India's soft power, strategic autonomy or non-alignment principles and selfless assistance to those in need, particularly in its neighbourhood, that has been the strongest chords to its unique voice in the world. The moment to make that voice heard on Afghanistan is now.

UNSC RESOLUTION ON TALIBAN

UNSC under the presidency of India adopted a resolution on Taliban that gave de-facto recognition to the Taliban as a state actor in Afghanistan. US, UK and France sponsored the resolution. 13 members voted in favour of it while 2 permanent members, China and Russia abstained.

The resolution:

- Demands that the territory of Afghanistan is not to be used to threaten any country or shelter terrorists. It mentions individuals designated by Resolution 1267, (which includes the terrorists from Lashkar-e-Taiba and the Jaish-e-Mohammad).
- Called on the Taliban to adhere to the commitments they made regarding the safe and orderly departure of Afghans and all foreign nationals from the country.
- Russia and China wanted all the groups, especially the "Islamic State (IS)" and the "Uighur East Turkestan

Islamic Movement (ETIM)" to be named specifically in the document and raised objection over the resolution for 'absolving' US of its responsibility.

RUSSIA-CHINA-PAKISTAN ALLIANCE AT UNSC

Abstaining of Russia and China in UNSC resolution vote is not surprising as both the countries are seeking to cement their relations with the emerging Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

- Russia fears that instability would spill over in Central Asia which Russia is very sensitive about.
- China fears about the spill over of Taliban movement in its Xinjiang province where ETIM (East Turkestan Islamic Movement) had earlier deep ties with Al-Qaeda and Taliban.
- As a result, Russia and China aligned with Pakistan to fill the vacuum created by the absence of US in the region.
- Even the Taliban wants to rule Afghanistan for the long term. Gaining legitimacy from China, Russia and Pakistan will give stability to the Taliban regime.
- These three countries have already signalled a readiness to engage with Taliban authorities to some degree. There is a possibility of Iran joining this alliance in the future. This can be seen as counter to QUAD grouping and will impact the bilateral relations of India with Russia and Iran.

WHY AFGHANISTAN IS IMPORTANT TO INDIA?

Regional Balance of Power: Afghanistan is tied to India's vision of being a regional leader and a great power, coupled with its competition with China over resources and its need to counter Pakistani influence.

- India's ability to mentor a nascent democracy will go a long way to demonstrate to the world that India is indeed a major power, especially a responsible one.
- India's interest in Afghanistan relates to its need to reduce Pakistani influence in the region.
- **Energy Security:** The pipeline project TAPI (Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India), which seeks to connect an energy-rich Central to South Asia, will only see the light of the day if stability is established in Afghanistan

NEIGHBOURHOOD



- **Strategic Location:** For access to the landlocked Central Asian countries that border Afghanistan.
- **Natural Resources**
- **Regional Security:** A stable Afghanistan is important for regional security in South Asia.

► INDIA AND PAKISTAN

India - Pakistan relations have remained hostile owing to the bitter British era Partition in 1947. There is huge trust deficit between both the sides which has further hampered any attempts at normalisation of ties. The Military intelligence dominated Pakistan State has pursued its foreign policy with a desire to check India's hegemony in the South Asia. Pakistan thinks that India's larger aim is to undo the partition. However, such apprehensions are mis founded, since in 1971 war even when Bangladesh got independence by India's support, it withdrew after the war ended. In this backdrop let us understand the key issues in the India-Pak relations.

KASHMIR ISSUE

- India has maintained that Kashmir is an integral part of India and it is a settled issue which needs dialogue and discussion. However for Pakistan Kashmir is an unfinished task of partition since it is a Muslim dominated territory.
- Pakistan has sought to internationalise the issue and has demanded Plebiscite in accordance with the UN resolution. India views it as a bilateral issue.
- **Shimla Agreement 1972** - For India this framework should guide the issues between the two neighbours including the Kashmir dispute. It states that both the countries are ' resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other means mutually agreed upon between them. However Pakistani Army thinks that it was an

agreement that was imposed on it after the loss in the 1971 war.

- Pakistan deep state has resorted to asymmetrical warfare in the form of terrorism. It portrays India as an existential threat to Pakistan.
- On the other hand India's policy has been that of **"Sporadic engagement"**. This policy has been pursued by all the prime ministers of India.
- But since 2015 India has made dialogue contingent on Pakistan, ending all support for terrorism in Kashmir and giving up the option of using force to gain the control of Kashmir.
- The relations have worsened after the 2016 Pathankot attacks followed by the Uri terror attack. One of the deadliest terrors attacks was that in the Pulwama against the India security forces orchestrated by Pakistan based Jaish - e - Mohammad. India in response struck terror camps in Balakot in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa inside Pakistan.
- On August 5 2019 India amended the constitution to remove the Articles 370 and 35 A. Ans changed the status of the erstwhile state of Jammu & Kashmir into three Union territories namely - Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh.
- On this issue Pakistan has not got much support internationally. Western nations like US and others want India to restore normalcy and a s such long term curbs on civil liberties could hurt India's Global standing.

WAY FORWARD

- Despite efforts by the civilian governments on both the sides to restore ties the military intelligence complex of Pakistan has vetoed such efforts.
- From Indian perspective a democratic and civilian led Pakistan will have benefits for the relationship. Because of international pressure led by US, India's engagement would boost the civilian government's image and at the same time put pressure on the Military intelligence complex.
- Pakistan has become an election issue even at the state level in India, creating difficulties for the government to take any extra ordinary step to proceed.
- India and Pak inaugurated Kartarpur corridor for Sikh pilgrimage across the border. India has said it is an issue specific concession. It does not reflect any change in Indian Policy on substantive matters.
- In Feb 2021 ceasefire was announced by both the countries. However this happened more because of

NEIGHBOURHOOD

domestic factors for Pakistan which is under pressure on multiple fora. Pakistan is under immense economic stress and is under pressure from FATF for its terror funding.

- India on the other hand wants to ease some pressure which is already facing clashes along the LAC with China and wants to avoid a Two Front war situation.
- At international level India has been able to obtain support from US, Europe and UNSC on calling Pakistan out on the terror issue.
- To go forward Pakistan will have to move beyond the 'Kashmir first Policy'. The Pakistani military - intelligence establishment needs to stop viewing India as an existential threat and also curb the use of Jihad as a lever of foreign policy.
- India on the other hand will have to convince other nations specially US that instead of mediating in Indo-Pak issues, their role should be to check Pakistan's implacable hostility and disregard for international norms.

BACKCHANNEL DIPLOMACY

India and Pakistan have engaged with each other via backchannel from December 2020 till April 2021. However these talks are at a standstill because of the lack of willingness shown by the two countries to change their stands on the various existing issues.

While Pakistan has welcomed the reports of third party mediation, India has maintained silence as it goes against its traditional position on diplomacy with Pakistan. India maintains officially that issues with Pakistan are of a bilateral nature that has no space for third party mediation or intervention. So let us understand the various aspects of this issue in detail.

RECENT ISSUES IN INDIA - PAK TIES

- Ties between India and Pakistan have been frozen since 2016, and the Pulwama terror attack in February 2019 worsened the situation. This was followed by the Balakot airstrikes, retaliatory strikes by Pakistan and the capture of an Indian pilot who was later released.
- In August 2019, after India revoked the special status of J&K under Article 370, and bifurcated the state into two Union Territories, Pakistan downgraded diplomatic ties, forcing India to do the same. This also led to snapping of trade ties.
- The **Kartarpur corridor** is a positive development in minimizing the trust deficit that exists between the two countries and could further contribute to other confidence building measures such as enhancing cooperation in trade.

- In February, the militaries of India and Pakistan announced adherence to ceasefire agreements along the Line of Control — a sign of thaw amid the chill in ties.
- This, according to sources, was possible since India and Pakistan have been holding back-channel talks for the few months, with NSA Ajit Doval leading the Indian initiative with Pakistan's civilian-military leadership.
- The two Prime Ministers exchanged messages after Prime Minister of India sent greetings on Pakistan's National Day on March 23.

WHAT IS BACK-CHANNEL DIPLOMACY?

- Back-channel talks are used to talk to each other through non-official channels to discuss and resolve the problems facing the countries.
- It is **generally conducted** through **foreign diplomats or neutral Governments** trusted by both sides desirous of change in status quo.
- It is also a means of restoring the status quo ante in case of difficulties.
- It is also conducted by respected figures in public lives who are known for integrity, accuracy, who are capable of clarity, caution and patience and deep knowledge of the issue.

WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS OF SUCH A DIPLOMACY?

- It enables would-be dealmakers to test the waters—to determine whether the other party is capable of negotiating in good faith—before exploring real commitments.
- They can be particularly appealing to high-level leaders who are fearful of a public failure if their efforts to reach a deal collapse.

BACKCHANNEL DIPLOMACY IN THE PAST

- Such talks had been initiated by General Zia-ul-Haq and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi through Jordanian Crown Prince Hassan.
- During the Kargil War, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee chose an unorthodox back-channel interlocutor, R.K. Mishra.
- In 2016, six former Pakistani High Commissioners also travelled to Delhi for a Track-II consultation with nine former Indian High Commissioners, where they met NSA Doval and senior MEA officials

WHY BACKCHANNEL NOW?

- Front door diplomacy is not possible because of a complex past.

NEIGHBOURHOOD

- Pakistan's dire economic condition and the mounting pressure from the Financial Action Task Force to shut down all terrorist safe havens or face severe sanctions is clearly one imperative for Islamabad's willingness to engage via the backchannel even after India's decision on Jammu and Kashmir.
- To avoid the possible two Front war.

UAE's geostrategic role as a peace broker: In recent years, the UAE has shifted its attention away from military projection to diplomacy, investment and other forms of soft power.

- Abu Dhabi was the prime mover in last year's **Abraham Accords between Israel and several Arab states**.
- UAE played a key role alongside their Saudi counterparts in mediating the 2018 peace deal between **Ethiopia and Eritrea**.
- The UAE has greatly reduced its footprint in **Yemen** and drawn down its forces in the Horn of Africa. It is looking to scale back in Libya, where it provided both air cover and material support for the rebel forces of Khalifa Haftar; the Emiratis are now backing a political solution to the civil war.
- The UAE has also sought to reduce tensions with **Iran** and is leading Arab efforts to reengage with the regime of Bashar al-Assad in **Syria**, having concluded that the war there has effectively ended and that the only way to advance Emirati interests is through political, diplomatic and commercial means.
- UAE's strong trade & commercial ties to India and Pakistan, and the fact that it is home to millions of Indian and Pakistani expatriate workers makes it uniquely qualified to mediate between the two countries.
- The UAE is hoping restoration of trade links between the two countries.
- More ambitious still, it is aiming to secure a viable understanding on Kashmir, which has been the flashpoint for several wars since their 1947 partition upon independence from British rule.
- The South Asian initiative also plays into the UAE's pursuit of other important foreign-policy objectives. It helps to deepen the partnership with USA by paralleling American efforts to resolve the conflict in neighbouring Afghanistan, where India and Pakistan have competing economic and security interests.

What are the risks with such an approach?

- Back-channel negotiating may foster costly delays and perpetuate the impasse they are designed to overcome.
- They provide only temporary protection from deal spoilers and public scrutiny.
- Such secret negotiations can facilitate early breakthrough agreements but yield diminishing returns when relied on too frequently.

UPSC Mains - 2015

- Q.** Terrorist activities and mutual distrust have clouded India – Pakistan relations. To what extent the use of soft power like sports and cultural exchange could help generate goodwill between the two countries. Discuss with suitable examples.

► INDIA – SRI LANKA

SIGNIFICANCE OF SRI LANKA TO INDIA

- **Trade and Investment:**
 - Sri Lanka is one of India's largest trading partners in South Asia. India in turn is Sri Lanka's largest trade partner globally. Exports from India to Sri Lanka in 2016 were US\$ 3.83 billion.
 - Sri Lanka also provides investment opportunities for Indian Infrastructure companies. E.g., Colombo port west terminal project.
 - India and Sri Lanka have entered into a Free trade agreement in 2000. The two countries are negotiating **Economic and Technology Co-operation Agreement (ETCA)**.
- **Connectivity:** Transshipment ports of Sri Lanka like Colombo and Hambantota handle huge cargo that comes to India, since India did not fully develop a transshipment port in the southern Coast.
- **Tourism:** Huge scope for religious tourism (Buddhist tourism) and medical tourism (Sri Lankan patients frequently visit Chennai for medical treatment)
- **Strategic:**
 - India and Sri Lanka share membership in **SAARC, BIMSTEC** and **IORA**
 - Sri Lanka is also important for India in its ambitions to become **Net security provider in Indian ocean**
 - Pursuing Strong ties with Sri Lanka is an integral part of India's **Neighbourhood first policy**

CHALLENGING ISSUES IN THE RELATIONSHIP

- **Ethnic issues:** The long drawn ethnic conflicts and human rights violation of Tamils, lack of proper rehabilitation and insufficient devolution of powers (Under 13th Amendment act) to the northern Tamil

NEIGHBOURHOOD

provinces strained the relation between the two countries.

- **UNHRC resolution:** India voted against Sri Lanka in UNHRC resolutions in the past (2012 & 2013).
- **Fishermen issues:** Sri Lankan fishermen object to Indians using bottom trawlers and fishing illegally along their coast, which often leads to arrests of the Indians. The dispute status of Katchatheevu islands is still not resolved.
- **Growing trust deficit**
 - Scrapping of Indian infrastructure projects like **Colombo east container terminal project** at a time when China is increasing its investments in the same Colombo port city
 - India's passive response to Sri Lanka's request for debt repayment waiver for 3 years and a separate currency swap for \$1 billion to help with economic crisis
- **China factor**
 - Recently, Sri Lanka gave approval to Chinese funded 'Colombo port city' with some autonomy.
 - Already, China developed the Hambantota port which was later leased to it for a period of 99 years.
 - Sri Lanka also endorsed Belt and Road initiative of China.

This increased presence of China in Sri Lanka is a cause of concern to India

- **Sri - Lanka - Pakistan - China** - Pakistani PM visited Sri Lanka recently. Both the nations have had good defence ties.
- concerns have been raised by India, about a convergence of interests between Sri Lanka, China, and Pakistan in the Indian Ocean region and in defence co-operation.
- In 2016, India put pressure on Sri Lanka to drop a plan to buy the Chinese JF-17 Thunder aircraft made in Pakistan's Kamra Aeronautical Complex, and co-produced by the Chinese Chengdu Aircraft Corporation.

INDIA'S VOTE AT RESOLUTIONS ON SRI LANKA AT UNHRC

Year	Resolution	India's Vote
2009	Resolution S 11/1	Yes
2012	Resolution 19/2	Yes
2013	Resolution 22/1	Yes
2014	Resolution 25/1	Abstain

2015	Resolution 30/1	Adopted without a vote
2017	Resolution 34/1	Adopted without a vote
2019	Resolution 40/1	Adopted without a vote
2021	Resolution 40/L1	Abstain

- Initial Votes by India in favour of the resolutions and against Sri Lanka were mainly based on the local politics in the State of Tamil Nadu owing to the coalition government the Centre.
- On the 2013 resolution 22/1 India voted in favour of the resolution and against Sri Lanka. This was mainly because just ahead of the vote, Tamil Nadu's main opposition party, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), had withdrawn from the Centre's ruling alliance on the grounds that India was not doing enough to alleviate the alleged human rights violations of Sri Lankan Tamils.
- However, after the coalition era ended at the central government level, India's stance has not been much influenced by the local politics but has been influenced by geopolitical concerns owing to the increasing Chinese presence in the Indian Ocean region.
- On 2014 resolution 25/1, India abstained during the vote on grounds that the resolution ignored steps taken by Sri Lanka at reconciliation.
- In 2015 Resolution 30/1 and subsequent resolutions 34/1 and 40/1, India did not have dilemma because Sri Lanka itself joined the resolution which was adopted unanimously without a vote.
- In 2021 resolution India abstained from voting.
- India's position rested on two pillars. The first was support for Sri Lanka's unity and territorial integrity. Second pillar was commitment to Sri Lankan Tamils' aspirations for "equality, justice, peace and dignity".
- Calling on Sri Lanka to address Tamil aspirations, India said that Colombo should take "necessary steps" through the "process of reconciliation and full implementation of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution of Sri Lanka

CONTAINER TERMINAL ISSUE

- Sri Lanka will develop the **West Container Terminal (WCT)** at the Colombo Port, along with India and Japan. The decision came a month after the Rajapaksa government rejected the two partners from a 2019 tripartite agreement to jointly develop the East Container Terminal (ECT), citing resistance to "foreign involvement".

NEIGHBOURHOOD

- signed a Memorandum of Cooperation with India and Japan to jointly develop and operate the **East Container Terminal** wherein India and Japan together were to hold 49% stake in ECT. However, then the opposition parties in Sri Lanka opposed the Indian Involvement in the construction of the port.

THE IMPORTANCE OF INDIA HAVING A TERMINAL AT COLOMBO PORT

- This port was considered to be strategic for India since it was adjacent to the Chinese-run Colombo International Container Terminal (CICT).
- More than two-thirds of trans-shipment at this port is tied to India, making it an important trade and connectivity link.
- As a joint venture for India and Japan to invest in, the ECT project was also expected to showcase how the two Indo-Pacific partners, and also Quad members, could provide South Asia with viable, transparent and sustainable alternatives for financing and development.

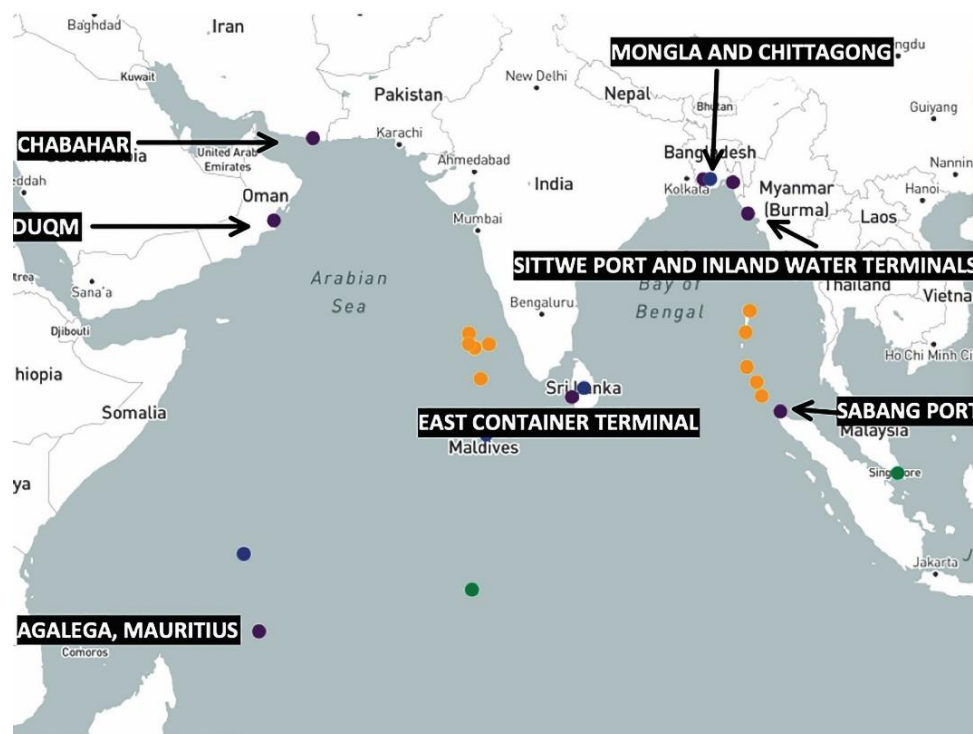
REASSIGNMENT OF WEST TERMINAL CONTAINER PORT

- Commercially, the west terminal offer is better for India as it gives 85% stake for developers of the West Terminal against the 49% in ECT.
- And geo-politically too, West Terminal is almost the same if we consider the security aspect and the necessity to have a port terminal in Sri Lanka.
- West Terminal is no smaller in size or depth compared to the East Terminal.

- There is no difference between East and West Terminals except for the fact that development of the ECT is partially completed while the development of the West Terminal has to start from scratch.

INDIAN AND CHINESE PORTS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN REGION

- Based on the **theory of string pearls** in the Indian Ocean, China is investing in strategically important foreign commercial ports.
- Some of these ports include Chittagong in Bangladesh, Gwadar in Pakistan, Hambantota in Sri Lanka, Kyaupkyu in Myanmar, Malacca in Malaysia, Mombasa in Kenya
- Chinese scholars recognize the far-reaching strategic significance of these projects for the success of the maritime Silk Road.
- On the other hand, India has also begun to invest heavily, albeit quietly, in expanding its naval and air power across the Indian Ocean.
- The effort is driven by two factors: a desire to improve maritime domain awareness and maritime security throughout the vast region, and New Delhi's growing anxieties about Chinese inroads in its strategic backyard
- Piracy, illegal fishing, and other maritime crimes remain serious concerns and potential sources of instability around the entire Indian Ocean rim
- As a response, India has presence in the ports shown in the picture above.



NEIGHBOURHOOD

► INDIA - MYANMAR

INDIA'S MYANMAR POLICY

Non-interference in internal politics

Since 1990s India has supported democratisation of Myanmar, **driven from within the country**. This has allowed Delhi to engage with the military and the party in power, whether the military-backed Union Solidarity and Development Party or the pro-democracy National League for Democracy, which is in power now.

Engagement rather than criticising

India is cognisant of the geopolitical dimension of Myanmar's democratisation. India has made it clear that it supports Myanmar's efforts and also understands Bangladesh's burden. **For Delhi, engaging rather than criticising is the most practical approach to finding a solution.**

Balancing influence of China

There was inauguration of liaison office of the Embassy of India in Naypyidaw recently. This is significant as only a few countries have set up such office in Myanmar. Interestingly, China was the first country to establish a

liaison office in 2017. Myanmar's growing closeness with China and the recent proposal of China Myanmar Economic Corridor is a cause of concern for India amidst growing India-China tension.

India also has taken significant step towards establishing its embassy in Nay Pyi Taw. India has its embassy in Yangon, the former capital.

Strategic Infrastructure development

- India has also proposed to build a petroleum refinery in Myanmar that would involve an investment of \$6 billion. It shows India's competitive dynamic with China.
- Commitment has been made to operationalise of the crucial Sittwe port in Myanmar's Rakhine state by March 2021.
- The two sides are collaborating on the ongoing Indian-assisted infrastructure projects such as the India-Myanmar-Thailand trilateral highway and the Kaladan Multi-Modal Transit Transport Project. The project will link Kolkata to Sittwe in Myanmar and then from Myanmar's Kaladan river to India's north-east.

**Border security and development**

- Both countries believe in mutual commitment not to allow respective territories to be used for activities inimical to each other. Both Delhi and Naypyidaw have been collaborating in the development of border areas with the understanding that it is the best guarantee to secure their borders. And this is an area where the fruits of bilateral cooperation are already evident on the ground.

Importance of Myanmar for India

- Myanmar is key in linking South Asia to Southeast Asia. Myanmar is a member of both ASEAN as well as the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) which bridges South and South-East Asia.

- Myanmar stands at the confluence of **India's Neighbourhood First and Act East Policy** and India-Myanmar partnership is at the heart of India's vision to create a connected and cooperative neighbourhood.
- Connectivity projects through Myanmar help India overcome its Chicken-neck dilemma (Siliguri Corridor). Myanmar is also necessary for the development of North-Eastern India.
- Myanmar is a **bridge to Southeast Asia and ASEAN** and an essential factor in keeping the North-eastern states peaceful.
- Myanmar is important for both **Neighbourhood first and the Act east Policy**.

MILITARY COUP IN MYANMAR

NEIGHBOURHOOD

Military coup in Myanmar has set off civil unrest and protests. India has criticised the violence, while following a policy of non-interference on the matter of the coup keeping in mind the strategic importance of Myanmar to India, which is - a bridge to Southeast Asia and ASEAN; important for security in North East; crucial for Neighbourhood first and the Act east Policy.

Implications on

Border security -

- Refugees fleeing the military crackdown are entering Mizoram. This has led to **disagreement between centre and Mizoram** which supports refugees.
- Centre's instruction of sealing border with Myanmar has **irked ethnically and culturally connected communities on both sides**. Ex - Chin community.

Strategic concern -

- India **cannot upset the Myanmar junta** by providing refuge to the officials fleeing military crackdown.

Containing China -

- Myanmar being crucial in containing China, India will have to take a **calculated steps so as to not push Myanmar closer to China**.

Insurgency -

- A number of **ethnic armed organisations (EOs)**, that are active within Myanmar. Being opposed to Junta EAOs can lead to escalation in violence across the border.

Indian Investments -

- Instability would threaten India's investments in Myanmar. Ex - **Kaladan Project, Sittwe port, IMT trilateral Highway, Special economic zone in Rakhine**.

Opportunity

- The **Myanmar army has enjoyed a relatively strong relationship with India**. It played a key role in handling the **insurgency** and **Hot Pursuits of India**. **Suu Kyi led democratic government was closer to China**. China supported it on **Rohingya crisis**.

► INDIA AND BHUTAN

BACKGROUND

Diplomatic relations between India and Bhutan were established in 1968 with the appointment of a resident representative of India in Thimphu. The basic framework of India- Bhutan bilateral relations was the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in 1949 between the two countries, which was revised in 2007. The India-

Bhutan Friendship Treaty not only reflects the contemporary nature of our relationship but also lays the foundation for their future development in the 21st century.



BHUTAN'S SIGNIFICANCE TO INDIA

→Geographic Location:

- Nestled in the Himalayas, Bhutan serves as a buffer between India and China.
- After Doklam standoff, securing Bhutan's present borders especially its western border is important for India in order to secure Siliguri Corridor.

→Economic:

- It provides a market for Indian commodities and a destination for Indian investment.
- India also sees Bhutan as a rich source of hydropower.

→Political:

- An unstable and restive Bhutan would not only jeopardize India's investments in that country but also provide a safe haven for anti-India activities and anti-India militant groups.

BILATERAL PARTNERSHIP / AREA OF COOPERATION

→Trade:

- India is Bhutan's largest trading partner. It is Bhutan's largest trade partner; around 79% of Bhutan's total imports are from India and India provides a market for 90% of its exports.
- The trade between the two countries is governed by the India-Bhutan Trade and Transit Agreement 1972 which was last renewed in 2016.
- The Agreement established a free-trade regime between the two countries.
- The Agreement also provides for duty-free transit of Bhutanese exports to third countries.

NEIGHBOURHOOD

→Economic Ties:

- India has financed much of Bhutan's Five-Year Plans. For the current 12th Five Year Plan (2018-23), GOI has committed economic assistance of Rs 4500 crores.
- India is Bhutan's largest aid donor. Between 2000 and 2017, Bhutan received \$4.7 billion in aid from India, the lion's share of India's total foreign aid.

→Infrastructure:

- India is also playing an important role in Bhutan's infrastructure development by building roads and hydro-power projects.
- Development of Bhutan's hydropower has not only provided the Bhutanese with electricity for domestic use but also surplus energy which India purchases.
- On-going projects Punatsangchhu-1, Punatsangchhu-2 and Kholongchhu, and recently inaugurated Mangdechhu Hydroelectric Plant.

→Security Ties:

- The Indian military "is virtually responsible for protecting Bhutan from external and internal threats" and to this end, the Eastern Command of the Indian Army and Air Force have integrated Bhutan's defence into their role and responsibilities.
- The Indian Military Training Team (IMTRAT) trains Bhutanese security personnel as well.

→Border Management:

- There is a Secretary-level mechanism on border management and security related matters.
- There is also a Border District Coordination Meeting Mechanism between the bordering States and Bhutan to facilitate coordination on border management and other related matters.

→Water Resources:

- There is a Joint Group of Experts (JGE) on flood management between India and Bhutan to discuss/ assess the probable causes and effects of the recurring floods and to recommend appropriate measures to both Governments.

→Educational and Cultural Cooperation:

- A large number of colleges going Bhutanese students are studying in India.
- Approximately 4000 Bhutanese are studying in Under Graduate courses in Indian Universities.
- India-Bhutan Foundation was established (2003) with the aim of enhancing people to people exchanges in focus areas like education, culture, scientific and technical research and environment protection

→Indian Community:

- There are about 60,000 Indian nationals living in Bhutan, employed mostly in the hydroelectric power and construction industry.
- Between 8000 and 10,000 daily workers enter and exit Bhutan every day in border towns.

FAULT LINE: THE BHUTANESE PERCEPTION OF INDIA (CHALLENGES)

Although the older Bhutanese generations looked to India with gratitude, the newer generation tends to look more deeply – and with more dissatisfaction – at the situation.

- Growing negative perception of Bhutan on instances of India meddling in Bhutan's internal affairs
- Much of the Bhutanese population considers India's continued pressure to dominate their foreign relations as a direct threat to the sovereign character of the country and also a major hindrance to settling the border between Bhutan and China.
- Bhutanese have begun to view India's role in their economy as exploitative.
- Indian aid is being criticized for creating 'jobless growth' in Bhutan.
- The terms on which India is financing the hydropower projects and getting electricity from Bhutan at cheap rates seems unfavorable to Bhutan.
- India's strategic interest to avoid military vulnerability to China in the Doklam Plateau has discouraged Thimphu from border talks and has even escalated the situation between India and China.
- The current Bhutanese government faces major challenges with respect to rising unemployment and rising foreign debt to India.
- There is a growing interest in Bhutan for diplomatic and economic relations with China.

THE ROAD AHEAD: OPPORTUNITIES FOR INDIA (WAY FORWARD)

- **Continue Foreign Aid:** Although Bhutan remains the largest recipient of Indian aid, the amount of aid in the form of grants and loans to the country has dropped over the last two years. India should focus on enabling agreements and let market forces leverage the existing economic and geographic complementarities with continued aid." This is not the right time for India to decrease aid to Bhutan as Chinese presence there is growing.
- **Rethink Terms of Financial Cooperation:** It must act to address Bhutanese grievances over the hydropower projects. India must ensure that the terms of the loans are favorable to Bhutan. India

NEIGHBOURHOOD

must draw Bhutanese public attention to China's role in debt trap. Therefore, it will have to ensure that its finance model for projects in Bhutan is different from the Chinese model in other South Asian countries. India must ensure that its projects in Bhutan are more inclusive and generate jobs for Bhutanese.

- **Publicize Benefits:** India needs to step up efforts to publicize the benefits that accrue to Bhutan from the Indian projects.
- **Respect Bhutanese Values:** India should demonstrate respect for Bhutanese values. The Bhutanese are an environment-conscious people. Therefore, India should go for economically and environmentally more viable projects. NOTE: It was because of its apprehensions over the damage to environment, Bhutan did not ratify the Bhutan-Bangladesh-India-Nepal Motor Vehicles Act (BBIN-MVA), a major sub-regional connectivity plan.
- **Maintain Ties with the Bhutanese Monarchy:** Unlike their Nepali counterparts, Bhutan's monarchs have been strong proponents of close relations with India. India should back Bhutan's constitutional monarchy and strengthen it by channeling its aid through this institution. This will help secure greater public support in Bhutan for India's activities in the country.
- **Keep out of Domestic Politics:** India should not be seen as meddling in Bhutan's politics and domestic affairs as the long-term cost of such trampling on Bhutan's sovereignty far outweighs any benefits that may accrue to India
- **Emphasize Doklam's Value to Bhutan:** There is a perception among the Bhutanese that Doklam has little significance for their country and hence can be given away to China. However, Haa district is rich in pasture land and forests. Its value to a country that is largely mountainous is immeasurable. India must spread awareness on this fact.

► INDIA AND MALDIVES

Maldives Foreign Minister Abdullah Shahid won the Presidential election of the United Nations General Assembly. The presidency assumes significance because of coinciding of this term with India's election as a non-permanent member of the UNSC. Also, the Indian decision of opening a new consulate at Addu city has faced backlash on social media and the recent attack on Mohammad Nasheed have consequences for India-Maldives relations. In this background let us look at broader contours of India-Maldives relations.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN INDIA AND MALDIVES

- **Geographical Proximity:** Maldives is located just 300 nautical miles from India's mainland.
- **Vaccines:** Both the countries can cooperate on matters related to equitable access to Vaccines and **TRIPS waiver**
- **Climate change:** Climate change is detrimental to both developing countries like India and Small Island Developing States such as the Maldives. So, both the countries can collaborate to strengthen the global response to climate change, through the **UNFCCC and the Paris Agreement**
- **Terrorism:** Peace and security in the Indian ocean region are of common interest to both the countries. In the backdrop of growing radicalization in the region, India and Maldives can revive discussion on **Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism (CCIT)** (The adoption of the CCIT under the UN was first proposed by India in 1996, but it has been in limbo ever since due to opposition from several countries on some of the provisions laid out in the convention).
- **Multilateral Reforms:** India and Maldives can work in tandem for multilateral reforms. (Example - UNSC reform to expand UNSC permanent membership and make it more representative)
- **Respecting International laws on the seas and navigation:** Maldives' proximity to the west coast of India and its situation at the hub of commercial sea-lanes running through Indian Ocean makes it strategically important to India. Both the countries can work together to revive the sanctity of 'United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea'. (*In the backdrop of Recent US navy's violation of the EEZ of India and Maldives and Chinese expansionism in Indo pacific region*)
- **Maldives economy is a majorly dependent on tourism.** Many Indians visit the Maldives as tourists. Also, many Indians are employed in these resorts.
- **India First Policy of Maldives:** Ever since President Solih came into power, he has practiced a stated policy of 'India First'. This reflects that the present government of India gives highest importance to relations with India.

INDIAN ASSISTANCE TO MALDIVES

- **Operation Cactus** - In 1988, when armed mercenaries attempted a coup against President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, India sent paratroopers

NEIGHBOURHOOD

and Navy vessels and restored the legitimate leadership under Operation Cactus.

- **2004 Tsunami** - India had provided assistance to Maldives and had also supported it during the drinking water crisis in 2014
- **COVID -19** - India rushed \$250 million aid in quick time, India has also rushed medical supplies to the Maldives, started a new cargo ferry.
- **Greater Male Connectivity project:** This is an infrastructure project in Maldives, connecting Male (the capital) with three neighbouring islands through construction of a bridge-and-causeway link. This project was a part of \$400 million line of credit announced by India to the island.

Concerns in India - Maldives Relationship: Although India and Maldives enjoy a healthy relationship, there some areas of concern between the two nations.

- **Enhanced Chinese Presence:** Maldives signed its **first country-specific FTA with China in 2017** and thereby becoming China's 2nd FTA in South Asia after Pakistan. It raised concerns that it will **deepen the debt trap to China**, wherein more than **70% of Maldives' foreign debt is owed to China**. There has growing trend of Chinese companies and individuals acquiring land in Maldives. This land grab has raised concern of Maldives being increasingly falling into **an economic neo-colonial influence of China**. The new government of President Solih has affirmed that Maldives will scrap the FTA with China and investigate the Chinese land grab in Maldives.
- **President Yameen Hangover:** President Yameen had earlier declared an emergency in Maldives and halted the functioning of Maldives Parliament (Majlis) and arrested several opposition leaders. This was

opposed by India and several other countries. Apart from this, President Yameen augmented relations with China without taking India into confidence. This led India-Maldives relations to decline.

- Although the New Government under president Solih has welcomed Indian support, The previous President Yameen and his party has launched an **'India Out' campaign** against New Delhi's massive developmental funding for creating physical, social and community infrastructure. There have been protests for early release of Mr. Yameen — sentenced to five years of imprisonment in a money laundering case, pending appeal.
- **Growing Radicalization:** There is a growing presence of ISIS/Daesh in Maldives and has been seen with growing influence of Saudi philosophy of Wahhabis. Moreover, due to the continuous defeat of Daesh, these fighters have been returning to Maldives and pose a threat to security of India, Sri Lanka and Maldives.
- **New Consulate in Addu:** Recently Union Cabinet approved Opening of a New Consulate General of India in Addu City, Maldives. But the Maldivian government has not made any decision regarding it. This came in the backdrop of ongoing #saveAddu social media campaign by a section of Maldivians, who are sceptical of India's presence in Addu atoll.

Helicopter Issue: India had gifted the Maldives two ALHs (Advanced Light helicopters) in 2013 and each was operated by the Indian Coast Guard and the Indian Navy. However, a controversy broke out in 2018 after the previous Maldives government refused to extend the visas of Indian military personnel and asked India to take back the helicopters.

SECTION-2

EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

Previous Year Questions

YEAR	UPSC MAINS QUESTIONS
2020	India diaspora has a decisive role in the politics and economy of America and European Countries. Comment with examples.
2020	Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad) is transforming itself into a trade bloc from a military alliance, in present times. Discuss.
2020	What is the significance of Indo-US defence deals over Indo-Russian defence? Discuss with reference to stability in the Indo-Pacific region.
2019	'The time has come for India and Japan to build a strong contemporary relationship, one involving global and strategic partnership that will have a great significance for Asia and the world as a whole.' Comment.
2019	"The long-sustained image of India as a leader of the oppressed and marginalised Nations has disappeared on account of its new found role in the emerging global order". Elaborate.
2019	"What introduces friction into the ties between India and the United States is that Washington is still unable to find for India a position in its global strategy, which would satisfy India's National self- esteem and ambitions".
2018	In what ways would the ongoing US-Iran Nuclear Pact Controversy affect the national interest of India? How should India respond to this situation?
2018	'India's relations with Israel have, of late, acquired a depth and diversity, which cannot be rolled back.' Discuss.
2017	The question of India's Energy Security constitutes the most important part of India's economic progress. Analyze India's energy policy cooperation with West Asian Countries.
2017	Indian Diaspora has an important role to play in South-East Asian countries' economy and society. Appraise the role of Indian Diaspora in South- East Asia in this context.

EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

2016	Evaluate the economic and strategic dimensions of India's Look East Policy in the context of the post-Cold War international scenario.
2015	Increasing interest of India in Africa has its pros and cons. Critically examine.
2013	Economic ties between India and Japan while growing in the recent years are still far below their potential. Elucidate the policy constraints which are inhibiting this growth.

► **CENTRAL ASIA**

Central Asia is a region in Asia which stretches from the Caspian Sea in the west to China and Mongolia in the east, and from Afghanistan and Iran in the south to Russia in the north, including the former Soviet republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

The geopolitical scenario is undergoing a sea change in the last few years in Central Asia. These radical transformations in the geopolitical front of Central Asia are taking place largely due to the interplay of both global and regional forces and their subsequent impact on the region.

**ABOUT CENTRAL ASIA COUNTRIES**

- **Doubly Landlocked** - All the 5 countries are doubly land locked because their neighbours are also landlocked. For these countries to integrate substantively with the world economy and develop fruitful economic relations with the outside world, they need to have access to warm-water seas.
- **Mineral rich region** - All the five countries are richly endowed with natural and mineral resources. These countries have vast stretches of unexplored minerals including uranium, oil and gas making it an important region for India's economic interest.
- **Political stability** - All the five republics have been by and large peaceful and stable throughout the twenty five years of their independent existence.
- **Extremism**- Although terrorist groups like Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, Hizb-ut-Tahrir and others are present in the Fergana valley, they have not been very active or effective in creating disturbances. This could however change if violence due to the Taliban's resurgence in Afghanistan increases and spreads to other countries in the region. The five republics have been largely secular and liberal so far. Religious extremism, fundamentalism and terrorism pose challenges to all these societies and to regional stability.
- **Drug trade and Great Game** - Central Asian republics face serious threat from illegal drug trade emanating from Afghanistan. Traditionally, Central Asia has been an arena of "great game". The modern version is being played out even today. Russia, China, US, Turkey, Iran, Europe, EU, Japan, Pakistan, India, Afghanistan have substantial security and economic stakes in the region.

EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

INDIA – CENTRAL ASIA

- **Historical cultural relations** - India has several millennia old historical, cultural and civilisational links with Central Asia. The region was connected with India through the silk road through which Buddhism spread in the region and economic and cultural ties bloomed.
- **Strategic Importance** - The region is considered to be extended neighbourhood of India. The countries are centrally located in India's continental neighbourhood.
- **Geopolitics** - Geopolitically the region is important for India to counter the increasing Chinese influence with its **Belt Road Initiative** in India's continental neighbourhood. With Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan, Central Asia can play a crucial role in India's strategic calculations in the region.
- **Energy needs** - India is an energy deficit country. This region is extremely well endowed with hydrocarbon resources and other mineral and natural resources.
- **Connectivity** - Because of presence of Pakistan and China on the norther borders and hostile Taliban in Afghanistan, India does not have direct access to these Central Asian republics.
- **Trade** - Despite great potential, India's trade with this region has been minimal because of lack of direct connectivity. Largest trading partners of this region are still Russia and China owing to geographical proximity.

INITIATIVES TAKEN BY INDIA

Connect Central Asia -

- India's '**Connect Central Asia**' Policy is a broad-based approach, including **political, security, economic and cultural connections**.
- India is stepping up multilateral engagement with Central Asian partners using the synergy of joint efforts through existing fora like the **Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, Eurasian Economic Community (EEC) and the Custom Union**. India has become a member of the SCO of which majority of the central Asian countries are members.
- India looks to Central Asia as a long term partner in **energy, and natural resources**. Central Asia possesses large cultivable tracts of land and it sees potential for India to cooperate in production of profitable crops with value addition.
- India is working on setting up a Central Asian e-network with its hub in India, to deliver, tele-

education and tele-medicine connectivity, linking all the five Central Asian States.

Connectivity

- As for land connectivity, India has reactivated the **International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC)**.
- India's is modernizing the infrastructure of the **Chabahar port in Iran**, which could become an important link in trade and transport communications between the markets of Central and South Asia.
- India recently joined the **Ashgabat Agreement**, which was instituted in April 2011 to establish an international multimodal transport and transit corridor between Central Asia and the Persian Gulf. Its objective is to enhance connectivity within the Eurasian region and synchronize it with other regional transport corridors, including the International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC).

Economic and Humanitarian engagement -

- 1st meeting of the **India-Central Asia Dialogue held in 2019** in Samarkand (Uzbekistan) which is establishing a platform for strengthening cooperation between India and the Central Asian countries
- India has provided **humanitarian medical assistance** to these countries for COVID-19 relief.
- India has provided **US\$ 1 billion Line of Credit** for priority developmental projects in fields such as connectivity, energy, IT, healthcare, education, agriculture
- **India-Central Asia Business Council (ICABC)** has also been launched for boosting business to business engagement.

Other aspects

- The joint statement on the India-Central Asian dialogue also focused on the need to **combat terrorism by destroying safe havens, infrastructure, networks, and funding channels**
- Connections between our peoples are the most vital linkages to sustain our deep engagement.
- India already has a robust exchange of students. India will encourage regular exchanges of scholars, academics, civil society and youth delegations to gain deeper insights into each other's cultures.

CHALLENGES IN INDIA'S OUTREACH TO CENTRAL ASIA

- The takeover of Afghanistan by Taliban has severely altered India's strategic calculations in the region. However India can leverage its relationship with the CARs to engage with Taliban.

EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

- US sanctions on Iran and increasing Chinese presence has caused much delay in operationalising the **Chabahar port** fully.
- INSTC project has witnessed slow growth due to a combination of factors including low trade volumes, incomplete infrastructure, and sanctions.
- India must redouble its efforts in the area of connectivity to further its regional presence.
- This becomes all the more important in the context of China's **Belt and Road Initiative**, with two of its six corridors running through Central Asia.
- Being part of the erstwhile USSR, Russia still has considerable influence on these countries. However to counter the Chinese influence, Russia has been promoting its own Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) to pursue regional and economic integration.
- China has been expanding its regional presence, as seen in the '5+1 format' launched in 2020 to further its clout. Its advances are causing concerns of '**debt-trap diplomacy**' given the economic situation of Central Asian countries.
- This provides India with an opportunity to leverage its good relations to counter the fears of 'Chinese Debt diplomacy'.
- India has been a latecomer and has turned its attention to the region only in recent years.
- India's trade with the region amounts to US\$ 2 billion, owing to limited connectivity and low economic engagement with the region. This amount is less than 0.5 percent of India's total trade, whereas the region's trade with China amounts to US\$ 100 billion.

WAY FORWARD

- India needs to direct investment to the region to reap the economic benefits of the strategic location of Central Asia that puts it at the crossroads of key trade and commerce routes.
- India must increase its developmental and humanitarian aid to the region and promote closer people-to-people ties through education, knowledge transfer, medicine and health, culture, cuisine, and tourism.
- Multilateral organisations like SCO, EAEU, and CICA can serve as platforms for sustained engagement and regular exchange of ideas.
- The SCO is a crucial grouping that provides India a strategic convergence with Russia and China on addressing new security challenges, enhancing infrastructural development projects, and creating a

network of regional oil and gas pipelines for the larger benefit of the Central and South Asian region.

► INDIA - WEST ASIA

India has ties to West Asia since millennia. In the past India has had flourishing relations with these regions from the Indus Valley civilisation till Mughal period. Farsi was the language of the Mughal court, and India's official language until 1835. This connection continues.

IMPORTANCE OF WEST ASIA FOR INDIA

Post- independence India has strategic interests in West Asia. The Gulf states supply the bulk of India's oil and natural gas, host large diasporas, promote trade and investment, and engage in security and intelligence co-operation.

Oil and gas

- The Gulf- West Asia- North Africa region meets a major share of India's energy needs – contributing over 60 per cent of India's total imports of crude oil and over 85 per cent of India's LNG requirements.
- Saudi Arabia used to be India's largest supplier of crude oil. Presently Iraq is the largest supplier. Share of Iran has fallen considerably after the US sanctions because of the failure of Iran - Nuclear deal.

DIASPORA AND REMITTANCES

The Indian Community

- There are around 8 to 9 million Indians in West Asia. The numbers include 2.6 million in Saudi Arabia (in November, 2019), 2.5 million in the United Arab Emirates, 800,000 in Kuwait, 700,000 each in Qatar and Oman, and 400,000 in Bahrain.
- These include managers, doctors, technicians, engineers, IT experts, chartered accountants, bankers, workers, and domestic help. In most of these countries Indians hold the number one rank in the number of expatriates. They are India's goodwill ambassadors.
- A vast majority of the Indian community hails from Kerala.

Remittances

- This community has a significant impact upon the Indian economy, through inward remittances.
- India received over USD83 billion in remittances in 2020 according to the World Bank report. A majority of these remittances are from the West Indian diaspora. India receives largest remittances from UAE.

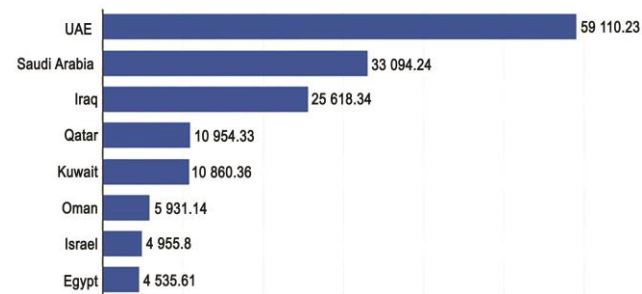
EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

- The remittances account for 3 per cent of India's GDP. The impact of Gulf remittances on the Indian economy is significant.

→ TRADE AND INVESTMENT

TRADE

- India's trade with the West Asian nations in 2020 is shown in the graph below in million US dollars.



- At the end of fiscal year 2020, the value of trade India had with the United Arab Emirates was approximately 60 billion U.S. dollars.
- According to Indian Ministry of Commerce data for July, 2018, trade with the Gulf in 2017- 2018 was over 123 billion U.S. dollars.
- In 2008, the UAE had overtaken China to become our biggest trading partner, as thousands of Indian companies established their presence in their Special Economic Zones.
- Saudi Arabia is India's fourth largest trading partner.

INVESTMENT

- The UAE-India Infrastructure Investment Fund aims at a target of **75 billion U.S. dollars to support investment in India's infrastructure**, especially in railways, ports, roads, airports and industrial corridors and parks.
- Saudi Arabia is India's fourth-largest trade partner and has pledged an investment of \$100 billion in India in various sectors such as petrochemicals, infrastructure, manufacturing, refining and mining. Recently UAE has announced an investment of \$7 billion in food corridor in India.

THE GCC'S LOOK EAST POLICY

India's Look West Policy has been complemented by the GCC member states' "Look East" policy, with a focus on India and China, and other countries to their East.

INDIA'S STRATEGY TOWARDS WEST ASIA

- The previous government's policies have been limited to energy security owing to intractable political fault lines and fractured socio-religious landscape in the region – like Arab-Israel contest and Iran-Saudi rivalry.

- The region has been the vital area of great power competition and conflicts and at the current juncture, it is characterised by a cocktail of the political rivalry of the regional powers, spiralling conflicts and unending violence with Arab Spring, terrorism and proxy wars. The absence of any regional organization with a pragmatic inclusive goal is further worsening the situation in this vital region.
- Ensuring the stability and security of the Persian Gulf region, including the protection of the large Indian expatriate community in the context of persistent conflict and violence across the region, has emerged as the top priority of Indian foreign policy toward West Asia in recent years.
- The high degree of political unpredictability and deteriorating security environment in the region, along with the growing possibility of the reduction of the American security role in the region, has led India to follow two simultaneous paths in conducting its relations with West Asia.
- For a long time India had to balance its relations with Israel and the Arab world. But now the Arab countries establishing diplomatic relations (the UAE, Bahrain, Sudan and Morocco under the **Abraham Accords**) with Israel, India could expect to tread a more seamless path in West Asia.
- One path is marked by the continuation of **India's traditional diplomatic line of "non-interference" in the internal affairs** of its counterparts in the region, coupled with a **"wait and watch" posture** that is punctuated by condemnations of terrorism and sectarian violence, and appeals to regional stakeholders to pursue negotiated settlements of disputes.
- Increased multipolarity has enhanced India's ability to truly pursue its national interests internationally, without involving itself in messy political alliances or ideological factions. This freedom is synonymous with the idea of 'strategic autonomy.'
- The other path is marked by the **deepening of India's security ties with its Gulf Arab partners**.
- This latter approach has led the Indian government to invest in overseas oil and gas fields (i.e., mainly in Sudan, Syria, Iran, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Russia), to undertake a massive modernization of the Indian navy, including development of a maritime doctrine with a view to protect sea lines of communication (SLOCs) in the Indian Ocean as well as to prevent China from dominating the Indian Ocean; to conduct joint naval exercises with the U.S., U.K., France, China,

EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

and Gulf countries; and to conclude a series of bilateral defence and strategic agreements with all of the G.C.C. states.

- Further, India's counterterrorism policy has been expanded in an effort to isolate and expose Pakistan's policy of terrorism globally, including in West Asia. Saudi Arabia and the U.A.E. have responded positively to the Indian authorities' request for the extradition of suspected terrorists.
- India has walked a tight rope in intra- Arab disputes, carefully weighing its interests. The diplomatic and trade embargo imposed on Qatar by some Arab countries did not adversely affect, India's trade and energy ties with Qatar, or any other Gulf country.

► LOOK WEST POLICY

- The "Look West" policy has perceptibly changed India's position as a credible partner in the region.
- The policy has been successful across multiple rivalries of the region- Saudi Arabia and Iran, Turkey and Egypt, Qatar and UAE and Israel and Palestine with diplomatic acumen and sustained strategic prudence.
- The "Abraham Accord" between the two allies- Israel and UAE is an endorsement for the balanced "Look West" policy of India for peace and stability in the region.
- US strategic shift to Indo-pacific and growing Chinese expansion in the region has created a new Great power competition in the region.
- India needs to pursue the path of Multilateralism with sustained rounds of diplomatic outreach to the favourable social and political constituencies in the region and prudently use the leverages with Russia and USA to position itself as a credible power in the region in the emerging Asian Century World Order.
- Transformation of its policy choices in the region - The Israel policy and the growing strategic proximity and security cooperation is the perceptible success of the new vision and pursuit of the "Look West" policy as it has managed this bold pragmatic step without compromising its commitment to the Palestine issue.
- This new diplomatic balance was proved with India's voting with Palestine against the US recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel in the United Nations and maintaining unabated momentum of India-Israel partnership.

► INDIA - UAE

- Developments in political ties with the UAE have improved under the present government.
- The 2015 visit by India PM to UAE was the first visit by a prime minister since that of the late Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, in 1981.
- Prime Minister followed this up by two more visits in 2018 and 2019.
- During the latter visit the UAE gave its highest civilian award, the "Order of Zayed," to the Prime Minister.
- The UAE had invited India to Organisation of Islamic Co-operation.
- During Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi's visit as Chief guest on Republic Day 2017, the relationship was upgraded to a "Comprehensive Strategic Partnership."
- UAE has forbidden Pakistan to use UAE territory for anti-India activities.
- The UAE has responded with support for Jammu and Kashmir's re- organization.
- Other gulf states have shown quiet understanding of Jammu and Kashmir's re- organization.
- As part of its policy of promoting plurality and tolerance, in 2015 the UAE government provided land to build a temple in Abu Dhabi.
- The UAE has extradited fugitive economic offenders like Michel and others to India wanted in the Augusta helicopter case.
- For the first time, joint naval exercises were held in 2018, and defence, intelligence and counter-terrorism cooperation are acquiring greater salience.
- In 2018, during Prime Minister's visit, MoUs were signed in railways, energy, financial services and manpower. For the first time, an MoU between an Indian consortium (OVL, BPRL and IOCL) and Abu Dhabi National Oil Company was signed, allowing for the acquisition of 10 per cent participating interest in Abu Dhabi's offshore Lower Zakhum Concession. This is significant, as India has traditionally had only a buyer- seller relationship with the UAE.

► INDIA - IRAN

With the world's fourth- largest proven oil reserves and second- largest natural gas reserves, Iran is important for India's energy security. Sanctions over Iran's nuclear programme pose challenges in transforming a buyer-seller relationship in crude oil into a partnership over development of energy resources. Not surprisingly, India termed the announcement of lifting of nuclear-related

EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

sanctions on Iran in 2016 "a significant success for patient diplomacy."

NEW PRESIDENT IN IRAN - IMPLICATIONS

Geo-political -

- External Affairs minister S. Jaishankar was one of 115 high officials from 73 countries who attended Iranian President Ebrahim Raisi's swearing in ceremony in the Majlis or Parliament in Tehran.
- EAM's visits to Tehran around a visit to Delhi by US Secretary of State Antony Blinken means India is trying to walk a tightrope between its ties with the West and ties with Iran, which are adversaries, and nuclear talks on US re-joining the JCPOA agreement with Iran are also stalled.
- US, UK and Israel have come down heavily on Iran, accusing it of carrying out the attack on an Israeli owned tanker, which saw a UK national killed, an issue now being taken up at the UNSC, where India is the president.
- India and Iran have faced attacks from the Taliban, Al Qaeda, Jundullah, Lashkar e Toiba and other Sunni groups, and have a common concern about the Taliban gaining power in Afghanistan.
- Iran has said that an Islamic Emirate in Afghanistan is a security threat for India and Iran and an existential threat for Pakistan, and as neighbours, India and Iran have cause to worry
- Iran and India have cooperated on connectivity projects for Afghanistan and Central Asia, including at Chabahar and the INSTC that goes through Bandar Abbas

Bilateral

- Tensions exist between the two mainly after India's decision to cancel or zero out its imports from Iran after US withdrawal from JCPOA.
- Prior to that India used to import about 2.5 billion tonnes of Iranian oil a month, that accounted for more than 10% of its energy needs.
- As a traditional partner, Iran has rarely spoken about India's internal affairs, including sensitive areas like Kashmir, yet in the aftermath of government's decision on 370 in Jammu Kashmir.
- Strategically, India's focus on the Quad and Indo-Pacific and the tensions with China to its eastern frontier have meant less focus on its partners to the west, particularly given the break in ties with Pakistan.
- It is of immense importance to India as it provides an alternate route of connectivity to Afghanistan, Central Asia and Europe, given the problems with Pakistan

and China's Belt and Road Initiative, which India boycotted.

- Finally, if India is able to negotiate a way around US sanctions, Iran could once again be a vital source of energy for India at a time when oil prices in India have skyrocketed.

► US WITHDRAWAL FROM IRAN - NUCLEAR DEAL

- US withdrawal from the deal pursuant to "**Maximum pressure**" policy. Iran has passed **nuclear law** to enrich at Natanz and Fordow facilities. Even under Joe - Biden no significant improvement has been achieved.
- Iran would attract **sanctions**. Disrupt peace in the middle east. Would increase **nuclear arms race** in the middle east.

IMPACT ON INDIA'S ECONOMIC INTERESTS

- In 2017-18 Iran was the **third-largest supplier of oil to India** after Iraq and Saudi Arabia and met about 10% of total needs.
- India was **second-biggest buyer of Iranian oil after China before sanctions** halted supplies in May 2019.
- Iranian crude brings **a number of benefits, including a longer credit cycle and shorter voyage savings on freight costs**
- **Saves Forex for India.**

IMPACT ON STRATEGIC AND SECURITY INTERESTS

- Sanctions could derail the progress of **trade & connectivity through Chabahar port into landlocked Afghanistan and Central Asia.**
- Adverse impact on ambitious **connectivity projects - INSTC, TAPI**
- It **creates space for Chinese strategic intrusion in IRAN** - China Iran 25-year cooperation program.
- **Escalation of conflict in strategic choke point of Strait of Hormuz** could affect India's Crude oil imports
- Two-thirds of the oil and half the liquefied natural gas India imports comes through the strait of Hormuz.
- It will become **another bottleneck in India-US relations**, since both seek cooperation at Global stage to handle various geo-political issues.
- It adds to **Global uncertainty** which impacts India's geopolitical, economic and strategic options.

HOW SHOULD INDIA RESPOND?

EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

- **Diversification** of oil imports. EX – Iraq and Saudi Arabia.
- Supporting **European countries** which still support the JCPOA. EX- France, UK , Germany
- Engaging with the **US for a possibility of Waiver for trade** with Iran.
- India should Highlight the **role of dialogue and diplomacy** while supporting **Iran's right to peaceful use of nuclear energy**.
- Being a votary of **rule based international order**, India should highlight the role of multilateral dialogue to resolve the issue.

► CHABAHAR PORT ISSUE

- India is developing two terminals at the port including the Shahid Beheshti complex and under an agreement signed with the Iran, it would run the terminal for 10 years.
- Iran has dropped India from the Chabahar rail project. India and Iran had signed an agreement to construct a rail line from Chabahar port to Zahedan, along the border with Afghanistan. Now Iran has started the development of the rail line on its own. Iran has cited delays from the Indian side in funding and starting the project. The railway project was being developed as a part of trilateral agreement between India, Iran and Afghanistan. IRCON had signed a MoU in this regard.

ABOUT CHABAHAR PORT

- It is located in the Gulf of Oman, near Iran's border with Pakistan.
- It serves as Iran's only major oceanic port because it is the only major port of Iran that lies beyond the Strait of Hormuz and has direct access to the Indian Ocean.
- Chabahar port in Iran connects to Afghanistan at the Zaranj and Delaram highway. Chabahar port to Delaram is approx. 1800 km.
- This highway then links it to the Afghan 'garland road' or 'Ring Road' that connects the major Afghan cities of Herat, Kandahar, Kabul and Mazar-e-Sharif.
- Chabahar port is the nearest Iranian port to India, which is at approx. 1020km from Kandla port, Gujarat or 1560km from Mumbai.
- The port also serves as the nearest port entry, after Pakistani ports, for India into Central Asia.
- Chabahar Port also provides direct access to India's Farkhor Air Base in Tajikistan.

- With the help of the port India has showcased commitment to the reconstruction and re-building of post-war Afghanistan and augmented its Soft Power status in Afghanistan.

WHY INDIA DELAYED THE CONSTRUCTION?

India remained reluctant to start the work because of the fears of attracting US sanctions. U.S. had provided a sanctions waiver for the Chabahar port and the rail line to Zahedan, but it has been difficult to find equipment suppliers and partners due to worries they could be targeted by the U.S.

WHY IS IT A CAUSE OF CONCERN?

- Iran and China are about to finalise a 25year Strategic Partnership which will include Chinese involvement in Chabahar's duty-free zone, an oil refinery nearby, and also possibly a larger role in Chabahar port as well.
- This plan has been revealed in a leaked document - "Comprehensive Plan for Cooperation between Iran and China"
- It is cause of concern because India was developing this port with the aim of countering Chinese presence in the India Ocean region. This port is strategically very important because it gives India the access to Central Asian countries and would help India in keeping an eye on the Chinese activity in the Gwadar port of Pakistan which is close to the Chabahar port.

WHAT INDIA NEEDS TO DO?

- India needs to improve its implementation record of infrastructure projects that it has taken up in its neighbourhood.
- There have been delays and cost overruns in many such projects.
- Such delays make it easier for China to expand its footprint in India's neighbourhood.
- The key is to continue to remain politically engaged with Iran so that there is a better appreciation of each other's sensitivities and compulsions.

► ABRAHAM ACCORDS

UAE, Bahrein and Israel have agreed to establish full diplomatic ties as part of a deal to halt the annexation of occupied land sought by the Palestinians for their future state. These agreements were mediated by USA and are known as the **Abraham Accords**.

Abraham Accords was a joint statement between Israel, the United Arab Emirates and the United States, reached on August 2020. It was subsequently also used to refer collectively to agreements between Israel and the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain.

EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

IMPLICATIONS - INDIA - UAE - ISRAEL AXIS

- The normalization agreements between Israel and several Arab states — chief among them, the UAE — along with Turkey's bid to return as the leader of a Muslim order and the growing distance between the UAE and Pakistan have created an unlikely and unprecedented "Indo-Abrahamic" transregional order.
- This emerging multilateral pact may fill the gap the United States is leaving in the Middle East and has the potential to transform the region's geopolitics and geoeconomics.
- Israel is the second largest arms supplier to India and provides cybersecurity solutions to secure its critical infrastructure. Israel also trains Indian special forces on counter-terrorism. In Kashmir, Israel trains Indian police officers and equips security forces with surveillance technology and foliage-penetrating radar.
- India and Israel's alliance coincided with a stronger relationship between India and the Gulf.
- New Delhi and Abu Dhabi began to align more on geopolitical affairs beyond the conventional three pillars of their relationship: oil, remittances, and the diaspora.
- The UAE courted India into its camp as Pakistan drew closer to Turkey.
- The new strategic alignment between New Delhi and Abu Dhabi centers around countering Islamist extremism, defending state sovereignty, and pushing back against the growing influence of the Turkey-led Muslim order.
- The size, power, and influence of the Indo-Abrahamic states — India, Israel, and the UAE — have the potential to transform the region's geopolitics and geoeconomics.
- The multilateral dynamics have been taking shape over the past few years, but accelerated rapidly in 2020 with the Abraham Accords normalization agreements, Turkey's pursuit of a more aggressive foreign policy, and the growing distance between Pakistan and the UAE.
- Although the three powers still have not embraced the grouping as a formal geopolitical bloc, an Indo-Abrahamic strategic dialogue is a close possibility.
- While geopolitics may be the primary reason for such an unprecedented transregional pact, the geoeconomics aspect should not be underestimated either.
- Another critical challenge for the Indo-Abrahamic alliance is where Saudi Arabia — the heartland of

Islam and the biggest Arab economy — stands in relation to the emerging geopolitical bloc.

- Riyadh has nurtured good relations with Tel Aviv and New Delhi and may look to this grouping as a strategic opportunity in the long run.
- The rise of the Indo-Abrahamic bloc in West Asia could provide USA with a geostrategic solution to the pressing challenge of the U.S. presence in the region and how to do more with less, while connecting the bloc with the new U.S. Indo-Pacific strategy and shoring up an Asian order.

► ISRAEL PALESTINE CONFLICT

Israel and the Palestinians witnessed the worst conflict in years as Israel pounded the Gaza Strip with air strikes and artillery, while Hamas militants fired rockets into Israel. After 11 days of violence, Israel and Palestinian group Hamas have reached a ceasefire. As many as 248 Palestinians and 12 Israelis were killed in the recent fighting. Israeli air strikes also caused large scale damage in the Gaza strip.

In this context let us understand the roots of Israel Palestine conflict, causes of the recent conflict and various other associated issues.

WHAT CAUSED THE RECENT CONFLICT?

- The fighting between Israel and Hamas was triggered by days of escalating clashes between Palestinians and Israeli police at **a holy hilltop compound in East Jerusalem**.
- The site is revered by both Muslims, who call it the **Haram al-Sharif (Noble Sanctuary)**, and Jews, for whom it is known as **the Temple Mount**.
- Hamas demanded Israel remove police from there and the nearby predominantly Arab district of **Sheikh Jarrah**, where Palestinian families face eviction by Jewish settlers. Hamas launched rockets when its ultimatum went unheeded.
- Palestinian were already angered by the confrontations with the Israeli Police in the east Jerusalem in the Holy month of Ramadan.

INDIA'S STAND ON THE ISRAEL PALESTINE ISSUE

India's permanent representative at the UN made a statement at the UNSC debate which aimed at maintaining a balance between India's traditional support for the Palestine cause and its blossoming relations with Israel.

India's stand on the present Conflict -

- India's Permanent Representative at the UN expressed **concern over the violence in Jerusalem**

EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

and the “possible eviction process” of Palestinian families in Sheikh Jarrah and warned against “attempts to unilaterally change the *status quo*” in Jerusalem.

- India’s “strong support for the just Palestinian cause and its unwavering commitment to the two-state solution” was also reiterated.
- But India was careful not to upset Israel’s sensitivities. There is a direct condemnation of the rocket attacks from Gaza but no direct reference to the disproportionate bombing Israel has been carrying out on the Gaza Strip.
- India also **did not make any reference to the status of Jerusalem or the future borders of the two states**, in line with a recent change in its policy.

How has India’s Policy evolved over years? India’s policy on the longest running conflict in the world has gone from being **unequivocally pro-Palestine** for the first four decades, **to a balancing act** with its three-decade-old friendly ties with Israel. In recent years, India’s position has also **been perceived as pro-Israel**.

1948 – INDIA VOTED AGAINST THE CREATION OF ISRAEL

- It was the only non-Arab-state among 13 countries that **voted against the UN partition plan of Palestine** in the General Assembly that led to the creation of Israel.
- **Reasons for India’s support** - India’s own Partition along religious lines, its principled stand against the Colonialism and its effects, solidarity with the Palestinian people, to ward off Pakistan’s plan to isolate India over Kashmir and India’s energy dependency on Arab countries.
- However, India **formally recognised Israel** in September **1950**.
- However, **full diplomatic relations** were established as late as **1992**.

INDIA AND PLO

- At the 53rd UN session, India co-sponsored the draft resolution on the right of the Palestinians to self-determination.
- In the 1967 and 1973 wars, India lashed out at Israel as the aggressor.
- In 1975, India became the **first non-Arab country to recognise the PLO** as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, and invited it to open an office in Delhi, which was accorded diplomatic status five years later.

- In 1988, when the **PLO declared an independent state of Palestine with its capital in East Jerusalem**, India granted recognition immediately.
- India voted for Palestine to become a full member of UNESCO in 2011, and a year later, **co-sponsored the UN General Assembly resolution** that enabled Palestine to become a “non-member” **observer state at the UN without voting rights**. India also supported the installation of the **Palestinian flag on the UN premises** in September 2015.

POST 2014 – A NEW PHASE – POLICY OF DE-HYPHENATION

- India **abstained from voting at UN Human Rights Council on a resolution** which claimed to highlight evidence of alleged war crimes committed by Israeli forces and Hamas during the 2014 airstrikes against Gaza that killed over 2000.
- In 2016, India **abstained again from a UNHRC resolution against Israel**.
- In 2017, during the visit of PLO chief Mahmoud Abbas the **reference to East Jerusalem was missing in the statement issued by the Indian PM**. Historically, India supported Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its Capital. This stand of the PM was contrary to stand iterated by the Indian president during his visit to Ramallah (Palestine).
- **In 2018, PM Modi became the first ever Indian PM to visit Israel**. At this visit the PM skipped the visit to Palestinian de facto capital Ramallah.
- This move was seen as India pursuing a **policy of DE-hyphenation** wherein it would deal with Israel and Palestine separately.
- The de-hyphenation is actually a careful balancing act, with India shifting from one side to another as the situation demands.
- This was clearly visible when **India had voted in favour of a resolution** in the General Assembly opposing the Trump administration’s recognition of Jerusalem as the Israeli capital.
- At the UNHRC’s 46th session in Geneva earlier this year, **India voted against Israel in three resolutions** – one on the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people, a second on Israeli settlement policy, and a third on the human rights situation in the Golan Heights.
- Recently the **International Criminal Court** claimed jurisdiction to investigate human rights abuses in Palestinian territory including West Bank and Gaza and **named both Israeli security forces and Hamas**

EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

as perpetrators. Israeli PM wanted India to take stand because India does not recognize ICC. However, India did not take any stand.

- Thus, India has been following a policy where it is taking stands on the issues on a case-to-case basis. And it can be said that the policy of De-hyphenation is a work in progress.

► SOUTH EAST ASIA

ACT EAST POLICY

- India's 'Act East' policy is a diplomatic initiative to promote economic, strategic and cultural relations with the vast Asia-Pacific region at different levels.
- 'Act East' and its early avatar, 'Look East' are not different; rather, they are two sides of the same coin, representing two different, but continuing phases in the evolution of India's policy towards the Asia-Pacific region.
- Act east policy which was envisaged in 2014 gave a new thrust to intensify economic, strategic and diplomatic relations with countries that share common concerns with India on China's growing economic and military strength and its implications for the evolving regional order.
- India joined the ASEAN in 1992 as a sectoral partner and became a full-fledged member in 1994. It is now an active member of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), the East Asian Summit (EAS) and the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting Plus.
- The same characteristic feature is seen in the case of both Japan and South Korea—two major pillars in India's Act East policy.
- A vast array of institutional mechanisms binds their partnership in such forums like annual summit, strategic dialogue, defence dialogue, and numerous forums on energy cooperation, counter-terrorism, U.N. reforms, cyber security, and maritime cooperation.
- India's participation in the **quadrilateral meetings** with the US, Japan and Australia, particularly since 2017 has underlined New Delhi's interest to exchange views on the strategic environment of the **Indo-Pacific region**.

ECONOMIC RELATIONS

- India's participation in the quadrilateral meetings with the US, Japan and Australia, particularly since 2017 which has underlined New Delhi's interest to exchange views on the strategic environment of the Indo-Pacific region.
- A good deal of ASEAN private investment has also flowed into India in many sectors including construction of ports, highways, food processing, shipping, and auto components. Similarly, India's investments in ASEAN have grown considerably in recent years, with Singapore becoming its investment and trading hub.
- India and Japan entered into a comprehensive economic partnership agreement (CEPA) in 2011, the volume of bilateral trade has been decreasing.
- South Korea also signed a free trade agreement with India in 2009, but did not find the bilateral trade growing as expected. Both countries since then have reviewed the working of the CEPA to augment the volume of trade.
- The value of Japan's investment jumped from US\$ 1.7 billion in 2014 to US\$ 4.7 billion in 2016-17. The cumulative Japanese investment in India from April 2000 to December 2016 amounted to US\$ 25.2 billion, accounting for eight percent of India's total FDI during that period.
- India - South Korea countries have set a target of reaching US\$ 50 billion by 2030.

ACT EAST POLICY AND THE NORTH EASTERN STATES OF INDIA

- India's Act East Policy is closely connected with its long-term vision of **developing its North-eastern region (NER)** which is considered as a gateway to Southeast Asia.
- The connectivity projects in the NER will foster greater integration not only within the NER, but also externally with neighbouring countries.
- It is in India's Northeast where India's Act East policy and Japan's 'Open and free Indo-Pacific strategy' converge and both countries are keen to extend their cooperation to the broader Indo-Pacific region.

Strategic interests

- India has now forged **strategic partnerships** with Indonesia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Japan, South Korea and Australia. In addition, it has also established close

EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

links with countries of the BIMSTEC group of countries and the IOR.

- India has forged the **SAGAR strategy which stands for Security and Growth for All in the Region**.
- India is concerned about the **strategic uncertainties** in the region following the **decline of US influence and the rapid rise of China**. India, therefore, is interested in contributing along with other like-minded countries to the evolving new regional order which should be open, rules-based, and free from the influence of any single hegemon.
- As a country dependent on sea-borne trade for its sustenance, it recognises the inherent rights of all countries to freedom of navigation, overflight, and unimpeded commerce in open seas. **Maritime security** is an important aspect of India's Act East policy.
- India also believes that no country should use force as a means of settling disputes.
- India's Act East policy supports connectivity programmes for promoting regional cooperation and integration.
- India's Act East policy has a strong synergy with Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific and South Korea's New Southern Policy. All three recognise the centrality of the ASEAN region.

CHALLENGES FOR ACT EAST POLICY

India has gained specific position in South Asia, East Asia or Indo-Pacific region. after so much of toil and efforts. However, there are some challenges to Act East Policy.

→Trade Deficit

Trade has grown over the years but this has occurred with an imbalance.

- This trade deficit is significantly huge, given India's total trade deficit.
- This was one of the reasons that made India exit RCEP negotiations

→Chinese Factor

China is encircling India (through the string of pearls), and by constructing China Pakistan economic corridor through PoK.

On the issues like climate change, globalization and many others China seeks for cooperation from India.

Also, India does not want to make China apprehensive of India being a member of the anti-China alliance led by the US.

STEPS FOR SUCCESSFUL ACT EAST POLICY

→Need for Competitive Manufacturing

- Act East Policy seeks economic integration of India's economy with global supply chains which are concentrated in Southeast Asia and East Asia.
- India needs to focus on 'Make in India' and introduce reforms in manufacturing industry.
- Recently announced capital sector reforms, labour reforms and bridging infrastructure deficit can be seen as efforts to minimize the gaps.
- India needs to establish balanced, fair and equitable trade relationship with countries to make Act East Policy, a successful one.

→Development in North East

- India can push development in North -East region by using connectivity project in this region
- India is already engaged I various connectivity projects like India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway and Kaladan Multi-Modal Transit Transport Project.

→Other factors

- India shares cultural, religious and civilizational linkages with many countries of this region. We can take leverage of these factors.
- Technological developments and assistance: In South Asia, India has emerged as technical power and should extend its support to that nation wherever necessary. This will enhance mutual trust and build confidence.
- The Indian diaspora in these countries is big and will help in increasing people to people relations. It will help in posing good image of India.

► ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS - ASEAN

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (more commonly known as ASEAN) is an intergovernmental organization aimed primarily at promoting economic growth and regional stability among its members.

There are currently 10 member states: Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Laos, Myanmar, Cambodia and Vietnam.

EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

**BRIEF ON INDIA – ASEAN RELATIONS**

India's relationship with ASEAN is a key pillar of her foreign policy and the foundation of Act East Policy.

- Partnership Agreements - India and ASEAN already have a
- 25 years of Dialogue Partnership
- 15 years of Summit Level interaction
- 5 years of Strategic Partnership

Recently, India and ASEAN meeting reviewed the progress in implementation of the ASEAN-India plan of action (2016-2020) and adopted a new plan of action for the next five years from 2021-25 that envisages greater cooperation in areas ranging from trade to maritime security and counter-terrorism.

- **Economic Relations** – While ASEAN is India's fourth largest trading partner, India's trade with ASEAN stands at approx. 10.6% of India's overall trade.
- **Indo-pacific** - India's Act East Policy is an important part of its Indo-Pacific vision and ASEAN is the core of the Act East Policy.
- **Counter aggressive China** - China is engaged in territorial disputes with many ASEAN nations in the South China Sea and is locked in a bitter border row with India in eastern Ladakh.
- **Geo-Strategic Significance** – to facilitate rule-based order and to maintain freedom of navigation cooperation in the region is an imperative.
- **Connectivity** with the ASEAN nations can allow India to improve its presence in the region especially with

respect to India's North-eastern states via road-rail connectivity with ASEAN countries.

- **Socio-Cultural Cooperation** - Various programs have been organised to enhance people-to-people contacts. India, for instance, has invited the ASEAN students each year for Students Exchange Program.
- **Security** – Collaboration is necessary to counter insurgency in the Northeast, combat terrorism, tax evasions etc. The main forum for ASEAN security dialogue is the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). The **ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM)** is the highest defence consultative and cooperative mechanism in ASEAN. The ADMM+ brings together Defence Ministers from the 10 ASEAN nations plus Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand, Republic of Korea, Russia, and the United States on a biannual basis.

CHALLENGES

- **Economic challenges:** India has an unfavorable balance of trade with the ASEAN nations. India has pulled out of the RCEP deal, as it would deepen its trade deficit with China and the ASEAN nations.
- **Delayed Projects:** India has committed to many connectivity projects like India-Myanmar-Thailand trilateral highway. However, they have not been completed timely.
- **Ineffective Negotiations:** Many bilateral deals with these nations are yet to be finalized, leading to the halting of various aspects of diplomatic ties.

WAY FORWARD

EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

India needs a close diplomatic relationship with ASEAN nations both for economic and security reasons. Hence

- Stronger strategic and security relations with equally strong economic ties will create greater interdependence between India and the ASEAN members. This will serve as an effective counter to China's growing clout in the region.
- Explore tremendous opportunities in enhancing physical and digital connectivity between India and ASEAN.
- India must speed up work on connectivity projects, such as the India-Myanmar-Thailand trilateral highway, and building new trade and transport linkages with all the ASEAN Nations.

► RCEP

India held that it is "not reviewing" the decision it took last year of not joining the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) or any trade deal where Beijing is a member as matters have turned worse for India, especially after the Covid-19 pandemic and the ongoing border stand-off with China.

All RCEP member countries have decided to sign the trade pact by the end of 2020 without India, and the deal may come into force by the middle of next year. India will have the option of signing it at a later date.

ABOUT

- RCEP is a Free Trade agreement currently being negotiated between ASEAN+6, which includes the 10 ASEAN countries and Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand and South Korea. The RCEP negotiations was also envisioned as being led by ASEAN and would be based upon vision of 'ASEAN Centrality'.
- The agreement covers goods, services, investment, competition, intellectual property, economic and technical cooperation, e-commerce and law, and is intended to be a Free Trade Agreement. It is meant to build upon the existing ASEAN+1 FTA wherein ASEAN has existing FTA agreements with the other six members.
- The RCEP countries account for almost half of the world's population, contribute 25% of the world exports, and make up around 30% of global GDP and hence RCEP is considered to be one of the largest regional trade agreement.

WHY DID INDIA DECIDE TO OPT OUT OF RCEP?

- **Reluctance to open:** India has negotiated for liberalization of the Services sector in which it has an

advantage; however, countries such as Australia and New Zealand are reluctant towards opening their services market to other countries such as India that would provide cheaper competitive edge to their domestic players.

- India has been reluctant for liberalisation in the manufacturing sector in which China and other member nations have an advantage, which would hamper India's domestic players in price competitive sectors such as in electronics, in which China, South Korea and other have an edge.
- **Adverse Trade Deficit:** India has around \$104 billion trade deficit with the RCEP member countries, which is 65% of India's total trade deficit. India is apprehensive that if it further liberalizes its market by reducing import duties on goods under the RCEP deal, then its trade deficit with RCEP member countries would further widen.
- **Adverse impact on Domestic Industries:** The FTAs with Japan and South Korea have led to substantial increase in import of goods into the domestic market leading to adverse impact on domestic manufacturing. India is apprehensive that RCEP would enable China to dump its goods in Indian domestic market. The steel and textile industries have been demanding for enhanced protection in the RCEP negotiations.
- **Impact on Dairy Industry:** Many participating countries like New Zealand and Australia have been urging India to open up the dairy sector through reduction of import duties. India is the largest milk producer with a production of 176 million metric tonnes in 2018-19. India's dairy sector is estimated to have a value of \$100 billion and constitutes 20% of the total global milk production. RCEP negotiations are crucial to the survival of India's dairy sector as milk production in India is smallholder-centric. India needs to learn from its past mistakes. For instance, in the case of edible oil, the entire industry has moved from self-sufficiency to import dependency post the WTO implementation in 1996-97.
- **Investments under RCEP:** Presently, the Indian Government emphasizes that foreign companies investing in India should transfer technology or know-hows to their domestic counterparts. Further, the government and Reserve Bank of India also currently impose a cap on the royalties a domestic company can pay to its foreign parent or partner.

EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

- The Investment related aspects of the RCEP has been finalized recently and it has done away with requirement of technology transfer and cap on royalties paid by the domestic companies to foreign companies. This goes against the interests of India.
- **Electronic Commerce:** The present e-commerce chapter contains clauses that prevent the member countries from specifying the data localisation rules for the foreign companies. It is to be noted that the RBI has already come out with the data localisation norms for the payment system operators such as Visa, MasterCard etc. Further, Srikrishna Committee has also highlighted the need for data localisation to improve the law enforcement in India. Hence, e-commerce chapter in the RCEP does against India's interests.

BENEFITS RCEP HOLDS FOR INDIA

- **Effective utilization of FTAs:** India has signed Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) with some of the RCEP member countries such as Japan, South Korea, Singapore, Malaysia etc. However, India has failed to effectively utilize the benefits of such FTAs. In this regard, the RCEP provides an avenue for India to complement India's existing free trade agreements with the ASEAN and some of its member countries. It would help India streamline the rules and regulations of regional trade and help India in effective utilization of FTAs.
- **Greater Regional Integration:** The RCEP agreement is an integral part of India's "Act East" policy and hence joining this agreement would enable India to strengthen its relationship with the South east Asian countries. This becomes quite important because India is not a party to two important regional economic blocs - Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation and the Trans-Pacific Partnership.
- **Comparative Advantage:** India enjoys a comparative advantage in areas such as information and communication technology, IT-enabled services, professional services, healthcare, and education services. Hence, joining RCEP would give greater fillip to such crucial sectors of the Indian Economy leading to higher employment creation and higher GDP growth.
- **Attracting Investment:** The RCEP countries account for almost 25% of the global FDI flows. Hence, by joining RCEP, India will be able to attract more amount of FDI, giving a much needed boost to "Make in India" campaign.

WAY FORWARD

India must first thus try to strengthen its own position and market before it decides on joining any such large scale trade partnership by undertaking-

- **Deeper Economic Reforms:** India needs second-generation reforms in order to make its trade more competitive.
- **Strengthen Existing Agreements:** The trade and investment agreements with ASEAN, Japan and Korea, as well as its bilateral arrangements with Malaysia and Singapore must be strengthened.
- **Marketing Products:** The marketing of Indian products to existing favourable markets, as well as other countries where India has a low export presence.
- **Export support to domestic players:** Create dedicated agencies and establish offices overseas equipped with professional marketing expertise that will undertake export promotion and to link buyers with Indian exporters in major markets across the world.

► INDIA & AFRICA

The first ever India Africa Defence Ministers' Conclave was held at Lucknow, India during the 11th edition of the biennial defence exhibition DEFEXPO INDIA 2020 on 6th February 2020.

India has extended US\$ 15 million grant assistance to Niger in support of organizing of the upcoming African Union (AU) summit in July, 2019 in Niamey, Niger.

INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY WITH AFRICA

- Africa will be at the top of India's foreign policy priorities and India will have sustained and regular engagements to intensify and deepen its relations with Africa.
- India's development partnership with Africa will be guided by **priorities formed by respective African countries**. India will also rely on African talent and skill to build local capacity and create local opportunities.
- India will keep its markets open and make it easier and more attractive for Africa to trade with India. India will also support its industry to invest in Africa.
- India will harness its experience with **digital revolution** to support Africa's development, improve delivery of public services, extend education and health, spread digital literacy, expand financial inclusion and mainstream the marginalised.
- India will collaborate with Africa to address the **challenges of climate change**, wherein India will

EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

work with Africa to ensure a just international climate order, preserve biodiversity; and adopt clean and efficient energy sources.

- India will strengthen its **cooperation and enhance mutual capabilities** in combating terrorism and extremism, keep our cyberspace safe and secure and supporting the UN in advancing and keeping peace.
- India will work with African nations to keep the oceans **open and free** for the benefit of all nations. India would work with Africa to ensure cooperation and not competition in the eastern shores of Africa and the eastern Indian Ocean.
- India would collaborate with Africa to ensure that Africa does not turn into a theatre of rival ambitions.
- India will work together for a **just, representative and democratic global order**. India would seek reforms in the global institutions with an equal place for Africa.

- Moreover, there is a lack of emerging companies from India outreaching to African markets and the Indian telecom companies which had strong presence in Africa were unable to expand due to slowdown in telecom sector in India.
- Apart from this, Africa has seen a global decline in FDI inflows with a drop of 21% in 2016-17 which affected Indian investment sentiments and there is also a lack of ability for Indian companies to compete with Chinese investment and cheap exports to Africa.
- India had also tied up with Japan Asia-Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC) which is yet to be implemented effectively on the ground.
- India and Japan have had long engagement with the African continent which would be useful in promoting the goals of the AAGC. To be sure, they have a long way to go and it is still far-fetched to view the AAGC as a counter to China's ambitious Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

INDIA - AFRICA IN NUMBERS



ISSUES WITH INDIA'S APPROACH TOWARDS AFRICA

- India's model of development cooperation in Africa lacks a clear strategy.
- In the absence of a clear and well-articulated vision for Africa, India's development cooperation is often compared to the Chinese model of development cooperation in the region - despite significant differences — which is based on state-led infrastructure for resources deals, rising debt threats, lack of domestic capacity building and job creation.
- India is not actively pursuing any specific development goals.
- Indian Line of credits - LoCs have not been designed to achieve a larger development goal such as food security, health security, clean energy or education for all.
- There is no synchronisation between different development instruments. LoCs, grants and capacity building initiatives operate as standalone instruments of development cooperation, with almost no links with each other.
- Implementation has been a key constraint for Indian LoCs, with poor disbursement rates and project completion record.

CONCERNS IN INDIA-AFRICA TRADE & INVESTMENT

- The main causes for such a scenario is that India's trade with Africa mainly relies on petroleum and LNG and therefore requires diversification and similarly India's trade in Africa is localised to countries of East Africa and require further expansion to other regions of Africa.

WAY FORWARD

- Unlike China and the West, India does not have substantial resources to support Africa. Therefore, it should prepare a focused Africa strategy for the next decade and identify a few areas for closer cooperation.

EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

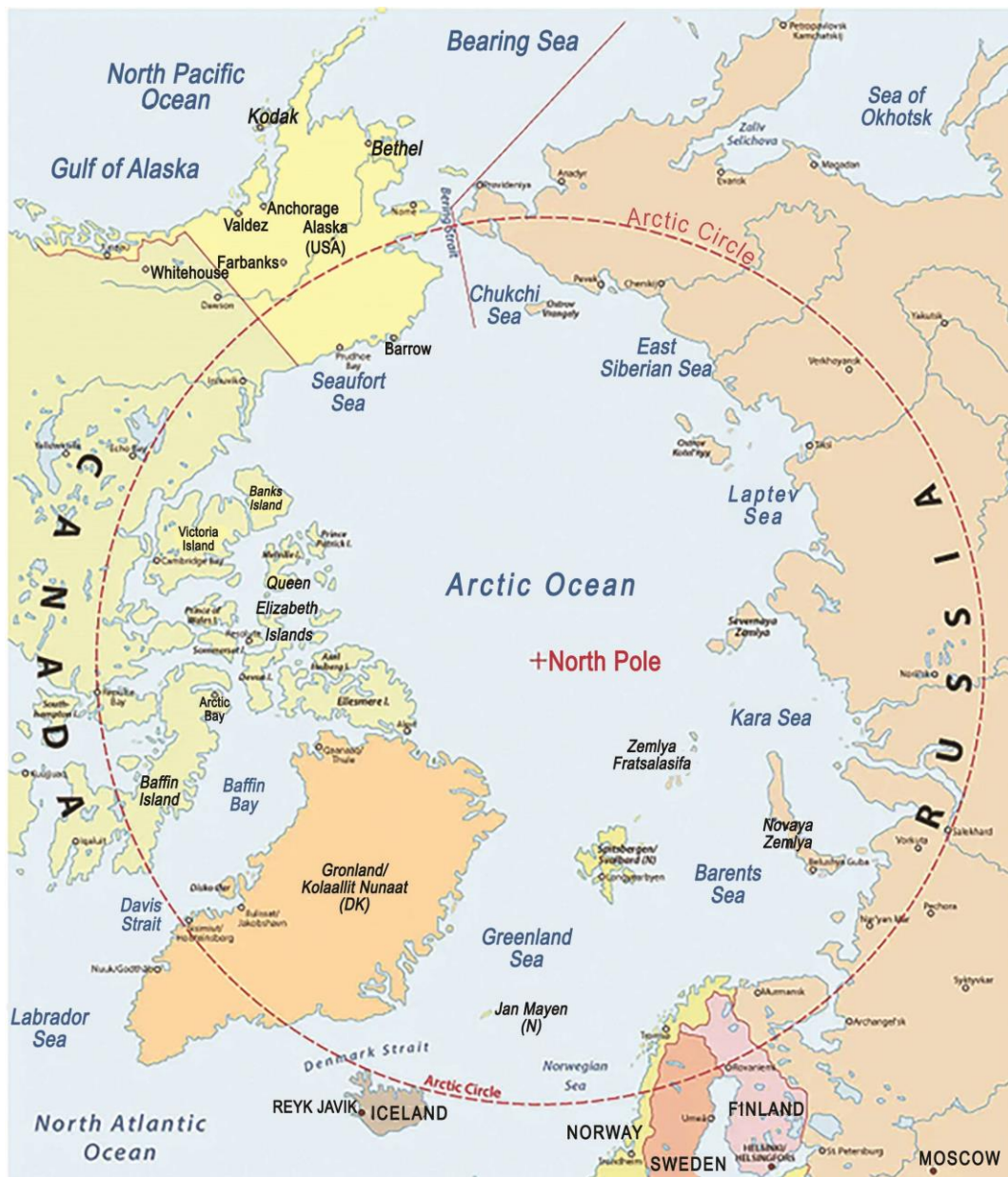
- Investment in human capital is the key to development in Africa. The current focus on capacity building is in line with Africa's needs given the continent's huge youth population that need skills and jobs.
- The Indian government should explore greater collaboration with NGOs to implement development projects in Africa at low costs.
- India should try to support Indian companies making investment in development-friendly projects for mutual benefit.
- Though some improvement in project implementation has occurred in recent years, India's overall record is poor. Efforts must be made to expedite the LoC projects.

- India must make largescale investments in its own higher education sector to project itself as an education hub for neighboring countries and Africa.
- Indian government should ensure that Africans studying or working in India are safe and enjoy their stay in the country. Efforts should also be made to educate Indians about Africa so that people-to-people connections between India and Africa flourish.

► GEOPOLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ARCTIC

U.S. Secretary of State, Antony Blinken has Warned of Militarization of the Arctic. In this background, let us understand the geopolitical significance of the Arctic and India's presence in this region.

ABOUT THE ARCTIC



EXTENDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

- Being Surrounded by Canada, Russia, Greenland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, and the United States, the Arctic Region experiences extremes of solar radiation throughout the year. These distinguishable features made it historically inaccessible.
- However, with climate change and rapid global warming, this region has become more accessible. The Arctic is increasingly becoming an area of geo-political, geo-economic and geo-ecological interest

SIGNIFICANCE OF ARCTIC REGION

Economical –

- **A warehouse of untapped natural resource** - this region contains one-fifth of the world's undiscovered oil and natural gas resources, alongside platinum, gold, silver, iron, zinc, copper, and deposits of methane hydrates which are sources of tremendous energy
- Huge potential for **commercial fishing Industry**
- **Navigation potential:** Melting ice will open up new sea routes for open water vessels (not adapted for ice-breaking) cutting distances and travel times

Ecological-

- **Albedo** - Arctic Sea ice acts as a huge white reflector at the top of the planet, bouncing some of the sun's rays back into space, helping keep the Earth at an even temperature.
- **Thermohaline circulation (Global conveyor belt)** - Arctic helps circulate the world's ocean currents, moving cold and warm water around the globe.
- Permafrost of arctic region acts as a **carbon sink**.
- **Bio diversity** - Arctic region is home to more than 21,000 known species of highly cold-adapted mammals, birds, fish, invertebrates, plants and fungi and microbe species which are of immense value to the mankind

CHALLENGES FACED BY THE REGION

- **Climate change** - according to IPCC report, the Arctic is warming at a rate of almost twice the global average. It will result in rising sea levels, changes in precipitation patterns, increasing severe weather

events, and loss of fish stocks, birds and marine mammals.

- **Militarization of Arctic** - short distance between the two antagonistic powers (USA and Russia) led to the militarisation of this region. This resulted in stationing of intercontinental ballistic missile systems, nuclear powered attack submarines and naval bases.
- **Increased Chinese Presence**

Recently China unveiled its "**Polar silk Road**" plan China has already ensured its presence in the Arctic through the Russian Yamal Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) project.

Chinese subtle creep into the Arctic region is rising suspicion about its intentions

INDIA'S INTERESTS IN ARCTIC REGION

- **Climate** - Changes in Arctic climate due to global warming can have an impact on Indian Monsoon pattern, water security and coastal erosion. So, research in Arctic region is crucial for India. India already have a research base in the region- **Himadri**
- **Resources** - Rich natural resources and minerals in the Arctic region not only benefits our Manufacturing sector but also ensures energy security. ONGC Videsh limited acquired stakes in Russia's Rosneft new arctic oil project
- **Navigation** - India plans to explore connectivity corridor between resource rich Arctic Region and **International North South Transport Corridor (INSTC)**. India and Russia agreed to develop Chennai-Vladivostok maritime corridor

INDIA'S DRAFT ARCTIC POLICY

Recently drafted India's New Arctic policy seeks to enhance the country's level of engagement with the region. It enunciated with five major areas of engagement:-

- science and research;
- economic and human development cooperation;
- transportation and connectivity;
- governance and international cooperation; and
- national capacity building.

SECTION-3

BIG POWERS

► INDIA AND U.S.A

- Shared democratic values and growing convergence on bilateral, regional, and global issues have provided a strong base for India-U.S. relations, which have now evolved into a strategic partnership of global significance. The relationship enjoys strong bipartisan and popular support in both countries.
- **High-Level Dialogue Mechanisms:** India and the U.S. have more than 50 bilateral inter-governmental dialogue mechanisms for exchange of views on issues of mutual interest. For example,
- India-U.S. 2+2 Ministerial Dialogue; India-U.S. Trade Policy Forum; India-U.S. Strategic Energy Partnership etc.

BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIA AND USA

- **Defence:** Defence relationship has emerged as a major pillar of India U.S. strategic partnership with intensification in defence trade, joint exercises, personnel exchanges, and cooperation in maritime security and counter-piracy.
- **Counter-terrorism and internal security:** Cooperation in counterterrorism has seen considerable progress with enhanced intelligence sharing, information exchange and operational cooperation. The bilateral Joint Working Group on Counter-Terrorism is an important mechanism in this regard.
- **Cyber security cooperation** between India and the U.S. is carried out under the India-U.S. Cyber Framework signed in September 2016.

- **Trade and Economic:** The U.S. is India's largest trading partner, goods and services combined. Bilateral trade in goods and services grew by more than 10% per annum over the past two years to reach US\$ 142 billion in 2018.
- **Energy:** The U.S. has emerged as a key partner for India in the field of energy. The bilateral Strategic Energy Partnership launched in April 2018 between the two countries is robust and witnessing increasing diversification across both conventional and renewable energy sources.
- **Civil Nuclear Cooperation:** The bilateral civil nuclear cooperation agreement was signed in October 2008. India and the U.S. have a Civil Nuclear Energy Working group on R&D activities which has met ten times and has ongoing projects under R&D collaboration which are reviewed by the Working Group.
- **S&T/Space:** The Indo-U.S. Science & Technology Forum (IUSSTF) which was established by India and the U.S. as an autonomous, bi-national organization to promote cooperation in Science, Technology and Innovation.
- **Indian Diaspora:** The number of Indians and Indian Americans in the U.S. is estimated at around 4 million, which accounts for almost 1% of the total U.S. population. It includes a large number of professionals, entrepreneurs and educationists with considerable and increasing influence in U.S. polity, economy and the society.
- **Regional and International Cooperation:** Both countries are collaborating and coordinating on a

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number of regional and global issues in both security as well as development spheres.

INDIA-US FOUNDATIONAL AGREEMENTS

- US requires its strategic partners to sign 4 foundational agreements to enable the strategic engagement including sharing of information, technology transfer, extension of logistic facilities etc.
- The 4 foundational agreements include GSOMIA, BECA, LEMOA, COMCOSA.
- Being a 'Major Defence Partner' of the US, signing of the foundational pacts would allow India - greater interoperability between critical technologies and smooth facilitation of classified information.
- India has signed all 4 foundational agreements.

SOME UNRESOLVED ISSUES

- Threat of sanctions under CAATSA over S-400 air defence purchases from Russia.
- Iran Sanctions: India is unwilling to accept US diktat on stopping all oil imports from Iran.
- Trade protectionism of Trump era has forced India to impose retaliatory measures.
- Several issues/disputes in World Trade Organisation (WTO); Trade protectionism; Disputes on the new American steel and aluminium tariffs; disputes on Indian price reductions on medical devices.
- India is actively engaging with US in the Quad. However, the creation of AUKUS and its alignment with the Quad is relatively unclear.

INDIA US FOUNDATIONAL AGREEMENTS

With the signing of **Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA)** India has signed all the foundational defence agreement with the United States of America. This has made India effectively a part of the US's Security Architecture. India and US are coming closer because of growing concern both share about the rise of China.

INDIA US FOUNDATIONAL AGREEMENTS

- India and the United States signed the **Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA)**, the last of four so-called foundational agreements for sharing sensitive information, sales of advanced military hardware and geospatial cooperation, during the 2+2 ministerial dialogue.
- With this India has signed all the four Foundational Defense agreements the Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (**LEMOA**), the Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (**COMCASA**), the General Security of Military Information Agreement (**GSOMIA**) and the

the Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (**BECA**).

- An extension to the GSOMIA, the Industrial Security Annex (**ISA**), was signed at the last 2+2 dialogue.

ABOUT BECA

- The Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA) is essentially an agreement proposed between the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency of the US department of defence and the defence ministry that will allow India and the US to share military information which includes maps, nautical and aeronautical charts, commercial and other unclassified imagery, geodetic, geophysical, geomagnetic and gravity data.
- Most of the information that will be shared will be that of the unclassified category but there is a provision of sharing classified information as well with proper safeguards in place to ensure that the information is not shared with any third party.

WHAT WILL INDIA GAIN FROM THE AGREEMENT?

- The agreement will allow US armed forces to provide advanced financial navigational aids and geospatial intelligence which will improve the military's accuracy of automated hardware systems and weapons like cruise missiles, ballistic missiles and drones.
- BECA will also help India and US counter the growing Chinese influence in the Indo-Pacific region thereby strengthening the Quad.
- The agreement will also help India at a time of standoff with the Chinese army in Ladakh.

IMPORTANCE OF SIGNING BECA

- By signing BECA, India is in a position to specifically receive sensitive geo-spatial intelligence.
- Together these foundational military pacts **effectively tie India to the wider U.S. strategic architecture** in the region.
- Previous governments had resisted attempts to get India to sign these agreements on the ground that it would compromise India's security and independence in military matters.
- The present dispensation argues that there are enough India-specific safeguards built into the pacts, and there is no reason for concern.

IMPLICATIONS OF INDIA ALIGNING WITH WIDER U.S. STRATEGIC ARCHITECTURE

- It has been argued that such alignment stands contrary to India's stated principle of exercising Strategic Autonomy.

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- India will now be seen as part of a wider alliance that stands to counter China.
- Although it is being argued that such a move has been taken based on Pragmatic considerations, it seriously impacts the previous policy of neutrality, and of maintaining its equi-distance from power blocs.

IMPACT ON INDIA - CHINA RELATIONS

- Initially India had distanced itself from the QUAD so as to avoid being seen as a part of anti-China grouping.
- However now Quad has become more anti-China in its orientation. Further India has invited Australia to join the Malabar Naval Exercise which now has the same members as the Quad.
- At this point being seen as close to USA might not be in the long-term interest of India.
- As far as China is concerned, in the past India has pursued the Policy of avoidance of conflicts with China. For Example, even After the Doklam Stand-off, India tried to mend ties with China through the Wuhan and the Mamallapuram bonhomie.
- And now India's alignment with US would indicate that India made its choice which, can only exacerbate already deteriorating China-India relations.

IMPACT ON REGIONAL AND OTHER NATION TIES

- Besides forging alliance against China, India should focus on offsetting the loss of influence and momentum in its immediate neighbourhood (in South Asia), and in its extended neighbourhood (in West Asia)
- Further, both China and USA are enlarging their influence in India's neighbourhood which is traditionally seen to be under India's sphere of influence.
- The Maldives has chosen to enter into a military pact with the U.S. to counter Chinese expansionism in the Indian Ocean region.
- India also needs to make sure that UAE-Israel linkage does not adversely impact India's interests in the region.
- India also needs to devote greater attention to try and restore India-Iran ties which have impacted because of US sanctions.
- Further, India's stand on Afghanistan has been wavering since US has decided on peace deal with Taliban.

- India also needs to balance its membership of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation SCO in the light of its new relationship with USA.
- With China and Russia as the founding members of SCO it was conceived as an anti-NATO entity.
- India has also distanced itself from the African and the Latin American countries owing to its distancing from the NAM.

IMPACT ON INDIA RUSSIA RELATIONS

- Finally, such closeness with US can adversely impact India-Russia relations
- Russia has been an all-weather friend for India for the past decades.
- India-Russia relations are also being impacted because of expanding Russia-China relations.
- Thus, India will need to handle its relations with Russia with skill and dexterity, as it would be a tragedy if India-Russia relations were to deteriorate at a time when the world is in a state of disorder.

► CAATSA

The ongoing military stand-off along the disputed India-China boundary prompted New Delhi to fast-track the procurement of the fighter aircraft from Russia. But these procurements may make India vulnerable to the US sanctions under Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA).

WHAT IS CAATSA?

The US Congress in July 2017 passed the Countering America's Adversaries through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) to impose sanctions on Russia, Iran, and North Korea. Trump signed it into law in August 2017 and its scope was further expanded in October 2017. Section 231 of the CAATSA mandated secondary sanctions to any nation entering into high-value deals to procure military hardware from Russia.

CAATSA AND INDIA

India inked a Rs 39000 crore deal to buy S-400 Triumf long-range surface-to-air missile systems from Almaz-Antey Corporation of Russia in October 2018. The US has not yet imposed the CAATSA sanctions on India for the deal with Russia. However, U.S. officials across departments have repeatedly stated that India should not assume it will get a waiver.

NEGATIVE IMPLICATION OF CAATSA FOR INDIA

- US can prohibit sales of critical defense equipment's that may affect India's security and strategic interests.

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- Indian manufacturing entities that generally import spare parts from various Russian companies for defence equipment will be adversely affected.
- US can be used as a tool for arm twisting to prevent India from having trade relations with countries like Russia, Iran etc.

POSITIVE IMPLICATION OF CAATSA FOR INDIA

- With growing economic and strategic relations between India and the US, India can influence the US to use CAATSA to put pressure on Pakistan to control cross-border terrorism.
- With increasing conflict between the US and China, it can give an opportunity for India to become part of a global supply chain that was routing through China.

Thus, CAATSA is a powerful mechanism that India can utilize for its own benefit by managing ties with the US better, but at the same time growing dependencies on the US makes it vulnerable as well and hence India should proceed in a cautious manner.

ASSERTION OF NAVIGATIONAL RIGHTS IN INDIA'S EEZ

The US Navy announced on April 7 that the USS John Paul Jones from its 7th Fleet had "asserted **navigational rights and freedoms approximately 130 nautical miles west of Lakshadweep Islands, inside India's exclusive economic zone, without requesting India's prior consent**".

This move of the US was seen as a breach of the UNCLOS and was also seen as unnecessary at a time when India-US relations are on a high.

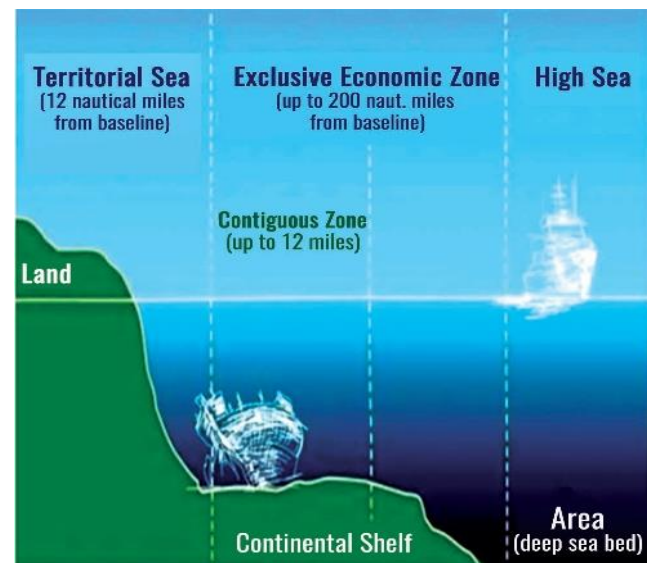
US Position on the move -

- The U.S. defended the military operation off India's waters, terming it "consistent with international law".
- For the U.S. Navy, FONOPs are a way of showing that the maritime claims of certain states are incompatible with international law.
- India's requirement of prior consent for the passage of foreign warships through Indian EEZs, U.S. officials believe, is a violation of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS).
- Articles 56 and 58, Part V of the Law of the Sea entitles U.S. warships to high-seas freedoms in the 200-nautical-mile EEZs of another coastal state.

India's Position -

- India interprets the maritime convention differently.
- Indian experts note that the UNCLOS does not explicitly permit the passage of military vessels in another state's EEZ.

- When India ratified the convention in 1995 it stated that - "India understands that the provisions of the Convention do not authorize other States to carry out in the exclusive economic zone and on the continental shelf military exercises or maneuvers, in particular those involving the use of weapons or explosives without the consent of the coastal State."
- This position is consistent with India's domestic law — the Territorial Waters, Continental Shelf, Exclusive Economic Zone and Other Maritime Zones of India Act of 1976 — and remains unchanged.

WHAT IS EEZ UNDER UNCLOS?**RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF OTHER STATES IN THE EXCLUSIVE ECONOMIC ZONE**

1. In the exclusive economic zone, all States enjoy the freedoms of navigation and overflight and of the laying of submarine cables and pipelines, and other internationally lawful uses of the sea related to these freedoms, such as those associated with the operation of ships, aircraft and submarine cables and pipelines, and compatible with the other provisions of this Convention.
2. In exercising their rights and performing their duties under this Convention in the exclusive economic zone, **States shall have due regard to the rights and duties of the coastal State and shall comply with the laws and regulations adopted by the coastal State** in accordance with the provisions of this Convention and other rules of international law in so far as they are not incompatible with this Part.

WHY INDIA DID NOT REACT ON SUCH FONOP BY US NAVY?

- Indian observers have come to accept U.S. FONOPs as an instrument in Washington's military and diplomatic

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toolkit that gives the U.S. Navy **leverage in the contest with China in the South China Sea.**

- However, India has the concern that overlooking such moves by US can give China an excuse to have greater Naval presence in the Indian Waters.
- This can also increase the threat of People's Liberation Army Navy submarines near Indian islands.
- U.S. FONOPs in Indian EEZs have been relatively low key.
- Since 2016, the U.S. Navy has carried out three forays through Indian EEZs keeping well outside Indian territorial waters.
- In contrast, U.S. warships challenged excessive Chinese claims thrice in 2016, four times in 2017, six in 2018, eight in 2019, and nine in 2020.
- Most patrols are said to have come within 12 nautical miles of the territorial sea limit around China's islands.
- These numbers clearly highlight the U.S. Navy's strategic priorities in Asia.
- Further US had also carried out FONOP in the territorial waters of Maldives with which it signed a defense agreement in 2020.
- The choice of carrying out of such an operation near the Lakshadweep Island is also seen as an attempt by the US to not irk India.
- This is because maritime boundaries around the Lakshadweep more settled than the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.
- Thus the overall idea might have been to signal to China that the U.S. Navy is committed to uphold the rules-based order in the waters of opponents and partners alike.

WAY FORWARD

- Such operations normalize military activism close to India's island territories that remain vulnerable to incursions by foreign warships.
- The U.S. Navy's emphasis on navigational freedoms in the EEZs encourages other regional navies to violate India's domestic regulations in the waters surrounding the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.
- It is noteworthy that U.S. is yet to ratify the UNCLOS.
- India's domestic law is said to be out of sync with international law.
- India's declaration of straight baselines delineating zones around the Andaman and Nicobar Islands (on the Western edge), in particular, is a discrepancy that

cannot be explained as a minor departure from the provisions of the UNCLOS.

- The U.S. Navy sail through the waters off Lakshadweep highlights a gap in the Indian and American perception of navigational freedoms, complicating an already complex domain of international maritime law.

► INDIA AND RUSSIA

India Russia relations are witnessing a transformation because of the emerging geo-political scenario as a result of the US - China confrontation in the Indo-Pacific and the resultant closeness between Russia and China, besides other factors.

RUSSIA - CHINA AND THE QUAD

- Russia has been critical of the concept of Indo Pacific and the Quadrilateral security dialogue.
- Russia's foreign minister had termed Quad as an 'Asian NATO' and compared with it 'Cold War' era tactics. Russia thinks that Quad and Indo - Pacific conception is primarily an American initiative designed to contain both China and Russia.
- Russia on the other hand favors concept of Asia-Pacific.
- India has assured Russia of its Indo Pacific strategy and highlighted that it is in line with the ASEAN centrality which is accepted by both.

GEOGRAPHY IN GEOPOLITICS -

- The Eurasian landmass to India's north is dominated by Russia and China.
- Strategic and security interests in Central Asia, West Asia and Afghanistan dictate India's engagement with the region and the connectivity projects linking it, like the International North-South Transport Corridor through Iran.
- For pursuing these interests, India will have to effectively manage its relations with Russia.

EMERGING GEOPOLITICAL ISSUES AND INDIA - RUSSIA RELATIONS

India's increasing alignment with the US:

- India aligning with US in the Quad in the Indo-Pacific strategy is one of the key issue between India and Russia. Russia continues to mistrust US, principally because of the expansion of NATO towards its borders.
- India insists that its Indo-Pacific initiatives seek a cooperative order, and that the Quad dialogue (of India, Japan, Australia and the U.S.) is not the nucleus

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of a politico-military alliance. India has always insisted that ASEAN is the lynchpin of its Indo-Pacific strategy, though QUAD has no representation from ASEAN.

Russia - China Bonhomie:

- As Russia's relation sour with the US and Europe over the expansion of NATO, Russia's annexation of Crimea etc. Russia is looking towards China as a partner.
- Both Russia and China have convergence over anti-American foreign policy and a vision for a multi-polar world.
- Russia's economy critically depends on oil & gas exports. China being the largest importer of oil & gas is a big market for Russia's exports. Also, European countries have stopped Russia from building pipelines. With China, Russia has secured a long-term market for its exports.
- Russia supports China's 'One belt, One road' initiative.

Defence Exports: Russia is the principal supplier exporter of China's defence requirements. Close to 77% of China's arms imports came from Russia during 2016-20.

- Russia and China have amicably settled their boundary-dispute.
- Cooperation on the Arctic where both Russia and China seek to develop sea lines for shorter trade routes. China is particularly interested in this as it will reduce its vulnerability on Strait of Malacca.
- India has raised apprehensions about their technology- and intelligence-sharing. India's has raised concerns about Russia's China embrace, encompassing close political, economic and defense cooperation. Further speculations are rife about a future Russia-China military alliance.
- However, possible issues which can sour Russia-China relationship are: China's increasing interference in the politics and security of Central Asian Republics, China's copying of technology from Russian defence systems, China re-raising the border dispute is also seen as a concern in Russia and also Russia will not like to be perceived as junior partner of China.

RUSSIA - PAKISTAN ANGLE

- In recent years, there is an increasing closeness among Russia and Pakistan. Recently, Russian foreign minister recently visited Pakistan. This was the first time a Russian Minister has done so.
- Russia and Pakistan have indulged in defence exercises (Friendship 2020).

- **Reasons for Russia-Pakistan bonhomie:** During the cold war era, Russia saw Pakistan as an agent of the West. Also, Pakistan's role in Russia's defeat in Afghanistan in the 1980s made their relations sourer. However, recently few factors have led to changing this relationship:
- **Resolution of Afghanistan:** Pakistan played a central role in the Afghanistan political situation and its resolution. Most of Taliban's leadership remained in Pakistan. Russia wants a peaceful Afghanistan as it is worried for peace and radicalization in the Central Asian Region. This has brought Russia closer to Pakistan. Russia and Pakistan were part of extended Troika negotiating with Taliban and Afghan governments, along with China and USA. Russia sees its defence support to Pakistan as critical for controlling terrorism in the region and its own backyard. Russia is currently Pakistan's second largest defence supplier.
- Russia's close relations with China are facilitating its close relations with Pakistan.
- Also, Russia sees Pakistan as a market for its defence exports in future. As India, tries to diversify its sources of defence imports, Russia is also trying to diversify its export markets.
- **Energy Cooperation:** Russia is one of main exporters of oil & natural gas in the world. Pakistan being an energy short country offers a big market to Russia. Russia plans to build a gas pipeline connecting Karachi and Afghanistan in Russia.
- Pakistan's increasing distance from the USA especially as USA has cut its defence support to Pakistan. This has led Pakistan to search for new friends.
- Russia sees Pakistan as a **Zipper state**, which due to its geography occupies a very important place in Asian landmass by connecting South Asia to Central Asia.

New cold war:

- US is taking on both China and Russia thereby driving the two together.
- This is accelerating the move to bipolarity towards a new cold war.

CONCERNS FOR INDIA - RUSSIA TIES

- Russia is one of the principal friends of India in the International sphere. The relation is time-tested. However, off-late the relationship is seen as losing steam:
- **Falling share of Russia's defence exports to India:** Russia supplied 49% of India's arms imports in 2016-

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20. The share although still high has been falling off late. This is principally because India is trying to diversify its defence imports and does not want to be too dependent on only one-single supplier. Also, there are concerns that the same systems are being shared by Russia with China which can compromise, India's security. Russia's failure to provide critical parts and sub-systems have also made India look towards newer partners. Further, USA's CAATSA law makes it harder for India to import defence systems from Russia.

- **Economic relations:** India-Russia economic relations have failed to attain to their full potential. Though Russia is one of the principal supplier of energy to India, in other realms this has not been very impressive.
- **Nuclear cooperation:** Russia continues to be one of the biggest supporters of India's nuclear program. Russia has built state of the art nuclear energy reactors in Kudankulam. Also, plans are there to build similar reactors at other locations in India.

WAY FORWARD

- Russia is yet to realise that it will gain immensely from the multilateralism that the Indo-Pacific seeks to promote.
- Being China's junior partner will undermine Moscow's great-power ambitions.
- Russian policymakers are obsessively preoccupied with Russia's 'status' rivalry with the U.S. And this largely impacted Russia's view of India-China relations.
- As such India should pursue the normalisation of relations between US and Russia, while diminishing Russia's propensity to coordinate its South Asian policies with China.
- Russia might not always be the most powerful player, but it retains significant capacity to act both as a spoiler and a facilitator in Eurasia, and has seen a resurgence of influence in West Asia.
- While both India and Russia will continue to pursue their respective trajectories in world affairs, coordination on mutually beneficial issues will be vital in this period of flux in the global system.
- India insists that the former superpower is an important partner in its Act East policy, also because a more balanced Russia-China relationship is in its interests.
- While there is no denying divergences in the relationship, both sides still have significant areas of

cooperation — in the bilateral, regional and global arenas — which must be harnessed.

- Thus, taking a long-term view of the situation, as India develops ties with other like-minded powers to deal with the rise of China, it must also strengthen its special, privileged strategic partnership with Russia.

INDIA - RUSSIA DEFENCE TIES

- In the last three years, since 2018, the defence trade between India and Russia was \$15 billion.
- In October 2018, India and Russia signed a \$5.43 bn deal for five S-400 regiments despite objections from the United States.
- India has longstanding and wide-ranging cooperation with Russia in the field of defence. India-Russia military technical cooperation has evolved from a buyer - seller framework to one involving joint research, development and production of advanced defence technologies and systems.
- **BrahMos Missile System** as well as the licensed production in India of SU-30 aircraft and T-90 tanks, are examples of such flagship cooperation.
- Furthering this cooperation, an agreement on the cooperation in the production of spare parts for Russian/Soviet military equipment was signed during the 20th Annual Bilateral Summit in Vladivostok in September 2019.
- The two countries also hold exchanges and training exercises between their armed forces annually. The first-ever Tri-Services exercise - 'INDRA 2017'.
- Representatives from the Armed Forces of the Republic of India and the Eastern Command of the Russian Federation participated in the exercises, to strengthen field, marine and flight skills as well as improve cooperation between Russia and India's armed forces.

CHANGING NATURE OF DEFENCE TIES

- The biggest changes in India's foreign policy has been its increasing alignment with the US
- The Indian Navy along with that of Japan, the US and Australia undertakes the Malabar naval exercise in the western Pacific
- Another important initiative that seeks to bring India and the US closer than ever before is the formation of the Quad.

- India has already inked three **foundational agreements with the US**, which open up a wide opportunity for cooperation in security, defence, intelligence, and big tech.
- Russia has been publicly critical of Quad.
- However, despite all the hiccups and tensions between India and Russia, the two countries have signed defence deals worth \$15 billion in the last three years.
- All these deals have happened despite US sanctions and India's arms imports witnessing a 33 per cent drop in the last five years, with sales from Russia being hit the hardest.
- The deals that make up for the \$15 billion bill includes the \$5.2 billion deal for the S400 Triumf air defence system signed in 2018, \$3 billion deal for the lease of a third nuclear-powered attack submarine— Chakra III — signed in 2019, and a host of emergency procurement done of various missiles and other weapons since 2018.
- This comes at a time when the deals with the US since 2018 was less than \$5 billion.

WAY FORWARD FOR DEFENCE TIES

- Both the IAF and the Indian Navy have slowly moved their missile dependence on Russia to other countries, especially the French and Israel besides the indigenous technology.
- One service where the Russians continue to have a stake currently and possibly into the future as well is the Army.
- The other sector where the Russians will continue to have a strong hold is India's strategic program, which becomes the binding factor for many other deals that India signs.
- But the growing India-French ties may just be able to offset it.
- Another factor that will come into play in the future and possibly desist India from putting in the Russian crate is the increasing ties between Russia and China.
- Russia has emerged as one of the principal suppliers of defence equipment and technology to China, a development that India is not really happy about.

► INDIA AND JAPAN



India-Japan relation has attained a progressive momentum since the articulation of 'Confluence of Seas' vision by Shinzo Abe in 2007.

The causal determinant of this progress in the bilateral relationship is the convergence of mutual interests. These interests range from the containment of China as a great power in Asia, economic engagement, and a nudge from US pivot to Asia.

Moreover, the bilateral relation entered into a phase of a dramatic leap forward with the arrival of Narendra Modi and his deepening of

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

- India and Japan along with US and Australia have formed an informal 'Quadrilateral Group' with a political and security perspective within Indo-Pacific region.
- India and Japan have a continued process of 2+2 dialogue.
- India and Japan conceived the AAGC with the objective of cultivating value chains by advancing economic networks by connecting growth centres from Asia to Africa.

MARITIME SECURITY

- For deeper cooperation of navies, exchange of information would be commenced based on Implementing Arrangement agreement signed between the two countries.
- For free, open, inclusive and rule-based Indo-Pacific, the setting up of Information Fusion Centre - Indian Ocean Region (IFC-IOR) by India is welcomed.

TERRORISM

India and Japan underlined the need for all countries to ensure that "all territory under their control is not used to launch terrorist attacks on other countries in any

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manner” and called upon Pakistan to comply with commitments to the Financial Action Task Force (FATF).

ECONOMIC ENGAGEMENT

- Japan and India have decided to form the Chennai-Bangalore Industrial Corridor, similar to the format of Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor.
- Several Japan-India Institutes for Manufacturing (JIMs) would be formed in Gujarat, Karnataka, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu under the ‘Manufacturing Skill Transfer Promotion Program’.
- The Mumbai-Ahmedabad High Speed Railway for which Japan would cooperate in terms of financing through soft loans, etc. The project is a significant success for Shinzo Abe’s Expanded Partnership for Quality Infrastructure (EPQI) initiative.
- India-Japan Act East Forum will focus on enhancing connectivity and promote developmental projects in the North Eastern Region of India by providing soft loans for connectivity infrastructure.
- An ‘Agreement for Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy’ entered into force in 2017, and made India the first non-signatory of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) to have signed such a deal with Japan

CURRENCY SWAP AGREEMENT

- India and Japan have agreed to enter into a bilateral swap arrangement of \$75 billion. It is one of largest Currency Swap Agreement in the world.
- A foreign currency swap is an agreement to exchange currency between two foreign parties. The agreement consists of generally swapping principal and interest payments on a loan made in one currency, for principal and interest payments of a loan of equal value in another currency.
- Purpose: The purpose of engaging in a currency swap is usually to procure loans in foreign currency at more favourable interest rates than if borrowing directly in a foreign market. Currency swaps to reduce exposure to anticipated fluctuations in exchange rates.

INDIA JAPAN RELATIONS ANALYSIS

- Indian foreign policy strategy is driven by an overarching preference for strategic autonomy and by three broad priorities: security, economic development, and status.
- Japan plays a significant part in Indian strategy with respect to all three.
- **Japan became the first country** with which India initiated a **formal ‘2+2’ arrangement for talks** between the foreign and defence ministries in 2016.

- Both sides have worked to build **military-technical cooperation (MTC)** that ‘increases mutual dependence and the compatibility of military hardware’ while simultaneously creating an environment where the sharing of such technological expertise ‘requires a considerable amount of trust’.
- Japan has invested heavily in economic capacity building across India with Tokyo linking economic cooperation with New Delhi to strategic and security gains.
- Japan’s **Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP)’ Strategy and India’s ‘Act East’ Policy converge in action in the northeast of India**—a bridge between South and Southeast Asia.
- The two sides have set up the **India-Japan Cooperation Forum for Development of the North East and the India-Japan Act East Forum**.
- Both are **Collaboration through infrastructure development in third countries (in the Indo-Pacific)** such as Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Bangladesh.
- Another significant development is their 2017 announcement of the **Asia Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC)**—a collaborative effort to soft-balance China’s mammoth Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) project—alongside forums like the India-Japan dialogue on Africa, India Africa Forum Summit and Tokyo International Conference on African Development.

ALIGNMENT ON GLOBAL ISSUE

- India’s strategic alignment with Japan confers a certain degree of prestige and status to it.
- Both share their interests in humanitarian and disaster response (HADR), and believe in **upholding the freedom of navigation and reinforcing the rules-based international order**.
- Japan assisted in enhancing India’s status through direct association (as an important regional power) and **by supporting India’s entry into prestigious ‘clubs’ and institutions**. In 2008, Japan supported a **waiver of the Nuclear Suppliers Group’s (NSG) embargo on nuclear trade with India** and backed its application for membership of the group.
- Their joint military exercises have contributed to India’s the image of a rising regional power.
- Both works closely on global issues such as proliferation of **Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs), terrorism, space and cyber security, and environment (e.g., the International Solar Alliance)**.

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- These joint networking efforts also assist in their pursuit of a related status goal that both are committed to: obtaining a **permanent seat in a reformed United Nations Security Council (UNSC)**.

of elevation of India-Australia ties to 'Comprehensive strategic partnership. The partnership is particularly crucial as both the countries are collaborating the QUAD as well as MLABAR Naval Exercise. Further role of Australia in countering Chinese influence in the Indo-pacific has got a boost by its membership in the AUKUS security partnership.

► INDIA AND AUSTRALIA

India and Australia began the high-level 2+2 foreign and defence ministerial dialogue in New Delhi after one year

	Significance	Outcomes of Cooperation
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia is an important trade partner of India with bilateral trade is around \$25bn • Australia can be key partner in India's "Make-in India" and Indian companies have ample amount of investment opportunities in Mining and energy Industry of Australia • India's infrastructure sector under the National Investment and Infrastructure Fund (NIIF) can offer investment opportunities to Australian investment funds like pension funds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DTAA was signed between the countries to avoid taxing of offshore income of Indian companies doing business in India • Jointly decided to explore the possibility of launching the Indian RuPay Card in Australia.
Maritime	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both India and Australia share common vision of - "free, open, inclusive and rules-based Indo-Pacific region" • India and Australia have common concerns regarding the strategic, security and environmental challenges in the Indo-Pacific maritime domain 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia welcomed and granted Rs 8 crore to India's Indo-Pacific Ocean Initiative (IPOI) • Australian navy became an active participant of Indian ocean Naval symposium (IONS), which was started by India
Defence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia is one of the key defence partners of India and increasing defence ties with Australia is important for India in the backdrop of Increasing expansionism of China both at land and maritime fronts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Signed Mutual Logistic service agreement (MLSA) to facilitate reciprocal access to each other military logistics facilities • 2 countries signed "White shipping agreement" • Conducts bilateral maritime exercise- AUS-INDEX once in 2 years • Australia participated in Malabar Naval exercise in 2020
Energy	<p>Australia is rich in coal, Uranium and Natural gas reserves and can play a key role in India's energy security</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Signed Civil nuclear cooperation agreement • Australia explicitly supported India's membership in nuclear suppliers' group (NSG), though India is a non-signatory of NPT (nuclear non-proliferation treaty)
Strategic and Multilateral cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both share membership in QUAD grouping • Both the countries are committed to Multilateralism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia is in favour of UNSC reforms and India's candidature for permanent membership to UNSC
People-to-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence of strong Indian Diaspora in Australia (up to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A "Migration and Mobility Partnership

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people	1 lakh) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indian diaspora is one of the largest sources of skilled migrants in Australia • India is the 2nd largest source of international students in Australia 	Arrangement" is being designed to prevent illegal migration, Human trafficking and also to facilitate mobility of students, academics and researchers and migration for professional and economic reasons
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MUTUAL LOGISTICS SUPPORT AGREEMENT (MLSA)

- The agreement will facilitate reciprocal access to military logistics facilities and improve interoperability between the security forces of the two nations.
- This will be useful during Bilateral naval exercises and Humanitarian, Disaster relief & rescue operation

WHITE SHIPPING AGREEMENT

White shipping agreement refers to exchange of relevant advance information on the identity and movement of commercial non-military merchant vessels. Being aware of the identity of these vessels is imperative to preventing any potential threat from the sea from impinging on the coastal and offshore security of the country

However, the bilateral relations could not achieve the potential due to some **challenges**:

- **Dichotomous Australian foreign policy**

There is some sort of Misalignment in Australia's Economic and Political interests. Though Australia has been actively engaging with India and US as part of QUAD grouping, its economy still depends on China owing to its huge share in bilateral trade and Investment

- **Lingering CECA:**

The Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA) has not yet materialised though the negotiation started in 2011. This is a hindrance to the bilateral trade

- **Withdrawal from RCEP:**

One of the reasons for India's withdrawal from RCEP was objection from Farmer organisations and Dairy cooperatives due to fears of flooding of cheaper Agricultural and Dairy products from Australia

Hopefully the Comprehensive strategic partnership between the two countries will remove the hindrance/challenges to improve the bilateral relations across the fields.

INDO-PACIFIC GEOPOLITICS AND INDIA - AUSTRALIA

- India and Australia have had to bear the brunt of increasingly belligerent Chinese behaviour in the

Indo-Pacific, pushing their bilateral relationship to new heights.

- Australia-India relations have been improving for several years, but relations have seen a dramatic shift in the last couple of years, evident in the number of high-level engagements between the two sides.
- With worsening relations between India and China as well as Australia and China in recent years, both India and Australia have been realigning their interests and partners, and those connections will likely grow manifold in the coming years. After many years, Australia was finally invited back to the **Malabar naval exercise last year.**
- For Australia, even as the U.S. security alliance (AUKUS) remains central to their security, it has been expanding its Asian partnerships in the Indo-Pacific.
- India, for its part, long avoided taking sides between the U.S. and China.
- While Sino-Indian relations have been in trouble for several years, the Galwan confrontation in 2020 brought the relationship to an all-time low.
- As a result, India has decided to pursue closer strategic engagements with a number of like-minded partners in the Indo-Pacific, especially Australia.
- Australia has also seen more than its fair share of bullying behaviour from China, much of it because Australian PM asked for an independent inquiry into the origins of the COVID-19 pandemic.
- Since then, China has engaged in severe economic and trade coercive practices against Australia, targeting everything from barley, beef, seafood, wheat, and wine to coal, cotton, copper, education, and timber.
- Augmented Australia-India ties within bilateral, trilateral, quadrilateral, and other minilaterals and multilateral institutions are a reality that is unlikely to slow down for the foreseeable future.
- The convergence of strategic interests in ensuring an Indo-Pacific order that is free of hegemonic and muscular policies is a glue that will bind India and Australia further in the coming years. The two will likely also expand their partnership both in pursuing

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strategic partnerships and thematic ones like supply chain resilience initiative.

► INDIA - UK

India and the United Kingdom unveiled a 10-year 'road map' to guide cooperation, a first for both countries to elevate bilateral ties to a "Comprehensive Strategic Partnership".

KEY FEATURES OF THE 10 YEAR ROADMAP

- Both launched Enhanced Trade Partnership, and announced their intent to negotiate a **comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (FTA)**, including consideration of an interim trade agreement to deliver early gains.
- They agreed to continue **removing trade barriers on the path to an FTA**, and an ambitious target of more than **doubling India-UK trade by 2030**.
- Both will focus on **strengthening defence partnership, focusing on maritime and industrial collaboration**.
- Reaffirmed the benefits of **closer cooperation in a free and open Indo-Pacific**, recognising their shared interest in regional prosperity and stability.
- They agreed to a significant new cooperation on **Maritime Domain Awareness**, which includes new agreements on maritime information sharing, an invitation to the UK to join India's Information Fusion Centre in Gurgaon and an ambitious exercise programme which includes joint trilateral exercises.
- The two countries are also working to conclude a **Logistics Memorandum of Understanding** that will enhance joint ability to tackle shared challenges.
- Strengthen **cooperation and coordination in the UN**, including at the UNSC and UNFCCC, and other multilateral fora such as G-20, WTO, WHO, Commonwealth, IMF and World Bank.
- The 'Roadmap 2030' will provide a framework for UK-India relations across health, climate, trade, education, science and technology, and defence.
- The two countries agreed to work together to ensure an ambitious outcome at COP26 and **expand the UK-India partnership on tackling climate change**, including by accelerating the development of clean energy and transport and new technology, protecting nature and biodiversity and helping developing countries adapt to the impact of climate change.
- **Promote and uphold a rules-based international system** and work together to **promote reformed multilateralism** to make international organizations,

including the UN Security Council, more representative, reflecting contemporary realities

UK'S TILT TOWARDS INDO - PACIFIC

After the decision of the UK to move away from the European Union, UK has tried to re-align his government's policy to safeguard the strategic interest of the British and counter threats posed by the Russia and China on multiple levels.

In light of the above developments Britain has initiated two important decisions:

First, **UK will significantly increase its nuclear stockpile** to counter threats posed by increasing military might of Russia ("the most acute threat to British security") and assertiveness of China ("biggest state-based threat to the U.K.'s economic security").

Second, **UK is looking towards India and Indo-Pacific Region** to ensure that its strategic interests are protected and impact of Brexit on the economy is minimized. For this Britain has expressed its desire to acquire partner status of ASEAN. It has is part of the AUKUS security Partnership that aims at countering China in the Indo - Pacific.

FACTOR LEADING CURRENT TILT IN UK TOWARDS INDO-PACIFIC

- The UK's changing relationship with China has been key to why the concept of the Indo-Pacific has gained salience.
- Even as the UK courted Chinese investments under what David Cameron heralded as the 'golden era' of bilateral relations, it also recognised China as a threat, particularly in the South China Sea.
- From 2012, when the UK signed a defence treaty with Japan, the UK's strategic activity in the region has steadily risen.
- In 2018 the **UK challenged China's illegal claims in the South China Sea**. At the time, this made the UK the only navy, other than the US, to do so.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE UK'S TILT TOWARDS INDO - PACIFIC

- It will declare the UK's political commitment to the region, and will necessitate long-term, strategic thinking that can bring clarity of purpose to UK efforts.
- Like its allies in the region, the UK recognises the importance of a free and open Indo-Pacific to global stability and prosperity
- As the UK makes its deployments, it will be looking to amplify its efforts by entering into the regional security architecture.

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- UK has become an important player in the Indo - Pacific due to its membership of AUKUS.
- On intelligence gathering and sharing – a field the UK leads in – there is potential to cooperate more with key Indo-Pacific states such as Japan and India.
- Trade and investment will be a key dimension of the UK's tilt and the UK's changing relationship with China requires a diversification of trading partners.

THE STAKES IN UK-INDIA PARTNERSHIP

- Ties between the two countries have since strengthened, albeit at a slower pace than the UK desired.
 - For India, the UK's immigration policies and a perceived softness on Pakistan-sponsored terrorism have served as particular obstacles to reciprocating UK advances.
 - However, recent political shifts in the UK have afforded an opportunity for a closer UK-India partnership.
 - The UK's post-Brexit meritocratic immigration policy, along with its move to co-sponsor a motion at the UN that called out Pakistan's failure to prevent the financing of terrorism, have helped put the relationship on a healthier footing.
 - Changing geopolitical realities have now led the UK and India to converge on the Indo-Pacific concept, and compel both to work towards a deeper partnership.
 - India has come to the realisation that, alone, the US is incapable of constraining China's most damaging tendencies
 - Compared to its ties with Japan, Australia and France, the UK remains a relatively untapped strategic partner for India—a fact that is driving New Delhi to invest more political capital into the relationship.
 - On cybersecurity, the UK and India will be working multilaterally in an expanded G7 in the middle of this year to combat Huawei's lead in 5G, and over time, there is potential for greater cooperation between UK and Indian defence officials to help improve the resilience of India's telecommunications network.
 - The partnership between Oxford University, AstraZeneca and India's Serum Institute serves as a blueprint for future cooperation on global health initiatives, and demonstrates how the UK and India can work together to counter Chinese influence in the developing world.
- BREXIT requires the UK to improve its relations with the Asian economies which are witnessing high growth rates.
 - India has been trying to finalize the BTIA - (Broad Based Trade and Investment Agreement) with EU. However, these negotiations were mainly being stalled because of the UK.
 - The EU wanted duty reductions on automobiles, wines and spirits and wanted India to open financial sectors such as banking and insurance, postal, legal, accountancy, maritime and security and retail.
 - India, as always, sought free movement for service professionals.
 - The same obstacles with post-Brexit Britain will arise, because the export profile of both countries is predominantly services oriented.
 - In response to free movement for professionals, Britain will refer to its new points-based system for immigrants.
 - After withdrawing from the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, India is cautious about negotiating any new trade agreement, and will place greater stress on aspects related to country of origin and percentage of value addition in exports.
 - So, India and UK might finalize a trade agreement which cover limited items covering pharmaceuticals, financial technology, chemicals, defense production, petroleum and food products.

LIKELY NEGATIVE IMPACT

- Since the existence of EU single market, UK had been the bridge through which Indian companies used to enter into EU. Now Post Brexit, the Indian companies would have to strive separately for these two different markets.
 - For Example: Brexit will increase overhead cost and setting up of new headquarters perhaps, in both EU and UK separately.
 - Another example: SO far, Jaguar, which is owned by TATA had enjoyed 0 customs duty in EU market. But post Brexit, they may face higher logistic costs and customs duties and other regulation, which will make these cars uncompetitive.
- **Possibility of Exchange rate uncertainty:** Due to Brexit, Pound may collapse rapidly leading wider ramifications on Indian rupee. This shall have Impact on:
 - Worsening CAD as dollar will be strengthened.
 - The bonds raised by Indian firms will see rise in servicing costs.

POST BREXIT ECONOMIC CHALLENGES IN INDIA - UK RELATIONS

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- Indian exports to UK will suffer due to collapse of Pound.
- **Likely Positive Impact:** But there are also positive impacts of the Brexit on India. Post Brexit, UK would actively look for trade partners and following points will work in India's favour:
 - India's traditionally strong ties with Britain.
 - India's emerging economy with large market.
- UK would be freed from strict rule based trading regime of EU and hence will make it easier for negotiating an FTA.
- Also the compulsions of arriving at consensus among various countries will be relieved, hence providing greater independence to UK.
- Freedom of movement shall be curtailed post Brexit and hence UK will have to look for other countries like India for Human resource.
- The Broad-based Trade and Investment Agreement (BTIA) is an intended trade agreement in negotiation between India & European Union. It has not progressed due to sharp differences between both negotiating parties.

DIFFERENCES ON BTIA

► INDIA-EU

India and the European Union agreed to relaunch free trade negotiations by resuming talks that were suspended in 2013 for the Bilateral Trade and Investment Agreement (BTIA)

- The EU-India adopted a **Connectivity Partnership document** outlining plans to cooperate on digital and infrastructure projects.
- Both agreed to work towards a balanced, ambitious, comprehensive and mutually beneficial trade agreement which would respond to the current challenges," as well as launch negotiations for a "stand-alone" investment protection agreement and a separate agreement on "geographical indications" pertaining to intellectual property rights.
- The India-EU connectivity partnership committed the two sides to working together on digital, energy, transport, people to people connectivity that was "transparent, viable, inclusive, sustainable, comprehensive, with a rules-based approach.
- The partnership is seen as a response to China's Belt and Road Initiative, and comes as the EU's negotiations with China on their Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI) have run into trouble.
- **The EU wants greater market access for its wines and spirits, and that India should lower its tariffs for their imports.** Wines and spirits are considered luxury items in India and therefore there is no reasonable cause for such a tariff reduction.
- EU is not granting **data secure certification to India**, which would facilitate the cross-border transfer of personal data that is required by Indian companies especially in the IT industry.
- Agricultural products have been excluded from the negotiations. European countries give huge subsidy to their agro products, due to which Indian agricultural products are not able to compete.
- **EU has also asked India for change in government procurement policies.** India has denied these prospective changes as agricultural procurement is followed on basis of developmental motive rather than profiteering motive.
- **EU is varied of the data localization rules within India.** This has led to disagreement on the operating guidelines for e-commerce companies.

BROAD-BASED TRADE & INVESTMENT AGREEMENT (BTIA)

- The trade with India formed under 3% of the E.U.'s global trade, which is "far below" what was expected of the relationship. Conversely, the E.U. is India's largest trading partner and investor, and accounts for 11% of India's global trade.

EUROPEAN UNION'S CHINA DILEMMA AND AN OPPORTUNITY FOR INDIA.

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Europe and China have been major partners for a generation. There has been a relationship of dependence and cooperation. European Union has given statements that they will not choose sides between the United States and China.

ECONOMICS AS THE MAIN SUBSTANCE OF EU-CHINA RELATION

- Europe championed China's case for World Trade Organization (WTO) membership and China supported the 'European Project' - connectivity, regulatory frameworks and the building of a single European entity.
- According to the World Bank, China and the European Union (EU) jointly account for nearly 35% of global GDP in PPP terms.
- China is now the EU's second-biggest trading partner behind the United States and the EU is China's biggest trading partner.

CHANGING SUBSTANCE IN THE EU-CHINA RELATION

- Economic dimension has been most significant in EU-China relation in last two decade. But now, political and security dimensions began to jostle in.
- In March 2019, the EU Commission published "A Strategic Outlook", describing China as, simultaneously, a cooperative partner, an economic competitor and a systemic rival.
- European security is a concern in the light of economic power and political influence of China growing with unprecedented scale and speed.

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR INDIA

- EU is not expected to follow the U.S. in 'de-coupling' or join an 'against-China' camp. European companies still hope that China's President Xi Jinping will use this pandemic to make fundamental reforms in the way that Deng Xiaoping and Zhu Rongji did in 1992 and 1998, respectively.
- Yet many EU companies are looking for alternative investment spaces in the wake of deteriorating relationship between China and the U.S.
- This, then, is an opportune time for India-EU relations, but only if we do not waste the crisis.
- Political conditions are favorable especially after the withdrawal of the United Kingdom.
- The Europeans recognize India's role in helping provide peace and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific.
- They see great potential in working together on technologies and issues of the future.

TAPPING ON THE 'RARE' OPPORTUNITY

- Broad-based Trade and Investment Agreement can be put back on track or, at the very least, we may conclude a separate Investment Protection Agreement.
- We must join in high-technology collaboration including 5G and artificial intelligence.
- Europe will also need to change its positions on trade in goods and be ready to accommodate India on services.
- India accounts for only 2.3 percent of EU trade and only ranks ninth in EU trading partners.
- The EU is India's largest trading partner, accounting for €80 billion worth of trade in goods in 2019 or 11.1% of total Indian trade, on par with the USA and ahead of China (10.7%)
- Infrastructure projects like International North-South Transport Corridor will help increase India's export to EU.
- The opportunity for India and the EU to build a partnership that is both economic and strategic is there for the taking in a post-COVID-19 strategic scenario.

► INDIA-FRANCE

India and France have traditionally close and friendly relations. In 1998, the two countries entered into Strategic Partnership which is emblematic of their convergence of views on a range of international issues apart from a close and growing bilateral relationship.

AREAS OF COOPERATION

- The areas of **defence cooperation, space cooperation and civil nuclear cooperation** constitute the three principal pillars of our Strategic Partnership.
- Apart from these traditional fields of cooperation, India and France are increasingly engaged in new areas of cooperation like **climate change, sustainable growth and development, the International Solar Alliance** etc.
- India and France support a **multi-polar world order**.
- France has continued to **support India's claim for permanent membership of the Security Council and the reforms of the United Nations**.
- France has provided consistent **support to India's candidature for the membership of all the four Multilateral Export Control regimes, viz. Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), the Wassenaar Arrangement (WA) and the Australia Group (AG)**.

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- France's support was vital in India's accession to MTCR, WA and AG while France continues to support India's bid for accession to the NSG.
- India and France have consistently condemned **terrorism** and have resolved to work together for adoption of the **Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism (CCIT)** in the UN.
- Both have signed provision of reciprocal logistics support between the respective Armed Forces.
- Both have declared Joint Statements - a "Joint Strategic Vision of India-France Cooperation in the Indian Ocean Region" and the "India-France Joint Vision for Space Cooperation".
- France has emerged as a major source of FDI for India with more than 1,000 French establishments already present in India with a total turnover of US \$ 20 billion and employing around 300,000 persons.
- France is the 9th largest foreign investor in India with a cumulative investment of USD 6.59 billion from April 2000 to December 2018. There are more than 150 Indian companies operating in France (including sub-subsidiaries), employing more than 7,000 persons.

AUKUS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR INDIA - FRANCE COLLABORATION

- The provision of providing nuclear power submarines technology to Australia under the AUKUS by the US has led to the cancellation of a submarine supply contract between Australia and France. France reacted sharply to this and called back its envoys from US and Australia.
- This has considerably deteriorated relations between US and France which are both part of post-World War collective defense organisation NATO.
- This will further impact relations between EU and the US. At the same time such differences ultimately weaken the international consensus on the Indo - Pacific.
- However this event creates an opportunity for India to strengthen its relation with France, which has been a strategic partner of India.
- France is a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and a leading country in European Union, the consolidation of the Indian French relationships will benefit more globally to India.
- Both share a common vision some of crucial international issues like - stable multipolar order based on rights, free movement and fair, efficient and inclusive multilateralism with the Indo-Pacific region.
- France was looking towards security partnership with Australia before the AUKUS, is now finding itself turning to India to rework its Indo-Pacific strategy.
- Between these ongoing cross currents, India has a momentous opportunity to increase its strategic outreach.
- Further, India's diverse relationships in the West must be deployed to prevent a split in the Indo-Pacific coalition against the rising China.

SECTION-4

INDO-PACIFIC

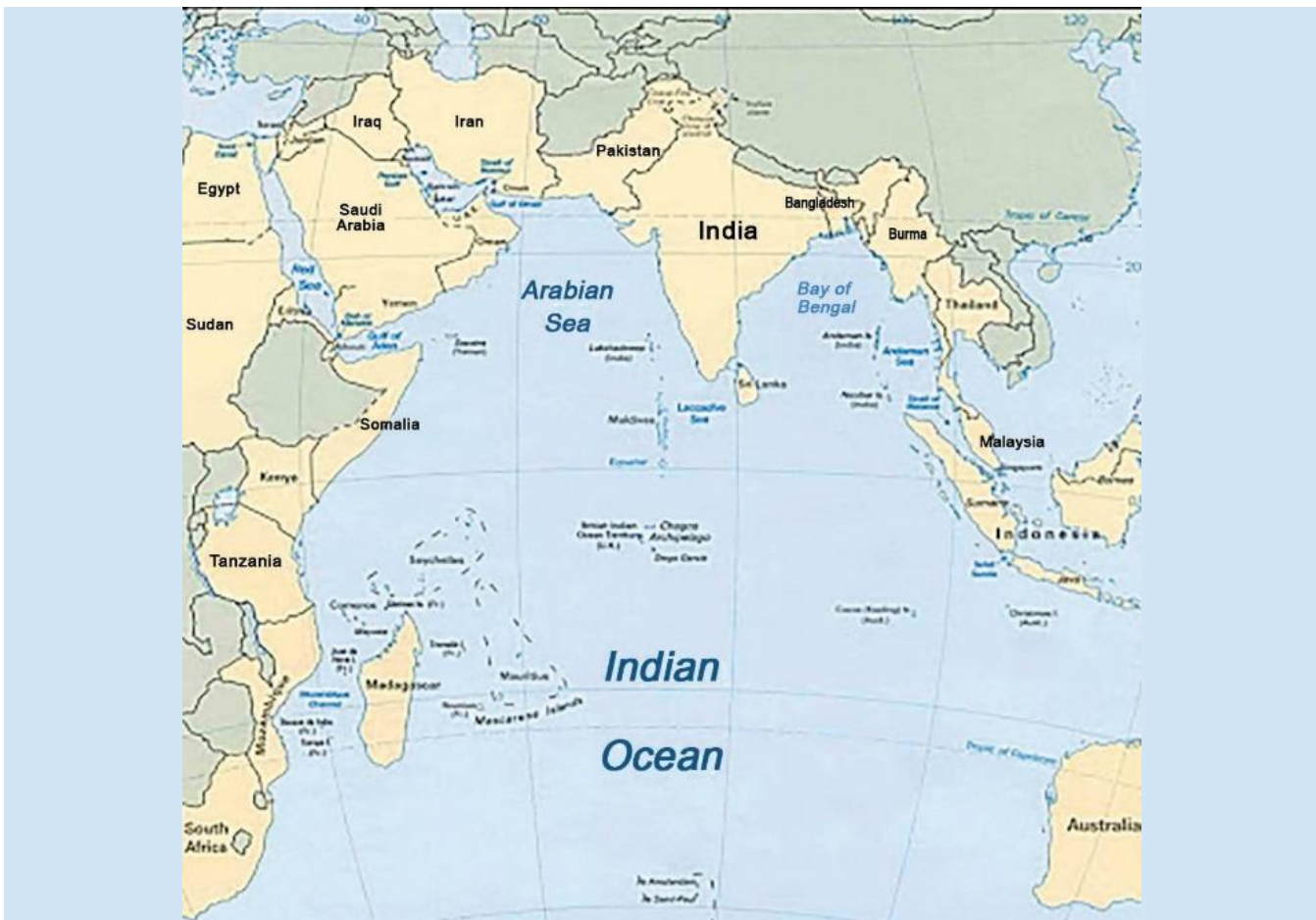
► INDIA AND INDIAN OCEAN REGION

INDIAN OCEAN REGION

This is the region including countries situated in the border of Indian ocean and ocean itself. These countries are Australia, India, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Madagascar,

Somalia, Tanzania, South Africa, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen.

Indian ocean is the main trade route and joins Pacific Ocean, hence, becomes important for trade and Energy supply of the world. That is why it has become focus point of all the nations.



INDO-PACIFIC

IMPORTANCE OF THE REGION

Demographic dividend: Major portion of the world population and comparatively younger population resides in this region.

ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE

- **Privileged location:** Most of the world's goods trade and oil trade passes through this region and there are three important chokepoints in this region namely **Strait of Hormuz – located between the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman**
- **Growing Economies:** The economies of many Indian Ocean countries are growing rapidly and are attracting huge investments such as India, Malaysia, and Tanzania.
- **Abundant natural resources:** IOR is rich in natural resources and world's 40% oil exploration is done from this area only.
- **It contributes nearly 15% in total fishing of the world.**
- Many of the mineral and natural resources like iron, copper, Zinc, manganese, gold and silver are explored in this area only.

STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE

- **Influence of China-** China being a huge economy, plays role of a big investor, pushes its Belt and Road Initiative, giving huge loans to smaller countries like Sri Lanka, Maldives Kenya etc. There is a growing assertiveness of China in this region which is cause of worry for many nations.
- **Countering China:** US and other nation are trying to counterbalance China and that is why they are taking so many initiative in this region and are focussing on infrastructure development in the countries of IOR.
- India has also increased its activities in this region and is engaged in **promoting cooperation and strengthening trade and investment** ties. African countries are of main focus now.
- **Security issues:** This region is home to many threats like piracy, illegal and unregulated migration, and presence of extremist and groups for example in Somalia, Bangladesh, and Indonesia.

First responder: Due to its strategic location and capabilities, India can play a pivotal role in this region specially during disasters and crises. Till now, it has played positive role and at the time of need has readily helped smaller countries of the region such as Maldives (Operation NEER), Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh etc.

Groupings and Forums: There many groups and forums in this region which are basically comprised of neighbouring countries such as:

- BIMSTEC – which represents Indian Ocean Countries. It aims to promote trade links.
- **There are many regional groupings also in this region such as ASEAN, SAARC, GCC, and SADC etc.** These countries have come together because of their interests which are more or less identical.

SIGNIFICANCE FOR INDIA

- **Location:** India is located at the Ocean's center, and has a long coastline of almost 7,500 kilometers.
- **Security dimension to India's engagement:** Due to its long coastline India is always prone to terrorist attacks and security breaches. Smuggling, illegal fishing, and human trafficking are other major concerns.
- **Strategic Importance:** India is **engaged** in various connectivity projects and is trying to extend its reach such as Chahbahar Port Development in Iran **and "infrastructure development rights"** in Mauritius and Seychelles.
- **Economic significance:** India does most of its trade through this trade route and is heavily dependent on this route for its oil supplies.
- India explores **resources** of the Indian Ocean. Fisheries and aquaculture industries are major sources of exports.
- **Mineral resource extraction:** India has **exclusive rights** to explore the Central Indian Ocean and has the licenses for the Indian Ocean ridge. These have opened up new opportunities for deep seabed mining.
- **Monsoon Mechanism:** The Indian Ocean plays an important role in keeping Monsoon mechanism in favor of India. La- Nina and El-Nino phenomenon occur in Indian Ocean and affect Indian Monsoon.
- **Foreign Policies:** Time to time India has formulated various Foreign policies to cater the needs of small countries of this region and has always promoted peace, cooperation and harmony with these nations.

MAJOR INITIATIVE IN THIS REGION

- **Security and Growth for All in the Region (SAGAR)**
 - SAGAR initiative was announced by PM Modi and aims to seek a **climate of trust**, respect for international maritime rules and norms by all countries, peaceful resolution of maritime issues and increase in maritime cooperation.
- **Indian Ocean Rim Association**

INDO-PACIFIC

- The Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) is an **inter-governmental organization**, established in **1997**. **Objective behind it, is to** strengthen regional cooperation and **sustainable development** in through its 22 Member States and 10 Dialogue Partners.
- It includes an **array of issues** including, seaport and shipping, maritime connectivity, port management and operations fisheries, aquaculture, marine spatial planning, ocean forecasting, blue carbon, and renewable energy.
- **Quad grouping:** India is an active member of Quad. **U.S., Japan, Australia, and India**, having regular consultations on their collective efforts for a free, open, and inclusive Indo-Pacific.
- **Indian Ocean Rim Association of Regional Countries (IOR-ARC):** It is the only Indian Ocean organization meeting at **ministerial level** with membership ranging across the entire Indian Ocean region. It focuses on **promoting cooperation within this region**.
- **Indian Ocean Commission:** Set up in 1982, it is the inter-governmental organization that coordinates **maritime governance** in the south-western Indian Ocean. India's membership has been approved. It comprises **Seychelles, Madagascar, Comoros, Mauritius, and Reunion Island**.
- **Asia Africa Growth Corridor:** The Asia-Africa Growth Corridor or **AAGC** is an economic cooperation agreement between the **governments of India, Japan**, and multiple African countries.
 - The AAGC is set up to boost **Development and Cooperation**, Quality Infrastructure and Institutional Connectivity, Enhancing Capacities and Skills and People-to-People partnership among the member countries.
- **The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC):** It was established in 1985 and aims economic and social development in the region. The member states are Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. There is no provision of maritime cooperation in this.
- **The Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN):** It was established in 1967 by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. Till now membership has given to Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam. ASEAN leaders decided three pillars of it and these are ASEAN security

community, an economic community and a socio-cultural community.

- **The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF):** it is comprised of 27 countries, of which ten are ASEAN members and 17 'partner states'. It ensures security discourse between Asian states and provides the opportunity to discuss regional security issues and develop cooperative measures to enhance peace and security in the region.
- **The Arab League, or League of Arabian States:** The league was formed in Cairo in March 1945 and is the regional organization of Arab states in the Middle East and North Africa. Its currently has 22 members. Its main objective is to "draw closer the relations between member states and co-ordinate collaboration between them, to safeguard their independence and sovereignty, and protect the interests of the Arab countries.
- **The 'Indian Ocean Naval Symposium' (IONS):** This initiative tries to increase maritime co-operation among navies of the littoral states of the Indian Ocean Region. Its objectives are to expand it to the next level of cooperation, create allied maritime agencies, establish a high degree of interoperability, share information to overcome common trans-national maritime threats and natural disasters, and maintain good order at sea. There are currently 35 members.

CONCERNS

- **India playing it safe:** Joining of QUAD by India signals that it continues to practice **strategic ambivalence** in the Indian Ocean.
- India is playing safely and hence kept Australia out of Malabar exercises because it doesn't want to antagonize China.
- **India as a "Net Security Provider":** Currently, India is not capable of proving security to the whole region.
- **Chinese challenge:** Chinese army and Navy are increasing their presence in this region and it raises security alert for India and other small nations.
- **China and West: Considering its rivalry with West, China is trying to obtain long term relationship in this region, so that it can become bigger than western powers in this region.**
- **Less spending by India:** India's expenditure on Navy is very less than other major powers. In this way it will be difficult to gain superiority over other powers.
- For Australia advocates for a **'free and open Indo-Pacific'** establishing a regional architecture with

INDO-PACIFIC

fellow democratic countries to help in maintaining the **'rules-based order'**.

- For a 'free, open and inclusive Indo-Pacific', refers to a **multipolar regional order**. India wants to secure its strategic autonomy, project its own leadership ambitions and

WAY FORWARD

- India is in the list of top economies and is growing rapidly.
- The island nations are badly hit due to covid-19, where India shall act as a friend in need: it will have to - be the first responder and provide security and support to the countries in order to get back their support in future.
- Delhi is seeking for a balance between its **"Act East" and "Look West" visions**. The consolidation of its IOR vision will be crucial for straddling its two subtly variants visions for the two ends of the Indo-Pacific seaboard.

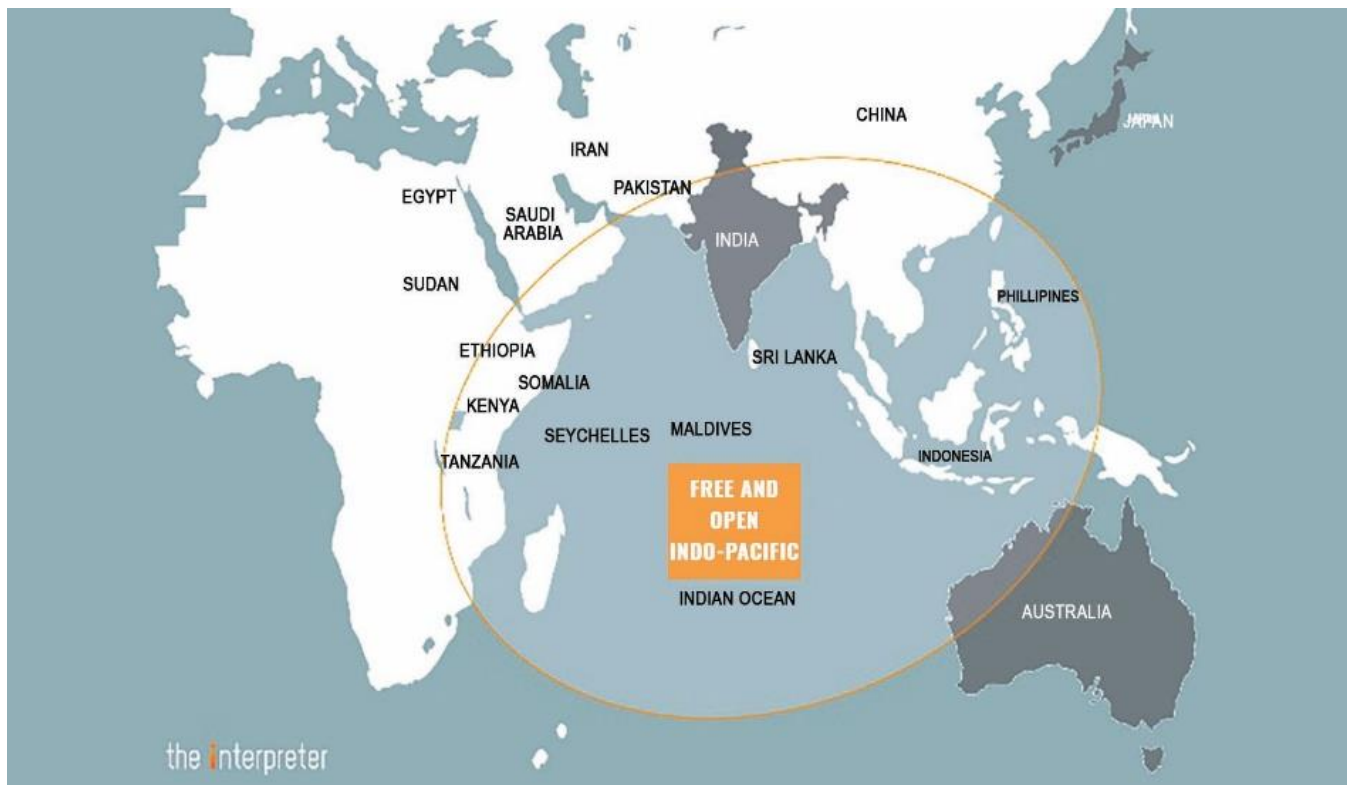
To counter China:

- Rather than competing with China, India should continue a goodwill factor approach and must gain support and control in this region.
- India must take necessary steps **to increase investments** in its navy.

► INDO-PACIFIC GEOPOLITICS

The term Indo-Pacific which was first used in geopolitical context by an Indian Navalist in a journal article. It was later used by Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's speech in the Indian Parliament titled "Confluence of the Two Seas" in 2007.

The term Indo-Pacific found its place in India's official communiqués 2014 & recently Ministry of External Affairs has established an Indo-Pacific division within the ministry, in light of India's growing interests within that particular region.



FREE & OPEN INDO-PACIFIC

- The assertion for Free and Open Indo-Pacific by major powers can be considered a reaction to the **militarisation of waters in the Indo-Pacific, the South China Sea (SCS) in particular, and the emergence of the Chinese economy and military across Asia and Africa**. The assumption is that **"freedom of navigation"** is being or might be constrained by increased military presence in the SCS

by China's navy. It is worth noting that China continues to support the freedom of commercial shipping in the seas of the Indo-Pacific.

- There is a fear among **ASEAN members** that Indo-Pacific is becoming a closed region due to major power rivalries including India, China, US and Japan and therefore ASEAN intends for a free and open Indo-Pacific. As per **Japan**, the **"Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy"** seeks to improve "connectivity"

INDO-PACIFIC

between the Pacific and the Indian Oceans. In pursuit of this, Japan aims to strengthen strategic collaboration with India, the US and Australia. The **US vision** of a free and open Indo-Pacific has three components – economic, governance and security. The US seeks greater economic engagement with countries of the Indo-Pacific, maintenance of international law in Indo-Pacific region and primacy of U.S. navy and not of China in the region.

INDIAN VISION OF INDO-PACIFIC

- India put forth India's vision of the Indo-Pacific at the Shangri La dialogue, 2018. The view was consistent with the overall norms enunciated by regional powers, including the US, Japan, Australia and Indonesia with the emphasis on ASEAN centrality in Indo-Pacific.
- India has asserted that it will not take sides, but chooses the side of values and principles which are commonly embraced with ASEAN based upon as Free & open Indo-Pacific.
- India is evolving its regional role to encompass the Indo-Pacific and Eurasian region to ensure a balanced multipolar world
- India would continue to maintain its strategic autonomy irrespective of the prevailing geo-politics so as to ensure stability in power relations in Asian region among the great powers
- India will not be a part of closed group of nations or aggregate Indian power in any particular bloc and India's friendship with any nation should not be misconstrued as an alliance
- India's growing engagement in the Indo-Pacific region should not be considered anti-China.
- India continues to maintain multi-lateralism as form of foreign policy engagement with parallel interactions (E.g., SCO & Quad) based on respective common mutual interests.

DIFFERENCE IN VISION WITH OTHERS

- US & Japan security is primarily focussed upon South China Sea, while India's security is focussed primarily towards Bay of Bengal and to Arabian Sea.
- US doesn't follow ASEAN centrality in Indo-Pacific architecture
- Chinese military installations have expanded towards Arabian Sea and Bay of Bengal but India has not done similarly in South China and East Asia Sea.
- India intends to become both a maritime & continental power in Asia, but Japan and United

States are mainly focussed towards maritime capability

- The major powers have constituted military alliances in Indo-Pacific region, but India has chosen not to indulge in military alliances.

► INDIA AND INDO PACIFIC

With the rise of China, India's Foreign policy seems to focusing on strategic and military considerations which is visible in its alliance with USA and renowned focus on Indo-Pacific and the Quadrilateral security dialogue. However, there are differences in the understanding of the concepts of Indo - Pacific and the Quadrilateral grouping. Further there are hurdles in India's strategy with regards to the Indo-Pacific and the Quad. So let us understand, the issues faced by India and also what should be India's approach to clearly outline its interest in the Indo-Pacific and the Quad.

Indo - Pacific vs Quad: The Indo-Pacific is a grand politico-economic vision while the Quad is a forum for strategic and military consultations among India, the U.S., Australia and Japan.

SIMILARITIES IN INDO-PACIFIC AND THE QUAD

- The Quad members are also major States in the Indo-Pacific region, and both the Quad and the Indo-Pacific constructs are focused on China.
- They are also in some ways centred around India's geographic location and its policies.

DIFFERENCES

- The Indo - Pacific is a politico-economic vision while the Quad is a military-strategic vision.
- The Indo-Pacific provides a complex political and economic construct aimed challenging China strategically. The Quad on the other hand is inherently more anti-China in character and intent.
- The Indo-Pacific has subtle anti-China undertones. But the Quad's ability to succeed would entirely depend on China — the more aggressive China gets, the more resolute the Quad countries would be in strengthening it.

HURDLES IN INDIA'S STRATEGY

- For a politico-economic construct such as the Indo-Pacific to survive, there must be strong economic partnerships and linkages among its members.
- Merely focusing on strategic talk and possible military cooperation will not work.

INDIA'S ECONOMIC ENGAGEMENT OF THE INDO-PACIFIC

INDO-PACIFIC

- India's recent decision not to join the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), the region's flagship free trade arrangement, could potentially complicate its future engagements in the region.
- There is huge gap between India and China on trade with almost every Indo-Pacific country.
- This growing trade gap that India and China have with these countries will be a major determining factor in shaping the region's strategic realities.
- Further India's decision not to sign on to the RCEP also needs to be viewed in the broader context of the Chinese institutional engagement of the region.
- India does not have FTAs with Australia, New Zealand, the U.S., Bangladesh and the Maldives. It has FTAs with South Korea, the Association of South East Asian Nations, or ASEAN, Japan and Sri Lanka.
- In the case of China, it has FTAs with all these countries barring the U.S.
- It does not have an FTA with Bangladesh, while negotiations are on with Sri Lanka. Trilateral FTA negotiations are also going on between China, Japan and South Korea.
- This shows that economic compulsions will go a long way in shaping strategic realities for a variety of reasons including that trade with China is crucial for the economies of these States.
- Thus, strategic talks need to be aligned with the economic realities for the success of the Indo-Pacific.

MILITARY ENGAGEMENT

- Even on this front India lags behind China.
- China is a major defence supplier to several of the region's States including Bangladesh, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand.
- While India has minimal sales, defence dialogues and occasional joint military exercises in the region.

WAY FORWARD

- India's role in the Indo-Pacific will remain limited if it does not prove to be a major economic partner to these States.
- But given the economic slowdown in India today in the wake of COVID-19 (compared to the much better place that China is in) and the lack of political consensus in the country about regional economic agreements such as the RCEP, India's ability to economically engage with the region remains limited.

- On the military-strategic side too, India's performance in the region is less than desirable.
- Further, it is said that the only way forward for India is a regional strategic alliance with the US.
- But given the hangover its Non-alignment principles and Material constraints India will need fresh mindset to do so.

► QUAD

As India faces China's challenge over the ground situation at the Line of Actual Control (LAC), is a maritime coalition in the Indo-Pacific, the Quadrilateral, comprising India, the U.S., Japan and Australia, an effective counter?

ABOUT QUADRILATERAL SECURITY DIALOGUE

- The 'Quadrilateral Group' is considered as an informal grouping among **India, Japan, Australia, and the United States** to support a "free, open and prosperous" Indo-Pacific region.
- All four nations find a common ground of being the democratic nations and common interests of unhindered maritime trade and security
- The demand for the group is a causal reaction to China's emergence as a great power and the fear of China's growing unilateralism through BRI, expansion in South China Sea, skirmishes on borders, etc. This fear has driven the four powers to consider banding together in form of collective security arrangement.
- The **first Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QSD)** among the 4 countries was first held in 2007 but discontinued in 2008. It was again revived in an informal meet among US, India, Japan, and Australia held in Manila, Philippines in 2017.

► FIRST QUAD SUMMIT

Recently, the leaders of the member countries of the quad group participated in the first ever such summit. So let us look at the key highlights of this summit.

WHAT LEADERS SAID? - KEY POINTS

- Commitment to a free and open **Indo-pacific region**.
- Reaffirmation of their commitment to cooperating on Covid-19, security challenges and climate change.
- Pledge to respond to the **economic and health impacts of COVID-19, combat climate change, and address shared challenges, including in cyber space, critical technologies, counterterrorism, quality infrastructure investment, and humanitarian-assistance and disaster-relief as well as maritime domains**

INDO-PACIFIC

- Commitment to **denuclearizing North Korea**
- Commitment to **deliver up to 1 billion doses of the Covid-19 vaccine** to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Indo-Pacific countries by the end of 2022 **using Indian manufacturing, U.S. and Japanese funding and Australian logistics.**



ANALYSIS

- Each of the leaders have **tried to make it clear that it is not an anti-China club**, even when it aims to counter the rising Chinese influence.
- Quad is trying **to showcase what democracies can deliver together**, both for their own populations and for the broader world.
- Despite such declarations the alliance is widely viewed as an effort to combat **Beijing's growing military and economic power.**
- It's a group of countries all concerned about China, and all trying to hold the line for an open, democratic non-Chinese way forward
- The "Quad" is not a formal alliance in the same way as NATO and thus carries no strict duty to defend one another.

QUAD MEMBERS' ISSUES WITH CHINA

- **Relations between US and China have deteriorated** with clashes over trade, Covid-19, Hong Kong's autonomy, Taiwan and alleged human rights abuses in Xinjiang.
- America has labelled China as America's biggest geopolitical test of the 21st century.
- **Japan has had long-standing grievances over contested islands and maritime claims**, while Indian and Chinese troops engaged in deadly border clashes over disputed territory in the Himalayas last year.
- **Australia has faced trade pressures from Beijing** and Prime Minister Scott Morrison said the "Quad" meeting was "an historical moment" and an opportunity to "create a new anchor for peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific."

- The group's revitalization also gained a boost last year after India invited Australia to join naval exercises with it, the U.S. and Japan.

SIGNIFICANCE

- India has been a leading manufacturer of the vaccines. This commitment is crucial in the sense that has the support of governments of these countries. The vaccine collaboration is not just between the leading vaccine manufacturing firms. It will **address the demand supply gap in Indo-Pacific.** It's a success for India's Vaccine diplomacy.
- The countries are also focussing on the creation of **resilient supply chains** for materials such as **rare earth metals.** China produces 60 % of the world's rare earth metals. This collaboration is crucial in countering China's dominance on these metals. They are used in smartphones, automobiles, Electric vehicles and batteries.
- It reflects a continuity in the US Foreign policy.

ANALYSIS

Vaccine diplomacy:

- This is a new buzzword in current geopolitics, and this could bring India at the center stage to fight the global pandemic. India has already shown its vaccine diplomacy by registering the highest number of vaccine exports and donations (over 58 million to 71 nations).
- However, India has to take a word of caution as domestic need of over 300 million has to be met right on time and as there is second wave surge of COVID case, India might end up going slow in its vaccine donation plan.
- QUAD nations other than India, must acknowledge the fact that initiative to provide over a billion doses from the Indian soil should come with a **waiver on TRIPS agreement.**

How to handle China?

- China is India's foreign policy concern and also the necessity.
- India has been the prime supporter of maritime security and rule based maritime order in East China sea (India has strategic relations with Vietnam, high Value trade passes from this area and there is Nine Dash Line issue).
- India has been facing the tough stance from China as seen in recent Galwan clash. However, India cannot take the external help explicitly to counter Chinese aggression. This could be counterproductive and incite further tension in the South Asian arena.

INDO-PACIFIC

- However, to take balanced approach towards China, India requires to go for three major initiatives: expand more resources, troops, infrastructure, secondly, ensure no recurrence of the People's Liberation Army incursion and lastly focus more on the continental arena rather than maritime arena.

Direction for India:

- India has perceived QUAD just like other grouping and assume same role to assure *strategic autonomy*.
- India has to take best out of QUAD and try to expand its approach on the soft diplomacy. This could provide India a bargaining chip to further meet its desired objectives like entry to United Nation Security Council, entry to Nuclear Supplier Group among other.

ANALYSIS OF THE QUAD GROUPING -

- The real answer regarding its effectiveness against China would be major focus. However, its importance should be analysed in the backdrop of changing Geopolitical dynamics.
- Further the focus should be on How the Quad enhances India's capabilities and what is India's expectation from this group.
- Quad can be effective in countering China in the Maritime domain. It can play a balancing role and have a deterrence effect against assertiveness of China in the Indo-Pacific region (Visible in the South China Sea)
- Although Quad does not have requisite teeth as of now, but there is no other alternative but to have potential arrangement of this kind between likeminded maritime powers having common strategic interests in Indo-Pacific Region in relation to freedom of navigation (FON), flights and rule-based order.
- However, the biggest challenge that the coalition faces is that the member countries have differing perception of the Indo-pacific region. This impacts their prioritization in dealing with challenges in Indo-Pacific as well as the areas of focus.
- An important issue for effective maritime security cooperation amongst the navies of Quad is while three of the navies (Australia, US and Japan) operate within NATO military alliance framework, India is not part of any military alliance.
- The centrality of ASEAN in the Indo-Pacific has been emphasized by the Quad, hence their inclusion into it is another debatable issue, due to Chinese influence over them. ASEAN nations have failed to take a stand

against the Chinese adventurism in the South China Sea.

WAY FORWARD

- Considering the prevailing international strategic scenario, China is reasonably confident that US or any other country will not use military force to dismantle their infrastructure made in SCS.
- It is also increasing its naval capability as part of its comprehensive national power (CNP) to make best use of inaction by other countries in Indo-Pacific.
- In this context, it is necessary that Quad strengthens itself beyond Malabar exercises and forum for dialogue and gets some teeth in the form of maritime capacity building of its members, further improvement of interoperability and dominate choke points sensitive to China.
- Quad in its present form may not be effective enough to check Chinese adventurism, but it certainly has potential to become one of the effective instruments to do so, provided the affected countries and the global community also plays its role against common concerns.

► AUKUS - TRILATERAL SECURITY PARTNERSHIP

- US had been focus on the Indo - Pacific years in the past few years.
- In the Pacific, the U.S. and others have been concerned about China's actions in the South China Sea and its antipathy toward Japan, Taiwan and Australia.
- US has already created Quad framework.
- After Brexit UK has been reasserting its global position. Part of this strategy has been its focus on the Indo-Pacific.
- The nuclear submarines will allow Australia to conduct longer patrols and give the alliance a stronger military presence in the region.

OBJECTIVE

It aims to ensure that there will be enduring freedom and openness in the Indo-Pacific region.

KEY FEATURES

- It complements several pre-existing similar arrangements for the region, including the Five Eyes intelligence cooperation initiative, ASEAN and the Quad.

INDO-PACIFIC

- It proposes to transfer technology to build a fleet of nuclear-powered submarines for Australia within 18 months.
- Australia will become only the second nation, after the U.K., that the U.S. has ever shared its nuclear submarine technology with.

HOW FAR WILL IT BE ABLE TO COUNTER CHINA?

- Will it be able to cooperate with other nations of the region who share the concern of China's hegemony?
- Will it lead to closer coordination among the nations concerned in terms of joint military presence, war games?
- Undersea capabilities including the ability to patrol may be vital to deterring Chinese military coercion in the region
- The transfer of nuclear propulsion technology to an ally in this context was intended to "send a message of reassurance to countries in Asia"
- It will be more effective in achieving the stated goals if it expands strategic cooperation to include other powers that are deeply invested in the region, including India, Japan, and South Korea.

DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES BETWEEN QUAD AND AUKUS

- The major difference between both the alliances is that the AUKUS is a military alliance, whereas QUAD is not, it is a diplomatic alliance. The QUAD discusses diplomatic and global issues along with a security dialogue.
- Another difference would be that the AUKUS specifically will deal with the security and military situation in the Indo-Pacific region, however, the QUAD focuses on the affairs of the whole world, for instance in the 2021 virtual meet -- they discussed the COVID-19 situation, vaccines and climate change.
- The AUKUS only focuses on the military developments, as significant from their first project, where the UK & US are helping Australia to acquire a nuclear-powered conventionally-armed submarine fleet. On the other hand, QUAD focuses on multilateral issues -- ranging from economic discussions, security affairs & global affairs, for e.g.: vaccines, Afghanistan situation etc.
- The AUKUS trilateral military pact to protect the Indo-Pacific from China's dominance and shield the post-1945 global order. However, the QUAD has an agenda of its own that suits shared interests of all the members.

- One similarity between both the alliances is that both the groups have a common interest in protecting the Indo-Pacific region from China's dominance over other nations.
- India, Japan, and the United States continued holding joint naval and military exercises (MALABAR). Thereafter, the QUAD was revived with Australia re-joining the alliance in order to counter China militarily and diplomatically in the South China Sea. In 2021, the QUAD declared "a shared vision for a Free and Open Indo-Pacific", thus countering China's aggression in the region.
- Leaders of all four QUAD nations became more aligned in their common interests regarding China's assertive attitude in the Indo-Pacific in 2021, and are inclined to establish a productive collaboration.
- The first project of AUKUS will be to help Australia acquire a nuclear-powered conventionally-armed submarine fleet. The three heads of state reaffirmed their intention to continue to work with their allies and groupings in tandem with AUKUS, with the QUAD being mentioned by Morrison and Biden, though they were not specific on details.

BENEFITS OF AUKUS FOR INDIA

Strengthen India - Australia relations

- It aims at improving defence capabilities of Australia which is a strategic partner of India.
- India and Australia recently held their first round of 2+2 dialogue in an effort to deepen their defence and strategic ties.
- In 2020, India and Australia had signed a defence pact — the Mutual Logistics Support Agreement.
- Besides, India is going to participate in Australia's biggest wargame, Talisman Sabre, in 2023. The US is already part of it.

Augment Quads capability

- It will augment the capacity of the Quad of which both the US and Australia are members.
- This is a first of its kind defence initiative of the US in the Indo - Pacific, since Quad has not clearly outlined its defence motives clearly.
- AUKUS is beneficial for India because it reflects continued and intensifying U.S. and Australian concerns about China
- It will bolster both the Australian and the American ability to deter China or to respond in the event of a crisis. In this way, it supplements the Quad's efforts.

Clarifies the role of Big Powers in the Indo - Pacific -

INDO-PACIFIC

- Indian policymakers and analysts have, on balance, gone from worrying about too much U.S. presence and interest in the Indian Ocean to worrying about Washington paying too little attention to this region. AUKUS could ease this concern.
- AUKUS conveys the U.K.'s seriousness about its tilt to the Indo-Pacific.
- It also signals that the British view of the China challenge has evolved.
- Another potential benefit could be the leverage the AUKUS rollout gives India in both the diplomatic and defense trade realms, particularly with France.
- France will probably double down on its efforts to secure arms deals with India—for commercial and political economic reasons and maybe even to get one over on the U.S.
- France's reaction to AUKUS could make it more willing and able to help India in this realm of nuclear powered submarines in addition to or in place of Russia.

CHALLENGES FROM AUKUS FOR INDIA

- India is concerned that European countries including France have been less concerned about Chinese threat than it would like—and that has set limits to the depth of its own cooperation with them in certain sensitive realms.
- The tussle between AUKUS countries and the France discourages consensus on the larger issue of rise of China.
- France's discontent feeds China's narrative about U.S. unreliability and supports China's efforts to drive wedges between European and Indo-Pacific partners and forestall their collaborative efforts.
- Indian policymakers will be more concerned about any adverse impact on U.S.-Europe cooperation on issues like technology or developing resilient supply chains.

SOME ARGUMENTS AND COUNTER ARGUMENTS

- The U.S. treatment of Afghanistan and France raises questions about American reliability as a partner.
- Questions have been raised about India not getting the offer that US has offered to Australia under the AUKUS.
- Questions have been raised about whether AUKUS signals a dilution of interest in India or the Quad, particularly in USA's Indo-pacific strategy.
- Some argue that AUKUS "might weaken strategic cooperation under the Quad and reduce the quadrilateral grouping to dealing with just climate change, COVID vaccines and the like.
- India has itself been reluctant to securitize the Quad, particularly in a visible fashion. And the Quad has collectively decided to focus on areas that help build resilience in the region and demonstrate that the grouping can deliver practical solutions to regional problems. Security dimension of Quad is clearly visible in the MALABAR naval exercise which has the same participants as the Quad.
- However it has been argued that AUKUS could actually help the Quad.
- It could even take some of the pressure off the grouping, by attracting Chinese ire.
 - It might make the four-country grouping relatively more palatable to ASEAN in comparison.
 - And, as another non-Quad venue for security collaboration, AUKUS could also reduce the pressure on India and Japan to undertake commitments or activities on the defense and security front that they are unable or unwilling to sign on to.
 - This potentially increases the freedom of action—or strategic autonomy—of these members and other like-minded countries in the region.

SECTION-5

O RGANISATIONS

Previous Year Questions

YEAR	UPSC MAINS QUESTIONS
2020	Critically examine the role of WHO in providing global health security during the COVID-19 pandemic.
2019	'Too little cash, too much politics, leaves UNESCO fighting for life.' Discuss the statement in the light of US' withdrawal and its accusation of the cultural body as being 'anti-Israel bias'.
2018	What are the key areas of reform if the WTO has to survive in the present context of 'Trade War', especially keeping in mind the interest of India?
2018	A number of outside powers have entrenched themselves in Central Asia, which is a zone of interest to India. Discuss the implications, in this context, of India's joining the Ashgabat Agreement, 2018.
2017	What are the main functions of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)? Explain different functional commissions attached to it.
2016	"The broader aims and objectives of WTO are to manage and promote international trade in the era of globalization. But the Doha round of negotiations seem doomed due to differences between the developed and the developing countries." Discuss in the Indian perspective.
2016	What are the aims and objectives of the McBride Commission of the UNESCO? What is India's position on these?
2015	Discuss the impediments India is facing in its pursuit of a permanent seat in UN Security Council.
2014	The aim of Information Technology Agreements (ITAs) is to lower all taxes and tariffs on information technology products by signatories to zero. What impact should such agreements have on India's interests?
2014	Some of the International funding agencies have special terms for economic participation stipulating a substantial component of the aid to be used for sourcing equipment from the leading countries. Discuss on merits of such terms and if, there exists a strong case not to accept such conditions in the Indian context.
2014	India has recently signed to become founding a New Development Bank (NDB) and also the Asian

INDO-PACIFIC

	Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) .How will the role of the two Banks be different? Discuss the significance of these two Banks for India.
2014	WTO is an important international institution where decisions taken affect countries in profound manner. What is the mandate of WTO and how binding are their decisions? Critically analyse India's stand on the latest round of talks on Food security.
2013	The World Bank and the IMF, collectively known as the Bretton Woods Institutions, are the two inter-governmental pillars supporting the structure of the world's economic and financial order. Superficially, the World Bank and the IMF exhibit many common characteristics, yet their role, functions and mandate are distinctly different. Elucidate.

► UN AND THE RETREAT OF MULTILATERALISM

The United Nations commemorated its 75th anniversary on September 21, 2020 by adopting a Declaration. The anniversary comes at a time when the world is witnessing a retreat from multilateralism. In this background, let us understand the emerging challenges to the present multilateral world order.

- **Multilateralism:** In international relations, multilateralism refers to an alliance of multiple countries pursuing a common goal.
- **How does it help?**
 - Multilateralism, in the form of membership in international institutions, serves to
 - Bind powerful nations
 - Discourage unilateralism
 - Gives small powers a voice and influence that they could not otherwise exercise. For a small power to influence a great power, the **Lilliputian strategy** of small countries banding together to collectively bind a larger one can be effective.
 - Similarly, multilateralism may allow one great power to influence another great power. For a great power to seek control through bilateral ties could be costly; it may require bargaining and compromise with the other great power.
 - Global community adopted the Multilateralism post WWII, in the form of UNO. But it has been seen that the importance of UN has been eroding owing to the **Challenge to multilateralism**.

CHALLENGE DUE TO INCREASING NATIONALISM

- Although US is returning back to multilateral forums under the new president, the rise of nationalist tendencies in the US politics is a cause of concern in the near future.

- Brexit has shown that nationalism remains strong in Europe. It has delivered a blow to the idea of Europe, united and whole.
- And the challenge to multilateralism is coming not from the have-nots, but the main stakeholders of the system.
- China - Russia axis is challenging the multilateral framework.

THE RISE OF CHINA AND ITS EMPHASIS ON BILATERALISM

- China has stepped in to take advantage of the West's retreat from multilateralism.
- But China's assertion of a role on the world stage is not an embrace of the idea of multilateralism.
- Its flagship Belt and Road Initiative consists of a series of bilateral credit agreements with recipient countries with no mechanism for multilateral consultation or oversight. The European Union's and U.S.'s sanctions against Russia have driven it closer to China.

ISSUES WITH UNO AND ITS ORGANIZATIONS

- The **rift between the permanent members of the Security Council** has already started affecting the work of the UN Security Council.
- The **World Health Organization** failed to provide early warnings.
- The WTO has failed to conclude the **negotiations of the Doha Agenda** started in 2001, as bilateralism and protectionism are resurging worldwide, and its dispute settlement system has stalled.
- The complex **architecture of arms control** set up at the end of the Cold War is threatened by the dismantling of the Iran nuclear deal. Multilateral efforts to address climate change have made symbolic progress at best.
- The **governance of the internet** is forfeiting its initial aspiration of a borderless knowledge society as a few private companies are hoarding data exponentially

INDO-PACIFIC

and authoritarian states are misusing it as a tool of surveillance and repression.

ISSUE OF FINANCES

- **UN is a large organization with offices scattered around the globe. And to be effective, they need a lot of resources.**
- Example - UN Peacekeeping forces:
 - Around 40 UN political missions and peacekeeping operations engage 95,000 troops, police, and civil personnel. But the UN peacekeeping budget, is just a little over \$8 billion
 - If you compare it with annual military spending of nations: USA (\$ 650 Billion).
- **Even the required amount is not allocated and hence it suffers from a paucity of resources.**
 - There was an outstanding assessed contribution of \$1.7 billion for peacekeeping activities by the end of the financial year.
 - Similarly, there was an outstanding \$711 million in the assessed contribution for the general budget.
- **Not only that, most of the humanitarian assistance, developmental work, and budgets of the specialised agencies are based on voluntary contributions.**
 - There are calls for increasing public-private partnerships. This is not a satisfactory arrangement. The UN provides 'public goods' in terms of peace and development often in remote parts of the world. There may not be enough appetite on the part of corporations. The UN remains an inter-governmental body.
 - The danger, ultimately, is that without a shared normative ground for collaboration and collective action going beyond mere pragmatic alliances, global governance risks relapsing into a neo-Hobbesian state of nature characterised by a dangerous cocktail of confrontational politics, zero-sum games, and neoliberal concentration of power in the hands of a few. Such a scenario would eventually forfeit the interests of smaller and medium-sized powers as well as civil society at large.

► REFORMED MULTILATERALISM

In line with its agenda in its 8th term as the non-permanent member of the UNSC, India has reaffirmed its commitment to New Orientation for Reformed Multilateral System or NORMS at the UN Economic and

Social Council meeting. So let us understand the need for reforming present paradigm of Multilateralism.

BACKGROUND: NORMS

In the backdrop of its entry into UNSC the slated objective is to push for a reformed multilateralism under NORMS framework.

The 5-fold objective of NORMS include

1. Finding new opportunities for progress
2. Effective response to international terrorism
3. Reforming multilateral systems
4. Comprehensive approach to international peace and security
5. Technology with a human touch

APPROACH

India's strategy for reformed multilateralism rests on **5S pillars** including

1. Samman (Respect)
2. Samvad (Dialogue)
3. Sahyog (Cooperation)
4. Shanti (Peace)
5. Samriddhi (Prosperity)

NEED FOR REFORMING THE CURRENT MULTILATERAL WORLD ORDER

LACK OF REPRESENTATION

- The permanent membership of UNSC is lopsided with no representation to majority of the population including those of South America and Africa. Besides India and Brazil being highly populous countries do not find their representation.

LACK OF ACCOUNTABILITY

- The current multilateralism is skewed towards few global powers who have been able to arm-twist the geopolitics of various multilateral institutions by virtue of their military and economic might. For instance,
- US has unilaterally withdrawn from funding of various multilateral institutions the most recent being WHO. US has withdrawn its funding from UNESCO for its alleged anti-Israel bias in early 2019.
- Similarly, US has withdrawn from the Paris Agreement.
- There have been instances of US's arm-twisting of WTO the most recent being the disputes appellate tribunal which has been rendered defunct at the behest of US.
- Besides the countries that violate international law have not been held accountable merely because of its

INDO-PACIFIC

economic and military might. For example in 2016 China did not adhere to the UNCLOS ruling on the rule-based navigation in the South China Sea. Lately the credibility of WHO is questioned for its pro-China bias especially in initiating an investigation into handling of the crisis by China in the initial days

MULTILATERALISM AT THE WEAKEST

- The current system has failed to fulfil its primary objective of shared benefits through integration
- For instance in times of the crisis countries have selectively pushed for export restrictions in medicines and medical equipment
- China has been reluctant in cooperating with countries which have raised issues related to its strategy to arrest the spread of pandemic, manufacture of faulty PPE kits etc. In turn it has responded with economic sanctions against those questioning its role.

NEEDS OF 21ST CENTURY

- Most challenges are cross-national and cross-domain in character requiring multilateral approach. COVID 19 is an example of how health crisis has precipitated into economic crisis primarily because of cross-nation supply chains and financial systems.
- Other pressing problems including poverty and hunger, climate change, inequality, fake news, terrorism etc are cross-national in character and thus require a more inclusive and democratic multilateral approach.

INDIA'S VISION FOR REFORMED MULTILATERALISM

- **Securing Permanent Seat at UNSC** - One of the primary objective as reflected under NORMS is the long-standing ambition of securing a permanent seat on the Security Council. India along with Japan, Germany and Brazil have been pushing for a permanent membership at the UNSC under the G4 grouping for the want of true representation at the UNSC
- **Counterterrorism** - it will remain a key priority for India at the UNSC. India is pushing to depoliticize the process of imposing sanctions on terrorist groups in line with zero tolerance policy in terrorism. Further India will push to conclusion of Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism which was spearheaded by India in 1996.
- **Rule based multilateral order** - Besides India also wants rule-based order in multilateral financial institutions like WTO, IMF where no country will be

able to arm-twist the functioning of these organisations.

- India should take a lead in creating more representative multilateral order in which it can engage differentially with different countries based on their 1st order values of Pluralism, Democracy and Liberalism. For instance India should join the Alliance for Multilateralism mooted by France and Germany which stands for rule-based world order comprising of like-minded countries

► UNSC REFORMS

India was elected as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council with an overwhelming majority. It garnered 184 votes in the General Assembly that consists of 193 members. The two-year term will begin on 1 January 2021.

This is the eighth time India has been elected a non-permanent member of the UNSC.

WHAT IS UNSC?

The Security Council, the United Nations' principal crisis-management body, is empowered to impose binding obligations on the 193 UN member states to maintain peace. Few major Roles:

- Ensuring international peace and security;
- Recommending that the General Assembly accept new members to the United Nations;
- Approving any changes to its charter.

So, no changes to the UN charter or no new member can be admitted into UN without the approval of UNSC (as these resolutions require agreement of all the P5 members).

WHAT IS THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S STRUCTURE?

- It comprises of two kinds of members:
- Five permanent members—China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States—collectively known as the P5. Any one of them can veto a resolution.
- 10 non-permanent members: Along with the five permanent members, the Security Council of the United Nations has temporary members that hold their seats on a rotating basis by geographic region. These members do not have veto powers
- The reason behind Veto being limited to just five members has roots in WWII. The United States and Soviet Union were the outright victors of the war, and, along with the United Kingdom, they shaped the post war political order.

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WHY UNSC REFORMS ARE NEEDED?

- **Changing geopolitical situation:** The Security Council's membership and working methods reflect a bygone era. Though geopolitics have changed drastically, the UNSC has changed relatively little since 1945, when wartime victors crafted a Charter in their interest and awarded "permanent" veto-wielding Council seats for the Allied victors.
- **Reforms Long Overdue:** The UNSC was expanded only once in 1963 to add 4 non-permanent members to the Council. Although the overall membership of the UN has increased from 113 to 193, there has been no change in the composition of the UNSC.
- **Inequitable economic and geographical representation:** While Europe is over-represented, Asia is underrepresented. Africa and South America have no representation at all.
- **Crisis of legitimacy and credibility:** Stalled reform agenda and various issues including its interventions in Libya and Syria in the name of responsibility have put questions on the credibility of the institution.
- **North-South Divide:** The permanent UNSC membership portrays the big North-South divide in the decision making of security measures. For instance, there is no permanent member from Africa, despite the fact that 75% of its work is focused on that continent.
- **Emerging issues:** Issues such as deepening economic interdependence, worsening environmental degradation, transnational threats also call for effective multilateral negotiations among the countries based on consensus. Yet, all critical decisions of the UNSC are still being taken by the permanent members of the Security Council.

AREAS OF UNSC REFORM

In the current circumstances, it has become crucial for the UNSC to reform itself and uphold its legitimacy and representatives in the world. Reform of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) encompasses five key issues:

- **Membership** - For many years, some member-states have been advocating expansion of the Security Council, arguing that adding new members will remedy the democratic and representative deficit from which the Council suffers. Disagreement on whether new members should be permanent or have veto power has become a major obstacle to Security Council reform.
- **Veto** - The five permanent members of the Security Council (China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, and

United States) enjoy the privilege of veto power. This power has been intensely controversial since the drafting of the UN Charter in 1945. 75 years later, the debate on the existence and use of the veto continues, reinvigorated by many cases of veto-threat as well as actual veto use.

- **Regional representation-** The ongoing debate about Security Council reform has mainly focused on the expansion of membership of the Council. The rationale for membership expansion is to include emerging powers on the Council. New single state members could exacerbate regional competition rather than collaboration. Alternative model for Council reform that would give permanent seats to regional organizations or blocs rather than individual countries.
- **Transparency and its working methods** - The Security Council has taken several steps to increase its efficiency and transparency in recent years. These so-called "cluster 2" reforms do not require an amendment to the UN Charter, and have therefore not stirred the same amount of controversy as the debate on expansion of the Council has. The Security Council now holds more public meetings and consults more frequently with external actors, including NGOs.
- **Security Council-General Assembly relationship** - Improving the quality of the interactions between these two organs would provide the Council with additional information and insights to inform its work. In turn, when the member states in the General Assembly feel that they have been consulted and that their views are heard on matters of international peace and security that affect them, the transparency, accountability and legitimacy of the Council are enhanced at a time when the Council is perceived to be struggling to discharge its responsibilities on a number of issues.

WHY DOES INDIA WANT THE PERMANENT MEMBERSHIP?

India (or any other country for that matter) would want a permanent membership to the UNSC for two reasons:

- **First**, the veto power, which India could use to defend its interests, say against Pakistan (just like Russia did last year over the civil war in Ukraine).
- **Second**, the sheer prestige associated with permanent membership of a multilateral forum. India's elevation will also be an acknowledgment of its rise as a global power, ready to play a key role in the council's objectives of international peace and security.

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CASE FOR INDIA'S CLAIMS FOR PERMANENT POSITION AT UNSC

- **Population:** Around 1/6th of the global population.
- **Democracy:** With continuous and functional democratic experience, India is best suited to provide these values into UNSC which is often criticized for acting on behalf of few nations.
- **Economy:** India has become the fifth-largest economy in 2019, overtaking the United Kingdom and France. The country ranks third when GDP is compared in terms of purchasing power parity.
- **Military:** Responsible Nuclear power; 3rd largest military spender after USA and China.
- **Contributions to UN:** India is the largest contributor to the UN Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO), with nearly 180,000 troops serving in 44 missions since it was established. India is also among the highest financial contributors to the UN, with the country making regular donations to several UN organs.
- **Active participation in global affairs:** India has not only participated but has also taken lead roles in global matters like climate change, ozone depletion, counter terrorism and rule based global order, etc.
- **Member of G4 nations:** Comprising Brazil, Germany, India, and Japan which support each other's bids for permanent seats on the United Nations Security Council.

Although the case for India's membership is a sound one, but it is not an easy and shredded with many challenges and factors put forth by various nations and factors.

► WHO CRISIS

- The World Health Organization (WHO) is grappling with its greatest crisis, faced with criticism over its initial response to the COVID-19 pandemic.
- This crisis has further been strengthened by United States funding cut. The U.S. contributes around 15 per cent of the WHO budget.

UNDERSTANDING THIS CRISIS

- WHO was established in 1948 and there hasn't been a worldwide pandemic with this kind of devastation that has come across its path.
- WHO had no formal powers to monitor and censure its members. For all the responsibility vested in the

WHO, it has little power. Unlike international bodies such as the World Trade Organization, the WHO, which is a specialized body of the UN, has no ability to bind or sanction its members.

- Its annual operating budget, about \$2bn in 2019, is smaller than that of many university hospitals. WHO is dependent on donor funds.
- Being made scapegoats: Trump, scrambling for an answer to explain why the US now has more cases of coronavirus than any other nation, has alighted upon the WHO and China as his preferred scapegoats

BACKGROUND

- Risk of being **criticized as doing too much or too little:** During the outbreak of **SARS, H1N1, or "swine flu"**, the novel influenza virus was discovered in Mexico in 2009, WHO declared a pandemic. The death toll – 18,500 confirmed deaths worldwide – far lower than initially expected "Suddenly question were raised whether the WHO had mistakenly rung the alarm, and "cost huge amounts of money and frightened people unnecessarily".
- When the **Ebola outbreak** struck west Africa in 2014: In contrast to the previous pandemic, this time the WHO was slow to act, and was widely perceived to have lost control of the situation.
- **COVID-19: Biggest pandemic in its history**
- **Did not take enough action:** The first positive case of Coronavirus was detected in Wuhan, China on 17 November 2019, however, it wasn't until 31 December 2019 that China reported these to the World Health Organisation. WHO didn't send experts to Wuhan to get an independent view. They were only relying on the Chinese view.
- **Statements making praise of China:** Since the outbreak of COVID-19 in China, World Health Organization (WHO) officials consistently praised the country for its efforts in containing the spread of the disease.
- **Slow response:** As late as on 11 March, World Health Organisation (WHO), declared the Covid-19 outbreak a pandemic.
- **Poorly informed suggestions** such as there is no need for healthy people to wear face masks.

CHALLENGES WITH RESPECT TO ORGANIZATION & FUNCTIONING

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- **Constitutional problem with all UN agencies** that the head of the agency who is elected after all with support of powerful member states, does not enjoy the independence and autonomy that should come with a position of that stature.
- **Re-election:** Two terms of five is normal practice. If we were, for example, to adopt a policy of a single non-renewable term for maybe six or seven years, then you might actually give a leader authority to take certain independent actions.
- **WHO is not larger or more powerful than its member states.** Just as Israel denied a UN team access to occupied territories, India has refused permission to some UN observers to go to Kashmir and so on, countries have the right to do that.
- **Funding Challenge:**
 - Shrinking financial resources as the 2019 annual operating budget was only \$2bn.
 - Rising donor dependency as funding is skewed towards voluntary contribution, only 30% of budget is under WHO control.
 - **Complex organization structure** giving rise to tensions between headquarters and regional offices.
 - **Lack of appropriate accountability** mechanisms to address wrongful acts or omissions by the organization when they occur.
 - **Body lacks adequate decision making power,** any decisions or amendments to its constitution, requires two-thirds majority of members present and voting.
 - **Lack formal powers to monitor and censure its members** in case of non-adherence like other international bodies such as WTO.

MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN WHO'S FUNCTIONING

- **Setting a clear direction and mandate** for the future of WHO and its Secretariat.
- **Increasing flexible funding arrangements** that allows WHO to be agile and strategic in efforts to achieve its targets by linking financing to value delivery.
- **Outsource functions to other global agencies** E.g. the GAVI-Alliance that hold expertise, so as to allow WHO to be able to focus more on its core areas and larger leadership roles.

- **Leveraging expertise** that exists by unlocking the potential of WHO's Framework of Engagement with Non-State Actors (FENSA).
- **Enhanced autonomy balanced with adequate** in-built accountability and transparency mechanisms.
- **Focus on capacity building** and strengthening of leadership skills.

WAY FORWARD

While the politicisation of the WHO remains a serious concern, it also presents an opportunity to rethink the underpinnings of the broader global governance architecture. Great power politics has always shaped global institutional evolution, but the crumbling edifice of extant institutional framework should alert us to the very real possibility that time is running out for the creation of viable and effective new international organisations.

If not rectified and responded to with a sense of urgency, global governance architecture might witness unprecedented fragmentation at precisely the time when it is most needed. And that would be a travesty for the most vulnerable and weak nations of the world.

► VACCINE NATIONALISM

Even before the end of final stage human trials or regulatory approval, several wealthier countries like Britain, France, Germany and the US have entered into pre-purchase agreements with Covid-19 vaccine manufacturers, a development that has come to be known as "vaccine nationalism". There are fears that such advance agreements will make the initial few vaccines unaffordable and inaccessible to everyone apart from the rich countries in a world of roughly 8 billion people.

This has led to the World Health Organization (WHO) warning that nations that hoard possible Covid-19 vaccines while excluding others would deepen the pandemic.

WHAT IS VACCINE NATIONALISM?

When a country manages to secure doses of vaccines for its own citizens or residents and prioritises its own domestic markets before they are made available in other countries it is known as 'vaccine nationalism'. This is done through pre-purchase agreements between a government and a vaccine manufacturer.

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For example, the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, and the European Union have spent tens of billions of dollars on deals with vaccine front runners such as Pfizer Inc, Johnson & Johnson and AstraZeneca Plc even before their effectiveness is proven.

VACCINE NATIONALISM IS NOT NEW

The present race to hoard Covid-19 vaccines harks back to a similar situation that happened in 2009 during the H1N1 flu pandemic. Australia, the first country to come up with a vaccine, blocked exports while some of the wealthiest countries entered into pre-purchase agreements with several pharmaceutical companies. The US alone obtained the right to buy 600,000 doses.

It was only when the H1N1 pandemic began to recede that developed countries offered to donate vaccine doses to poorer economies. However, it must be noted that H1N1 was a milder disease and its impact was far lesser than Covid-19.

WHAT ARE ITS DRAWBACKS?

It puts countries with fewer resources and bargaining power at a disadvantage. Thus, if countries with a large number of cases lag in obtaining the vaccine, the disease will continue to disrupt global supply chains and, as a result, economies around the world.

WHAT IS THE ALTERNATIVE?

The alternative to arrest vaccine nationalism is global collaboration, which is being done through the **WHO-backed COVAX Facility mechanism**. So far, more than 170 countries have expressed interest: about 90 low- and middle-income countries and 80 fully self-financing countries.

The countries who join the initiative are assured supply of vaccines whenever they become successful. Moreover, the countries will get assured supplies to protect at least 20 per cent of their populations.

► G7 - NEED FOR EXPANSION

- The Group of 7 (G7) is an informal group of seven countries — the **United States, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan** and **the United Kingdom**, the heads of which hold an annual summit with European Union and other invitees
- Together the member countries represent **40% of global GDP** and **10% of the world's population**

- G7 has no legal existence, permanent secretariat or official members
- Leaders of G7 countries meets annually and discusses emerging global issues

KEY OUTCOMES OF 47TH G7 MEET

- **Build Back Better World (B3W) Project** conceptualised by the US to narrow the US \$40 trillion infrastructure needs of the developing world. It is an Alternative infrastructure initiative to counter China's BRI. It works on the principles of 'Transparency and Inclusion', respects Environmental and labour laws
- **Reached a deal on Global minimum corporate taxes** The deal aimed at controlling tax evasion by Multinational companies
- G7 to donate 1 billion COVID Vaccine doses to developing nations
- Called for timely, transparent and science-based WHO-convened Phase 2 COVID-19 Origin's study
- The communique released after the meet also talks about of need for Rules based international and freedom of navigation with reference to China
- Most importantly G7 leaders agreed to raise their contributions to meet an overdue spending pledge of \$100 billion a year to help poorer countries cut carbon emissions and cope up with Global warming

→ CHALLENGES FACED BY G7 GROUPING

CHANGING ECONOMIC SITUATION

- When constituted the G7 countries accounted for close to two-thirds of global GDP.
- They now account for less than a third of global GDP on a purchasing power parity (PPP) basis, and less than half on market exchange rates (MER) basis
- The seven largest emerging economies (E7, or "Emerging 7"), comprising Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Russia and Turkey, account for over a third of global GDP on purchasing power parity (PPP) terms, and over a quarter on MER basis. India's economy is already the third largest in the world in PPP terms.
- Six of the seven of the world's best performing economies will be China, India, the United States, Indonesia, Brazil, and Russia
- It is projected that India's GDP will increase to \$17 trillion in 2030 and \$42 trillion in 2050 in PPP terms, in

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second place after China, just ahead of the United States.

LIMITATIONS OF G7

- The G7 failed to head off the economic downturn of 2007-08, which led to the rise of the G20.
- The G7 has not raised concerns with respect to contemporary issues, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, climate change, the challenge of the Daesh, and the crisis of state collapse in West Asia.
- It had announced its members would phase out all fossil fuels and subsidies, but has not so far announced any plan of action to do so.

WHY WE NEED A NEW INSTITUTION

- A new mechanism is required to handle the emerging global challenges - Trade war, economic slowdown, Political turmoil in countries, counter-terrorism and counter-proliferation
- include in it the seven future leading economies, plus Germany, Japan, the U.K., France, Mexico, Turkey, South Korea, and Australia
- An immediate concern is to ensure effective implementation of the 1975 Biological Weapons Convention and the prevention of any possible cheating by its state parties by the possible creation of new microorganisms or viruses by using recombinant technologies.
- Finding effective solutions to burning issues like the Iran's nuclear program, peace and stability in Afghanistan, the Gulf and West Asia, reduction in tensions in Korean peninsula and South China Sea.

'D10' COALITION OF DEMOCRACIES

- The combination of G7 and 3 other invitees- India, Australia and South Korea has drawn attention to an expanded '**D10' coalition of democracies**
- First proposed by Boris Johnson, the original purpose of D10 was aimed **to address China's growing technological clout in 5G** as well as **supply chain vulnerabilities** that were exposed during pandemic
- But gradually, with the Joe Biden's efforts, the group is being seen as an alternate democratic arrangement against the authoritarian states such as China

ADVANTAGES OF PROPOSED D10 COALITION TO

INDIA

- The proposed 5G alliance (as proposed by UK) may bring technology and Investment to India
- Membership in coalition of 10 large democracies not only increase the soft power of India but also gives a platform for India to pursue reforms in UNSC. (This coalition will give an opportunity to convince the major powers to make the way clear for India's candidature as a permanent member of UNSC)
- It acts as a bulwark against Chinese expansionism in Indian ocean and its Wolf warrior diplomacy in the India's neighbourhood
- Eventually if this coalition turns into a trade bloc, that will improve trade and investment opportunities for India (In the backdrop of lingering EU-India trade deal and pull out of RCEP)

CHALLENGES

- Economic Interconnectedness transcends across any rigid divisions of Democracies and dictatorships
- despite being a U.S. ally and a democracy, South Korea is wary of joining a formal D10 or Quad-plus alliance because its economy is interwoven with that of China
- EU is wary of any such coalition (D10) since it recently signed **EU-China new investment treaty**
- Even Indian can't afford to alienate friendly undemocratic powers like Vietnam, Iran or Russia, which are important for India's ambitions of becoming a 'leading power' in the world
- US and European powers are themselves not disassociated with undemocratic allies. The U.S.'s allies in West Asia remain notoriously authoritarian, and European countries still cultivate client dictatorships in Africa.

► SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANISATION

The SCO is a China-led eight-member economic and security bloc, in which India and Pakistan were admitted as full members in 2017. Its founding members included China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

For the 1st time, India will host the SCO summit meeting at the end of this year.

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**STRUCTURE OF SCO**

- Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) of SCO is a permanent body based in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. The objective of RATS is based upon the Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism.
- The main objectives of SCO is to strengthen mutual trust and neighborliness among the member states, promote their effective cooperation in politics, trade, the economy, research, technology and culture, education, energy, transport, tourism, environmental protection, and other areas. Moreover, making joint efforts to maintain and ensure peace, security and stability in the region and moving towards the establishment of a democratic, fair and rational new international political and economic order.

IMPORTANCE FOR INDIA

India's security, geopolitical, strategic and economic interests are closely intertwined with developments in the Central Asian region.

- **Energy Security:** Central Asian region is richly endowed with energy resources which India is trying to gain access to through the Chabahar port construction in Iran and construction of the International North-South Transport Corridor.
- **Economic Growth:** SCO has high economic potential because 40% of the world's population lives in its countries, and they produce more than the 22% of

the global GDP, that is by 2025, expected to reach 38-40%.

- **Security Cooperation:** RATS is viewed by India as a platform to access intelligence and information and as a solution to regional security cooperation as SCO remains committed to countering international terrorism, drug trafficking and resolving the conflict in Afghanistan.
- **Gateway to Eurasia:** India's membership in the SCO is an opportunity for India to engage the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) thereby Eurasian market.
- **Connect to Central Asia:** SCO is a potential platform to advance India's Connect Central Asia policy.
- **Enhanced status:** SCO membership also bolsters India's status as a major Pan-Asian player, which is boxed in the South Asian paradigm.
- **Value alignment:** "Shanghai spirit" emphasizes on harmony, non-interference in others' internal affairs, and non-alignment - values that India has always cherished and upheld.
- **Forum for bilateral cooperation with China:** It is yet another opening, like the BRICS summit last year, to bring down tensions, and ahead of the next informal summit in October in India.
- **Platform for India to engage Pakistan:** In the absence of the SAARC summit, the SCO summit gives an opportunity for Indian and Pakistani leaders to meet informally, on the sidelines and to engage in

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anti-terrorism cooperation. Thus SCO shall provide a platform to resolve their differences.

CHALLENGES FOR INDIA IN SCO

- **Dominance of China and Russia:** Russia and China as a co-founder of the SCO are the dominant powers in the groupings, thus limiting India's ability to assert itself.
- **China's Belt and Road initiative:** All group members except India have endorsed China's BRI initiative. India on the other hand has repeatedly oppose China's Belt and Road Initiative citing sovereignty issues arising out of CPEC.
- **India-Pakistan rivalry:** India and Pakistan are on continuous confrontation that makes it difficult to adhere to the idea of "good-neighborliness" prescribed in Article 1 of the SCO charter.
- India recently walked out of a virtual meeting of the National Security Advisors of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) after Pakistan presented a "fictitious" map of the country at the meet.
- **Definition of terrorism:** India's definition of terrorism is different from the definition of SCO under RATS. For SCO, terrorism coincides with regime destabilization; whereas for India it is related to state-sponsored cross border terrorism.

WAY FORWARD

Thus it can be said that SCO is Part of India's stated policy of pursuing "multi-alignments". Hence, India must continue to looks for positive engagement with the member nations of this organization.

INDIA'S MEMBERSHIP OF SCO AND QUAD - IS IT A GEOPOLITICAL CONTRADICTION?

India's membership of the Shanghai cooperation Organization and the Quadrilateral security dialogue is seen as a geopolitical contradiction by various experts. SCO is a China led initiative, while Quad is a US led initiative. India is a member of both which has made some experts to call it contradiction. Questions have been raised as to how far can India walk the tightrope of Strategic autonomy by participating in the SCO and quad which seem to have opposite objectives.

S. No.	SCO	QUAD
1.	SCO with Russia and China is seen as a counter to the NATO	Quad with US allies is seen as a counter to the China and Russia

2.	India Joined the SCO in 2017	Quad began after 2004 but revived after 2017
3.	SCO deals with continental neighborhood	Quad deals with Maritime neighborhood
4.	Except India the SCO members have taken a stand on Taliban	Quad members have stayed distant

CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE SCO

- **Afghan contact group** - India is not on the same page with other members of the SCO
- **Connectivity** - India is not a part of China's BRI. It has different approach to connectivity. INSTC, TAPI, Chabahar Port etc.
- **Terrorism** - SCO RATS mechanism. India participates in the SCO RATS Military exercise. India blames Pakistan, but other countries are collaborating with Pakistan.

CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE QUAD

- **COVID-19 Vaccine** - India is expected to supply vaccine in the Indo - Pacific with the Support of US. However, the contours are still not clear. Lack of clarity on WTO waiver.
- **Climate Change** - India works with Solar alliance and Paris accord but has not yet signed the goals set by other members of the QUAD.
- **Supply Chains** - India is keen on building alternate supply chains from the ones dominated by China. It is part of SRI of which US is not a part.
- **AUKUS security Partnership** - India is not a member and there is lack of clarity on how it will engage with the QUAD.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF INDIA'S POSITION

- India is not the only country in multiple multilateral groupings which conflict or compete.
- US is a part of **QUAD** but has still announced **AUKUS** with UK and Australia.
 - US had also announced a **Connectivity Quad** with Uzbekistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan.
 - US Russia China formed the **Troika** to discuss Afghanistan as well **Troika+** with Pakistan.
- Even within the groups **some contradictions are unavoidable.**
- World politics is no more Bipolar as it used to be during the cold war era.

INDO-PACIFIC

- The present global order can be seen in **the paradigm of "complex interdependence"**.
- In such a world order contradictions are bound to happen.
- In hostile regions continuous engagement **creates possibilities for future leverage**.
- Engagement is natural corollary to India's principled stand of **Strategic autonomy**, where India engages on multiple platforms to pursue its interest.

WAY FORWARD

At a time when the role of US is unclear in the Indo-pacific because of the Parallel Quad and the AUKUS and when the strategic leverage of India is decreasing in the central Asia, engagement with SCO and QUAD provides opportunity to India to raise its voice in a dynamic geopolitical space.

► BRICS



WHAT IS BRICS?

- BRICS started in 2001 as BRIC, an acronym coined by Goldman Sachs for Brazil, Russia, India, and China. South Africa was added in 2010.
- The notion behind the coinage was that the nations' economies would come to collectively dominate global growth by 2050.

SIGNIFICANCE OF BRICS GROUPING

- The dominance of any group across the world is judged on the basis of following parameters: Territory under control, Population, GDP and Trade. BRICS grouping has:
 - 42% of the global population,
 - 23% of the global GDP,
 - 30% of the global territory
 - 18% of the global trade.

The BRICS members are also known for their significant influence on regional affairs; all are members of G20.

- **Contribution to global growth** - In terms of GDP, China occupies the second position; India the fifth; Brazil the ninth; Russia the 11th; and South Africa the 35th. In terms of growth rates, China grew at 6%; India at 4.5%, Russia 1.7%, Brazil 1.2% and South Africa 0.1%.
- **Collective strength of BRICS** by way of consultation and cooperation on issues of mutual interests, as well as topical global issues, such as, international terrorism, climate change, food and energy security, reforms of global governance institutions, etc.
- **For example** - An offshoot of the group, dealing with climate change, is BASIC (BRICS without Russia), which met at the Spain conference in December 2019 and reiterated its support to the Paris Agreement

IMPORTANCE FOR INDIA

- **Geo-Politics:** BRICS platform provides an opportunity for India to balance deepening Russia-China closeness.
- **Global Economic Order:** BRICS countries shared a common objective of reforming the international financial and monetary system, with a strong desire to build a more just, and balanced international order.
- **Voice of Developing Nations:** BRICS has emerged as the voice of developing countries.
- **Terrorism:** BRICS also provides a platform for India to galvanize its efforts against terrorism and has worked within the grouping to take a strong stand against terrorism.
- **Global Grouping:** India is actively pursuing its membership for United Nation Security Council (UNSC) and Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG). China forms the major roadblock in pursuing such goals. Therefore, BRICS provides an opportunity to actively engage with China and gain its support.
- **Institutional Successes:** New Development Bank is a multilateral development bank operated by the BRICS states. It approved its first set of loans, which included a loan of US\$ 250 million in respect of India for Multi-tranche Financing Facility for Renewable Energy Financing Scheme'.

CHALLENGES FACED BY BRICS

- **Geographical separation:** Members are fragmented along 4 different continents.

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- **Political heterogeneity:** For a long-lasting strong group, there should be political homogeneity. (Ex: EU). But China and Russia have authoritative government and rest have democracy.
- **Dominance of China:** Chinese role in trade relations makes the BRICS much more a China-with-partners group than a union of equal members. China is floating its own organizations like One Belt One Road (OBOR), Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB).
- **Lack of Mutual trust and Interests:** China- India rivalry (Territorial); Russia and Brazil rivalry (Mining). So, although BRICS has all necessary conditions (political, military and economic influence) to act like a global institution, but these conditions are not sufficient.

WAY FORWARD

At a different level, BRICS membership elevates India's global profile. China may still not be interested in de-hyphenating India and Pakistan, but India's BRICS membership automatically de-hyphenates India and Pakistan, while it casts India and China as equals. So, even as challenges abound in the BRICS trajectory, the grouping will continue to be of some instrumental value to India in the years ahead.

► BIMSTEC

With SAARC taking a backseat because of India-Pak Rivalry and increased geopolitical focus on the Indo-Pacific, India is seen to be increasing its focus on the BIMSTEC to engage with the Bay of Bengal littoral countries with an aim of ensuring free and Open Indian Ocean region.

BIMSTEC



- Established as a grouping of four nations — **India, Thailand, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka** ('BIST-EC' -

Bangladesh, India, Sri-Lanka and Thailand Economic Cooperation) — through the **Bangkok Declaration of 1997** to promote rapid economic development.

- It was renamed as 'BIMST-EC' in 1997, following the inclusion of **Myanmar**.
- With the admission of **Nepal and Bhutan** in 2004, the name of the grouping was changed to 'Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation' (BIMSTEC).
- BIMSTEC was expanded later to include three more countries — **Myanmar, Nepal and Bhutan**.
- Present members - **Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Myanmar, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Thailand**
- Its members lie in the littoral and adjacent areas of the Bay of Bengal constituting a contiguous regional unity. BIMSTEC not only connects South and Southeast Asia, but also the ecologies of the Great Himalayas and the Bay of Bengal.
- **Platform for intra-regional cooperation between SAARC and ASEAN members.**
- A fourth of the world's traded goods cross the bay every year.
- Important Connectivity Projects:
 - **Kaladan Multimodal Project** - links India and Myanmar.
 - **Asian Trilateral Highway** - connecting India and Thailand through Myanmar.
 - **Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal (BBIN) Motor Vehicles Agreement** - for seamless flow of passenger and cargo traffic.
 - **Strategic Significance for India:** Enables India to pursue three core policies:
 1. **Neighbourhood First** - primacy to the country's immediate periphery;
 2. **Act East** - connects India with Southeast Asia; and
 3. **Economic development of India's North Eastern states** - by linking them to the Bay of Bengal region via Bangladesh and Myanmar.
- India has moved from **Look East Policy to Act East Policy** and Indo Pacific cooperation through its diaspora, culture and connectivity. This has led to India's goodwill in the region.
- Allows India to **counter China's creeping influence in countries around the Bay of Bengal** due to the spread of its Belt and Road Initiative.

INDO-PACIFIC

- Physical connectivity with BIMSTEC would also help India integrate itself with **ASEAN's Master Plan of Connectivity 2025**.
- A new platform for India to engage with its neighbours with South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) becoming dysfunctional because of differences between India and Pakistan. BIMSTEC suddenly received special attention as New Delhi chose to treat it as a more practical instrument for regional cooperation over a faltering SAARC.

ISSUES IN THE FUNCTIONING OF BIMSTEC

- A strong BIMSTEC presupposes cordial and tension-free bilateral relations among all its member-states. This has not been the case, given the trajectory of India-Nepal, India-Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh-Myanmar ties in recent years.
- Bangladesh is facing one of the worst **refugee crises of Rohingyas** from Myanmar who are fleeing prosecution in the state of **Rakhine in Myanmar**. There is a border conflict between Myanmar and Thailand.
- Uncertainties over SAARC hovers, complicating matters. Both Nepal and Sri Lanka want the SAARC summit revived, even as they cooperate within BIMSTEC, with diluted zeal.
- China's decisive intrusion in the South-Southeast Asian space has cast dark shadows.
- The military coup in Myanmar, brutal crackdown of protesters and continuation of popular resistance resulting in a protracted impasse have produced a new set of challenges.
- BIMSTEC planned to hold summits every two years, ministerial meetings every year, but only four summits have taken place in 20 years up to 2018.
 - In fact, BIMSTEC received special attention as India chose to treat it as a more practical instrument for regional cooperation over a faltering SAARC.
 - Most multilateral groupings from G20 to ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) and SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organisation) held their deliberations at the highest political level even in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, BIMSTEC leaders failed to do so.
- BIMSTEC FTA was negotiated in 2004, talks on it are yet to be concluded.
- What has been missing from recent deliberations is a reference to the **lack of progress on the trade and economic dossier**.

- A January 2018 study by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry had suggested that BIMSTEC urgently needed a **comprehensive Free Trade Agreement** to be a real game changer. Ideally it should cover trade in goods, services and investment; promote regulatory harmonisation; adopt policies that develop regional value chains; and eliminate non-tariff barriers.

WAY FORWARD

As BIMSTEC readies itself to celebrate the silver jubilee of its formation next year, it faces a serious challenge: to affect a paradigm-shift in raising the level of our cooperation and regional integration. The grouping needs to reinvent itself, possibly even rename itself as **'The Bay of Bengal Community'**. It should consider holding regular annual summits. Only then will its leaders convince the region about their strong commitment to the new vision they have for this unique platform linking South Asia and Southeast Asia.

► SAARC

SAARC has been dormant for several years due to regional tensions (mainly India-Pakistan). But recent fight against COVID-19 had brought a few positive developments.

ABOUT SAARC

South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is the regional intergovernmental organization and geopolitical union of states in South Asia.

Its member comprises - 8 states - Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

SAARC comprises 3% of the world's area, 21% of the world's population and 4% of the global economy.

CHALLENGES FACED BY SAARC

- **Indo-Pak rivalry** - SAARC has been hostage to India - Pakistan conflict, whereby India is unwilling to engage with Pakistan till it ends or makes serious attempts cross-border terrorism. SAARC Region is also one of the most terror prone regions of the world with frequent tensions and unrest within the member countries as well as amongst the members.
- **China factor**- China is trying to establish relations with the member states of SAARC excluding India. For e.g. China has started CPEC with Pakistan, Hambatota project with Sri Lanka, FTA with Maldives and railroad pact with Nepal.

INDO-PACIFIC

- **Afghanistan** - With Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan, role of Pakistan in facilitating the terrorist organizations has again come at the center stage. Further India is yet to actively engage with the Taliban regime.
- **Low inter region trade** - While organizations like ASEAN record a trade of 20%, SAARC's trade figures are a dismal low at about 3%. South Asia free trade agreement (SAFTA) proposed for boosting intra-regional trade still remains on paper and is not functional.
- **Absence of cooperation** on major initiatives for example – Pak's non-cooperation on motor vehicle agreement, lack of consensus on threat perceptions, since member countries disagree on the idea of threats
- **Fear about India's Big Brother attitude:** The asymmetry between India and other member countries in terms of geography, economy, military strength and influence in the global arena make the smaller countries apprehensive. They perceive India as "Big Brother" and fear that it might use the SAARC to pursue hegemony in the region. The smaller neighboring countries, therefore, have been reluctant to implement various agreements under SAARC.
- As a result, India was seen to be moving away from SAARC in direction of BIMSTEC. However, still India is not attempting to replace SAARC with BIMSTEC since both organisations are based on different foundations.
- SAARC as an organisation reflects the South Asian identity of the countries based on shared history, language, religion, cuisines, etc.
- BIMSTEC on the other hand is not based upon shared identity but rather a shared geographical region of Bay of Bengal.

COVID - AN ATTEMPT AT REVIVAL

India's imaginative diplomacy has leveraged the crisis to create a new mechanism for workable cooperation.

- India initiated first-ever virtual summit of SAARC leaders, all the eight member-states were represented at the video conference, except Pakistan
- India proposed and quickly operationalized COVID-19 Emergency Fund with its initial contribution of \$10 million. Within days, all the countries, except Pakistan, contributed to it voluntarily, bringing the total contributions to \$18.8 million

- India extended medical equipment, medicines and other supplies to neighbours - Bhutan, Nepal, Afghanistan, Maldives, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.
- However, this attempt did not materialize into the revival because of the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan with tacit support of Pakistan.

CASE FOR SAARC'S REVIVAL

- India subcontinent while geographically is one of the most integrated region in the world in terms of terrain, ecosystem, river system etc. But its polity, history, economics, below par engagement makes it one of the least integrated regions of the world – This lack of integration can be overcome by SAARC.
- In a competing world, where we see countries forming groups like the EU, ASEAN, AU and so on, SAARC could be a pillar for the countries of the South Asian region to establish their identity in trade and also to alleviate the afore mentioned evils persistent in the region.
- World's economic centre of gravity is shifting east wards. Thus, it becomes critical for regional economics to work together for facilitating the vision of Asian century.
- With 35% of the global youth in this region, the region is the work force of the 21st century when the rest of the world has an ageing population. Collaboration thus becomes key.

WAY FORWARD

- To conclude that SAARC is now returning to an active phase on a broad front may, however, be premature. Especially in the backdrop of political capital invested by New Delhi in strengthening BIMSTEC and the urgings it received recently from Nepal and Sri Lanka to resuscitate SAARC.
- External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar said that India had no preference for a specific platform, but it was fully committed to the cause of regional cooperation and connectivity.
- Given the manner in which Pakistan has tried to harm India's interests since the terrorist attack on the Uri army base in 2016 and its orchestrated takeover of Taliban in Afghanistan the goal of revival looks unrealistic. Both New Delhi and its friendly neighbours need to start preparing themselves for SAARC 2.0. In this background the scope and membership of the BIMSTEC needs to be further enhanced.

INDO-PACIFIC

► **FATF**

Pakistan was retained on the grey list, or list of countries under "increased monitoring", at the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) once again, as FATF judged it deficient in prosecuting the top leadership of UN Security Council-designated terror groups; the list includes Lashkar-e Toiba, Jaish-e Mohammad, Al Qaeda and the Taliban. Despite the efforts of FATF to stop the terror funding, Pakistan's support for the terror organizations has not reduced on the ground. It poses questions about the efficacy of FATF in effectively controlling money laundering a terror financing.

HOW FATF WORKS?

- The FATF combats anti-terrorism financing efforts by measuring legal frameworks at great length which has proven to have a lot of flaws in the past.
- The biggest role FATF has in the international community is evaluating its Member States: "During an evaluation, a team of diverse experts from the other FATF Member States assesses a country's national anti-money laundering and anti-terrorist financing framework.
- The evaluation reports are an important source for countries and financial institutions in ascertaining how a national framework has been set up."
- These evaluations lead to institutions such as banks knowing which countries can be trusted when it comes to money transactions, and give the international community an overview of the global terrorist layout when it comes to money laundering.
- Recently the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) started moving from checkbox and rules-based regulatory models to an outcome or principle-based approaches which led to a more proactive approach.
- However the current blacklist of countries at risk of money laundering includes "countries such as North Korea and Iran, but does not include jurisdictions such as Panama or the Bahamas".

INSTANCES OF INEFFECTIVE FUNCTIONING OF FATF

- Commonwealth Bank of Australia was probed for Money laundering in 2017. It is a major shortcoming of FATF considering Australia should be one of the leading countries in battling terrorism funding.
- In 2017 Singapore was revealed as the new haven for money laundering.
- Nigeria which faces issues of terror financing for organizations like Boko Haram has not implemented the FATF recommendations.

- Pakistan has been on the grey list since 2016. However Pakistan's role in providing safe havens to terror organisations is not hidden.

ISSUES

- The **mutual evaluation reports of FATF have grown longer and more technical** as the evaluation rounds have progressed. It has failed to provide clear, accurate information on the effectiveness of the Anti-money laundering system in a particular country.
- Financial Action Task Force battles terrorism financing by providing guidelines for countries and publishing evaluations of individual countries' efforts in combating terrorism financing on a national level.
- The reports serve as a useful checklist for countries to know what to focus on in the future.
- However, other efforts of FATF such as putting and taking countries off the blacklist has proven to yield questionable results.
- The country **assessment process it oversees has become increasingly politicised.**
- FATF **recommendations are not binding.** However the FATF members impose sanctions on a country if does not comply with such recommendations. Thus the organisations itself lacks teeth for the implementation of its recommendations.
- FATF's **detailed country evaluations are conducted too infrequently.**
- The FATF should also take greater effort to consider the capabilities and capacity of countries to engage with the FATF process.
- For example, the costs (in money and government staff time) incurred by countries in preparation for and in undergoing a FATF evaluation are immense.

► **UNCLOS**

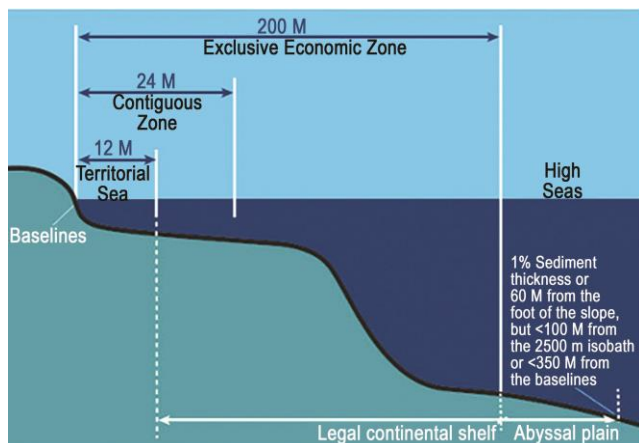
Continuous violation of the EEZ rights of littoral countries of the South China Sea by China, and the recent Freedom of Navigation operation conducted by the US in India's exclusive economic zone near the Lakshadweep Island has raised concerns about the efficacy of the UN convention of Law of seas in the resolution of maritime disputes.

WHAT UNCLOS DOES

UNCLOS is almost universally lauded for laying down laws and rules whose wide acceptance it is believed has greatly reduced the number, frequency and potential for inter-state conflicts that would otherwise have taken

INDO-PACIFIC

place. There are now 167 member countries plus the European Union.



- The 12-mile zone was legally sanctioned as the **'territorial seas'** belonging to a specific coastal state but within which **"innocent passage" of other ships including warships is allowed**.
- Easily the single-most important new development ushered in by UNCLOS was the creation and legal sanctification of **Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs) of 200 nautical miles over which states have sovereign rights to explore and exploit in the seas, the seabed and subsoil**.
- The area beyond the EEZs are demarcated as the **"high seas"** and said to be the **"common heritage of humankind"**. Here, the stipulated **International Seabed Authority (ISA)** finally came into existence in 1994 to regulate, organize and control through licences and contracts with companies and governments, all mining explorations to be followed later by actual operations in the international seabed.
- Key narrow **straits** crucial for shortening maritime routes have been given **international status for "transit passage"** but otherwise local coastal states have sovereign rights over them.
- It has established a **dispute-settlement mechanism for member countries**.

ISSUES IN THE FUNCTIONING OF THE UNCLOS

- US is not a member of the UNCLOS and has been carrying out FONOP in the EEZ of India.
- China asserts that whole South China sea falls into its EEZ, ignoring the EEZ rights of the littoral countries.
- Climate change is opening up the arctic Sea. The littoral states of arctic have started claiming their rights on what was considered to be the "common heritage of humankind".

- The requirement of prior consent under the UNCLOS for the passage of foreign warships has been ignored by many nations. - Ex - US FONOP.
- There is no mechanism to enforce the decisions of the International tribunal for law of sea.
- China claims everything within the "nine-dash line," stretching from Taiwan to Malaysia - a vaguely defined boundary purportedly based on old maps. In 2016, the international tribunal at The Hague ruled there was no legal basis for such a claim. China rejected the decision, and other countries have continued to complain about Chinese vessels in their waters.

► UN WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME

UN food programme was awarded the Nobel Peace prize 2020 for its efforts to combat world hunger. The UN body was praised for "bettering conditions for peace" and preventing the use of hunger as a weapon of war. The Nobel Committee said the WFP's work was "an endeavour that all the nations of the world should be able to endorse and support".

ABOUT THE UN WFP

- Founded in 1961, the WFP delivers food assistance to vulnerable communities, particularly those affected by war.
- The programme has intervened in several global emergencies since. Last year alone, the WFP said it assisted 97 million people across 88 countries.
- Governments are the principle source of its funding - its largest donations coming from the US, Germany and the UK. Money is also given to the WFP from corporations and individuals.

FUNCTIONS

- The programme's overarching goal is to bolster peace and stability by promoting food security and improved nutrition.
- To this end the WFP is involved with a range of projects, including ones to strengthen food supply chains, local markets and resilience to local climate risks.

CHALLENGES

Yemen

- The WFP feeds 13 million people - almost half of Yemen's population - as the country grapples with civil war and endemic poverty
- It is hampered by poor infrastructure, funding cuts, limited access and a lack of international co-operation

INDO-PACIFIC

- In April, the WFP announced that some donors had stopped their aid over concerns that deliveries were being obstructed
- It says it urgently needs more than \$500m (\$385m) to ensure uninterrupted food assistance until March 2021

SOUTH SUDAN

- Since gaining independence from Sudan in 2011, areas of South Sudan have been racked by hunger and poverty, spurred by inter-ethnic violence
- The WFP says almost seven million people - 60% of the population - are struggling to find enough food to eat every day
- The WFP provides food aid to half a million people, cash assistance, school meals and treatment for malnutrition
- It says it needs \$596m to ensure uninterrupted food assistance until March next year

OTHER CHALLENGES

- Despite its successes, funding cuts have proved a hindrance to the WFP's work in many areas of the world.
- COVID 19 has further hampered its functioning.
- It warned that the coronavirus pandemic could cause widespread famines "of biblical proportions".
- The global outbreak has already hindered its ability to work freely around the world, as countries close their borders to curb the spread of the virus.

CRITICISM

- The group was also accused of bolstering the US economy by buying its produce. The WFP has since tried to strike a balance between purchasing locally and avoiding any potential inflation of food prices.
- It has been argued that the WFP makes some nations overly reliant on foreign aid.

Syllabus

Internal Security

- Linkages between development and spread of extremism.
- Role of external state and non-state actors in creating challenges to internal security.
- Challenges to internal security through communication networks, role of media and social networking sites in internal security challenges, basics of cyber security; money-laundering and its prevention
- Security challenges and their management in border areas; linkages of organized crime with terrorism
- Various Security forces and agencies and their mandate

Previous Year Questions and Theme Map

Previous Year Questions

SUB-THEME	YEAR	UPSC MAINS QUESTIONS	IMPORTANT THEMES FOR MAINS 2021
LINKAGES BETWEEN DEVELOPMENT & SPREAD OF EXTREMISM;	2020	What are the determinants of Left-Wing Extremism in Eastern part of India? What strategy should Government of India, civil administration and security forces adopt to counter the threat in the affected areas?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Securing Internet 2. Dark Web 3. Tackling Fake News 4. Nuclear Triad 5. LWE 6. Naga issue 7. Border disputes 8. Social media as a security threat 9. Theatre command 10. CDS 11. Cyber security 12. Cryptocurrency
	2019	The banning of 'Jamaat-e - islaami' in Jammu and Kashmir brought into focus the role of over-ground workers (OGWs) in assisting terrorist organizations. Examine the role played by OGWs in assisting terrorist organizations in insurgency affected areas.	
	2018	Left Wing Extremism (LWE) is showing a downward trend, but still affects many parts of the country. Briefly explain the Government of India's approach to counter the challenges posed by LWE.	
	2017	Mob violence is emerging as a serious law and order problem in India. By giving suitable examples, analyze the causes and consequences of such violence.	
	2017	The scourge of terrorism is a grave challenge to national security. What solutions do you suggest to curb this growing menace? What are the major sources of terrorist funding?	
	2017	The north-eastern region of India has been infested with insurgency for a very long time. Analyze the major reasons for the survival of armed insurgency in this region.	
	2016	"Terrorism is emerging as a competitive industry over the last few decades." Analyse the above statement.	
	2015	The persisting drives of the government for development of large industries in backward areas have resulted in isolating the tribal population and the farmers who face multiple displacements with Malkangiri and Naxalbari foci, discuss the corrective strategies needed to win the left wing extremism (LWE) doctrine affected citizens back into the mainstream of social and economic growth.	
	2015	Religious indoctrination via digital media has resulted in Indian youth joining the ISIS. What is ISIS and its mission? How can ISIS be dangerous for the internal security of our country?	
	2013	Article 244 of Indian Constitution relates to Administration of	

PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS AND THEME MAP

		Scheduled areas and tribal areas. Analyze the impact of non-implementation of the provisions of fifth schedule on the growth of Left Wing extremism.	
CROSS BORDER & BORDER MANAG-EMENT	2020	For effective border area management, discuss the steps required to be taken to deny local support to militants and also suggest ways to manage favourable perception among locals.	
	2020	Analyse internal security threats and transborder crimes along Myanmar, Bangladesh and Pakistan borders including Line of Control (LoC). Also, discuss the role played by various security forces in this regard.	
	2018	The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is viewed as a cardinal subset of China's larger 'One Belt One Road' initiative. Give a brief description of CPEC and enumerate the reasons why India has distanced itself from the same.	
	2016	The terms 'Hot Pursuit' and 'Surgical Strikes' are often used in connection with armed action against terrorist attacks. Discuss the strategic impact of such actions.	
	2016	Border management is a complex task due to difficult terrain and hostile relations with some countries. Elucidate the challenges and strategies for effective border management.	
	2014	International civil aviation laws provide all countries complete and exclusive sovereignty over the airspace above the territory. What do you understand by airspace? What are the implications of these laws on the space above this airspace? Discuss the challenges which this poses and suggests ways to contain the threat.	
	2014	The diverse nature of India as a multireligious and multi-ethnic society is not immune to the impact of radicalism which has been in her neighbourhood. Discuss along with the strategies to be adopted to counter this environment.	
	2014	How illegal transborder migration does pose a threat to India's security? Discuss the strategies to curb this, bring out the factors which give impetus to such migration.	
	2014	In 2012, the longitudinal marking of the high-risk areas for piracy was moved from 65° East to 78° east in the Arabian Sea by International Maritime organisation. What impact does this have on India's maritime security concerns?	
	2014	China and Pakistan have entered into an agreement for development of an economic corridor. What threat does it dispose for India's security? Critically examine.	
2013	How far are India's internal security challenges linked with border management, particularly in view of the long porous borders with most countries of South Asia and Myanmar?		
OTHER SECURITY ISSUES	2020	Discuss different types of cyber-crimes and measures required to be taken to fight the menace.	
	2019	The Indian government has recently strengthened the anti-terrorism laws by amending the unlawful activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA), 1967 and the NIA Act. Analyze the changes in the context	

PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS AND THEME MAP

		of prevailing security environment while discussing the scope and reasons for opposing the UAPA by human rights organizations.	
	2018	India's proximity to two of the world's biggest illicit opium-growing states has enhanced her internal security concerns. Explain the linkages between drug trafficking and other illicit activities such as gunrunning, money laundering and human trafficking. What counter-measures should be taken to prevent the same?	
	2018	Data security has assumed significant importance in the digitized world due to rising cybercrimes. The Justice B. N. Srikrishna Committee Report addresses issues related to data security. What, in your view, are the strengths and weakness of the Report relating to protection of personal data in cyber space?	
	2017	Discuss the potential threats of Cyber-attack and the security framework to prevent it.	
	2016	Use of Internet and social media by non-state actors for subversive activities is a major concern. How have these have misused in the recent past? Suggest effective guidelines to curb the above threat.	
	2015	Discuss the advantage and security implications of cloud hosting of server vis-a-vis in-house machine-based hosting for government businesses.	
	2015	Considering the threats cyberspace poses for the country, India needs a "Digital Armed Force" to prevent crimes. Critically evaluate the National Cyber Security Policy, 2013 outlining the challenges perceived in its effective implementation.	
	2013	What are social networking site and what security implications do these sites present?	
	2013	Cyber warfare is considered by some defense analysts to be a larger threat than even Al Qaeda or terrorism. What do you understand by Cyber warfare? Outline the cyber threats which India is vulnerable to and bring out the state of the country's preparedness to deal with the same.	
	2013	Money laundering poses a serious threat to country's economic sovereignty. What is its significance for India and what steps are required to be taken to control this menace?	
SECURITY FORCES	2015	Human rights activists constantly highlight the view that the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 (AFSPA) is a draconian act leading to cases of human rights abuses by the security forces. What sections of AFSPA are opposed by the activists? Critically evaluate the requirement with reference to the view held by the Apex Court.	

SECTION-1

BASICS OF INTERNAL SECURITY

► WARFARE

Warfare refers to the common activities and characteristics of types of war, or of wars in general. Total war is warfare

► NATIONAL SECURITY

- National security is a function of a country's external environment and the internal situation, as well as their interplay with each other.
- The former is influenced by the major features of the prevailing international order, the disposition of its immediate and extended neighbours and the major powers.
- The internal situation encompasses many aspects of national life, ranging from law and order to economic fundamentals and from the quality of governance to national cohesiveness.
- In today's interdependent world, the distinction between internal and external security concerns often gets blurred.

► CHANGING NATURE OF INTERNAL SECURITY

- The traditional concept of national security has undergone fundamental changes over the years. It is

no longer synonymous with sufficient military strength to defend the nation and its interests.

- In today's world, military might alone does not guarantee either sovereignty or security.
- The more realistic and comprehensive approach to national security also **includes economic strength, internal cohesion and technological prowess.**
- A strong sense of nationalism and good governance also form an integral part of national security; as does the ability to retain political and economic sovereignty and autonomy of decision making, in an era of globalisation and increasing economic interdependence.
- Both the external and internal environment are changing at an incredibly fast pace, with developments in nuclear weapons and missiles, increasing cross-border terrorism, the emergence of non-state actors, the growth of Islamic fundamentalism, the narcotics-arms nexus, illegal migration and left-wing extremism, gravely impacting upon the security of the country.

► CHANGING EXTERNAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

- **Rise of China** and collusion of China and Pakistan pose a threat of **'Two Front War'** for India.

BASICS OF INTERNAL SECURITY

- **Nuclear Weapons:** The continuous proliferation of nuclear weapons and missiles in our neighbourhood and in particular, in Pakistan poses major threats to our security. Pakistan has been developing tactical nuclear weapons which can be used in a battlefield.
- **Technological Development** - The revolution in Information Technology (IT) which is sweeping the world has deepened the process of globalisation. This poses a threat of global cyber warfare and cyber security threats from enemy nations.
- **Globalization** - Many aspects of national life which were considered to be within the domain of sovereignty have become subjects of multilateral consideration. This has led to politicization of human rights and increasingly intrusive international regimes which curtail the autonomy of national decision making.
- **Emergence of Non-State - Actors** - The emergence of non-state terrorist actors and the rise of their international influence is accelerating. Much of their activity is clandestine and outside the accepted international norms. International and state-sponsored terrorism, often motivated by fundamentalist ideologies, backed by secretive but efficient financial networks, use of IT, clandestine access to chemical-biological and nuclear materials, and illicit drug trafficking, has emerged as a major threat to international stability.

SECTION-2

TERRORISM

► TERRORISM

The term “terrorism” originated from **the Reign of Terror** (Regime de la Terreur) of 1793-94.

Following the Second World War, the focus of terrorist activities shifted from Europe to the Middle East, Africa and Asia with the emergence of various nationalistic and anti-colonial groups in these regions. The first major act of terror, considered as the most deadly and spectacular terrorist operation till then, was carried out by the Jewish Irgun (then led by Menachem Begin) when the King David Hotel in Jerusalem was bombed in July 1946, killing nearly a hundred people.

Left wing extremism, based on their belief that terrorism is the only strategy of revolutionary movement for the weak in the Third World (e.g., in Malaysia, Vietnam etc.), surfaced in Europe and elsewhere as well, especially since the late 1950s.

International terrorism today is marked by the large number of transnational terrorist groups, mostly motivated by the Islamist fundamentalist ideology with **Al-Qaeda** at the forefront.

WHAT IS TERRORISM?

Terrorism is defined as the systematic use of violence to create a general climate of fear in a population and thereby to bring about a particular political objective.

Terrorism is the unlawful use or threatened use of violence against civilians, often to achieve political, religious or similar objectives.

It is somewhat surprising that despite terrorism being recognised as a global phenomenon, attempts in the past for arriving at an internationally accepted definition

of terrorism have proved futile. According to some observers, this ambivalence is primarily due to two reasons:

Firstly, a ‘terrorist’ in one country may be viewed as a ‘freedom fighter’ in another. They feel that there are legitimate forms of non-state political violence that is not terrorism. For example, a distinction is done between revolutionary violence and terrorism.

Secondly, some States resort to or encourage various kinds of criminal acts, clandestinely, through their own agencies or hired agents to subvert or to otherwise destabilize another lawfully established government or in extreme cases get important political or governmental personalities of another State assassinated.

Thus 2nd Administrative reforms commission suggests that following points should be included in the definition of terrorism:

- Use of firearms, explosives or any other lethal substance to cause or likely to cause damage to life and property and essential infrastructure including installations/establishments having military significance.
- Assassination of (including attempt thereof) public functionaries. The intent should be to threaten the integrity, security and sovereignty of India or overawe public functionaries or to terrorise people or sections of people.
- Detention of any person or threat to kill or injure any person to force the government to act or abstain from acting in a particular manner.

TERRORISM

- Providing/facilitating material support, including finances, for the aforesaid activities.
- Commission of certain acts or possession of certain arms etc. by members or supporters of terrorist organizations which cause or are likely to cause loss of life, injury to a person or damage to any property.

► CAUSES OF TERRORISM

- **Historical factors:** These factors include injustice of the past and distortion of history at times. For example, terrorism in Kashmir and North east is a result of historical factors. The Kashmir issue is a result of different interpretation instrument of Accession by India, Pakistan and Kashmiri separatists. North-East insurgency is a result of historical policy of British colonialists to keep the region from mainstream Nationalist movement.
- **Religion:** There have been several terrorist incidents in India which were motivated by religious fundamentalism. Religion in itself is not the root cause of terrorism. However certain agencies exploit religion to promote terrorism. For example: The ISI launched an initiative in 1991, even before the Babri Masjid demolition to forge an alliance between Khalistani terrorism that prevailed in Punjab and the terrorist groups in Jammu & Kashmir.
- **Ethnicity:** An ethnic group refers to a social group that shares a common and distinctive culture, religion, language, or the like. The States in India's North East region have a long history of conflict and violence among the tribal groups within the same State, and also neighbouring States. In this region ethno-nationalism is quite often expressed through violence. Thus, several examples of ethnicity-based terrorism include Naga insurgency, Mizo insurgency etc.
- **Political:** Political causes of terrorism emanate from lack of effective redressal of grievances and lack of political representation. For example, a major part of north eastern region of India was under the state of Assam. However political aspirations of different ethnic could not be satisfied. This led to insurgencies like Mizo insurgency. However, when addressed politically the Mizo insurgency was effectively controlled after the Mizo accord.
- **Human Rights:** Human right violation by Majority or the security forces have always added fuel to the fire. This has been case in almost all insurgency affected areas. Some of the examples include – abuse of (Armed forces special powers act) AFSPA in Kashmir

and North east. Similarly in Myanmar the human rights abuse by majority and the armed forces have led to the Rohingya crisis.

- **Economic causes:** Economic causes of terrorism include Unequal distribution of resources, lack of development, poor socio-economic conditions. Often, the lack of development and the lack of any prospects for improving one's lot provide a fertile ground for extremist ideologies to flourish. Large proportion of the recruits to extremist groups come from deprived or marginalized backgrounds or from regions which somehow seem disaffected by the vibrant growth in many other parts of the country.

The unevenness of our development process and the various development divides that are opening up in the country – the inter-regional divide, the rural-urban divide and the inter-sectoral divide. These divides and disparities lead to disaffection, large-scale migration, and also to discord. An example of this is the **rise of Maoism in central Indian tribal areas** which have generally lagged behind in terms of development.

► KINDS OF TERRORISM

TERRORISM BY EXTERNAL STATE ACTORS/STATE SPONSORED TERRORISM

- State-sponsored terrorism is government support of violent non-state actors engaged in terrorism. State-sponsored terrorism on a massive scale appeared in international politics in the 1960s and 1970s, in recent times, some countries have embraced terrorism as a deliberate instrument of foreign policy.
- One distinction of state sponsored terrorism from other forms of terrorist activity is that it is initiated to obtain certain clearly defined foreign policy objectives rather than grabbing media attention or targeting the potential audience. Given this character, it operates under fewer constraints and causes greater casualty on the target (Hoffman, 1998).
- In a cost benefit analysis, state-sponsored terrorism is the most effective means of terrorism from the perspective of the perpetrator.

INSTANCES OF STATE SPONSORED TERRORISM

- Pakistan sponsored terrorism (Proxy war by deep state) in India, especially in Jammu Kashmir.
- Russians supported their fellow Slavs in the Balkans. Bulgaria used the Macedonian revolutionary terrorists against Yugoslavia after World War I.

TERRORISM

- The Western powers under the auspices of the US supported all kinds of nationalist and anti-communist rebels throughout the Cold War.
- The Soviet Union was no different in its operations during this period. Countries like Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Libya North Korea have been engaged in sponsorship of political violence of different nature in their 'enemy' countries.

TERRORISM BY NON-STATE ACTORS

- Individuals or organizations that are involved in terrorist activities with a view to influencing politics at a national and sometimes international level but do not belong to or ally themselves to any particular country or state. Example-Naxalites, LTTE, LeT (Lashkar - e-Taiba) etc.
- The use of non-state actors is essentially the employment of a proxy element, which gives the state of Pakistan a degree of deniability.
- However, there is no doubt that none of the so-called non-state actors like the Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT) could have operated with impunity without the active funding, logistical and military support of Pakistan.
- The close linkages of the ISI and such groups are well documented as is their direct involvement in attacks like 26/11.

IDEOLOGY ORIENTED TERRORISM

- **Left-wing Terrorism:** violence against the ruling elite mostly by the peasant class motivated by what are called leftist ideologies have occurred time and again in history. The ideological basis for the left and subsequent violent movements was provided by the writings of Marx and Engels, Lenin, Mao Zedong. Leftist ideologies believe that all the existing social relations and state structures in the capitalist society are exploitative in character and a revolutionary change through violent means is essential. Example – Maoists in India and Nepal.
- **Right -wing terrorism:** Right-wing groups generally seek to maintain the status-quo or to return to some past situation that they feel should have been conserved. Sometimes, groups espousing rightist ideologies might assume ethnic/racist character too. They may force the government to acquire a territory or to intervene to protect the rights of an 'oppressed' minority in a neighbouring country (i.e.: the Nazi Party in Germany).

Violence against migrant communities also comes under this category of terrorist violence. It is to be noted here that religion can play a supportive role to rightist violence. Examples of these are: Nazism in Germany,

Fascists in Italy, white supremacy movements in the US known as Ku Klux Klan (KKK).

- **Religious Terrorism:** Present-day terrorist activities around the world are motivated largely by religious imperatives. According to Hoffman, the practitioners of terrorism motivated either in whole or in part by a religious imperative consider violence as a divine duty or a sacramental act. It embraces different means of legitimisation and justification compared to other terrorist groups, and these distinguishing factors make religious terrorism more destructive in nature.
- **Ethno-Nationalist terrorism:** Ethnic terrorism can be defined as deliberate violence by a subnational ethnic group to advance its cause. Such violence usually focuses either on the creation of a separate State or on the elevation of the status of one ethnic group over others. Tamil Nationalist groups in Sri Lanka and insurgent groups in North East India are examples of ethno-nationalist terrorist activities.

► MEANS OF TERRORISM

- **Environmental Terrorism:** While eco-terrorism is in protest against the destruction of the natural environment, environmental terrorism is the premeditated damage caused to the natural world for example during the Gulf War of 1991 when Saddam Hussein ordered the detonation of more than 1000 oil wells which engulfed Kuwait in smoke.
- **Weapons of Mass Destruction:** Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) are weapons that can inflict heavy and indiscriminate damage on a given target. Nuclear, chemical and biological weapons are the commonly identified weapons of mass destruction.
- **Chemical Weapons:** A chemical attack could be the release of toxic gas caused by attacking an industrial facility, or releasing a chemical that has been stolen from its legitimate users to inflict heavy damage on the enemy. According to the Chemical Weapons Convention signed in 1993, any toxic chemical, regardless of its origin, is considered as a chemical weapon if it is used for purposes that are prohibited. Toxins such as ricin, botulinum toxin, nerve agents, lewisite, sarin etc are examples to this
- **Nuclear weapons:** It is argued that the engineering skills and equipment needed to build the simplest form of nuclear weapon, a "gun" style bomb using highly enriched uranium (HEU) – are not particularly complex; any well-organized group can develop such a weapon. However, what makes it difficult for terrorist organizations and non-State actors is the

TERRORISM

nonavailability and the complicated process and the cost involved in enriching uranium. Although, there are no accounts of terrorist attacks using nuclear weapons, there are clear indications that from the late 1990s onwards, Al-Qaeda has constantly been trying to acquire it with the help of different State agencies.

- **Biological Weapons:** Bio-terrorism is a relatively new form of terrorist activity that has emerged as a result of the advancements in biotechnology being accessible to terrorist groups.
- Bio-terrorism is defined as an attack with “the deliberate release of viruses, bacteria, or other germs (agents) used to cause illness or death in people, animals, or plants”.
- These natural agents are changed to “increase their ability to cause disease, make them resistant to current medicines, or to increase their ability to be spread into the environment.” These are spread through air, water or food.
- Terrorists use biological agents “because they can be extremely difficult to detect and do not cause illness for several hours to several days.”
- The COVID 19 pandemic is speculated to have been caused by the leak of virus from the Chinese labs. This event highlights the potential of use of biological weapons.
- **Cyber terrorism** - cyber-terrorism is the convergence of terrorism and cyberspace. It is generally understood to mean unlawful attacks and threats of attacks against computers, networks, and the information stored therein when done to intimidate or coerce a government or its people in furtherance of political or social objectives.
- **Computer technology as a facilitator of terrorism:** It is used for political propaganda, terrorist recruitment and financing, intra and inter-group communication and coordination, intelligence gathering etc. This enables the terrorist groups to maintain anonymity in routine activities and tactical operations, and also carry out their operations in a cost-effective manner.
- **Computer technology as a specific component of terrorist weapons or targets:** This includes computer technology-based attacks or threats on public utilities and transportation, commercial institutions and transnational corporations, individuals, political or ethnic groups, security forces, nation-states or for that matter any ‘perceived enemy’.

Outcomes of cyber-attacks by terrorists:

- **Loss of Integrity** - unauthorized changes made to the data or IT system can result in inaccuracy, fraud or erroneous decisions that bring the integrity of the system under suspicion.
- **Loss of Availability** - An attack on a mission-critical IT system makes it unavailable to the end users.
- **Loss of Confidentiality** - The consequences of unauthorized disclosure of information ranges from loss of public confidence to national security threats.
- **Physical Destruction** - Ability to create actual physical harm or destruction through the use of IT systems.
- **Suicide Terrorism** - Jihadi terrorists took to suicide terrorism in the 1990’s.
- In Kashmir, the first suicide attack by the Fedayeen was on July, 13 1991 on a Border Security Force Post.
- The attack on the J&K Legislative Assembly complex in October 2001 was also a suicide attack in which the driver of the explosive-laden vehicle which rammed through the gate was killed.
- Since then, the Fedayeen had been involved in attacking the Indian Parliament in 2001 nearly leading to a face-off between India and Pakistan, in storming the Akshardham Temple in Gujarat in 2002.
- There have been numerous other Fedayeen, attacks within Jammu & Kashmir, mostly on the premises of the Police and Security Forces.
- It is important to note that the term ‘Fedayeen’ does not exactly mean a suicide terrorist in the sense that his death is not vital or inevitable for the success of the mission he undertakes.
- However, in many of these operations, the Fedayeen have taken on the Armed Forces against almost impossible odds knowing fully well that they had little chance of returning alive.
- A majority of the Fedayeen who have operated in Jammu & Kashmir have been Pakistanis several of whom had fought in Afghanistan against the Soviets in the 1980’s.
- Many Kashmiris argue that the reason why very few local people volunteer for suicide attacks is because of the Sufi Islamic traditions of this region which embody peace and tolerance.
- There have been only three acts of suicide terrorism in the hinterland of India outside Jammu & Kashmir in recent times.
- The first two were the Rajiv Gandhi and Beant Singh assassinations.

TERRORISM

- **Terrorism in Hinterland:** The terrorism taking place in any city or town deep inside the country is called Hinterland terrorism. This was primarily started by Pakistan after its defeat in the 1971 war. It started waging a proxy war against India by targeting major cities. This strategy was also used by Khalistan terrorists following insurgency in Punjab.
- Some instances of this kind of terrorism include -: 1993 Bombay blasts, 2001 parliament attack, 2016 Pathankot in Punjab.
- **Current scenario:** In the wake of India's surgical strikes in PoK, following Uri terror attack, Pakistan backed terror outfits may target interiors of the country as part of its counter-strike strategy, the intelligence agencies have warned. This suggests a change in strategy by Pakistan, which may encourage jihadi groups to carry out attacks in the hinterland of India. It will not carry out attacks at LoC or border areas but in the hinterland, so that it is not directly blamed or identified.

► NARCO TERRORISM

- The term was first used in 1983 by the former President of Peru to describe campaigns by drug traffickers using terrorist methods such as the use of car bombs, assassinations and kidnapping against the anti-narcotics police in Colombia and Peru.
- The term has come to be associated with terrorist groups and activities around the world and more so in the Central (**Golden Crescent**) and South-East Asia (**Golden triangle**).
- Narco-terrorism combines two criminal activities; drug trafficking and terrorist violence.
- It is motivated mainly by economic reasons as it helps the terrorist organizations raise huge sums of money with minimum cost for their activities.
- Thus, the political, ideological, religious and the ethno-nationalist motives generally associated with terrorism are secondary to the economic gains associated with it.
- Dimensions of **drug trafficking** and **narco-terrorism** extend much beyond trafficking and smuggling.
- It **undermines financial security of India** by generating black money, hawala transactions, money laundering and above all existence of large cash economy enables cross border terrorist activities and establishment of links with the underworld as gains can be channelized through the hawala routes.

- Pakistan, particularly the **ISI has realized the vast damaging potential of money laundering, hawala and counterfeit currency to sustain the subversive activities.** Pakistan has systematically aided and promoted narcotic trade to fund terrorist outfits and the underworld to destabilize our financial system and economy.
- The **Golden triangle produces over 1000 tons of opium** which is refined into very high-grade heroin. Very little of it is seized in the North East due to ineffective surveillance and enforcement. A clear indicator of the likely illegal narcotic trade in the North-East is the high incidence of drug addiction and abuse in Manipur, Mizoram, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. Similarly, open Indo-Nepal border is the main source of Hashish.
- Drug money acquired from shipments abroad by the ISI and its cohorts collected from drug pushing cartels is launched through various placements and made available to its underworld links in Gulf and other countries, from where it moves through banking and other channels to Islamic fundamentalist organisations over the entire country.

SOME INSTANCES

- IMU (Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan) in Uzbekistan, the Islamic Jihad in Palestine, Hizballah in Lebanon, and the RIRA (Real Irish Republican Army) in Northern Ireland⁵.
- Islamist terrorist groups in India supported by the Pakistan ISI are reported to be active in drug trafficking along the Kashmir Valley and also in other parts of the country.
- Taliban's biggest source of funding has been through the illicit opium trade.



► EFFECTS OF TERRORISM

ECONOMIC EFFECTS

- **Dislocation of Economic activities:** A primary impact of terrorism is that it leads to disruption of

TERRORISM

economic activities in short term as well as long term. Terrorism, conflict and instability in Jammu and Kashmir have been a major obstruction to its development and progress levels. Industrial sector is way behind as compared to other states. Moody's suggests that terrorist incidents can have long-lasting negative impact on India's economy.

- **Damages to Property:** The 9/11 attacks are a perfect example of loss of lives and property due to terrorism. The twin towers were reduced to rubble. Blasts in populated cities like Delhi and Mumbai have led to serious losses of lives and property.
- **Higher expenditure on Defence and Police:** Incidences of terrorism leads to a huge burden on exchequer as it results in heavy expenditure on defence budget. India's defence budget is the 7th largest in the world. India is also the world's 2nd largest importer of arms. This shows that terrorism leads to diversion of funds which can be utilised for Developmental activities and social welfare.
- **Increased uncertainty in the markets:** Shares in Mumbai opened 1.5% lower and threatened to fall rapidly on the first day of trading after 26/11 attacks in India's commercial capital. The financial markets literally shut down after Sept. 11, and did not really recover until months after the 2003 invasion of Iraq. This shows that markets rally downward when terrorist incidences occur.
- **Decline in Investments:** Businesses generally avoid investing in countries affected by terrorism. However, Investments depend on several other factors as well. For example, Pakistan is receiving huge sums of investment from China as a result of CPEC (China-Pakistan Economic Corridor) even when it is suffering from terrorism.
- **Psychological Effects:** Terrorist attacks have long lasting impact on the people affected. People suffer from. Many experiences transient reactions, such as acute stress disorder (ASD) and bereavement. In an even smaller percentage, more serious conditions such as posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) or depression develops.

POLITICAL EFFECTS

- **Non-engagement of Youth in Politics:** This is one of the impacts where terror activities have become a routine affair. Example – youth in Kashmir are misled by propaganda from terror organisations like LET etc. The youth are attracted towards militant organisations and become sceptical of the political process. The killing of young Burhan Wani is a

testimony to this fact. Another example is the Violence and low turnout witnessed in Srinagar By-polls in 2017.

- **Credibility of elected representatives is questioned:** Srinagar Lok Sabha by-polls of 2017 witnessed the lowest ever turnout of 7.14%. In such a scenario the winner cannot claim to be the true representative of the population of his constituency.

GOVERNANCE

- **Erosion of faith in government:** In Kashmir the belief of people in the government has decreased considerably. This is testified by the incidences of stone pelting across the valley.
- **Law and Order deteriorates:** The law-and-order situation also deteriorates as result of terrorism. This is further exaggerated when the terrorists have support from local populace. In Kashmir valley attacks on police and security forces have increased considerably. Same is the situation in left wing extremism affected areas.
- **Social Effects:**
- **Disintegration of Society:** society is disintegrated. For example, Tribal way of life is deeply disturbed as a result of left-wing extremism. Tribals are often harassed by Maoists and at times by police. The exodus of Kashmiri pandits due to insurgency in 1990s is another example.
- **Atmosphere of Fear, Suspicion and Panic**

► TERROR FINANCING

Terrorism like any activity needs financing for recruitment, planning and executing their vicious activities. In order to control terrorism, countering the flow of resources towards terror groups is essential to control terrorism. Hence, we need to understand terror financing.

- **External Sources:** A major part of funding for terrorism from external sources comes through counterfeit currency, drug trafficking, charities, NGOs, and, finally, as a result of state sponsorship by Pakistan. The sourcing of funds for terrorism has also been accompanied by the emergence of religious appeals, coercion, and fears of victimization of Islam.
- **NGOs, Charities and Donations:** Traditional societies in countries like Saudi Arabia have been supporting traditions and customs which encourage donations. In Pakistan, the government has limited control over charities and NGOs. A similar challenge is faced in countries like Saudi Arabia. TF is generated

TERRORISM

from NGOs and charities within Pakistan and through its coordinating role in West Asia.

- Charities, through acts of omission or commission, become a part of this funding effort and money is transferred through international channels to terrorist groups. Funding of charities like Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD) in Pakistan is a case in point. Funds from NGOs and charities flow into India through **hawala, cash, legal financial routes and trade**.
- **Zakat**: The primary source of traditional funding in Islam is based on zakat. This is an accepted and legal system of almsgiving. A percentage of this element of zakat, finds its way into TF in countries like India.
- **Charities and Diaspora**: charities have mushroomed in a number of countries which have a very strong radical component. Some of the charities, despite being banned internationally, continued with their campaign after the 2005 earthquake in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK). These include the **Jamaat ul-Dawa (JuD)**, LeT and Hizbul Mujahideen (HM) in Pakistan.
- The funding received through charity and NGOs also interlinks with the support for some of the movements amongst the diaspora. The outbreak of the insurgency in J&K, especially during the early 1990s, saw the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) receive substantial support from Kashmiri diaspora, from both sides of the LoC. Terrorist groups in the Indian hinterland have also been supported by a large diaspora in West Asian countries, Europe and the US.
- **Remittances**: Links of former Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) and Indian Mujahideen (IM) cadres in India have also been established with financiers in the Gulf. The large flow of foreign remittances into Kerala has also become a source of concern for agencies.
- **Counterfeiting of Currency**: Counterfeiting of Indian currency not only funds terrorism, but, more importantly, it is used as a tool by Pakistan to destabilize the Indian economy. **Fake Indian Currency Notes (FICN)** are produced in Pakistan and to a much smaller extent locally in India. FICN is used to fund groups like LeT, Al-Badr, Harkat-ul-Jihad al-Islami (HuJI), Khalistan Commando Force (KCF), and Dawood Ibrahim-run operations. High-quality FICN are printed in Pakistan and brought to Bangladesh by air. Thereafter, these were smuggled into India, with bundles of notes being thrown into villages across the border. The same were collected and distributed across the country.

- **Narco Finance**: Drugs are a major source for TF. This involves 3 stages: production, transfer of drugs or its financial proceeds into the country, and its circulation to terrorist groups. Afghanistan has emerged as the hub for the global production of opiates. There is evidence of terrorist groups in Pakistan gaining access to the proceeds of drug trafficking.
- This has been used by the ISI to spread terrorism and fight Pakistan's proxy war against India. This threat has been exploited in the Indian context as a result of porous borders with states like Nepal. It is further aggravated since many bordering countries, for example, Myanmar, have limited writ on their border areas.
- Criminal and terrorist groups from Bangladesh have also exploited drug trade to fund terrorism. In the case of Pakistan, besides criminals, state sponsorship of terrorism leads to exploitation of the lucrative drug trafficking business.
- **State Sponsorship**: Pakistan has employed its intelligence agency, the ISI to directly fund terrorist activities in India. This is not only employed as part of the proxy war in J&K, as is widely known, but also in the North-East. The NIA's interrogation report of **David Coleman Headley** provides detailed account of state funding by the ISI for the **26/11 terrorist attacks**. The ISI uses various sources for funding terrorism to include charities, NGOs, drug trafficking, zakat donations, counterfeit and trading amongst others.
- **Internal Sources of Terror Funding**: The internal sources of TF have a history of illegal finance that is older than external funding. Internal sources have funded the earliest militant uprisings in the country. Extortion and illegal taxation continue to remain the most important source for TF.
- **Extortion and Taxation**: The biggest source of internal funding for terrorist groups in India remains extortion or taxation. This is especially relevant for groups in the North-East and the Maoist-affected areas. It includes extortion from industries in the region and levying taxes on the people, which vary from 20–25 per cent in most terrorist affected areas of the North-East. Every commercial vehicle pays a fixed amount. Contracts are given to sympathizers of the terrorists to ensure a steady flow of funds from the government departments
- The funds so collected are used to make payment to cadres, purchase of weapons and ammunition, and running camps and welfare programmes to retain the support of local people. Some terrorist groups have

TERRORISM

also moved large sums of money outside India. This has further been invested in businesses, which provide a constant source of revenue. This source is used almost all terror groups including Maoists, North east groups, and militants from J&K.

- **Crime:** The sequence of actions associated with crime used to raise funds for terrorism go through a process similar to extortion to include committing the criminal act, moving the proceeds and finally using it for terrorism. Some crimes like drug and **human trafficking, smuggling**, and the **arms trade** are especially vulnerable in this regard.
- **NGOs:** NGOs sympathetic to particular groups or causes have been under surveillance in the past for assisting terror groups in raising funds.

Methods employed by NGOs include:

- By posing as legitimate entities.
- Exploiting legitimate entities as conduits for TF funds.
- Conceal or obscure legitimate diversion of funds meant for legal purposes.
- **Designated Non-Financial Businesses and Professions (DNFBPs):** DNFBPs according to the Eurasian Group on Combating Money Laundering and the Financing of Terrorism, implies casinos (which also includes internet casinos), real estate agents, dealers in precious stones and metals, lawyers, notaries, other independent legal professionals, and accountants. For example, the real estate sector, unless regulated, can be involved in TF.

Transactions in property, through repeated buying and selling, can assist in successfully layering tainted money, which may have an illegal source like terrorism or other criminal activity. The lack of regulation can also lead to **benami deals**.

RESPONSE TO TERROR FINANCING IN INDIA

- **The Prevention of Money-Laundering Act, 2002 (PMLA):** The PML act seeks to prevent and control money laundering in India and confiscate and seize property obtained from the laundered money.
- All suspicious transactions are reported in a prescribed format to **Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU-IND)**.
- **Enforcement directorate (ED)** is empowered to carry out investigation in offences of money laundering.
- It also seeks to coordinate with other countries to curb the menace of money laundering.

- A special **Combating Financing of Terrorism (CFT) Cell** has been created in the Ministry of Home Affairs in 2011, to coordinate with the Central Intelligence/Enforcement Agencies and the State Law Enforcement Agencies for an integrated approach to tackle the problem of terror funding.
- A Terror Funding and Fake Currency Cell has been set up in the **National Investigation Agency** to investigate Terror Funding cases.
- The **Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967** has been strengthened by amendments in 2013 which includes enlarging the scope of proceeds of terrorism, any property intended to be used for terrorism, raising of funds both from legitimate or illegitimate sources by a terrorist organization, terrorist gang or by an individual terrorist, and includes within its scope offences by companies, societies or trusts.
- India is a Member of **Financial Action Task Force (FATF)**, an inter-Governmental Body, which makes recommendations relating to Combating of Financing of Terrorism, Money Laundering, etc.
- India is also member of the **Eurasian Group** on Combating Money Laundering and Financing of terrorism (EAG) and **Asia Pacific Group on Money Laundering (APG)** which are FATF styled regional bodies.
- India also participates actively in the **BIMSTEC** Sub-group on Combating the Financing of Terrorism.
- **Demonetisation** is an important measure and possibly one which can potentially create the necessary conditions for combating the finance of terrorism. However, demonetisation is not a complete and all-encompassing end in itself. It is part of a process which must be taken forward through additional allied and subsidiary policies.

Thus, all the efforts at stopping terror financing aim at Preventing Terrorists from Raising, Moving, and Using Funds, Targeted Financial Sanctions, Protecting Vulnerable Sectors, Suspicious Transaction Reporting, Collecting Financial information.

► ANTI-TERROR LAWS IN INDIA

- With the spurt in terrorism India enacted appropriate and stringent anti-terrorism law. However, some of these legislations were allowed to lapse/repealed as it was contended that the powers conferred on the law enforcement agencies had the potential, and in fact, had been misused.
- **The National Security act 1980:** IT empowers the Union Government or the State Governments to

TERRORISM

detain a person to prevent him from acting in any manner prejudicial to the defence of India, the relations of India with foreign powers, or the security of India.

- **The Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967:** This law was enacted to provide for more effective prevention of certain unlawful activities of individuals and associations and for matters connected with it. It empowered appropriate authorities to declare any association as 'unlawful' if it is carrying out 'unlawful activities. This law was comprehensively amended to deal with terrorist activities.
- **Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act or TADA, 1985 and 1987:** The Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, 1985, was enacted in May 1985, in the background of escalation of terrorist activities in some parts of the country. The life of the said Act was restricted to a period of two years. However, it was again enacted in 1987 since terrorist activities could not be controlled in 2 years.

The constitutional validity of TADA, 1987 was challenged before the Supreme Court in *Kartar Singh vs State of Punjab* 1994. The Supreme Court upheld the law but asked the Government to provide certain safeguards with a view to prevent any possible misuse of the stringent provisions of TADA. However, after a series of complaints about its abuse, TADA, 1987, was allowed to lapse in 1995.

PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT, 2002 (POTA)

- Since the lapse of TADA, the country witnessed several terrorist incidents –including hijacking of **the Indian Airlines flight IC-814 to Kandahar in 1999** and the **assault on Parliament on December 13, 2001**. As a consequence, the Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2002 came into force. However, it was controversial on various aspects and was challenged in supreme court in the **people's Union for Civil Liberties vs Union of India**, on the ground that the law violated basic human rights. The Supreme Court upheld the Constitutional validity of the law while stipulating some restrictions on the arbitrary use of certain powers.

However, government repealed POTA as it felt that its provisions were misused by some State Governments and also that the Act had failed to serve its intended purpose.

- **Watershed moment - 26/11 and Changes thereafter:** Despite the frequency of terror attacks that had struck India in the years leading up to 26 November, 2008, the 26/11 Mumbai attacks marked a

watershed moment in how the country witnessed and responded to terrorist attacks. In less reflective of accounts of the tragedy, it would be known as India's 9/11 moment. India emerged more resolute and less accepting of incidents of senseless violence that had one aim: to strike fear. Here is look at the changes that took place after 26/11. The terror preparedness of India has improved with following steps.

- **National Investigating Agency Act:** NIA was created after the 2008 Mumbai terror attacks as need for a central agency to **combat terrorism** was realised. The National Investigation Agency aims to be a thoroughly **professional investigative agency** matching the best international standards. The NIA aims to set the standards of excellence in **counter terrorism** and other national security related investigations at the national level by developing into a highly trained, partnership-oriented workforce. NIA aims at creating deterrence for existing and potential terrorist groups/individuals. It aims to develop as a storehouse of all **terrorist related information**.
- **NATGRID(National Intelligence Grid):** NATGRID is an ambitious counter terrorism mechanism, which will utilise technologies like **Big Data** and **analytics** to study and analyse the huge amounts of data from various intelligence and enforcement agencies to help track suspected terrorists and prevent terrorist attacks.

A post Mumbai 26/11 attack measure, NATGRID aims to mitigate a vital deficiency — lack of real time information, which was considered to be one of the major hurdles in detecting US terror suspect David Headley's movement across the country during his multiple visits between 2006 and 2009.

NATGRID's data sources include records related to immigration entry and exit, banking and financial transactions and telecommunications. The agencies concerned include the Intelligence Bureau, local police and revenue and customs departments.

According to the Union Home Ministry proposal, the NATGRID, which is still in a nascent stage, will connect, in different phases, data providing organisations and users besides developing a legal structure through which information can be accessed by the law enforcement agencies.

- **Four NSG (National Security guard) Hubs:** The National Security Guard (NSG) was set up in 1984 as a Federal Contingency Deployment Force to tackle all facets of terrorism in the country. As a specialized counter terrorism force, it is intended for use "only in exceptional situations".

TERRORISM

The Government has established four Regional Hubs of National Security Guard (NSG) at **Chennai** in Tamil Nadu, **Hyderabad** in Andhra Pradesh/Telangana, **Kolkata** in West Bengal and **Mumbai** in Maharashtra.

- **Counter-Insurgency and Anti-Terrorism Schools:** It has been decided to set up 20 counter Insurgency and Anti-terrorist Schools (CIATs) in the states of Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Manipur, Nagaland, West Bengal and Tripura. Out of these, 13 Schools have already been set up and are functional. police personnel will be trained for combating terrorism/naxalism.
- **Amendments to Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA):** The UAPA act was amended in 2008 and 2012 to deal with terrorist crimes. Its scope was expanded to tackle terror financing and to make it more effective in preventing unlawful activities, and meet commitments made at the Financial Action Task Force (an intergovernmental organization to combat money laundering and terrorism financing). It also expanded the definition of terrorism. It enlarged the scope of punishment for raising funds. It inserted new sections to include offences by companies, societies or trusts.
- **Multi Agency Centre galvanised and reorganised:** The Multi Agency Centre (MAC) was revamped in 2009, after the 26\11 attack, to streamline intelligence gathering and sharing. MAC, which functions under the Intelligence Bureau, is the nodal body at the Centre for sharing intelligence inputs. All agencies are expected to share information with MAC. The intelligence thus gathered by MAC is then shared with the agencies concerned in states. The MAC is not responsible for intelligence gathering
- **Stronger Coastal and Maritime Security:** After the 26/11 attacks in Mumbai in 2008, several measures were announced by the government to strengthen coastal and maritime security along the entire coast. Due to the coordinated efforts of all concerned, all these measures are now in place and overall maritime security is much stronger than before. The Indian Navy has been the lead agency in this regard and is assisted in this task by the Indian Coast Guard, Marine Police and other Central and state agencies.

At the apex level the **National Committee for Strengthening Maritime and Coastal Security (NCSMCS)**, headed by the Cabinet Secretary, coordinates all matters related to Maritime and Coastal Security. Coastal patrolling by Navy, Coast Guard and marine police has increased sharply over the last few years.

Modern **technical measures** have also been implemented for coastal surveillance, by way of a chain of 74 Automatic Identification System (AIS) receivers, for gapless cover along the entire coast.

- **National Police Mission:** NPM is working to transform the Police Forces in the country into effective instrument for maintenance of Internal Security and meeting challenges of the next century, by equipping them with the necessary material, intellectual and organisational resources and to create a "New Vision" for the police.
- Since its inception, NPM has been working for empowering the Police Forces by enhancing the skills and competence at grassroot level, promoting a culture of excellence and accountability of police, meeting challenges such as asymmetric warfare, new trends in urban and social unrest, bring out specialisation in areas like counter-terrorism and insurgency, focussing on the strengthening of metropolitan and rural policing, bring in attitudinal changes in police, gender sensitisation and harnessing technology in aid of policing and adopting community policing etc.
- **Better Equipment for Security Forces:** Following 26/11, coastal security was also reviewed at various levels. Under the ongoing Coastal Security Scheme, 64 out of 73 coastal police stations were operationalised. Coastal States and Union Territories were also given 47 interceptor boats so far.
 - **ATS team to deradicalise Youth:** Anti-terrorism squads have been formed in several states which acts a special police force which dedicated focus at stopping terrorist attacks. Recently Maharashtra ATS deradicalised 120 youth from joining ISIS.

► ARMED FORCES SPECIAL POWERS ACT (AFSPA)

- AFSPA is special act of parliament to tackle unrest in J&K and North Eastern states. Currently, AFSPA is applicable to the seven states of the North-East, i.e., Assam, Manipur, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Tripura. It was brought for J&K in 1990.
- AFSPA empowers the governor of the state, or the central government to declare any part of the state as a 'disturbed area', if in its opinion there exists a dangerous situation in the said area which makes it necessary to deploy armed forces in the region.
- Under Section 4 of the AFSPA, an authorised officer in a disturbed area enjoys certain powers. The authorised officer has the power to open fire at any

TERRORISM

individual even if it results in death if the individual violates laws which prohibit:

- the assembly of five or more persons; or
- carrying of weapons. However, the officer has to give a warning before opening fire.

The authorised officer has also been given the power to

- arrest without a warrant; and
- seize and search without any warrant any premise in order to make an arrest or recovery of hostages, arms and ammunitions.

Individuals who have been taken into custody have to be handed over to the nearest police station as soon as possible explaining reasons for arrest. Prosecution of an authorised officer requires prior permission of the Central government.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF AFSPA

- Needed to maintain morale of the force
- Insurgents will gain the upper hand in absence of it.
 - AFSPA is seen as one of the major reasons for increasing radicalisation in insurgency ridden areas because of the little accountability for the excesses committed in discharge of power given by the act.
 - Instances of abuse and extra-judicial killings in Manipur have been upheld by even Supreme court in 2016. The Supreme Court in this case ruled that the armed forces cannot escape investigation for excesses in the course of the discharge of their duty even in “disturbed areas”.
 - Though there are many violent insurrections in India which have to be handled militarily but in the short run. Even after so many years, if the situation in these states has not changed, this points to some flaws in the law itself.

SUPREME COURT IN 1998 HAD RECOMMENDED FOLLOWING

- a Suo-motto declaration can be made by the Central government; however, it is desirable that the state government should be consulted by the central government before making the declaration;
- AFSPA does not confer arbitrary powers to declare an area as a 'disturbed area';
- the declaration has to be for a limited duration and there should be a periodic review of the declaration 6 months have expired;
- while exercising the powers conferred upon him by AFSPA, the authorised officer should use minimal force necessary for effective action, and

- the authorised officer should strictly follow the 'Dos and Don'ts' issued by the army.

BP JEEVAN REDDY COMMISSION IN 2004

RECOMMENDED FOLLOWING

- AFSPA should be repealed and appropriate provisions should be inserted in the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967; §
- The Unlawful Activities Act should be modified to clearly specify the powers of the armed forces and paramilitary forces and §
- grievance cells should be set up in each district where the armed forces are deployed.

Justice Verma report mentioned the Act as a part of a section on offences against women in conflict areas. “Sexual violence against women by members of the armed forces or uniformed personnel must be brought under the purview of ordinary criminal law,”.

The army must be completely transparent in investigating allegations of violations of human rights and bringing the violators to speedy justice. Exemplary punishment must be meted out where the charges are proved.

► STEPS TO COUNTER THREAT OF TERRORISM

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST TERRORISM

- **Intelligence gathering:** It is the foremost step in terror preparedness. This includes gathering crucial information from ground level and at the same time collating that information in a manner such that it is easily accessible to the agencies involved. Thus, the role intelligence agencies are of utmost importance. Thus, NATGRID established post 26/11 is key for analysis of intelligence inputs.
- **Training:** Training of the security forces involved in counter terrorism activities is also of grave importance. Thus, counter Insurgency and Anti-terrorist Schools (CIATs) have been established to achieve this goal.
- **Mock security-drills:** Mock drills should be conducted in areas vulnerable to terror attacks, so that loss of lives in such attacks can be minimised.
- **Securing key installations:** Securing key installations like army bases, buildings of National importance, police stations should be ensured. Recently terrorists have been targeting army bases like Pathankot attack, Uri attack etc
- **Counter terrorism Operations:** Such operations are undertaken when a terrorist attack takes place. NSG

TERRORISM

has placed a key role in counter terror operations. However, questions have been raised on the procedure of operations as followed in Pathankot attack. Thus, standard operating procedure should be established for such incidences.

- **Investigations:** National investigation agency (NIA) is the key organisation for investigation of all such cases. Thus, this body needs to be further strengthened to improve prosecution and conviction.
- **Prosecution:** Prosecution should be speedy and accurate. However, at times false cases are registered against innocents due to pressure on investigating agencies. This should be effectively checked.
- **Convictions:** Only through speedy and high conviction rate a deterrence can be created.
- **Strategy to counter terrorism:** A multi-pronged approach is needed to handle the menace of terrorism. It needs to be clearly understood that socio-economic development and providing a secure environment have to go hand-in-hand as one cannot survive without the other. In this context, socio-economic development is a priority so that vulnerable sections of society do not fall prey to the propaganda of terrorists promising them wealth and equity; and the administration, particularly the service delivery mechanisms need to be responsive to the legitimate and long-standing grievances of people so that these are redressed promptly and cannot be exploited by terrorist groups. Strong measures are required to deal with criminal elements but with respect for human rights.
- **Political consensus:** Political parties must arrive at a national consensus on the need for the broad contours of such a planned strategy. Based on this national strategy, each of the States and Union Territories should draw up its respective regional strategies, along with the required tactical components for the implementation of the strategy.
- **Good governance and socio-economic development:** This would necessitate high priority being given to development work and its actual implementation on the ground for which a clean, corruption-free and accountable administration at all levels is an imperative necessity.

Respect For rule of Law: Governmental agencies must not be allowed to transgress law even in dealing with critical situations caused by insurgency or terrorism. If an extraordinary situation cannot be dealt with by the existing laws, new laws may be enacted so that law enforcement agencies are not provoked or tempted to resort to extra-legal or illegal methods. Police and all

other governmental forces must adhere to some basic codes of conduct. This will help in checking alienation of people.

Countering the subversive activities of terrorists:

Government must give priority to defeating political subversions/propaganda (e.g., by terrorists and Maoists). Psychological

'warfare' or management of information services and the media, in conjunction with the intelligence wing of the police, can play an important role in achieving this objective.

Providing the appropriate legal framework:

Terrorism is an extraordinary crime. The ordinary laws of the land may not be adequate to book a terrorist. This may require special laws and effective enforcement mechanisms, but with sufficient safeguards to prevent its misuse.

Building capacity: The capacity building exercise should extend to the intelligence gathering machinery, security agencies, civil administration and the society at large.

As was highlighted in the Report on Crisis Management, the strategy should encompass preventive, mitigation, relief and rehabilitative measures.

Role of Citizens, civil society, media in fight against terrorism:

A multidimensional response to combat terrorism would require well-coordinated action on all fronts and each of these agencies/institutions viz civil society, Media and political parties has an important role to play.

EDUCATION

- Often violence has its roots in the discord between different social groups who feel alienated from each other on account of political, religious, social or ideological differences.
- Changing the individual psyche through education would make the society more harmonious and cohesive in the long run and therefore less likely to get influenced by terrorists' ideology.
- Education also has a role in creating the proper environment for peace. As Krishna Kumar, Director, NCERT has pointed out in his recent book, 'Battle for Peace', "We who live in India and Pakistan must realize that the politics of war and the social mindset which supports it are our own creations and therefore we are the only ones who can change them".
- The response to the phenomenon of Jihadi terrorism being advocated in some madrassas needs to be countered by emphasising on the true essence of Islam. Educational Institutions like madrassa as well

TERRORISM

as other social institutions could play a major role in this regard.

- **The civil society:**
- The importance of involving civil society in a comprehensive and multi-dimensional response to the threat of terrorism had been recognized by the United Nations General Assembly which, while adopting **the UN Global Counter Terrorism Strategy on 8th September, 2006**.
- In recent years, there has been a substantial increase in the involvement of civil society groups in public affairs. They have been instrumental in drawing the attention of government towards the grievances of the citizens.
- Given the proximity of these groups to the grassroots their potential could also be used in several ways which would help in the State's fight against terrorism including information of a "local" intelligence type.
- They could play an advisory and educative role. Civil societies and NGOs can partner with law enforcement agencies to develop targeted programmes for cooperation focusing, for example, on spreading awareness and in developing outreach activities for healing community rifts and tensions. Civil society in conjunction with the agencies of the State can help in developing this capability among the citizens.

MEDIA

- Media is a generic term used to denote all channels of mass information and communication including newspapers, publications, electronic media and internet. It has been a formulator as well as a reflection of public opinion.
- There have also been instances where media reports have stoked conflicts; though on several occasions they have been instrumental in prevention of outbreak of violence.
- Terrorism in democratic countries shows that terrorists thrive on publicity. The media does not intend to promote the cause of terrorism, but the nature and mandated function of the media – to cover events, developments and issues – can be exploited by the terrorists.
- Therefore, it is necessary that government should work towards harnessing the power of the mass media as a part of its strategy to defeat terrorism. It would be necessary to have an affirmative media policy based on:
 - Transparency in governance.
 - Easy access to information and sources.

- Advancing the media's role as an instrument of vigilance to scrutinize and check administrative, legal and judicial violations and excesses that endanger civil and democratic rights in situations of conflict and terrorism.
- Engaging, enabling, encouraging and assisting the media to fulfil its role of informed, fair and balanced coverage of crisis, particularly terrorism.

Media policy should include principles of self-restraint. Publishers, editors and reporters need to be sensitized to avoid and exclude those elements of media coverage that may unwittingly advance the agenda of terrorists.

► TERRORISM IN INDIA

JAMMU AND KASHMIR MILITANCY

- The roots of insurgency in Jammu & Kashmir can be traced to the later part of the 1940s when Pakistan attacked India with a view to capture Jammu & Kashmir.
- Ever since there has been a section of population which believes in secession from India.
- These groups aided and abetted from across the border have often indulged in insurgent activities.
- Following the 1971 India-Pakistan war there was a lull in the secessionist activities.
- However, the eighties witnessed large scale infiltration across the border and a sudden increase in insurgency. Innocent persons, were targeted and forced to flee from the State.
- The decade of the 1990s saw large scale deployment of security forces in the State.
- The rise of Islamist fundamentalism and emergence of **Al-Qaeda** has added another dimension to the insurgency in Jammu & Kashmir.
- The Pakistan-based terrorist organisation called **Laskar-e-Tayyaba (LeT)** is supposed to be inspired from the philosophy and outlook of Al-Qaeda. Other affiliates of Al-Qaeda which continue to pose a serious threat to peace and security in India are the Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), HUM, HUJI and Al-Badr.
- JeM was formed by Masood Azhar, a former senior leader of Harkat-ul-Ansar who was released and handed over by India to the Taliban at Kandahar (Afghanistan) in exchange of the IC-814 hijacking hostages.

The trends of terrorist violence in J&K during the last few years and current year are shown in the table given below (Annual report 2016-17 Min of Home Affairs):

TERRORISM

Year	Incidents	SFs killed	Civilians killed	Terrorists killed
2014	222	47	28	110
2015	208	39	17	108
2016	322	82	15	150
2017	342	80	40	213
2018	614	91	39	257
2019	594	80	39	157

GOVERNMENT ENDEAVOUR TO HANDLE THE INSURGENCY

- Proactively take suitable measures by all the Security forces to safeguard the borders from cross-border terrorism and to contain militancy.
- Abrogation of Article 370 and 35A have changed the status of the erstwhile state of J&K into 3 Union territories - Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh.
- A Multi-Disciplinary Terror Financing Monitoring Group (TMG) was constituted.
- Special Industry Initiative (SII J&K) 'UDDAAN'**: The Scheme is being implemented by the National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC) in Public Private Partnership (PPP) mode. The Programme aims at providing the skill and enhances employability of unemployed youths of J&K who are graduates, post graduates or three-year engineering diploma holders.
- The rural and urban youth including school drop outs are now being imparted job-oriented training in various sectors such as ITeS, Sales and Customer Service and Hospitality etc. under the 'HIMAYAT' scheme.
- The local body elections re-established the long overdue grassroots level democracy in Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh regions.
- Provision of direct elections for Sarpanches of the Panchayats had also been restored to ensure accountability. Under the 73 Amendment of the Constitution of India all the functions and functionaries have been transferred to the Panchayats including institutions like Primary Health Centres, Primary Schools, Anganwadi Centres to name a few.
- Relief and Rehabilitation of Kashmiri Migrants** - Due to onset of militancy in the State of Jammu and Kashmir(J&K) in early 1990s, most of the Kashmiri Pandit families along with some Sikh and Muslim families migrated from the Kashmir Valley to Jammu, Delhi and other parts of the country. A variety of measures have been taken over the years by the Government by way of financial assistance / relief and other initiatives to provide succour and support to the affected families, within a broad policy framework

that those who have migrated will eventually return to the Valley.

- People to people contact Across LOC (Confidence Building Measures)** - This includes Travel and trade across LOC between J&K and Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK).
- Prime Minister Development Package for J&K** - 2015 - Hon'ble Prime Minister announced a package of `80,068 crores towards Special Assistance to J&K for development of Infrastructure.

NEW MILITANCY IN KASHMIR

- Islamist and secessionist sentiments in Kashmir began with the onset of conflict in 1989 when organisations such as the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front used Islam to mobilise Kashmiris against India.
- New phase of militancy started in **2014**. Analysts point to an **increase in access to social media** from 25 percent of the people in 2010 to 70 percent in 2015, which facilitated this mass radicalisation and spread of anti-India propaganda amongst the Kashmiri youth.
- Access to social media not only contributed to an increase in recruitments for Pakistani organisations such as LeT, HM, and JeM, but also **created a new breed of militants whose primary devotion is to Islam**.
- Thus, organisations such as Al-Qaeda's Ansar Ghazwat Ul Hind and the Islamic State made their debut in the region's militant movement, albeit with less success than the Pakistani organisations (i.e., LeT, HM, and JeM).
- Social media gave Kashmiris **new channels for their grievances and political aspirations**. Anti-India narratives grew stronger, and mass radicalisation and alienation heightened.
- An increasing number of local Kashmiris turned to militancy and started supporting, interacting with, and participating in terrorist organisations that had previously recruited only Pakistani and other foreign militants.
- Messaging apps like WhatsApp and Telegram helped militants mobilize crowds; they also served as channels for training local militants and briefing them on weapons, explosive devices, and the actual conduct of attacks.
- Between 2014 and 2020, there was a significant increase in local militancy and stone-pelting incidents in the region.
- In 2017 the Indian armed forces launched 'Operation All Out' to eliminate the militant networks, their

TERRORISM

overground workers (OGW), and top militant commanders. However, as the militants' ranks were dominated by the locals.

Year	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Local Recruitments	53	66	88	126	218	126	167
Number of stone-pelting incidents	449	730	2,653	1,412	1,458	1,999	55

REVOCAION OF THE SPECIAL STATUS OF KASHMIR

- In August 2019, the central government **revoked the special status of Kashmir under Article 370 of the Constitution of India.**
- In early 2020 a report found Valley residents expressing: they were scared, sceptical, and suspicious of the Indian state, which in their view was treating them as second-class citizens.
- To be sure, people felt some semblance of safety too, as stone-pelting incidents dropped significantly, by 87 percent, in 2020.
- Analysts attributed this to heavy on-ground deployment and outreach efforts by the Army first, during the security lockdown following Article 370's amendment and later, when the country was placed in a nationwide lockdown as a response to COVID-19.
- At the same time, however, there were more than 160 local Kashmiris who joined the militants' ranks in 2020 alone—this disproves any assumptions that radicalisation is no longer present in the Valley. An uneasy peace prevails.

SOME MEASURES TO DE – RADICALISE IN J&K

- **District Development Councils:** After Jammu and Kashmir lost its statehood, the political focus in Kashmir shifted to District Development Councils (DDCs) and grassroots development.
- Kashmiris who have long had to deal with bureaucratic red-tape can find new hope with the elected local leaders who can ensure good governance and local development.
- The representatives in these bodies shielded from being targeted and must attempt to empower them, in terms of political and financial jurisdictions. It is only with the perception of "efficient good governance" and "governed by us" that the violent narratives can be countered.

- **Social media:** social media has become a pivotal source of information—as well as misinformation and propaganda—in the time of new militancy.
- Although the government has used reactive tactics such as blanket bans, monitoring, censoring and reporting extremist profiles and content, it has been unable to deter the spread of extremist content through social media. Such content and narratives must be contradicted with consistent counter-narratives.
- The state will still need to invest in artificial intelligence (AI) and other technology to discourage extremist content and should also find creative ways where Kashmiris can consume the narratives produced by the Indian state and army.
- **Justice:** Narratives of humiliation, shame, and injustice from India have been strongly entrenched amongst the Kashmiris. In the past, cases against the extrajudicial conduct of the armed forces have been denied/dismissed for trial by the Centre or suspended by the armed forces tribunal.
- This has presumably happened to avoid the morale damage of the deployed troops that could impact the conduct of counter-militancy operations. However, with the need for enhancing stronger narratives, the state must find a delicate balance between building narratives and not impacting their anti-militancy operations.
- **Technology:** Certain narratives of Kashmiris, such as India being an 'occupier' or 'colonizer', emerge from the fact that India has adopted a policy of mass deployment in the region.
- As India cannot afford to demilitarize the Valley, it can start focusing on smart rather than hard, it can invest more in technologies such as UAVs or drone technology and deploy them in relatively peaceful areas. These technological tools can be used to conduct surveillance, maintain law and order, and also deter the use of drones by militants and militant supporters.
- **Education:** In the long term, the state should start re-emphasising on education, which will be crucial in narrative-building—especially the social sciences.
- There is a need to facilitate education through the virtual space, using for instance, pre-recorded educational videos; this can help ensure that the disruption of education during times of unrest does not create space for radicalisation.

SECTION-3

D EVELOPMENTAL

CHALLENGES & EXTREMISM

Previous Year Questions

YEAR	UPSC MAINS QUESTIONS
2020	What are the determinants of Left-Wing Extremism in Eastern part of India? What strategy should Government of India, civil administration and security forces adopt to counter the threat in the affected areas?
2019	The banning of 'Jamaat-e - islaami' in Jammu and Kashmir brought into focus the role of over-ground workers (OGWs) in assisting terrorist organizations. Examine the role played by OGWs in assisting terrorist organizations in insurgency affected areas.
2018	Left Wing Extremism (LWE) is showing a downward trend, but still affects many parts of the country. Briefly explain the Government of India's approach to counter the challenges posed by LWE.
2017	Mob violence is emerging as a serious law and order problem in India. By giving suitable examples, analyze the causes and consequences of such violence.
2017	The scourge of terrorism is a grave challenge to national security. What solutions do you suggest to curb this growing menace? What are the major sources of terrorist funding?
2017	The north-eastern region of India has been infested with insurgency for a very long time. Analyze the major reasons for the survival of armed insurgency in this region.
2016	"Terrorism is emerging as a competitive industry over the last few decades." Analyse the above statement.
2015	The persisting drives of the government for development of large industries in backward areas have resulted in isolating the tribal population and the farmers who face multiple displacements with

DEVELOPMENTAL CHALLENGES & EXTREMISM

	Malkangiri and Naxalbari foci, discuss the corrective strategies needed to win the left wing extremism (LWE) doctrine affected citizens back into the mainstream of social and economic growth.
2015	Religious indoctrination via digital media has resulted in Indian youth joining the ISIS. What is ISIS and its mission? How can ISIS be dangerous for the internal security of our country?
2013	Article 244 of Indian Constitution relates to Administration of Scheduled areas and tribal areas. Analyze the impact of non-implementation of the provisions of fifth schedule on the growth of Left Wing extremism.

► **LEFT WING EXTREMISM**

- Left-wing extremists in India, as elsewhere, are known for resorting to violence in pursuance of their ideology of peoples' revolutionary movement. In West Bengal, this movement was started in 1967 from Naxalbari.
- The first flush of the Left Extremist movement in the Naxalbari region was effectively controlled without much bloodshed and within a relatively short span of time.
- The movement spread beyond west Bengal and came to be known as Maoist movement since 2004 after the merger of various splinter groups into **CPI(Maoist)**. This was followed by their increasing militarisation and simultaneous acquisition of sophisticated firearms and ammunitions.

AFFECTED AREAS

The Naxalites operate in what is known as the "**Red Corridor**" 106 districts across 10 states in India, mainly in the states of Odisha (5 affected districts), Jharkhand (14 affected districts), Bihar (5 affected districts), Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh (ten affected districts), Madhya Pradesh (8 affected districts), Maharashtra (2 affected districts) and West Bengal (8 affected district).

CAUSES FOR LEFT WING EXTREMISM**Land Related Factors:**

- Evasion of land ceiling laws.
- Existence of special land tenures (enjoying exemptions under ceiling laws).
- Encroachment and occupation of Government and Community lands (even the water-bodies) by powerful sections of society.
- Lack of title to public land cultivated by the landless poor.
- Poor implementation of laws prohibiting transfer of tribal land to non-tribals in the Fifth Schedule areas.
- Non-regularisation of traditional land rights.

Displacement and Forced Evictions:

- Eviction from lands traditionally used by tribals.
- Displacements caused by irrigation and power projects without adequate arrangements for rehabilitation.
- Large scale land acquisition for 'public purposes' without appropriate compensation or rehabilitation.

Livelihood Related Causes:

- Lack of food security – corruption in the Public Distribution System (which is often non-functional).
- Disruption of traditional occupations and lack of alternative work opportunities.
- Deprivation of traditional rights in common property resources.

Social Exclusion:

- Denial of dignity.
- Continued practice, in some areas, of untouchability in various forms.
- Poor implementation of special laws on prevention of atrocities, protection of civil rights and abolition of bonded labour etc.

Governance Related Factors:

- Corruption and poor provision/non-provision of essential public services including primary health care and education.
- Incompetent, ill-trained and poorly motivated public personnel who are mostly absent from their place of posting.
- Misuse of powers by the police and violations of the norms of law.
- Perversion of electoral politics and unsatisfactory working of local government institutions.

These causes are most glaring in forest areas predominantly inhabited by tribal populations who thus become the main instruments and victims of left extremist violence.

Sources of Funding for Naxalites:

- Financial mobilisation by Naxalites is in the form of extortion from local people and also from contractors

executing various projects in the affected areas. Besides, funds are also raised through forest and mining operations.

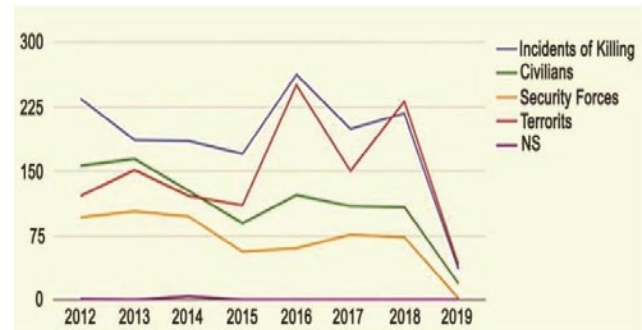
- The extensive contractor-transporter-extremist nexus and its links with illegal mining and collection of forest produce in the entire region affected by left extremism yields a huge volume of funds for the extremists.

CURRENT STATUS OF THE SPREAD

- The decrease in instances of LWE activities started from 2011 and has continued till date.
- The number of districts affected by left-wing extremism (LWE) has declined sharply to 70 in 10 states for the first time in over three decades, with Bihar, Odisha and Jharkhand showing the biggest improvement.
- Only 25 districts in eight states are now categorised as “most affected.”
- Overall, the incidents of LWE violence have reduced by 70% from an all-time high of 2,258 in 2009 to 665 in 2020. Similarly, the deaths of security forces and civilians have come down by 80% from all time high of 1,005 in 2010 to 183 in 2020
- The shrinkage of geographical spread of LWE influence is evident in reduced violence in the last six years (from 2015 to 2020), with 47% fewer incidents compared with the preceding 6 years (from 2009 to 2014).
- The recruitment of Maoists has come down, their leadership is old, and the party ideology is missing among the young cadres due to which the pockets of their activities have been restricted enormously over the years. There is also better intelligence sharing between agencies, disruption of logistics chains like weapons, money and food items and they are not able to recruit cadres from any state other than Chhattisgarh.
- Bihar, where the Maoists once enjoyed widespread support among the poor, has shed the highest (six) number of districts in the latest list, with only 10 districts now affected by LWE
- Odisha, where the state government has a formidable anti-Naxal force, the Special Operations Group (SOG), districts affected by Maoism have come down from 15 to 10.
- Jharkhand has shown significant improvement with only 16 districts now affected by LWE against 19.

DEVELOPMENTAL CHALLENGES & EXTREMISM

- Chhattisgarh, where the worst violence has been reported over the years, continues to have 14 affected districts.
- There is no change in the LWE situation in Kerala and West Bengal, where three districts and one district, respectively, are affected by LWE; while Madhya Pradesh now has three affected districts as compared to two earlier.



GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH AND ACTION PLAN TO CURB LWE

The Government of India has adopted an integrated and holistic approach to deal with the Left-Wing Extremist (LWE) insurgency by simultaneously addressing the areas of **security, development** and **promoting good governance**. To achieve this, a National Policy and Action Plan has been put in place that adopts a multi-pronged strategy in the areas of security, development, ensuring rights & entitlements of Other Traditional Dwellers / Tribals etc with focused attention on 106 Districts in 10 States and particularly in 35 most affected LWE districts in 07 States.

Specific Measures taken by the central government: 'Police' and 'public order' are state subjects. The Central Government however, closely monitors the situation and coordinates and supplements their efforts in several ways to deal with the LWE problem.

- **Ban on CPI (Maoist):** This organisation is responsible for most incidents of violence/casualties.
- **Strengthening the Intelligence Mechanism:** This includes intelligence sharing through Multi-Agency Centre (MAC) at the Central level and State Multi Agency Centre (SMAC) at the State level on 24x7 basis.
- **Better Inter-State coordination:** The menace of Maoists is spread across various states. Thus, Government of India has taken a number of steps to improve Inter-State coordination through periodic Inter-State meetings and also facilitating interactions between the bordering districts of LWE affected States.
- **Tackling the problem of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs):** Majority of casualties incurred by the Security force are attributable to IEDs. The Ministry of

DEVELOPMENTAL CHALLENGES & EXTREMISM

Home Affairs has formulated an SOP on 'Issues related to Explosives/IEDs/Landmines in Naxal Affected Areas' and circulated to all stakeholders concerned for compliance.

- **Deployment of the Central Armed Police Forces**
- **India reserve (IR)/Specialised India Reserve Battalion (SIRB):** The Left-Wing Extremism affected states have been sanctioned India Reserve (IR) battalions mainly to strengthen security apparatus at their level and also to enable the States to provide gainful employment to youth, particularly in the LWE affected areas.

DEVELOPMENT RELATED MEASURES

Monitoring and Implementation of Flagship Programmes:

- (a) Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY)
- (b) National Rural Health Mission (NRHM)
- (c) Ashram School
- (d) Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA)
- (e) Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA)
- (f) National Rural Drinking Water Programme (NRDWP)
- (g) Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana (PMKVY)
- (h) Deen Dayal Upadhyay Gram Jyoti Yojana (DDUGJY)
- (i) Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS)
- (j) Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Right) Act, 2006.

OTHER MEASURES

- Effective Implementation of the Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (**PESA**) and the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (**Recognition of Forest Right) Act, 2006**.
- **Road Connectivity Project** for LWE Affected Areas: The Government has approved a Centrally Sponsored Scheme on 28.12.2016 namely "Road Connectivity Project for Left Wing Extremism (LWE) Affected Areas" to improve the rural road connectivity in the worst LWE affected districts from security angle.
- **LWE Mobile Tower Project:** To address connectivity issues in LWE
- **Civic Action Programme (CAP):** Financial grants are allocated to the Central Armed Police Forces (CAPF) to undertake various Civic Action Programmes in the LWE affected areas.
- **Surrender and Rehabilitation Policy:** The rehabilitation package includes an immediate grant of `2.5 lakh for higher ranked LWE cadres and `1.5 lakh for middle / lower rank LWE cadres to be kept in their names as Fixed deposit which may be withdrawn

after completion of 3 years subject to good behaviour. They are also imparted training in a trade / vocation of their liking and paid a monthly stipend of `4000 for three years.

- **SAMADHAN Strategy:** The solution to the LWE problem is not possible with any silver bullet. For this short term, medium term and long-term policies need to be formulated at different levels. Thus 'SAMADHAN' stands for:

S- Smart Leadership

A - Aggressive Strategy

M- Motivation and Training

A -Actionable Intelligence

D- Dashboard Based KPIs (Key Performance Indicators) and KRAs (Key Result Areas)

H- Harnessing Technology

A - Action plan for each Theatre

N- No access to Financing

SUGGESTIONS FOR ADDRESSING LWE

Left extremism feeds on persistent and serious shortcomings in the domain of general and development administration, resulting in the failure of the government to address the needs of the poor in areas pertaining to land, food, water and personal security, equity, ethnic/cultural identity etc. The 'containment' of the problem may inter alia require consideration of the following:

- Most of the 'participants' in violence perpetrated under the banner of left extremist organisations are alienated sections of society rather than perpetrators of 'high treason' – they have to be treated as such.
- A fortiori police action over a long period is counter-productive; it is likely to affect the innocent more than the extremists.
- Negotiations have a definite ameliorative role under the circumstances; this is the experience the world over.
- Faithful, fair and just implementation of laws and programmes for social justice will go a long way to remove the basic causes of resentment among aggrieved sections of society. Sustained, professionally sound and sincere development initiatives suitable to local conditions along with democratic methods of conflict resolution have to be developed.

► INSURGENCY IN NORTH-EAST

- The North Eastern Region comprises eight States viz. Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura. The region is

culturally and ethnically diverse having more than 200 ethnic groups which have distinct languages, dialects and sociocultural identities. Almost all of its borders of about 5,484 Kilometres are international border.

- The States in India's North East region have a long history of conflict and violence among the tribal groups within the same State, and also neighbouring States. A major part of the geographical area of this region was initially within the ambit of the State of Assam but the manifestation of **ethno-nationalism** quite often expressed through violence, led to the formation of some of the present States through various stages of evolution during the post-Independence period.

GROUPS INVOLVED IN INSURGENCY IN NORTH EAST:

List of Insurgent/Extremist Groups of North Eastern States Declared as "Unlawful Associations" and "Terrorist Organizations" Under Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967

STATE	Organisation
Assam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) T • National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB)
Manipur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People's Liberation Army (PLA), • United National Liberation Front (UNLF), • Manipur Peoples' Liberation Front (MPLF)
Meghalaya	Garo National Liberation Army (GNLA)
Tripura	All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF)
Nagaland	The National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Khaplang) [NSCN/K]

REASONS FOR INSURGENCY IN NORTH EAST

- Ethno-Nationalism and lack of integration with Nationalistic aspirations. This was primarily because of British policy of isolation of these states from the mainstream Nationalist movement.
- Demands for autonomy EX: Mizo movement, Naga movement etc.
- Change in Demography due to immigration from neighbouring countries and the resistance from the natives. EX – migration after Bangladesh liberation War.
- Existence of militant groups. EX: NSCN-K, NSCN-IM.
- Alienation of Tribal people due intrusion by outsiders.
- Porous borders.

DEVELOPMENTAL CHALLENGES & EXTREMISM

- Existence of terrorist camps across the border in Myanmar. The recent instance of "**HOT PURSUIT**" by Armed Forces is a case in point.

Security situation in North East since 2012 (MHA annual report)

Year	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Incidents	1025	732	824	574	484

KEY FACTS

- While the States of Sikkim, Mizoram and Tripura had no insurgency related violence in 2016, there was considerable decline in incidents in Meghalaya (44%) and Nagaland (43%) compared to 2015.
- In 2016, the State of Manipur accounted for about 48% of total violent incidents in the region and the State of Arunachal Pradesh experienced an increase in violent activities by 38%, primarily on account of violence by NSCN/K.

STEPS TAKEN BY GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH THE SITUATION

- Policy for talks / negotiation with such groups which categorically abjure violence, lay down arms and seek solutions for their problems peacefully within the framework of the Constitution of India.
- Those who are not in talks are being dealt with by the Central Armed Police Forces, Armed Forces and the State Police through Counter-Insurgency Operations.
- Law and order is a state subject. Thus, Central Government is supplementing the states for curbing the illegal and unlawful activities of militant / insurgent groups of North East. These include deployment of Central Armed Police Forces, central assistance to the State Governments for modernization of State Police Forces.
- The entire State of Manipur (except Imphal Municipal area), Nagaland and Assam are under Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA).
- Central Government has deployed Central Armed Police Forces (CAPFs) to aid the State authorities for carrying out counter insurgency operations.

Major Schemes administered by NE Division:

- Scheme for Surrender-cum Rehabilitation of militants in North East. The Ministry of Home Affairs has been implementing a scheme for Surrender-cum-Rehabilitation of militants in North East w.e.f. 01.01.1998 (revised on 01.04.2005) to wean away the misguided youth and hard-core militants.
- Civic Action Programme in North East. In order to take the local populace in confidence and boost the image of armed forces for among the common people, Army

and Central Paramilitary Forces conduct Civic Action Programme. Under this Programme, various welfare / developmental activities are undertaken.

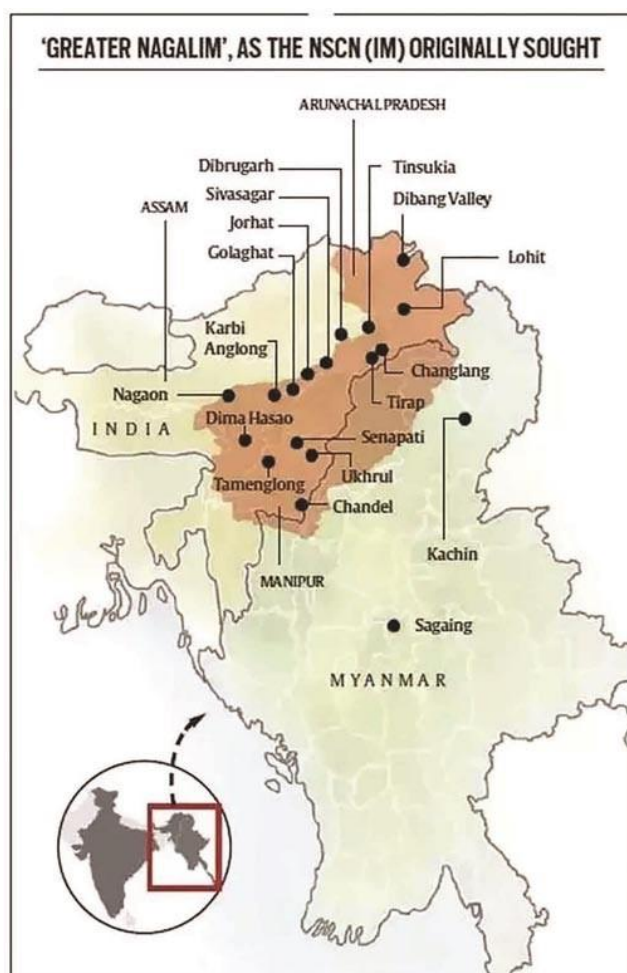
- Advertisement and Publicity. Under this scheme, various initiatives are undertaken including the visits of youths of NE States to rest of India and vice-versa under the aegis of Nehru Yuva Kendra Sangathan (NYKS), journalist visits to NE States, broadcast of radio etc.

► NAGA PEACE TALKS

The Naga insurgency has come a long way and the time has come for finding a lasting solution.

HURDLES TO PEACE

- The Union government may find difficult to fulfil the demands related to recognition of Naga sovereignty; integration of all Naga-speaking areas into a Greater Nagaland; Separate Constitution; and Separate Flag.



- The current demands of the NSCN (IM) have toned down from complete sovereignty to greater autonomous region within the Indian constitutional framework with due regard to the uniqueness of Naga history and traditions. However, negotiations

DEVELOPMENTAL CHALLENGES & EXTREMISM

with the NSCN-IM have remained complicated, as Nagas are demanding the integration of their ancestral homelands, which include territories in Assam, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh.

- But, all three states have refused to cede territory to the Nagas. Manipur has protested in a petition that any compromise with Manipur's territorial integrity would not be tolerated. The other two States have made it clear that they won't compromise with their territorial integrity.
- Another significant issue is how the weapons in the NSCN-IM camps are going to be managed. As a 'ceasefire' group, its cadres are supposed to retain their weapons inside the designated camps for self-defence only, but more often than not, many influential cadres are seen moving with weapons in civilian localities, leading to many problems. It would be an uphill task for the Centre to ensure that all weapons are surrendered at the time of the final accord.
- In the early phase, the Naga insurgents were provided with what has come to be known as 'safe haven' in Myanmar. India's adversaries (China and Pakistan) also provided them with vital external support at one point in time.
- The porous border and rugged terrain make it different for the Security Forces as they cross borders where they are sheltered and fed.

POSSIBILITIES FOR PEACE

- The Centre must negotiate with all the factions and groups of the Insurgents to have a long-lasting peace. Privileging one insurgent group could eventually distort the contours of the final peace accord and thus the govt. subsequently enlarged the peace process by roping in seven other Naga insurgent groups under the umbrella of Naga National Political Groups (NNPG). However, another important group, the NSCN- Khaplang, whose cadres are reported to be inside Myanmar, is still outside the formal process.
- Nagas are culturally heterogeneous groups of different communities/tribes having a different set of problems from the mainstream population. In order to achieve the long-lasting solution, their cultural, historical and territorial extent must be taken into consideration.
- Another way of dealing with the issue can be maximum decentralisation of powers to the tribal heads and minimum centralisation at the apex level,

which should mainly work towards facilitating governance and undertaking large development projects.

- For any peace framework to be effective, it should not threaten the present territorial boundaries of the states of Assam, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh. As it will not be acceptable to these states.
- Greater autonomy for the Naga inhabited areas in these states can be provided which would encompass separate budget allocations for the Naga inhabited

DEVELOPMENTAL CHALLENGES & EXTREMISM

areas with regard to their culture and development issues. A new body should be constituted that would look after the rights of the Nagas in the other north-eastern states besides Nagaland.

- Moreover, the Centre must keep in mind that most of the armed insurgencies across the world do not end in either total victory or comprehensive defeat, but in a grey zone called 'compromise'. Hence, relaxation and gradual withdrawal of Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) should also be considered.

SECTION-4

CHALLENGES FROM MEDIA AND SOCIAL MEDIA

Previous Year Questions

YEAR	UPSC MAINS QUESTIONS
2020	Discuss different types of cyber-crimes and measures required to be taken to fight the menace.
2019	The Indian government has recently strengthened the anti-terrorism laws by amending the unlawful activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA), 1967 and the NIA Act. Analyze the changes in the context of prevailing security environment while discussing the scope and reasons for opposing the UAPA by human rights organizations.
2018	India's proximity to two of the world's biggest illicit opium-growing states has enhanced her internal security concerns. Explain the linkages between drug trafficking and other illicit activities such as gunrunning, money laundering and human trafficking. What counter-measures should be taken to prevent the same?
2018	Data security has assumed significant importance in the digitized world due to rising cybercrimes. The Justice B. N. Srikrishna Committee Report addresses issues related to data security. What, in your view, are the strengths and weakness of the Report relating to protection of personal data in cyber space?
2017	Discuss the potential threats of Cyber-attack and the security framework to prevent it.
2016	Use of Internet and social media by non-state actors for subversive activities is a major concern. How have these have misused in the recent past? Suggest effective guidelines to curb the above threat.
2015	Discuss the advantage and security implications of cloud hosting of server vis-a-vis in-house machine-based hosting for government businesses.
2015	Considering the threats cyberspace poses for the country, India needs a "Digital Armed Force" to prevent crimes. Critically evaluate the National Cyber Security Policy, 2013 outlining the challenges perceived in its effective implementation.

CHALLENGES FROM MEDIA AND SOCIAL MEDIA

2013	What are social networking site and what security implications do these sites present?
2013	Cyber warfare is considered by some defense analysts to be a larger threat than even Al Qaeda or terrorism. What do you understand by Cyber warfare? Outline the cyber threats which India is vulnerable to and bring out the state of the country's preparedness to deal with the same.
2013	Money laundering poses a serious threat to country's economic sovereignty. What is its significance for India and what steps are required to be taken to control this menace?

► RADICALIZATION

Radicalisation refers to the process of an individual's transformation from a moderate, law-abiding citizen into an active, anti-state, violent extremist.

It is the process by which people come to support terrorism and violent extremism and, in some cases, then join terrorist groups.

CAUSES OF RADICALIZATION

- People become increasingly **motivated to use violent means against members of an out-group or symbolic targets to achieve behavioural change and political goals.**
- Radicalisation **develops gradually over time and may occur at individual, group or mass public levels.**
- It also **involves changes in attitudes, beliefs, behaviour, ideals, goals, ideology, and willingness, which become extreme.**
- Those extreme aspects are related to political, social, religious, ideological, economic or societal issues.
- Feelings of discrimination can evoke radical thoughts and actions.

STAGES OF RADICALISATION

- Various stages of the process of radicalisation—pre-radicalisation, self-identification, indoctrination and jihadization stages.
- The first stage is the foundation and occurs when individuals are placed in environments that lead to being receptive to extremism. The drivers can be either intrinsic or extrinsic. Commitment is constantly calibrated and re-calibrated.
- Be it the left-wing extremism, right wing, North-East insurgency, Kashmir militancy or the separatist Khalistan movement, the **perceptions of injustice** play an important role in pushing someone to extremism and the radicalisation process.
- Many individuals who join radical groups do so because they have **the feeling that they have not received the treatment they deserve.**

DE RADICALIZATION

- De-radicalisation is a process in which people reject the ideology they once embraced.
- In order to better deal with feelings of relative deprivation and injustice, experts suggest **empowering individuals by helping to increase their perceptions of efficacy and self-esteem, and fostering the creation of a strong self-identity.**
- Focus should be on **supporting families** in preventing radicalisation and in de-radicalisation.
- **Educating and equipping families** becomes essential to recognise vulnerable individuals who are at risk or are in the early stages of radicalisation.
- Focus should be to train and educate professionals, and to stimulate disengagement and de-radicalisation.
- At the primary level, the government needs to **reinvest in educational institutions.**
- The aim should be to **decrease prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination and to increase knowledge about democracy.** Collective sports and citizen programmes based on exchanges have been found helpful.
- There are links between extremism, social exclusion and radicalisation.
- **Sociological interventions** to prevent or counter extremist behaviours are needed.
- The success of **Kerala and Maharashtra programmes of de-radicalising** indicates how community-based programmes may work in vulnerable states.

► SOCIAL MEDIA AND RADICALISATION

Social media has been a significant equaliser as a vehicle by which the fundamental right to freedom of expression is guaranteed everyone irrespective of class, creed or geography.

However, these very same platforms are also becoming spaces where—in the garb of free speech—misinformation and hate are able to flourish.

Social media has also facilitated the recruitment of terrorists by the terror organisation.

SOCIAL MEDIA AND EXTREMISM

- The Islamic far right in countries such as Pakistan, Indonesia and the Maldives, the Christian far right in the US and Western Europe, the Buddhist far right in Myanmar, and the Hindu far right in India, are feeding on people's sentiments of being "offended" based on their perception of how freely the religious and ethnic minorities can practice their faith and culture.
- This **sense of "offendedness" can often be amplified by the ease of communication on social media.**
- **Political groups** selectively **mobilise genuine religious devotion to manufacture both offense and a sense of being offended- or offendedness.**
- It is this "making" of offense that is exacerbating communal tensions and dividing an already polarised polity along religious lines.
- The main objective of hate speech is met when the support base is widened, **a divisive narrative is created, and people are mobilised around a political agenda.**
- The media, meanwhile, are caught in reporting incidents when they happen, or else inadvertently serving as a vehicle for politicians who use hate speech as a tool for identity politics.
- In the process, the media often lose sight of the manufactured quality of hate spin, especially where the line between hate speech and free speech are blurred.
- Vitiated, ideologically polarised and aggressive politics is fast becoming a cauldron of victimhood and rage.
- Although, widespread communal violence and rioting have taken place in the past, social media have the singular power to amplify the speed and force of messages.
- Significant challenge is posed by **the algorithms used by these platforms, which distort realities and create alternate ones in echo chambers of like-minded users** where beliefs are perpetuated, even those that are premised on hate and lies.

ONLINE RADICALISATION AND TERRORISM

- Internet enhances the opportunities to become radicalised and serves as an **'echo chamber of extremists.**

CHALLENGES FROM MEDIA AND SOCIAL MEDIA

- Jihadist organisations have made full use of the Internet and the social media for spreading their influence worldwide.
- In this respect, the so called **'Dark Web'** (part of the World Wide Web not indexed by Web search engines) provides the perfect 'breeding grounds' for the seeds of radicalisation to thrive and grow.
- Most jihadist groups use the Internet for the purposes of:
 - Propaganda.
 - Scouting prospective radical recruits from the global throng, otherwise difficult to identify and contact in real world.
 - Indoctrination and radicalisation.
 - Terror financing, mainly through cryptocurrencies.
 - Providing instructions for combat training and weapons manufacturing (particularly from objects of everyday use).
 - Carrying out cyberattacks
 - Coordinating terrorist attacks.
 - Marshalling forces during active operations in theatres such as Syria, Iraq and Libya.
- In the Indian context, online jihadist radicalisation is not limited only to global jihadist organisations such as the AQIS or ISIS, but also to that of indigenous and regional groups such as Indian Mujahideen, JeM, LeT, the Taliban.

USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA BY TERROR GROUPS IN INDIA

- Indian jihadist groups use a variety of social media apps, best suited for their disparate purposes.
- Kashmiri radicals employ WhatsApp groups for coordination and communication: they simply create WhatsApp groups, add all the members, and communicate the date, time and place for carrying out mass protests or stone pelting.
- After Burhan Wani's death, multiple pages were created that called for avenging his death.
- Again, many Facebook pages were created after Uri attack and India's 'surgical strike' against jihadist posts inside Pakistan territory.
- LeT used Google Earth to understand locations in Mumbai before the terrorist attacks on the city in 2008.

ISIS AND SOCIAL MEDIA

- ISIS— following its recent drubbing—runs its global movement entirely online.

- The AQIS has a substantial presence on the Internet already.
- Its now banned and blocked YouTube channels—Ansar AQIS and Al Firdaws—once had subscriptions in excess of 25,000.
- Its online magazines are Nawai Afghan and Statements, which come out in Urdu, English, Arabic, Bangla and Tamil.
- ISIS members maintain anonymity on social media. They avoid turning on their Global Positioning System (GPS) locations and use virtual private network (VPN).
- The ISIS supporters use VPN or a similar programme for use from a mobile device or Web browser.
- Once installed, users could select an Internet Protocol (IP) address for a country outside the US, and thus bypass email or phone verification.

MEASURES TO COUNTER ONLINE RADICALISATION

- There is a clear need for India to **develop effective indigenous counter-radicalisation programmes and evolve strategic communications** to disseminate political, liberal, religious and socially resonant and effective counter-narratives to combat the spread of jihadist radicalisation.
- Specialised task forces and research wings in think tanks and relevant government departments have to be developed, as well as competent personnel and facilities have to be groomed for implementing the programmes in prisons, seminaries, schools, colleges, etc.
- **Civil society needs to be engaged** in playing its crucial role in fighting the growing threat of radicalisation in the region.
- Cooperation with the international community, would have to develop appropriate and effective legislation and processes **to bring extremist organisations of all denominations to the book**, including those that spread hate, even if they do not openly engage in violent activities.
- Such organisations often function as fronts or breeding grounds for raising radical cadres.
- Instances of communal clashes and violence should not be taken lightly or dismissed as rare occurrences in our multi-religious, sectarian, casteist and ethnically diverse society.
- Serious thought must also be given to preventing a climate of mistrust, in times when transnational non-

CHALLENGES FROM MEDIA AND SOCIAL MEDIA

- state actors are increasing their seditious activities in the country.
- Various religions and their impact on society should be studied as a secular academic discipline in various universities
- False religious indoctrination of foreign extremist groups through the Internet can be countered in a precise, scientific manner and authorities may not have to depend on biased, opinionated and poorly educated religious scholars to frame the country's counter-narratives and deradicalization policies.
- The importance of developing a strong counter-radicalisation presence in the cyber world can also not be understated, particularly in the country's regional languages in which the ISIS and al-Qaeda are gradually spreading their message.
- There is a need to revitalise India's and the region's sociocultural ethos, wherein countries should not just represent political unions but should emerge as organic, composite entities. In the absence of a strong social fabric and common cultural ethos, security measures can never prove sufficiently resilient against the threat of extremism and terrorism.

► FAKE NEWS

Fake news is becoming a huge menace in promoting more biases, divisions, hatred and violence in society. New Zealand attacks, manipulation of elections, lynching is some of the examples of negative impacts.

A recent Microsoft survey, covering 22 countries shows that as many as 64 percent of the Indians surveyed have encountered fake news as against the global average of 57 per cent.

WHAT IS FAKE NEWS?

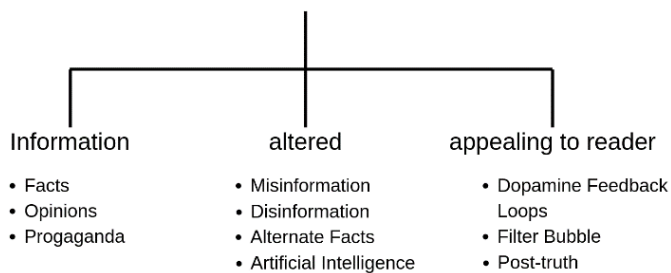
It may be defined as "Any misinformation or disinformation deliberately disseminated on a large scale that has the potential to threaten the life or national security or an election outcome."

Fake news exists within the larger context of misinformation and disinformation.

- Misinformation is false or inaccurate information that is mistakenly or inadvertently created or spread where the intent is not to deceive.
- Disinformation is false information that is deliberately created and spread in order to influence public opinion or obscure the truth.

Fake News

any new **information** that is **altered** by artificial means to make it **appealing** for viewers.



Further, the advent of fake news is not new or recent, only its potential to reach people has amplified due to online platforms and applications that are free. Users creating hate content and sharing it can be booked under relevant sections of the Indian Penal Code (IPC). But the sheer expanse of the Internet and the anonymity it grants makes it difficult to track down people.

Unlike mainstream media that falls under comprehensive regulation, online platforms have scope for wrongdoing due to the lack of binding rules, and the ability to keep owners and editors private like in the case

HOW TO COMBAT?

Fixing Responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The lack of uniform guidelines, regulation and policy regarding such fabricated content needs to be addressed urgently. • Government should take steps to combat the use of communication networks to spread rumours & mis-information such as through WhatsApp, rather than shift the responsibility to communication networks, wherein accountability should be fixed with police and public officials for maintaining law and order. • Regulation should avoid emphasizing censorship of means of fake news such as communication networks, but rather emphasize awareness towards fake news and regulating creators of fake news and its after-effects.
Onus of Social Media platforms	<p>Recently, Google, FB and WhatsApp raise stakes to tackle 'fake menace'.</p> <p>► WhatsApp</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The first action was by WhatsApp when it released advertisements in Indian newspapers about identifying fake news. • WhatsApp has even added a 'forwarded' sign that comes with a message that is not original. <p>► Google</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Google rolled out a train-the-trainer program with its Google News Initiative India Training Network. The program aims to train working journalists to create in-house experts who can help identify fake news. The trainers are expected to train journalists in digital tools like advanced search, reverse image search and other tools where even videos can be subjected to reverse image search to debunk fake news. • Google is also funding 87 outlets through its Google News Initiative (GNI) YouTube innovation funding. The funding aims to help news outlets in 23 countries across the world in exploring live and fact-checking formats. In Hyderabad, Factly, a firm that has tried to push data driven information, is now collaborating with Google. <p>► Facebook</p>

CHALLENGES FROM MEDIA AND SOCIAL MEDIA

of fake news sites. In the absence of such crucial information, there is no understanding of the liability and the credibility of the information that is being hosted on their respective sites. This is the main strength of the creators of fake news, the ability to remain anonymous in the guise of a media outlet.

Fake news is a threat to democracy in a way more perverse than most people appreciate. In these times of easy access to the ability to crunch large amounts of data, unstructured and in real time, it is possible for political parties or, more realistically, specialist troops employed by them, to profile individual voters and flood them with news, fake and real, that would accentuate perceived favourable political propensities or neutralise perceived hostile inclinations.

Despite several attempts at tweaking laws and regulations to fight the evil of fake news, such regulation proved ineffective. So far, no Indian statute or regulatory guidelines has defined fake news or has laid down criteria for defining fake news. Any amendment in the existing legal framework should begin with defining this term.

CHALLENGES FROM MEDIA AND SOCIAL MEDIA

	Facebook has taken a community route hosting a workshop on Community Leadership Circles . Aims to build a community of admins in cities who can develop policies and control the content that is shared in the groups. They will be part of a network who can mentor and groom admins.
Promotion of Fact Checking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Numerous fact-checking websites such as Alt News have sprung up and a few of them have even partnered with big players like Google and Facebook to provide factual accuracy. The fact checking organization Boom Live is available on WhatsApp in India.
Onus of consumers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Due diligence is required on part of the users as actual consumers and targets of fake information and online content to contain the spread of fake news. Human judgment and wisdom therefore are critical to solving the spread and reactionary activities of Fake news. Before sharing dubious content, users can exercise judgement to question the source and its credibility, or to check the credentials of the individual it has come from.
Use of Artificial Intelligence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Form a database of specific accounts, sources, geographical locations or IP addresses which are a known source of fake news and linked to A.I. detection mechanism. Run a content cross-check for the news story against a dynamic database of stories which demarcates legit and fake stories. Run an evaluation for the headline text and the content of the post, looking for consistency between both or sift through similar articles over other news media platforms for fact checking. Spot manipulated or doctored images and videos, which can further alert the users of the dubious content.
Crowd Sourcing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Human networks through crowd-sourcing can be carried out to combat fake news. It would be similar to the concept of Wikipedia where a network of volunteers keeps the information updated. A collective effort of individuals, governments, social media and content platforms with the additional use of technology solutions, needs to be integrated with social causes and awareness among the masses to combat the influence and spread of fake news.

The current response to fake news primarily revolves around three prongs — rebuttal, removal of the fake news item and educating the public. While these are necessary measures, it is not apparent that they are sufficient in themselves to address the larger 'political' problem posed by fake news.

How other nations are tackling fake news

Australia plans to introduce laws to force tech firms like Apple to provide access to encrypted data of suspected criminals

- ▶ Britain has called for access to end-to-end encrypted data from messages and WhatsApp
- ▶ In Kenya, WhatsApp group admins have been described as a major source of politically motivated fake news during recent elections
- ▶ A bipartisan bill being put before US Congress would eliminate the possibility of any future battles between Apple and the government over back-door access to iPhones

SECTION-5

BORDER SECURITY & MANAGEMENT

Previous Year Questions

YEAR	UPSC MAINS QUESTIONS
2020	For effective border area management, discuss the steps required to be taken to deny local support to militants and also suggest ways to manage favourable perception among locals.
2020	Analyse internal security threats and transborder crimes along Myanmar, Bangladesh and Pakistan borders including Line of Control (LoC). Also, discuss the role played by various security forces in this regard.
2018	The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is viewed as a cardinal subset of China's larger 'One Belt One Road' initiative. Give a brief description of CPEC and enumerate the reasons why India has distanced itself from the same.
2016	The terms 'Hot Pursuit' and 'Surgical Strikes' are often used in connection with armed action against terrorist attacks. Discuss the strategic impact of such actions.
2016	Border management is a complex task due to difficult terrain and hostile relations with some countries. Elucidate the challenges and strategies for effective border management.
2014	International civil aviation laws provide all countries complete and exclusive sovereignty over the airspace above the territory. What do you understand by airspace? What are the implications of these laws on the space above this airspace? Discuss the challenges which this poses and suggests ways to contain the threat.
2014	The diverse nature of India as a multireligious and multi-ethnic society is not immune to the impact of radicalism which has been in her neighbourhood. Discuss along with the strategies to be adopted to counter this environment.
2014	How illegal transborder migration does pose a threat to India's security? Discuss the strategies to curb this, bring out the factors which give impetus to such migration.
2014	In 2012, the longitudinal marking of the high-risk areas for piracy was moved from 65° East to 78° east in the Arabian Sea by International Maritime organisation. What impact does this have on India's maritime

BORDER SECURITY & MANAGEMENT

	security concerns?
2014	China and Pakistan have entered into an agreement for development of an economic corridor. What thread does it dispose for India's security? Critically examine.
2013	How far are India's internal security challenges linked with border management, particularly in view of the long porous borders with most countries of South Asia and Myanmar?

► **BORDER AREA MANAGEMENT**

- **South Asia** comprises of seven independent states, with over one sixth of world's population and numerous ethnic, religious and linguistic groups **is the theatre of ethnic and religious violence which is transnational in its nature and implications.**
- The ethnic, religious and linguistic overlap has not only affected internal political developments in each country but also inter-country relationships.
- The **boundaries between neighbors are not natural both geographically and ethnically;** therefore, social tensions are bound to have a transborder impact. Traditional linkages of friendship and inter- action amongst people have become competing arrangements for aiding and abetting subversion, terrorism and insurgencies.
- Two of the three major narcotic centers of the world, the **Golden Crescent in the North West and the Golden Triangle in the East** have made South Asia vulnerable to **drug trafficking Combination of large-scale availability of man portable weapons, illegal financial resources through narcotic trade and cross border nexus for smuggling and terrorist activities has made the environment violence and conflict prone.**

► **PROBLEMS OF BORDER MANAGEMENT**

- Some of **our maritime boundaries are still undefined and much of our land borders are not demarcated on the ground.** The disputed and unsettled nature of our boundaries has made them a source of tension and made their policing much more difficult.
- Since many of our borders are **man-made artificial boundaries and not based on natural features** such as rivers, watersheds etc, they are extremely porous and easy to cross.
- **Multiplicity of forces on the same borders** has inevitably led to the lack of accountability as well as problems of command and control.

- **Border Guarding Forces need to be appropriately strengthened both in terms of equipment and manpower.**
- The repeated withdrawal, in large numbers, of para-military forces from border guarding duties for internal security and counter insurgency duties has led to a neglect of the borders. These forces have also been unable to perform optimally due to cannibalisation of battalions and even companies.
- **Lack of institutionalised arrangements for sharing and co-ordination of intelligence** at various levels and particularly at the field level, is a primary weakness in proper management of borders. The present tendency on the part of each agency to guard its turf, even at the cost of compromising national security interests, needs to be deprecated and put down sternly.
- **Illegal migration from across our borders** has continued unabated. We have yet to fully wake up to the implications of the unchecked immigration for the national security. Today, we have about 15 million Bangladeshis, 2.2 million Nepalese, 70,000 Sri Lankan Tamils and about one lakh Tibetan migrants living in India.
- **Demographic changes** have been brought about in the border belts of West Bengal, several districts in Bihar, Assam, Tripura and Meghalaya as **a result of large-scale illegal migration.**
- Such **large-scale migration** has obvious social, economic, political and security implications. The massive illegal immigration poses a grave danger to our security, social harmony and economic well-being.
- **Smuggling** of different consumer and intermediate goods, trafficking in drugs and narcotics etc. flourish through large parts of our border. For clandestine cross border transit, communities of professional couriers have come up in the villages and towns close to our land borders and maritime.
- The Pak ISI is involved in encouraging these activities. Drug couriers are allowed passage on condition of collecting and reporting trans-border intelligence.

BORDER SECURITY & MANAGEMENT

- **Trained saboteurs and terrorists** are prevailed upon to carry drugs for sustenance and operational expenses from the sale proceeds. Passage to couriers of contraband is often conditional to carrying and delivering of arms and ammunition.
- India's **long coastline and coastal areas have remained largely unprotected and unguarded.** The presence of the Coast Guard is minimal. For a country of our size, the Coast Guard must be a strong and vibrant organisation. There is also need for a greater clarity in the role of the State Governments vis-à-vis the Coast Guard in so far as shallow water surveillance of the coasts is concerned.

► GOVERNMENT SECURITY APPARATUS FOR BORDER MANAGEMENT

- Indian border security is handled by the Cabinet Committee on Security, which oversees the entire internal security apparatus.
- The Ministry of Home Affairs handles most operational aspects of both border security and internal security, and has traditionally been a very powerful player in the Indian government.
- Coordination takes place with involvement from the Cabinet Secretariat staffed by civil servants, and the Prime Minister's Office (PMO).
- In addition, a number of administrative, intelligence, and enforcement agencies are involved, as are similar organizations at the state level in India's federal government structure.
- Within the Home Ministry, the principal department responsible solely for border security is the **Department of Border Management.**
- The department oversees the strengthening of border policing and surveillance, infrastructure amelioration through the building of roads and fences, and the flood lighting of borders.
- Intelligence responsibilities are shared among at least 12 organizations, which report to different ministries.
- The **Intelligence Bureau**, the primary agency responsible for internal intelligence, reports to the home minister.
- The Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC), the National Technical Research Organization (NTRO), and the Aviation Research Centre are under the purview of the National Security Adviser (NSA).

BORDER SECURITY APPARATUS AND ASSOCIATED ISSUES

- The land border security apparatus involves specialized paramilitary organizations to include **Indo-Tibetan Border Police, Assam Rifles, Sahastra Seema Bal, the Border Security Force, and the Special Frontier Force.**
- All of these report to the Home Ministry except the Special Frontier Force, which is under the control of India's external intelligence wing, the RAW.
- Battalions of the Indo-Tibetan Border Police have also been put under operational command of the Indian Army.
- In addition, the Indian Army, and the Indian Police Service have responsibilities along the borders.
- The enforcement arm of the border security apparatus also suffers from weak coordination. The most difficult problem is coordination between state and central agencies, and it operates both at the political level, between the national government and the elected chief ministers of the states, and especially in the area of policing.
- The internal security apparatus faces additional challenges with a poorly trained and understaffed police force, an outdated and overburdened legal system, and insufficient modern equipment.

SUGGESTIONS FOR EFFECTIVE BORDER MANAGEMENT

- **Regulation of the Borders:** Effective regulation of the movement of people and goods is the hallmark of good border management. For this government has to facilitate legitimate travel and trade, while at the same time preventing illegal migration, smuggling and infiltration of insurgents and terrorists.
- **Border Guarding Forces (BGF) -** These forces need to be dedicated to their tasks of guarding borders and should not be employed on Counter insurgency duties or maintenance of law and order.
- Allotting of powers of jurisdiction and detention under the customs act and Cr Pc to other CPOs, such as ITBP and AR could be done; at present such powers are restricted to the BSF only.
- Further, these forces need to be strengthened in the following aspects: -
 - (a) Maintain minimum strength at all times.
 - (b) Equipment profile to cater for their specific roles.
 - (c) Intelligence capability in terms of personnel and equipment.
- Despite several wars and conflicts, India's borders continue to be manned by a large number of military, paramilitary and police forces, each of which has its own ethos, and each of which reports to a different

BORDER SECURITY & MANAGEMENT

central ministry, with almost no real coordination in managing the borders.

- while the BSF should be responsible for all settled borders, the responsibility for unsettled borders, such as the line of control in J&K and Line of Actual Control on the Indo-Tibetan border should be that of the Army”.
- **BGF peace time management restructuring -**
 - The entire Indo-Tibetan border should be directly guarded by the army and there is no requirement of any ITBP deployment.
 - In J&K, the LOC and the AGPL should be guarded by the army. There is no requirement of BSF companies along LOC interspersed between army battalions.
 - The BSF should be bifurcated into two BGFs, one retaining the name BSF, for the Indo-Pakistan IB, and the other could be called Eastern Frontier Rifles.
 - BGF battalions should be authorized hand-held Image Intensifiers, Battle field Surveillance Radars, ground sensors and much increased scale of modern communications equipment.
 - BGF troops should be organized as lightly armed scout forces, and the presently existing fire support units of mortars and artillery should be abolished.
- **Training of Border Guarding Forces -** Government does not have a robust holistic training programme for the border guarding personnel, which is necessary for sensitising the security personnel towards the cultural nuances of every border area and help elicit better cooperation from the local population. Proper training and incentives are essential for keeping the morale of the border guarding personnel high
- **Police Stations in the Border Zones -** Up gradation and equipping of police stations in the border zones would provide a sound second tier for the forces guarding the borders.
- **Perception Management -** Aggressive media posturing to counter subversive propaganda by hostile neighbours needs to be carried out in the border areas.
- **Role of Locals in Border Management -** In order to incorporate the locals into the advent of border management certain actions are required to be taken as prerequisite such as improvement of living conditions of people in border areas and providing basic amenities and security to the people.

- **National Database -** Establishment of a national network supported by a powerful data bank to check illegal immigration and unauthorized passage to the country is a necessity.

► CHALLENGES ALONG INDIA - BANGLADESH BORDER

- India shares **4096 km long land boundary** with Bangladesh (earlier East Pakistan).
- Trans-border **migration from Bangladesh is a major factor** for the problems in Assam and other areas of the North East.
- There are estimated to be 15 to 18 million illegal Bangladeshi immigrants in India, who have spread to all the North Eastern States with bulk of them being in Assam.
- Their transgression into land and providing cheap labour is a cause of social and economic insecurity for local communities and a cause of tension and violence.
- In the North East, **the Siliguri corridor with its porous borders along Bangladesh and Nepal has become a major conduit for ISI subversive activities.** The mushrooming of madrasas along the Indo - Nepal and Indo - Bangladesh borders is a design contrived by ISI with the help of sympathetic elements in Bangladesh to step up subversive activities in the North East.
- Some pockets have become the **breeding ground for mafia, smugglers, gun running, hawala transactions, narco-trafficking, influx of fake Indian currency and terrorist activities.**
- Bangladesh has also become **a nodal point for transshipments of arms and ammunition acquired by the North East insurgents from the arms bazars in South East Asia.**
- ISI (Pakistan) is providing assistance for storage and transshipments through fundamentalist organizations like JEI of Bangladesh, Quami Madrasas and Islamic NGOs under its patronage. Some elements amongst Bangladesh authorities are also suspected to be conniving with the ISI.
- BSF is the border guarding force along the border.

CHALLENGES IN BORDER MANAGEMENT

- **Porous nature of Border -** Wide inter-BOP gap in the face of dense population residing near the boundary, allows free movement of nationals including criminals, of both the countries.

BORDER SECURITY & MANAGEMENT

- **Difficulty in Identifying Bangladeshi Nationals** - Indians of the bordering states and Bangladeshis look alike, speak the same language (Bengali and/or Assamese), wear the same dress and have similar set of cultures and traditions, thus making it difficult to identify a Bangladeshi national.
- **Passive/Indifferent Attitude of Border Population** - All border crimes take place in an organised manner. The population residing in the border areas is either dependent on the kingpins or are scared to speak against such criminals.
- **Over-population in the border areas** - Density of population in the border areas at some places is approximately 700-800 persons per square km on the Indian side and about 1,000 persons on the Bangladesh side.
- **Cutting of barbed wire by smugglers** - Smugglers have invented a very ingenious way of dealing with the security forces who try to obstruct their activity - by cutting the barbed wire.
- **Circuitous International Boundary** - The international boundary follows a non-linear pattern. It passes through villages, fields, houses, rivers, and jungles in an uneven manner and at places forms big loops.
- **Topography** - The entire stretch of the border can be broadly categorised as - flat/plain (in West Bengal, Assam-Barak Valley, Tripura), riverine in West Bengal and Assam, hilly/jungle (in Meghalaya).
- **Firing Across the Border** - Though not as intense as on Indo-Pakistan border (J&K), both Indian and Bangladeshi troops resort to firing across the International Border at the slightest provocation, causing tension and problem of management.
- **Illegal cattle trade** is another challenge.

STEPS TAKEN BY GOVERNMENT

- A proposal for the construction of 422 Composite BOPs along Indo-Pakistan Border (IPB) and Indo-Bangladesh Border (IBB), has already been approved by the Government of India. Out of 422 Composite BOPs, 326 Composite BOPs are to be constructed along the Indo-Bangladesh Border.
- In order to curb the infiltration, smuggling and other anti-national activities from across the Indo-Bangladesh Border, the Government of India has undertaken the **construction of fencing along this border**.
- The Government of India has taken an initiative to cover the area where physical fence is not feasible

with non-physical barriers in the form of **Comprehensive Integrated Border Management System (CIBMS)**. CIBMS includes integration of manpower, sensors, networks, intelligence and Command & Control Solutions to improve situational awareness at different levels of the hierarchy to facilitate prompt and informed decision making and quick response.

- In order to have better communication and operational mobility of BSF in border areas, **border roads** have been constructed.
- The Government of India has decided to undertake the work of installation of **floodlights** along Indo-Bangladesh Border.

WAY FORWARD

- The problem of border management on this border is not just one of securing the borders but of doing so without causing harm to the economic interest of the people, long dependent on mutual trade and various other forms of interdependence.
- It would be in the interest of both the nations to streamline and institutionalise the movement of people by issuing work permits and identity cards to migrants.
- To check inflow of illegal migrants, armed intruders and illegal trade, particularly cattle smuggling, trafficking of women and children, the completion of fencing should be expedited.
- BSF should inculcate a sense of security amongst the border population. This can help in filling the gap in intelligence gathering in these areas.
- the morale and motivation of those guarding the borders has to be ensured in terms of welfare, incentives and promotions.

► CHALLENGES ALONG INDIA - MYANMAR BORDER

INSURGENCY IN THE NORTH EASTERN STATES

- Since the inception of **insurgency in the Northeast** in the 1950s, the Naga, Mizo, Meitei, and Assamese insurgents have been crossing over into Myanmar to set up bases, especially in the Chin state and Sagaing Region, where they rest, recoup, train, plan and launch future offensives, and take shelter when pursued by the Indian security forces.
- These groups have **ethnic ties across the border** which makes it easy for these groups to find support on the other side of the border.

WEAPONS

BORDER SECURITY & MANAGEMENT

- This support has helped them in sustaining their rebellion even when faced with the superior might of the Indian security forces.
- Besides cross border **movement of insurgents, rampant gun running and drug trafficking** are other significant security challenges emanating across the India-Myanmar border. The Indian insurgent groups have been procuring arms from the black markets of Southeast Asia as well as from Myanmar-based rebel groups.
- **Weapons from Thailand and Cambodia** are smuggled overland through the India-Myanmar border with the help of Chin and Arakanese insurgents.
- **Weapons produced in China** are also routed across the Myanmar border at Ruili and then trucked via Lashio, Mandalay and Monywa to enter the Indian border through Phek, Chandel, Churachandpur and Champai.

DRUG TRADE FROM GOLDEN TRIANGLE

- **Proximity to Myanmar in the 'Golden Triangle'** makes the India-Myanmar border vulnerable to trafficking of heroin and amphetamine-type stimulants (ATS) produced in Myanmar. These narcotics are trafficked into India through the states of Mizoram, Manipur, and Nagaland from Bhamo, Lashio and Mandalay.
- **Reverse trafficking of precursor chemicals** such as ephedrine and pseudo-ephedrine as well as codeine-based medicinal preparations from India to Myanmar takes place through the same route.
- While the bigger insurgent groups are not directly involved in drug trafficking to generate funds, they do so indirectly by demanding protection money from drug mafia for allowing safe passage to the drug consignments through their area.

LACK OF CLEAR DEMARCATION BOUNDARY

- Even though the international boundary between the two countries had been formally delimited and demarcated following the boundary agreement on March 10, 1967, **the boundary has not crystallised on the ground as lines separating two sovereign countries.**
- This is because like most of the boundaries that India shares with its neighbours, the **India-Myanmar boundary is also superimposed on the socio-cultural landscape** of the borderland, dividing several tribes and forcing them to reside as citizens of different countries.

- These **tribes refuse to accept the artificial line and continue to maintain strong cross-border ethnic linkages.**

- Such linkages are often exploited by the insurgents to find shelter across the border among their own kinsmen who are sympathetic towards their 'cause'.

FREE MOVEMENT REGIME

- The India-Myanmar border has a unique arrangement in place called the Free Movement Regime (FMR). The **FMR permits the tribes residing along the border to travel 16-km across the boundary without visa restrictions.**
- While the FMR has helped the tribes continue maintain their age-old ties, it has also become a cause of concern for the security establishment as **its provisions are exploited by the Indian insurgents to cross over to Myanmar unrestricted and establish safe havens.**
- Another provision in the FMR, which allows **tribal people to carry headload has also been misused to smuggle in drugs, weapons and other contraband.**

TERRAIN OF THE BORDER

- High mountains, deep river channels together with lush forest characterise the borderland.
- Absence of roads, communication links and other border guarding infrastructure also adversely affect policing as they hamper the easy and rapid movement of the border guarding forces along the border.

ISSUES IN BORDER SECURITY ARRANGEMENT

- The Assam Rifles, which is the designated border guarding force for the India-Myanmar border, deploy only 15 battalions out of 46 battalions for border guarding purposes and the rest are engaged in counter insurgency operations.
- Efforts to build a 10 km fence to prevent cross-border movement of insurgents have also been stalled because of protests by local residents.

MILITARY COUP IN MYANMAR

- Refugees fleeing the military crackdown are entering Mizoram. This has led to **disagreement between centre and Mizoram** which supports refugees.
- Centre's instruction of sealing border with Myanmar has **irked ethnically and culturally connected communities on both sides.** Ex – Chin community.

WHAT NEDS TO BE DONE

BORDER SECURITY & MANAGEMENT

- Given that poor security along the India-Myanmar border poses a challenge to India's security, it is imperative that India strengthens security of the border and redoubles its efforts to meaningfully engage Myanmar to effectively manage this border.
- To begin with, it should give the Assam Rifles the sole responsibility of guarding the India-Myanmar border and strengthen it with adequate manpower and equipment.
- At the same time, through sustained community interaction programmes, the border community should be sensitised to participate in the nation building project.
- International borders are best managed when neighbours cooperate to secure their mutual borders.
- For such cooperation to materialise, political and diplomatic initiatives require to be carefully crafted.
- India has been constructively engaging Myanmar so that it remains sensitive to India's security concerns.
- India should maintain this momentum of cooperation with Myanmar for better managing their shared border.

► CHALLENGES ALONG THE INDIA - PAK BORDER

- India-Pakistan border areas are **spread across extreme climatic conditions** given that the boundary runs from the hot Thar Desert in Rajasthan to the cold Himalayas in Jammu and Kashmir.
- The **diverse ecological and climatic conditions** create immense hurdles for extending the security and administrative reach in these border areas.
- Coupled with this, the **man-made nature of these boundaries** also throws up serious issues such as border disputes, porous borders, continuance of trans-border ethnic and social ties, etc.
- Together, they pose a serious challenge to the effective management of the borders in general and particularly with Pakistan.

ALONG GUJARAT

It is characterised by arid wasteland and large number of creeks. The high salt content in the soil and extremely hot temperatures make the area unsuitable for agriculture. The resultant **poverty and abundance of creeks lends the area to nefarious trans-border activities.**

ALONG RAJASTHAN

- The major portion of this land comprises of the Thar Desert on both sides. The area opposite this region comprises the Sindh and Punjab provinces of Pakistan. The border has been largely fenced, however instances of illegal movements come to light every now and then.

ALONG PUNJAB

- The region is highly fertile and most prosperous amongst the border areas. Population centres straddle the IB and coupled with excellent road and rail communications region is ideally suited for subversion and trans-border immigration. **Basins and alignment of three major rivers i.e., Ravi, Sutlej and Beas and their tributaries provide alternate routes for smugglers** and other anti-national elements to reach areas in depth with relative ease.

J & K BORDER

- The most complicated arrangements for border management – probably anywhere in the world exist here. The whole of 1,225 Kms long borders can be divided into three sectors i.e., the IB sector, LC sector and the AGL.

IB SECTOR (240 KM)

- The area is also referred to as the plains sector of J&K but has large tracts of broken country and large number of water bodies flowing across. Terrain and the large number of 'enclaves' in the region make the area conducive for infiltration and smuggling of arms in support of the militant groups operating in the valley and more particularly those operating in Doda district.

LoC SECTOR

- This sector corresponds to the border districts of Chamb – Jaurian, Akhnoor, Rajouri, Poonch, Uri, Baramula, Kargil and some portion of Leh rising to almost 20,000 feet.
- The region lacks international recognition and hence victor is the keeper, implying that any territory usurped by a side goes to that side or simply put your sovereign control extends to the line of your control. LoC by its nature runs through villages and has no geographical basis – thus splitting villages through and through. This region is marked by **largest terrorist infiltration.**

CHALLENGES IN BORDER MANAGEMENT

- High mountain ridges and primary forests on the Western Himalayan slopes are **ideal sites for**

BORDER SECURITY & MANAGEMENT

hideouts / camps being extremely remote and difficult to patrol regularly.

- There is direct link between **drug trafficking and terrorism**.
- The **Golden Crescent** is a major source of heroin and hashish for the West, which is smuggled through the Indo-Pak border.
- The ISI has been using these established channels for **smuggling of arms and explosives**, which has provided terrorism greater teeth.
- CIA report "Heroin in Pakistan, sowing the wind" confirms the use of **drug money by Pak intelligence agencies to finance militancy in Punjab and Kashmir**.
- Pakistan, particularly the ISI has realized the vast damaging potential of **money laundering, hawala and counterfeit currency to sustain the subversive activities**.
- Pakistan has systematically aided and promoted **narcotic trade to fund terrorist outfits and the underworld** to destabilize our financial system and economy.
- The **villagers** adjacent to the border are alleged to be involved in smuggling in a big way. In addition, the border population has also been subjected to hostile propaganda by Pakistan designed to mislead and sway their loyalties.
- The **Sir Creek area**, due to its peculiar terrain, makes the movement of border guarding forces very difficult and thus, provides scope for illegal fishing in the creeks.

GOVERNMENT EFFORTS

- **Border Posts** - Presently, 659 BOPs are held by BSF along the Indo-Pakistan Border. Proposal for construction of 93 Composite BOPs along the Indo-Pakistan Border has been approved. The construction of these Composite BOPs will provide the entire necessary infrastructure for the accommodation, logistic support and the combat functions of the BSF troops deployed on the Indo-Pakistan border.
- **Floodlighting** - In order to curb the attempt of infiltration and cross-border crimes along the Indo-Pakistan Border, the Government of India has sanctioned 2043.76 km of floodlights along the international border in the States of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Punjab and Union Territory of Jammu & Kashmir.

- **Fencing** - In order to curb the infiltration, smuggling and other anti-national activities from across the Indo-Pakistan Border, the Government of India has sanctioned 2069.046 km fence, out of which 2021.886 km fence work has been completed.
- **Comprehensive Integrated Border Management System (CIBMS)** - The area where physical fence is not feasible, will be covered through non-physical barriers in the form of Comprehensive Integrated Border Management System (CIBMS).

WAY FORWARD

- Responsibilities of guarding the border should be clearly earmarked between various agencies.

Use of Technology as Force Multipliers -

- It is imperative that greater use of technology and equipment such as UAVs, Unmanned Ground Sensors (UGS), Radars, and Video monitoring using Thermal Imaging cameras is made.
- There is a need to incorporate the DRDO and the private industry to ensure that the equipment is available indigenously.

Security at Crossing Points.

- Security and checking arrangements at Wagah, Poonch, Attari and other crossing points need to be strengthened.

Enhanced Security Measures

- There is a need to ensure strengthened security measures, as in Punjab, along Rajasthan and Gujarat borders and also to check infiltration, gunrunning and drug trade.

Monitoring of Religious Schools.

- Areas close to our borders have off late seen a sudden upsurge in the number of Madrasas, some of which are funded by foreign countries and may be detrimental to the security of our borders.

Local Level Management.

- There is a need to establish a formal system of flag meetings and hot lines between Rangers and the BSF commanders at battalion level to ensure that local incidents do not flare up.
- Sensitising the population living in the border areas of Gujarat, Rajasthan and Punjab would make the job of the border guarding forces easier.
- There is an urgent need to improve working conditions of the men. A holistic approach to tide over

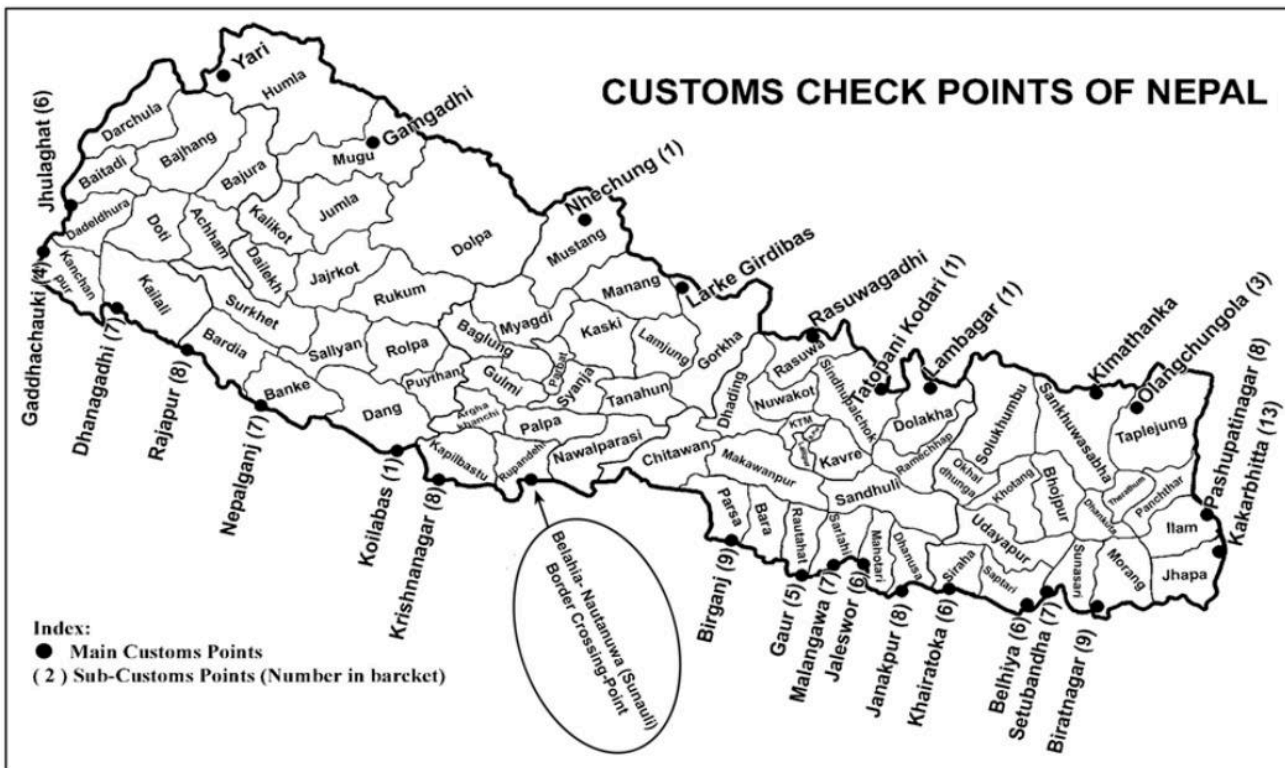
BORDER SECURITY & MANAGEMENT

this problem needs to be adopted after working out the financial implications.

► CHALLENGES ALONG INDIA - NEPAL BORDER

- At present there is an informal open border regime between Nepal and India.
- The present arrangement supports the sustenance of livelihood and cultural linkages of millions of people in the region. However, this asset is turning into a liability due to extra-regional countries' design to destabilise the relationship between India and Nepal.

- Terrorist outfits like LeT, Indian Mujahideen and some insurgent groups from North Eastern part of India have been using the open border to provide logistical support (supply of trained cadres, fake Indian currency, and terror finance by using Nepalese banks, dispersal of small arms and explosives and narcotics) to their clandestine operations in India.
- Apart from that, there are frequent reports of misuse of open border by local criminal gangs, smuggling of subsidised consumer goods and allegations of encroachment of territory. People living in the border region of both the countries are involved in these activities.



CHALLENGES

- **Cross-border terrorism** - Abdul Karim Tunda, one of India's 20 most wanted top Lashkar-e-Taiba terrorists, was arrested from Nepal. Yasin Bhatkal co-founder of the Indian Mujahideen, a militant group banned in India was arrested from border region.
- **Trans-border crime** - Indian criminal Bablu Dubey was arrested by Nepal Police.
- **Trafficking of narcotic drugs**
- **Smuggling of goods and machinery**
- **Infiltration of third country nationals** in a disguised manner - Bangladeshi citizen use to cross Nepal-India

- porous border illegally in the disguised of Indian national (West Bengal). Such is the case from Pakistani, Afghani, Iranian citizens Indian (Uttar Pradesh State) nationals etc. Similarly, Bhutanese and Myanmarian citizens cross the border illegally in the disguise of Nepali nationals.
- Transportation of fake Indian currency Notes from third country via Nepal to India.
- Smuggling of gold
- Abduction of businessmen and their children
- Illegal transaction of small arms and gun-powder.
- Trafficking of girls and women.

BORDER SECURITY & MANAGEMENT

WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE

- Since 98 per cent of the border is demarcated by the joint survey, both the countries should resolve the border disputes by signing on the survey report. That will avoid border encroachment disputes. For e.g., Kalapani dispute.
- Since both the countries are affected due to the misuse of open border by internal and external forces, the responsibility of border management and regulation depends on both.
- Although India has taken certain measures, like deployment of additional SSB personnel, construction of integrated border check posts and capacity

building programmes for the SSB, similar responses are required from Nepal.

- Last but not the least, meetings pertaining to joint border management mechanism should be organised regularly for effective border management, coordination, and to avoid any kind of misunderstanding between both the countries.

NOTE: Other Border Issues have been discussed in the India - Nepal and India China relations in the international relations section.

SECTION-6

CYBER-SECURITY

Previous Year Questions

YEAR	UPSC MAINS QUESTIONS
2020	Discuss different types of cyber-crimes and measures required to be taken to fight the menace.
2019	The Indian government has recently strengthened the anti-terrorism laws by amending the unlawful activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA), 1967 and the NIA Act. Analyze the changes in the context of prevailing security environment while discussing the scope and reasons for opposing the UAPA by human rights organizations.
2018	India's proximity to two of the world's biggest illicit opium-growing states has enhanced her internal security concerns. Explain the linkages between drug trafficking and other illicit activities such as gunrunning, money laundering and human trafficking. What counter-measures should be taken to prevent the same?
2018	Data security has assumed significant importance in the digitized world due to rising cybercrimes. The Justice B. N. Srikrishna Committee Report addresses issues related to data security. What, in your view, are the strengths and weakness of the Report relating to protection of personal data in cyber space?
2017	Discuss the potential threats of Cyber-attack and the security framework to prevent it.
2016	Use of Internet and social media by non-state actors for subversive activities is a major concern. How have these have misused in the recent past? Suggest effective guidelines to curb the above threat.
2015	Discuss the advantage and security implications of cloud hosting of server vis-a-vis in-house machine-based hosting for government businesses.
2015	Considering the threats cyberspace poses for the country, India needs a "Digital Armed Force" to prevent crimes. Critically evaluate the National Cyber Security Policy, 2013 outlining the challenges perceived in its effective implementation.
2013	What are social networking site and what security implications do these sites present?
2013	Cyber warfare is considered by some defense analysts to be a larger threat than even Al Qaeda or terrorism. What do you understand by Cyber warfare? Outline the cyber threats which India is

CYBER SECURITY

	vulnerable to and bring out the state of the country's preparedness to deal with the same.
2013	Money laundering poses a serious threat to country's economic sovereignty. What is its significance for India and what steps are required to be taken to control this menace?

► **CYBER SECURITY THREAT**

Cyber security threat is an emerging concern for India's National Security.

India has been victim to the Cyber-attacks number of times in the recent past:

- **2017:** WannaCry and Petya Ransomware
- **2018:** Aadhaar Software hacked and Aadhaar details of the people leaked online
- **2021: Pegasus issue**

India is the third most vulnerable country to Cyber-attacks according to Internet Security Threat report published by Symantec.

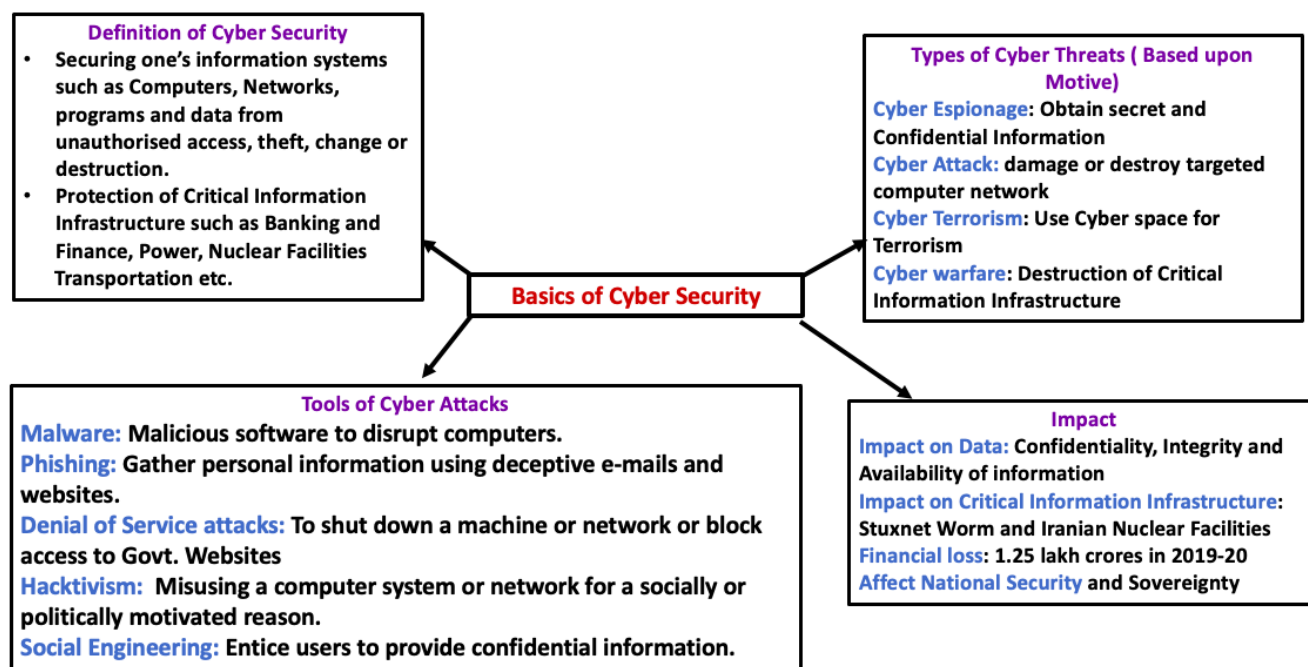
BASICS OF CYBER SECURITY

Based upon the motive, Cyber threats can be of 4 types:

- **Cyber Espionage:** The act or practice of obtaining secret information i.e., personal, sensitive, classified nature from individuals, competitors or governments

using malicious software such as Trojan horses and spyware. **Motive** is to obtain secret information which could go against our national security.

- **Cyber Attack:** Targets computer information systems, infrastructures, computer networks. **Motive** is to damage or destroy targeted computer network or system. Impact: Destruction of Communication network.
- **Cyber Terrorism:** Convergence of terrorism and cyber space. Cyberspace has been used the by terrorists for number of purposes such as Planning terrorist attacks, recruitment of sympathizers, spreading propaganda to radicalise people, to raise funding etc.
- **Cyber warfare:** Warfare carried out by a country or its proxies to attack the computer systems in other countries. Can Include- Theft, Vandalism (Defacing Web Pages), Destruction of Critical information infrastructure.



► **TYPES OF CYBER SECURITY THREATS**

→ **PEGASUS**

- Pegasus is a surveillance spyware that enables the remote surveillance of mobile phones. It has been created by the Israeli tech company NSO.

- NSO provides this product to governments and their agencies to boost their national security by tracking the communication of terrorists and criminals. This suggests if the list is real these people were under surveillance by governments.

- Pegasus is so powerful as a cybersurveillance tool that it is classified as a weapon goes through export clearances as a lethal weapon would from Israel.
- Once it infects a phone it can read every message and call, it can turn on the phone remotely to record every conversation made near the device, without the target's knowledge.
- However, controversy has started because of its illegal use by the governments to track and put on surveillance of their political opponents.
- This has brought to light the surveillance laws that exist in India and how they stand the scrutiny of **Right to Privacy** recognised by the **Puttaswamy Judgement**.

→MALWARE

- Malware, or malicious software, is any program or file that is harmful to a computer user.
- Malware includes computer viruses, worms, Trojan horses and spyware.
- Malwares can perform a variety of functions, including stealing, encrypting or deleting sensitive data, altering or hijacking core computing functions and monitoring users' computer activity without their permission.

TYPES OF MALWARE

- **Virus** – It is the most common type of malware. It can execute itself and spread by infecting other programs or files.
- Stuxnet:** Malware that targeted Iranian nuclear enrichment facilities.
- **Worm** – It is a type of malware that can self- replicate without a host program. Worms typically spread without any human interaction or directives from the malware authors.
 - **Trojan** – It is a malicious program that is designed to appear as a legitimate program. Once activated following installation, Trojans can execute their malicious functions.
 - **Xafecopy**
 - It is a Trojan Malware.
 - It is disguised as useful apps and operates normally.
 - Malware uses technology to bypass 'captcha' systems designed to protect users by confirming the action is being performed by a human.
 - **Spyware** – It is a kind of malware that is designed to collect information and data on users and observe their activity without users' knowledge.

• **Pegasus**

- It is a spyware developed by the Israeli cyber arms firm NSO Group Technologies.
- It mainly uses exploit links, clicking on which installs Pegasus on the target's phone.

→DISTRIBUTED DENIAL OF SERVICE

- **Denials of service (DoS)**– is a malware attack that prevents or impairs the authorized use of information system resources.
- **Working:** The malware first creates a number of botnets. These botnets then ping a single server all at the same time. As the number of pings are far beyond the capacity of the target server, the server crashes and denies service to genuine users and hence the name.
- **Distributed denial-of-service** –is a variant of the denial-of-service attack that uses a coordinated attack from a distributed system of computers rather than a single source.
- Unlike other kinds of Cyberattack, DoS assaults don't attempt to breach the security perimeter. Rather, they aim to make the website and servers unavailable to legitimate users.

→BUFFER OVERFLOW

- It is a bug in a computer program that can lead to a security vulnerability. A buffer is a part of the physical memory storage that is temporarily used to store data. Buffer overflows occur when a program or process tries to write or read more data from a buffer than the buffer can hold.
- It can give an attacker access to different parts of the internal memory and eventually control the program execution, introducing risks in confidentiality, integrity and availability. Only native code programs are vulnerable to buffer overflows.

→BOT

Bot is software that is capable of compromising the victims' machine and using it for further malicious activities. The activities could be directed by Bot's command and control server.

→RANSOMWARE

- It is malicious software that is injected into the computer to limit the access of the system to the user and encrypt the data.

- Cyber criminals demand money in lieu of encryption key (that would unlock all the data and restore the access to the system).
- Nowadays, ransom is demanded in terms of Bitcoins.
- **Examples** - *WannaCry Ransomware, Locky Ransomware* etc.

→MAN-IN-THE-MIDDLE (MITM) ATTACKS

- Occurs when a malicious actor inserts himself as a relay/proxy into a communication session between people or systems.
- A MitM attack exploits the real-time processing of transactions, conversations or transfer of other data.

→PHISHING

- It is a form of e-mail spam where a perpetrator sends an official looking fraudulent e-mail message in an attempt to obtain the victim's personal and financial information.
- In the recent days, zombie computers or botnets are increasingly used for launching phishing attacks.

→SPEAR PHISHING

- In the recent times IT and ITES companies have increasingly become victims of phishing attacks.
- Attackers disguise themselves as business related accounts like vendors, auditors etc to launch attacks on business groups.
- Once the business accounts are hacked, they are used a jump-off point to launch attacks on customers.
- This type of phishing attacks where the attackers disguise as legitimate accounts to attack a business group or its customers is called spear phishing.

→WEB CRAWLER

- Also known as a web spider, it is a program or automated script which browses the World Wide Web in a systematic manner.
- Web crawlers are mainly used to create a copy of all the visited pages for later processing by a search engine.
- Crawlers can also be used for automating maintenance tasks on a Web site, such as checking links or validating HTML code.

CRYPTO-JACKING

Cryptocurrencies are created through a process called mining. To mine digital coins, miners need to use high-end processors that will consume a lot of electricity.

Crypto-jacking is what some digital coin miners do to illegally gain access to many computers. The miners stealthily drop malware in an unsuspecting user's computer. These malware runs surreptitiously and turns devices into cryptocurrency-mining botnets.

Unlike most other types of malwares, crypto-jacking scripts do not use the victim's data. But they **drain the CPU's resources**, which slows down the system, increases electricity usage, and causes irreparable damage to the hardware.

HACKTIVISM

Misusing a computer system or network for a socially or politically motivated reason. For example, the hacktivists can block access to Government's website, deface government's website or unblock the sites which have been blocked by the Government.

SOCIAL ENGINEERING

Entice users to provide confidential information. For example, these days you must have come across some of the fake Facebook accounts which are opened in the name of your close friends. First, the cyber attackers send you the friend request in the name of your close friend. Once u accept it, they will ask to request you to transfer some money.

ADVANCED PERSISTENT THREAT

It is a type of cyber-attack in which an unauthorised user gains access to a system or network and remains there for an extended period of time without being detected.

They generally do not cause damage to company networks or hardware. Instead, they are focussed on stealing data.

→DARKNET

The dark web is part of the internet that isn't visible to search engines and requires the use of an anonymizing browser called Tor to be accessed.

DEEP WEB VS. DARK WEB: WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?

The terms "deep web" and "dark web" are sometimes used interchangeably, but they are not the same.



Deep web refers to anything on the internet that is not indexed by and, therefore, accessible via a search engine like Google. Deep web content includes anything behind a paywall or requires sign-in credentials. It also includes any content that its owners have blocked web crawlers from indexing. Medical records, fee-based content, membership websites, and confidential corporate web pages are just a few examples of what makes up the deep web. Estimates place the size of the deep web at between 96% and 99% of the internet. Only a tiny portion of the internet is accessible through a standard web browser—generally known as the “clear web”.

Dark web is a subset of the deep web that is intentionally hidden, requiring a specific browser—Tor—to access, as explained below. No one really knows the size of the dark web, but most estimates put it at around 5% of the total internet. The dark net is most often used for illegal activities such as black markets, illegal file sharing, and the exchanging of illegal goods or services (including stolen financial and private data), and the anonymity of the dark net attracts drug-dealers, hackers, and child pornography peddlers.

► IMPACT OF CYBER ATTACKS

- **Loss of Integrity** - unauthorized changes made to the data or IT system can result in inaccuracy, fraud or erroneous decisions that bring the integrity of the system under suspicion.
- **Loss of Availability** - An attack on a mission-critical IT system makes it unavailable to the end users.

- **Loss of Confidentiality** - The consequences of unauthorized disclosure of information ranges from loss of public confidence to national security threats.
- **Physical Destruction** - Ability to create actual physical harm or destruction through the use of IT systems.
- **Impact on data:** Confidentiality, Integrity and Availability of information
- **Impact on Critical Information Infrastructure:** Presently, most of the sectors are critically dependent on the use of ICT to carry on their operations. Cyber-attacks on these critical information infrastructures can bring the entire country to a grinding halt. For example, the recent Chinese cyber-attack on the power system in Mumbai brought the entire city to a halt. The local trains, which are considered as Mumbai's lifeline stopped functioning and people got stranded. Similarly, the **Stuxnet worm attack** on the Iranian Nuclear facilities led to the destruction of the equipment which were controlled by the computers.
- **Financial loss:** According to the *Data Security Council of India*, India has been the second most cyber-attacks affected country between 2016 to 2018.
- Affects the National Security and peace and stability in a country.

► CYBER SECURITY PREPAREDNESS

The International Telecommunication Union (ITU) released **Global Cyber Security Index** in 2017. This index measures the performance of the countries in

CYBER SECURITY

terms of policies taken by them to improve cyber security. India was placed at 23rd rank among 165 countries. The relatively higher ranking of India shows that India has taken adequate measures for the protection of cyber space.

- **Section 66F of ITA:** Specific provision dealing with the issue of cyber terrorism that covers denial of access, unauthorized access, introduction of computer contaminant leading to harm to persons, property, critical infrastructure, disruption of supplies, 'sensitive data' thefts. Provides for punishment which may extend to lifetime imprisonment.
- **National Cyber Security Policy 2013:** Policy document drafted by the Department of Electronics and Information Technology. Established National Critical Information Infrastructure Protection Centre (NCIIPC) to improve the protection and resilience of the country's critical infrastructure information; Create a workforce of 5 lakh professionals skilled in cybersecurity in the next 5 years.
- **National Critical Information Infrastructure Protection Centre (NCIIPC):** Established under *Information Technology Act, 2000* to secure India's critical information infrastructure. It is designated as the National Nodal Agency in respect of Critical Information Infrastructure Protection. It has been setup to enhance the protection and resilience of Nation's Critical information infrastructure. It functions under the National Technical Research Organization (NTRO).
- **CERT-IN:** Organization under the Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology with an objective of securing Indian cyberspace. The purpose of CERT-In is to respond to computer security incidents, report on vulnerabilities and promote effective IT security practices throughout the country. According to the provisions of the Information Technology Amendment Act 2008, CERT-In is responsible for overseeing administration of the Act. Sectoral CERT-Ins for dedicated sectors have also been mandated. For ex for finance, power sector etc.
- **Cyber Surakshit Bharat Initiative:** It was launched in 2018 with an aim to spread awareness about cybercrime and building capacity for safety measures for Chief Information Security Officers (CISOs) and frontline IT staff across all government departments.
- **Cyber Crisis Management Plan (CCMP):** It aims at countering cyber threats and cyber terrorism

- **National Cyber Coordination Centre (NCCC):** It seeks to generate necessary situational awareness of existing and potential cyber security threats and enable timely information sharing for proactive, preventive and protective actions by individual entities.
- **National Cyber Security Coordinator (NCSC)** under National Security Council Secretariat (NSCS) coordinates with different agencies at the national level for cyber security matters.
- **Cyber Swachhta Kendra:** This platform was introduced for internet users to clean their computers and devices by wiping out viruses and malware.
- It is Botnet Cleaning and Malware Analysis Centre.
- It is a part of the **Digital India initiative** under the Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology (MeitY).
- It has been set up in accordance with the objectives of the National Cyber Security Policy.
- This center is being operated by the Indian Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT-In) under the provisions of IT Act, 2000.
- **Information Security Education and Awareness Project (ISEA):** Training of personnel to raise awareness and to provide research, education and training in the field of Information Security.

S3WAAS

- Secure, Scalable and Sugamya Website as a Service
- It is a website generating and deployment product hosted on the National Cloud of NIC.
- It leverages technology to generate secure websites using GIGW compliant templates which are highly customizable and can seamlessly be deployed on a scalable software defined infrastructure.

TECHSAGAR

- An online portal launched by National Cyber Security Coordinator's office in partnership with the Data Security Council of India (DSCI).
- It provides actionable insights about capabilities of the Indian Industry, academia and research across 25 technology areas like Internet of Things (IoT), Artificial Intelligence (AI), etc.
- **Data Security Council of India**
- It is a not-for-profit premier industry body on data protection in India.
- It has been setup by NASSCOM

► CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIES IN INDIA'S CYBER SECURITY

- **International Convention:** Presently, **Budapest Convention** is the first international treaty seeking to address Internet and computer crime by harmonizing national laws, improving investigative techniques, and increasing cooperation among nations. This convention promotes greater cooperation between countries in fighting cybercrimes.
- However, **India has not joined this convention.** This is because the convention allows for cross border access to data to carry out investigation and India believes that such cross-border access to data can infringe on National Sovereignty.

However, some of the cyber experts have pointed out that, given the threats faced by us, India should accede to Budapest Convention at the earliest.

- **PPP Framework for Cyber Security:** Presently, most of the cyber security operations are carried out by the Government agencies such as CERT-In. Given the fast-changing nature and intensity of cyber threats, there is a need to leverage private sector expertise in combating cybercrimes through PPP framework.
- **Shortage of Skilled Professionals**
- **Strengthen IT act and National Cyber Security Policy 2013:** Some of the experts have pointed out that the present legal and facilitative framework to fight cybercrimes i.e., IT Act and NCSP, 2013 are outdated and not well-equipped enough to handle technologically advanced cybercrimes. Prime Minister has said that the Government is working on new Cyber security Policy 2020.

► SECURING SECURE CYBER ECOSYSTEM

- Appointment of Chief Information Security Officer in all the Organisations.
- Earmark funds towards enhancing cyber security
- Provide tax incentives to companies to upgrade information infrastructure
- Investment in R&D to improve Cyber Security- Big data, AI
- **Enhancing Awareness** among the people through the awareness campaigns
- **Stricter regulatory compliance and increased self-reporting of security incidents and breaches** - The Reserve Bank of India, as part of its circular on Cyber Security Framework in Banks, has made it mandatory

to report data breach incidents to the regulator within two to six hours. Regulatory watchdogs such as the Indian Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT-In) have also directed companies, service providers and intermediaries to disclose the quantum of data exposed and intimate employees and customers.

- **Surge in cyber insurance to protect critical assets** - As per the Data Security Council of India, the global cyber insurance market is expected to grow at a CAGR of 27% from US\$4.2 billion in 2017 to US\$22.8 billion in 2024.
- **Crimeware or ransomware as a service is transitioning into a highly profitable industry** - Cybercriminals often get generously compensated for delivering or spreading malware and may even get a percentage of the extorted ransom paid per infected device. The global economic downturn caused by the spiralling pandemic has created an ideal situation for both experienced and novice cybercriminals to carry out sophisticated attacks easily.
- **Updating outdated and open-source software** - Cybercriminals these days are continuously on a lookout for outdated web software. There is an urgent need for upgrading the software to meet the latest cyber challenges.

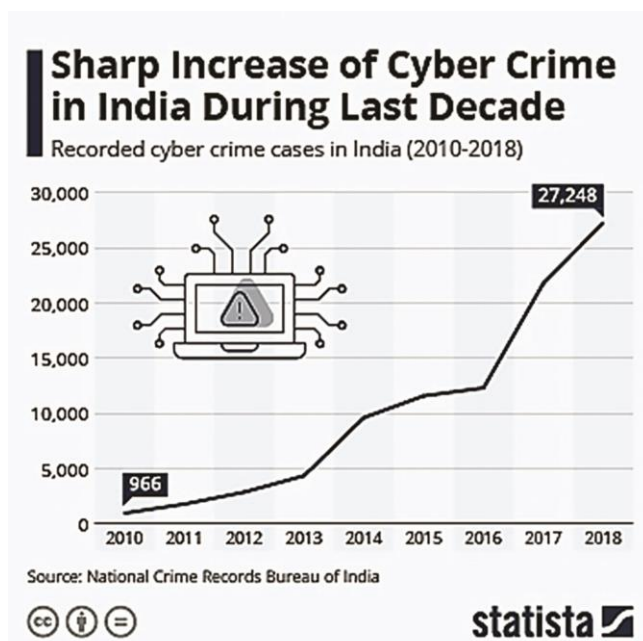
► CYBER FRAUDS

The COVID-19 outbreak presents a global challenge not just for the medical fraternity and society, but for law enforcement agencies also. Cybercrime, like a pandemic, knows no state borders. A few people are attempting novel ways of defrauding innocents using information and technology. Money is being siphoned off using fake accounts and exploiting vulnerabilities of various applications.

Cases of Cyber frauds in recent times: The Delhi police Cyber Crime, alerted citizens about a fake UPI (Unified Payments Interface) ID of the PM CARES Fund. Cases of fake Facebook accounts are being reported where money has been fraudulently asked for the treatment of alleged patients by hacking their accounts.

The popular video conferencing app Zoom, which can add up to 100 participants in a call, has come across as vulnerable. ('Zoom raiding' or 'Zoom bombing' can be started, in which hate speech, pornography or other content is suddenly flashed by disrupting a video call on Zoom.)

CYBER SECURITY



SAFEGUARDS AGAINST CYBER FRAUDS THAT CAN BE FOLLOWED

Related to Payments

- Verifying the destination UPI ID from authentic sources before making any transaction.
- If a mobile phone with a UPI-enabled app is stolen, it must be blocked and the bank intimated before it could be misused.
- Banks also must adhere to the KYC guidelines issued by the RBI, so that the address of each customer is checked physically.

Related to social media

- By keeping the privacy settings at 'Only me' or 'Friends' and not to share sensitive information on social media.
- Privacy settings should be changed for every post and photo.

Related to Video conferencing

- Staying cautious while using free apps for confidential meetings.
- Using organisational infrastructure to ensure authentication, access control and integrity of data through VPN or other options.

INTERPOL'S ADVISORY

In guidelines for law-enforcement agencies, Interpol warned about the emerging trend of false or misleading advertisements about medical products, setting up of fraudulent e-commerce platforms, phishing etc. during the pandemic. It has recommended to: -

- Avoid opening suspicious emails and clicking links in unrecognized emails and attachments.
- Have back up files regularly.
- Use strong passwords.
- Keep software updated.
- Manage social media settings and review privacy/security settings.

Cyber experts also recommend the use of 'https' protocol for secure financial transactions.

A victim of cybercrime should report it to the police immediately. Computer-related wrongs are covered under the Information Technology Act (IT Act), 2000 and wrongdoers are liable for penalty, compensation and criminal liability in appropriate cases.

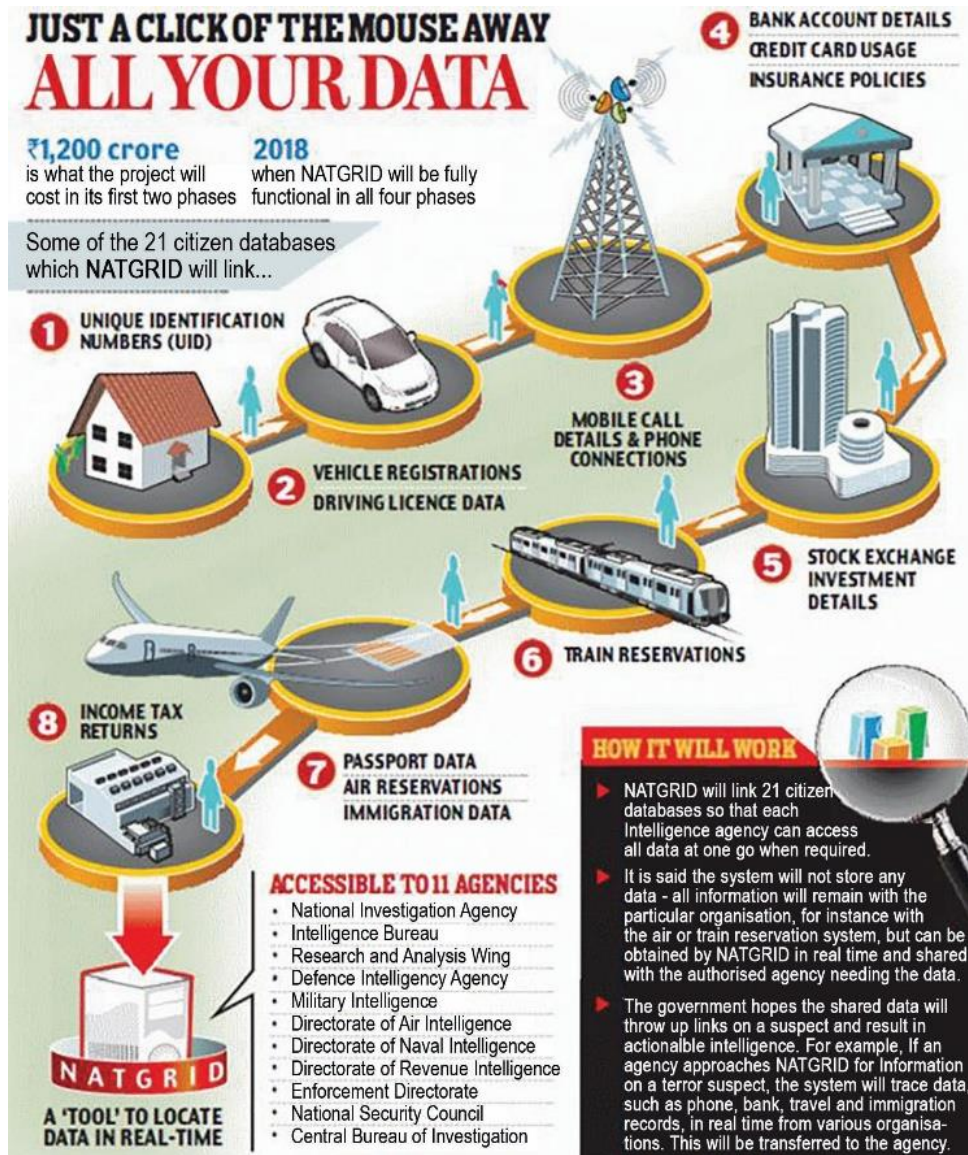
► NATGRID

The National Intelligence Grid (NATGRID) has signed a memorandum of understanding with the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) to access the centralised online database on FIRs and stolen vehicles.

National Intelligence Grid (NATGRID) is an integrated intelligence master database structure for counter-terrorism purpose. It seeks to act as a "secured platform" for at least 10 Central security and intelligence agencies like IB, R&AW to have access to databases from 21 providing organisations.

The project aims to allow investigation and law enforcement agencies to access real-time information from data stored with agencies such as the Income Tax Department, banks, insurance companies, Indian Railways, credit card transactions, and more.

NATGRID, like a number of other government initiatives (UIDAI), is being established through governmental notifications rather than legislation passed in Parliament.



NATGRID AS A ONE-STOP SOLUTION

- **Safeguarding from leaks:** Secure centralised database to stream sensitive information from various sources without any leaks.
- **Technology-intensive solutions:** Plans to make use of advancement in technology such as big data analysis for generating alerts.
- **Lower chances of misuse** as it involves no human interface.
- **Reduced use of harsh and coercive means** to extract information.
- Helps in keeping a **tab on persons with suspicious backgrounds.**

ISSUES WITH NATGRID

- Possible violations of privacy in Snowden case that revealed the widespread misuse of state surveillance capabilities.

- Efficacy in preventing terror has been questioned as no police force has been given access to its database.
- The other issue pertains to the legal validity of the project itself. Presently, certain departmental agencies maintain databases of personal information which helps them provide essential services, or maintain law and order. So, the power of maintaining legal databases is implicit because of the nature of functions these agencies perform.

However, there is no implicit or explicit authorization to the convergence of these independent databases. One may argue that the government is not legally prevented from interlinking databases.

Further, it is held that with strong information protection technology, strict authentication norms, external audits and a privacy law, NATGRID is set to become India's one-stop destination for security and intelligence needs.

► CYBER SECURITY POLICY - NEED FOR REVIEW

CYBER SECURITY POLICY 2013

National Cyber Security Policy is a policy framework by Department of Electronics and Information Technology (DeitY). It aims at protecting the public and private infrastructure from cyber-attacks.

The policy also intends to safeguard "information, such as personal information (of web users), financial and banking information and sovereign data".

Ministry of Communications and Information Technology (India) defines Cyberspace as a complex environment consisting of interactions between people, software services supported by worldwide distribution of information and communication technology.

OBJECTIVE

Ministry of Communications and Information Technology (India) define objectives as follows:

- To create a secure cyber ecosystem in the country, generate adequate trust and confidence in IT system and transactions in cyberspace and thereby enhance adoption of IT in all sectors of the economy.
- To create an assurance framework for the design of security policies and promotion and enabling actions for compliance to global security standards and best practices by way of conformity assessment (Product, process, technology & people).
- To strengthen the Regulatory Framework for ensuring a SECURE CYBERSPACE ECOSYSTEM.
- To enhance and create National and Sectoral level 24x7 mechanism for obtaining strategic information regarding threats to ICT infrastructure, creating scenarios for response, resolution and crisis management through effective predictive, preventive, protective response and recovery actions.
- To improve visibility of integrity of ICT products and services by establishing infrastructure for testing & validation of security of such product.
- To create workforce for 500,000 professionals skilled in next 5 years through capacity building skill development and training.
- To provide fiscal benefit to businesses for adoption of standard security practices and processes.
- To enable Protection of information while in process, handling, storage & transit so as to safeguard privacy of citizen's data and reducing economic losses due to cyber-crime or data theft.

- To enable effective prevention, investigation and prosecution of cybercrime and enhancement of law enforcement capabilities through appropriate legislative intervention.

STRATEGIES

- Creating a secured Ecosystem.
- Creating an assurance framework.
- Encouraging Open Standards.
- Strengthening The regulatory Framework.
- Creating mechanism for Security Threats Early Warning, Vulnerability management and response to security threat.
- Securing E-Governance services.
- Protection and resilience of Critical Information Infrastructure.
- Promotion of Research and Development in cyber security.
- Reducing supply chain risks
- Human Resource Development (fostering education and training programs both in formal and informal sectors to support Nation's cyber security needs and build capacity.
- Creating cyber security awareness.
- Developing effective Public Private Partnership.
- To develop bilateral and multilateral relationship in the area of cyber security with other country. (**Information sharing and cooperation**)
- Prioritized approach for implementation.

SALIENT FEATURES

- A National and sectoral 24X7 mechanism has been envisaged to deal with cyber threats through **National Critical Information Infrastructure Protection Centre (NCIIPC)**.
- Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT-In) has been designated to act as a nodal agency for coordination of crisis management efforts. CERT-In will also act as umbrella organization for coordination actions and operationalization of sectoral CERTs.
- A mechanism is proposed to be evolved for obtaining strategic information regarding threats to information and communication technology (ICT) infrastructure, creating scenarios of response, resolution and crisis management through effective predictive, prevention, response and recovery action.
- The policy calls for effective public and private partnership and collaborative engagements through technical and operational cooperation.

CYBER SECURITY

- Research and development of trustworthy systems and their testing, collaboration with industry and academia, setting up of 'Centre of Excellence' in areas of strategic importance from the point of view of cyber and R&D on cutting edge security technologies, are the hallmarks of this strategy laid down in the policy.
- The policy also calls for developing human resource through education and training programmes, establishing cyber security training infrastructure through public private partnership and to establish institutional mechanisms for capacity building for law enforcement agencies.
- The policy document aims at encouraging all organizations whether public or private to designate a person to serve as Chief Information Security Officer (CISO) who will be responsible for cyber security initiatives.
- Provisions of fiscal schemes and incentives have been incorporated in the policy to encourage entities to install trustworthy ICT products and continuously upgrade information infrastructure with respect to cyber security.

ISSUES WITH THE POLICY

- The provisions to take care security risks emanating due to use of new technologies e.g., Cloud Computing, has not been addressed.
- Another area which is left untouched by this policy is tackling the risks arising due to increased use of social networking sites by criminals and anti-national elements.
- There is also a need to incorporate cybercrime tracking, cyber forensic capacity building and creation of a platform for sharing and analysis of information between public and private sectors on continuous basis.
- Indigenous development of cyber security solutions as enumerated in the policy is laudable but these solutions may not completely tide over the supply chain risks and would also require building testing infrastructure and facilities of global standards for evaluation.
- The global debate on **national security versus right to privacy and civil liberties** is going on for long. Although, one of the objectives of this policy aims at safeguarding privacy of citizen data however, no

specific strategy has been outlined to achieve this objective.

NEED FOR REVIEW OF CYBER SECURITY POLICY

- It was created in the wake Surveillance scandal of the American National Security Agency leaks by Edward Snowden back in 2013. Since then, new challenges have emerged which need to be addressed.
- India is among the top 10 countries facing cyber-attacks.
- Cyber landscape has witnessed growing digitization as part of the Government's Digital India push, as well as more sophisticated cyber threats, particularly the WannaCrypt and Petya ransomware attacks.
- The government must also proactively address India's ability to respond effectively to cyber threats by outlining an institutional framework ensure the country's digital safety.
- There is a need for outlining mechanisms for coordination between multiple agencies responsible for cyber security.
- There is great crunch of cyber security professionals that needs to be addressed.
- There has been little progress in the Public private partnership envisaged by the 2013 Policy.
- Another area of priority for a new cyber security policy must be fostering greater civil-military cooperation on cyber security.

ADDITIONS THAT CAN BE MADE IN THE CYBER SECURITY POLICY

- There must be an action plan to deal with state-sponsored attacks. In such attacks, government infrastructure, the private sector, and citizens' personal details are hacked at once.
- An SOS lockdown policy must be in place to completely take the nuclear grids, power grids, financial institutions, and satellite communication off the internet immediately, in case of any national security attack.
- There must be provisions for or nationwide cybersecurity training of the common mass if the country aims to take its finance and healthcare online.
- The security standards should not only be defined for government organizations but also be enforced on private companies with a checklist of requirements.

SECTION-7

MONEY LAUNDERING

► MONEY LAUNDERING

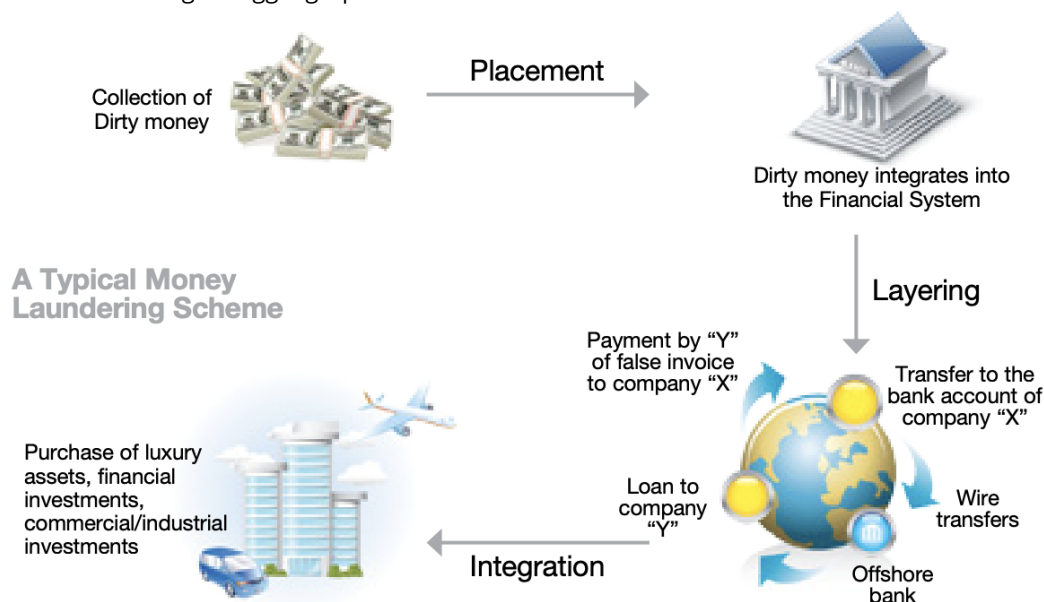
Money laundering is a process that criminals use in an attempt to hide the illegal source of their income. By passing money through complex transfers and transactions, or through a series of businesses, the money is “cleaned” of its illegitimate origin and made to appear as legitimate business profits. The origin of the term “money laundering” comes from infamous gangster Al Capone’s practice of using a chain of laundromats he owned to launder huge amounts of cash.

WHY MONEY LAUNDERING HAPPENS

- A major business problem of large, organized criminal enterprises – such as drug smuggling operations – is

that they end up with huge amounts of cash that they need to conceal in order to avoid attracting investigations by legal authorities.

- The recipients of such large amounts of cash also do not want to have to acknowledge it as income, thereby incurring massive income tax liabilities.
- To deal with the problem of having millions of dollars in cash obtained from illegal activities, criminal enterprises create ways of “laundering” the money to obscure the illegal nature of how it is obtained.
- In short, money laundering aims to disguise money made illegally by working it into a legitimate financial system, such as a bank or business.



HOW MONEY LAUNDERING WORKS

Money laundering typically occurs in three phases:

MONEY LAUNDERING

- **Initial entry or placement** is the initial movement of an amount of money earned from criminal activity into some legitimate financial network or institution.
- **Layering** is the continuing transfer of the money through multiple transactions, forms, investments, or enterprises, to make it virtually impossible to trace the money back to its illegal origin.
- **Final integration** is when the money is freely used legally without the necessity to conceal it any further.

Methods used for Money Laundering: Hawala, bulk cash smuggling, fictional loans, cash-intensive businesses, round-tripping, trade-based laundering, Shell companies and trusts, real estate, gambling, and fake invoicing are some of the common methods of money laundering.

BANKS AND MONEY LAUNDERING

- Major financial institutions, such as banks, are frequently used for money laundering. All that is necessary is for the bank to be a little lax in its reporting procedures.
- The lack of regulation enforcement enables criminals to deposit large sums of cash without triggering the deposits being reported to central bank authorities or government regulatory agencies.
- In the recent past, prestigious financial institutions, such as Danske Bank and HSBC, have been found

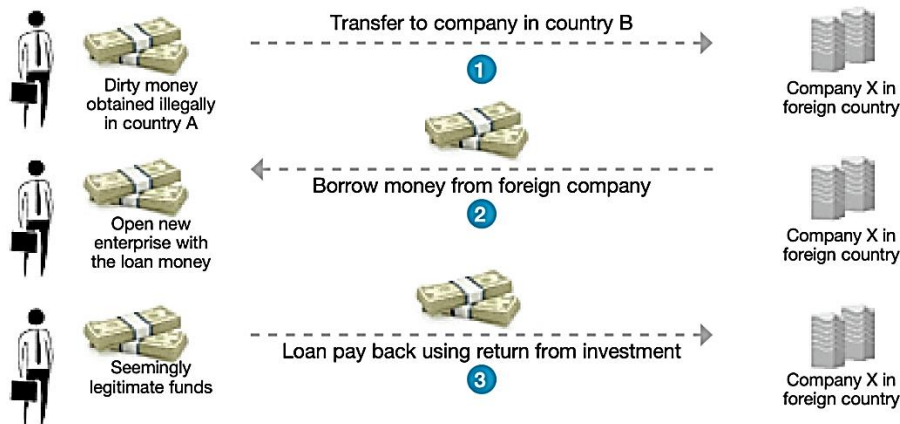
guilty of assisting or enabling money laundering by failing to properly report large deposits of cash.

FINANCIAL MARKETS

- The financial markets offer criminals a variety of avenues for converting “dirty” money to “clean” money. One of the most basic and widely used schemes is to utilize a foreign investor to get illegally-obtained cash into the legitimate financial system.

SHELL COMPANIES

- Shell companies are businesses that have large amounts of financing but are not directly involved in any specific business enterprise selling goods or services. The finances are used to invest in other businesses – typically, other legitimate businesses owned by the criminal organization.
- The influx of cash from the foreign investor appears as an ordinary foreign investment, as the criminals are careful to avoid exposure to the fact that they have any connection with the foreign investor.
- Once the money has been deposited with the shell company, the criminals can access it by having the shell company invest in another business the criminals own, perhaps by making a loan of the money to the other company.



HAWALA: (INDIA)

In hawala, funds are moved between individual “hawaladars” which collect funds at one end of the operation and other hawaladars that distribute the funds at the other end.

CYBER CRIME

Cybercrimes such as identity theft, illegal access to e-mail, and credit card fraud are coming together with money laundering and terrorist activities.

INSURANCE SECTOR

If a money launderer is able to move funds into an insurance product and receive a payment made by an insurance company then he or she will have made the funds appear legitimate

IMPACT OF MONEY LAUNDERING

Once illicitly earned money enters into a particular economy’s financial system, it has the ability to destabilize the economic system and indirectly promote negative social and legal ills such as tax evasion, corruption, drug trading, and terrorism.

MONEY LAUNDERING

- **Economic Impact** - Money laundering goes hand-in-hand with tax evasion and duty evasion (which is the non-payment of import and export duties by smuggling goods in and out of a nation). Such activities deprive public service departments of important revenue sources.
- **Legal Impact** - Money laundering and criminal activities form a vicious cycle. The quest to legalize illicit earnings leads to money laundering, which in turn provides the required financial boost for these illegal activities to survive. There generally exists a direct relation between countries having weak anti-money laundering regulations and prevalence of such illegal and criminal activities.
- **Social Impact** - Criminals launder money to circulate their illicit earnings, which then provides the firepower to grow the illegal business. The social impact of strong illegal businesses includes increased drug addiction, rampant corruption, and criminals empowered with economic powers.

► INTERNATIONAL BODIES DEALING WITH MONEY LAUNDERING

- The **International Money-Laundering Information Network (IMoLIN)** is a United Nations-sponsored research centre that was created to assist law enforcement agencies throughout the world in the identification and pursuit of money laundering operations.
- The **Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF)** was created as a G-7 initiative to develop more effective financial standards and anti-laundering legislation. Because money laundering is a key part of terrorist organizations that are usually funded through illegal enterprises, the FATF was also charged with directly fighting to cut off illegal cash flows to terrorists and terrorist groups.
- **United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC)**: UNODC's organized crime and anti-money laundering unit carries out the global program against money laundering.
- **INTERPOL**: The primary objective of the anti-money laundering unit of INTERPOL is to increase the speed of information exchange among the financial crime investigators with the aid of global financial crime units as well as financial intelligence units.
- These organizations also share information on money laundering activities with global and regional financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, European Central Bank, and the Asian

Development Bank to combat money laundering and terrorist financing threats.

- **Financial intelligence units and Egmont group** - FIUs provide continuous exchange of information between financial services institutions, jurisdictions, and other prosecuting authorities. Most FIUs across the globe are now a part of the Egmont Group, which is an informal international gathering of FIUs, wherein the member FIUs regularly meet to find ways to increase internal cooperation and areas of information exchange, training and the expertise sharing.

► PREVENTION OF MONEY LAUNDERING ACT, 2002 (PMLA)

Prevention of Money Laundering Act, 2002 was enacted to fight against the criminal offence of legalizing the income/profits from an illegal source. The Prevention of Money Laundering Act, 2002 enables the Government or the public authority to confiscate the property earned from the illegally gained proceeds.

OBJECTIVES

- Prevent money-laundering.
- Combat/prevent channelising of money into illegal activities and economic crimes.
- Provide for the confiscation of property derived from, or involved/used in, money-laundering.
- Provide for matters connected and incidental to the acts of money laundering.

OFFENCES

Under PMLA, the commission of any offence, as mentioned in Part A and Part C of the Schedule of PMLA will attract the provisions of PMLA. Some of the Acts and offences, which may attract PMLA, are enumerated below:

- **Part A** enlists offences under various acts such as: Indian Penal Code, Narcotics Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act, Prevention of Corruption Act, Antiquities and Art Treasures Act, Copyright Act, Trademark Act, Wildlife Protection Act, and Information Technology Act.
- **Part B** specifies offences that are Part A offences, but the value involved in such offences is Rs 1 crore or more.
- **Part C** deals with trans-border crimes and reflects the dedication to tackle money laundering across global boundaries.

AUTHORITIES ENTRUSTED FOR INVESTIGATION

MONEY LAUNDERING

- **The Enforcement Directorate** in the Department of Revenue, Ministry of Finance, the Government of India is responsible for investigating the offences of money laundering under the PMLA.
- **Financial Intelligence Unit - India (FIU-IND)** under the Department of Revenue, Ministry of Finance is an independent body reporting directly to the Economic Intelligence Council (EIC) headed by the finance minister. FIU-IND is the central national agency responsible for receiving, processing, analysing, and disseminating the information relating to suspect financial transactions. It is also responsible for:
 - Coordinating and strengthening the efforts of national and international intelligence,
 - Investigations for pursuing the global efforts against money laundering and related crimes.
 - The scheduled offences are separately investigated by agencies mentioned under respective acts, for example, the local police, CBI, customs departments, SEBI, or any other investigative agency, as the case may be.

ACTIONS THAT CAN BE INITIATED AGAINST THE PERSON INVOLVED IN MONEY LAUNDERING

- Seizure/freezing of property and records and attachment of property obtained with the proceeds of crime.
- Any person who commits the offence of money laundering shall be punishable with –
- Rigorous imprisonment for a minimum term of three years and this may extend up to seven years.
- Fine (without any limit).

AMENDMENTS TO PMLA ACT 2019

Amidst the growing number of financial crimes and high-profile cases, the 2019 Act attempts to make the existing provisions stricter and better armoured to detect suspicious transactions. Additionally, the Act, along with the other amendments, has a greater aim of targeting money laundering and terrorist financing. The 2019 Act attempts to remove the ambiguity in the existing provisions by amending eight clauses of the PMLA.

KEY FEATURES

- **Proceeds of crime** - Expanded the ambit of the “proceeds of crime”. The scope now includes properties and assets created, derived, or obtained through any criminal activity related to the scheduled offence, even if it is not under the PMLA.
- The 2019 Act clarifies that it would be incorrect to interpret money laundering as a one-time, instantaneous offence that ceases with the

concealment or possession or acquisition or use or projection of the proceeds of crime as untainted property or claiming it as untainted.

- A person shall now be considered guilty of the offence of money laundering for as long as the said person is enjoying the “proceeds of crime” – thus, making the offence of money laundering a continuous offence.
- The legislative intent here appears to be to prosecute and attach all proceeds of crime, however remotely related. A key proposed change in the definition of “proceeds of crime” would allow the ED to proceed against assets of equivalent value located even outside the country.
- **Empowers Enforcement directorate** - Empowers the ED to undertake search actions even in the absence of a report under Section 157 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 (CrPC). The 2019 Act broadens the existing powers of the ED under the PMLA provisions – by bringing Sections 17 and 18 at par with Section 19 – where there is no pre-condition to forward a report under Section 157 of CrPC or to seek warrants from the Court for making an arrest. An arrest can be made for an offence under the PMLA even in the absence of a First Information Report (FIR).
- **Special Courts** - The 2019 Act also includes a crucial amendment that **empowers the Special Court to restore confiscated assets to the rightful claimants even during the trial**. The amended Section 8(8) now allows the Special Court, if it deems fit, to consider the claims for the purposes of restoration of such properties also during the trial. Earlier, the assets could be restored only after completion of the trial.

WAY FORWARD

1. Following recommendations of FATF in domestic economic laws.
2. Empowering regulators like RBI, SEBI etc to be vigilant towards money laundering.
3. Permanent cadre of Enforcement Directorate.
4. Use of Big Data analytics, Artificial Intelligence in tackling money laundering.
5. Evolving sectoral action plans to tackle money laundering in sectors which are prone to generation of money laundering such as Narcotics, Organised Crime, Educational Institutions etc.

SECTION-8

MISCELLANEOUS

► INTEGRATED THEATRE COMMANDS IN INDIA

Chief of defense staff is discussing the idea of having Unified or integrated theatre command in the military to have unified approach to fighting any future war.

WHAT IS THEATRE COMMAND?

- The word 'theatre warfare' means "the entire land, sea and air areas are involved directly in war operations".
- "Theatre command" refers to unified command under which all the resources of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force are pooled, depending on the threat perception.
- Currently, commands are set up service wise, so for instance in case of war against Pakistan on Western Border, the army will lead the fight on the ground under leadership of Army Commander and Air Force will take care of air-warfare under leadership of Air Force Commander. For a joint strategy, the Army Commander and Air Force Commander will need to coordinate efforts. Thus, there is limited jointness.
- In case of integrated theatre commands, there will be one commander who will control all the assets and forces of Air Force and Army. This will lead to greater jointness and coordination in response.
- The commands could be geographical — like looking at a border with a particular country — or thematic, like a command for all maritime threats.

HOW IT WORKS?

- India currently has 19 military commands vertically split into
 - Army (7 commands)

- Air Force (7 commands)
- Navy (3 commands)
- A Tri-Service Command at Andaman and Nicobar
- A Strategic Forces Command (SFC) to look after the country's nuclear stockpile
- The plan is to bring all the 17 service commands (Army, Airforce and Navy) into 5 unified or theatre commands
 - Northern Land Theatre (Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh and Central sector)
 - Western Land Theatre (Pakistan centric)
 - Eastern Land Theatre,
 - Maritime Theatre Command, and
 - Air Defence Command

IDEA OF THEATERISATION

- It was first proposed after the Kargil war. The appointment of **Chief of Defence Staff (CDS)** and creation of the **Department of Military Affairs (DMA)** within the Ministry of Defence can be seen as steps towards achieving greater synergy and fusion between the three branches of the armed forces.

NEED FOR THEATRE COMMANDS

- **Enhanced coordination** between the armed forces for prompt and effective military response.
- **Bringing down costs**
 - Having a unified approach during defence acquisition will reduce the cost of procurement. For example, Army and IAF acted in silos during procurement of Apache helicopters which increased their cost.

MISCELLANEOUS

- A big chunk of the annual defence budget goes into paying salaries and pensions while outlays do not always grow in line with the actual needs of the armed forces. The theatre command system will help remove redundancies, reducing duplication of resources and bring greater focus in the allocation of resources.
- **Unified approach to fighting any future war:** A potential conflict with a major military power like China may extend well beyond the typical theatres into the domains of cyber, space and nuclear, which requires a more integrated response from the Indian armed forces
- Integrated training of armed forces
- Currently, Andaman & Nicobar Command is an integrated command. So, India has some experience in operating an integrated theatre command.
- All major countries of the world have already restructured their armed forces on the lines of Integrated Theatre commands. For ex. China, US, UK, Russia etc.
- The need for jointness and integrated theatre commands has been highlighted by various committees. For ex. **1) Kargil review committee** recommended creation of post of Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) with a particular focus on adopting an integrated approach in defence management. **2) Shekatkar committee** also recommended Theatre command to integrate land-sea-air defence capabilities.

CONCERNS AGAINST THEATRE COMMANDS

- Lack of consensus over basic structure of Theatre command itself, that is, who reports to whom and how does the chain of command flow. These involve issues of operational command and control over assets
- Existing mismatch between the assets of the army, navy and air force. With fewer perceived resources, the Indian Air Force has concerns about its limited assets getting spread out thinly over the different theatre commands.
- Theatre commands will lead dilution of office of three service chiefs.
- Indian Air force has expressed its reservations about the idea of integrated theatre command. There is a feeling that Air Force will be reduced to a support force in case theatre commands come into being.
- There is a feeling that theatre commands will lead to superiority of Army over other forces.

- There is also a concern how will other security forces such as BSF, ITBP, Assam Rifles and CRPF will be integrated into theatre commands.
- Concerns have been raised about the operational efficacy of such integrating the existing three Indian Navy commands into one.
- Theatre commands are based on the idea of tackling convention armed conflicts. However, in an age of nuclear overhang, the possibility of full-fledged warfare is very less. Today, sub-conventional warfare, terrorism and cyberwarfare poses most threat to India. Theatre commands will not be suitable to meet these.

Integrated theatre commands are a long pending reform. However, we need to tread cautiously taking all armed forces and relevant stakeholders on board before proceeding with it.

► INDENISATION AND MODERNISATION OF DEFENCE

- India is the second-largest importer of weapons and there is a need for upgradation of armed forces. Defence modernisation and indenisation are the two most required tasks in present scenario.
- In August 2020, as an impetus for the indigenous military sector, the defence ministry announced restrictions on the imports of 101 weapons ranging from assault rifles to transport aircraft.

NEED FOR INDIGENISATION

- achieving self-reliance and reducing the burden of imports.
- India will emerge as a powerful country.
- India can export various indigenous defence technologies and equipment to the other nations.

ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED

- Defence Research Development Organisation (DRDO),
- Defence Public Sector Undertakings (DPSUs),
- Ordnance Factory Board (OFB) and
- private organisations

Indenisation of Defence was started in 1983 when the government sanctioned the Integrated Guided Missile Development Programme (IGMDP) to develop five missile systems. These were:

- Prithvi (surface-to-surface)
- Akash (surface-to-air)
- Trishul (the naval version of Prithvi)
- Nag (anti-tank)

MISCELLANEOUS

- Agni Ballistic missiles
- Since these efforts were not adequate to meet the requirements of the armed forces, then we started focussing on co-development and co-production in partnership with foreign companies such as India and Russia signed an inter-governmental agreement to jointly produce Brahmos supersonic cruise missile.

INITIATIVES FOR INDIGENISATION OF DEFENCE

- **Defence Procurement Policy:** on the recommendations of the Dhirendra Singh committee, Defence Procurement Procedure 2016 added an additional **category "Buy (Indian-IDD)"** (Indigenously Designed, Developed and Manufactured), as the most preferred way of defence goods acquisition.
- E-Biz Portal: process of applying for Industrial License (IL) and Industrial Entrepreneur Memorandum (IEM) has been made completely online on ebiz portal.
- Restriction of annual capacity in the industrial license for defence sector has been removed.
- Outsourcing and Vendor Development Guidelines: for DPSUs (defence public sector undertaking) and OFB (ordnance factory board) to promote the participation of private sector, particularly SMEs (small manufacturing enterprises) for defence manufacturing.
- Uniform custom duty: In order to make a level-playing field for Indian private sector and the public sector, all Indian industries (public and private) are subjected to the same kind of excise and custom duty levies.
- The FDI policy: composite foreign investment up to 49% is allowed through Government route (FIPB) and beyond 49% with the approval of the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) on case-to-case basis. Restrictions such as single largest Indian shareholder to hold at least 51% equity and complete restriction on Foreign Institutional Investor (FII) have been removed to facilitate investment in the sector.
- Preference to 'Buy (Indian)', 'Buy & Make (Indian)' & 'Make' categories of acquisition over 'Buy (Global)' category, thereby giving preference to Indian industry in procurement.

PRESENT SCENARIO

- **INS Vikrant:** going to be inducted very soon, is also known as Indigenous Aircraft Carrier 1 (IAC-1), is the first aircraft carrier to be built in India for the Navy.
- **Project75:** In 2017, Indian Navy started submarine programme called Project-75 (India), the "mother of all underwater defence deals" with France, Germany,

Russia, Sweden, Spain and Japan to build six advanced stealth submarines. Project 75 Submarines INS Kalvari, INS Khanderi, INS Vela, S53, S54 and S55 are made by Mazagon Dock Limited and designed by French company DCNS in Mumbai.

- **Arjun Tank:** a third-generation main battle tank developed by DRDO.
- **Kaveri engine:** DRDO could not develop its indigenous Kaveri engine, which was to be used in LCA Tejas, due to restricted access to high-end defence technology by countries such as USA, JAPAN etc.
- **"Dhanush":** it is the first indigenous long-range artillery gun also known as the "desi Bofors".
- **AGNI V** – It is India's Intercontinental ballistic missile and was developed in 2013. Dhanush, Nirbhaya, Prithvi, Akash missiles have also been developed indigenously.
- **The Pinaka:** was developed by armament Research Development Establishment (Pune).
- **BRAHMOS:** is a Joint Venture between India and the Russian federation.

CHALLENGES

- The lack of a forward planning or clear strategic direction.
- Few projects such as the Arjun Main Battle Tank have proved to be a protracting deadweight for the indigenous programme. It has been in development since 1974.
- Lack of coordination among various agencies and organisations.
- Lack of basic infrastructure.
- Limited access to latest technologies as powerful nations have restricted entry for India. For ex. nuclear submarines.
- Economic slowdown due to covid pandemic is going to affect Indian economy very badly and in this situation most of the private sector companies will not be interested in expansion and production of defence equipment.
- process of technology development remains opaque

SUGGESTIONS FOR ENHANCING INDIGENISATION

- Domestic industrial base should be developed and made advanced.
- Categorisation of weapons on two bases: 1) which one should be imported 2) which one should be made locally.

MISCELLANEOUS

- Upgradation should be started from basic weaponry and protective gears for troops.
- **Software Industry** and technologies like **Artificial intelligence and cyber security** should be harnessed to develop and manufacture the indigenously.
- **In-house design capability should be improved** amongst the three services, the Navy has progressed well on the path of indigenisation primarily because of the in-house design capability, the Naval Design Bureau.
- **Robust supply chain** is critical for a defence manufacturer looking to optimize costs

For Make in India to succeed, it should require an injection of good strategy with a joint focus across the three-armed services. Clear Strategy and clear vision will result in boost to Make in India and Modernisation of forces. To ensure the better coordination and smooth and fast functioning, Government had created **Chief of Defence Staff post**.

► **INDIA NUCLEAR DOCTRINE**

India's Defence Minister had said that India's 'No First Use' (NFU) policy on nuclear weapons depended upon changed circumstances in the future and had therefore raised apprehensions on the likely revision of India's NFU policy and nuclear doctrine.

ABOUT THE NUCLEAR DOCTRINE

- **Credible Minimum deterrent** - refers to the quantity of nuclear forces that India needs to deter potential nuclear adversaries.
- **"No First Use"** - nuclear weapons will only be used in retaliation against a nuclear attack on Indian territory or on Indian forces anywhere;
- Nuclear retaliation to a first strike will be massive and designed to inflict unacceptable damage.
- Nuclear retaliatory attacks can only be authorised by the civilian political leadership through the Nuclear Command Authority. The Nuclear Command Authority comprises a **Political Council** and an **Executive Council**. The **Political Council is chaired by the Prime Minister. It is the sole body which can authorize the use of nuclear weapons.**
- Non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon states. However, in the event of a major attack against India, or Indian forces anywhere, by biological or chemical weapons, India will retain the option of retaliating with nuclear weapons;

- A continuance of strict controls on export of nuclear and missile related materials and technologies, participation in the **Fissile Material Cut off Treaty negotiations**, and continued observance of the moratorium on nuclear tests.
- Continued commitment to the goal of a nuclear weapon free world, through global, verifiable and non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament.

CREDIBLE MINIMUM DETERRENCE

- The main purpose of CMD is to ensure a nuclear arsenal that can assure a second-strike capability. This implies that in the event of another nation carrying out a first nuclear strike of any magnitude against India, India's nuclear forces shall be ready to ensure survivability of the attack and the capability to carry out a massive nuclear retaliation aimed at the enemy country.
- CMD intends to convey a non-aggressive and defensive nuclear posture by projecting a nuclear arsenal that fulfils the bare needs of defence and security.
- CMD does not imply indefinite expansion of the nuclear arsenal and also it is not an arbitrary control on number of nuclear weapons India may possess. The number of nuclear weapons India may possess over time depends upon India's security situation.
- While India is committed to maintain the deployment of a deterrent which is both minimum and credible, it will not accept any restraints on building its nuclear R&D capability.

ADVANTAGES OF NO FIRST USE POLICY

- It **obviates the need for the expensive nuclear weapons infrastructure** that is associated with a first-use doctrine.
- The **onus of escalation to a nuclear War is on the adversary**, without preventing India from defending itself. This prevents India from shouldering the moral responsibility of initiating a nuclear War.
- India's self-proclaimed **restraint has formed the basis for its claims to belong to the nuclear mainstream** — such as the claim to membership for the **Nuclear Suppliers Group** and our recent membership to the **MTCR**, the **Wassenaar Arrangement** and the **Australia Group**.
- India's nuclear weapons were based on staggering and punitive retaliation, in case deterrence failed. NFU **showcases India to be a responsible nuclear power** whereby India has shown that its nuclear

MISCELLANEOUS

weapons are for defensive purposes and we will use it only when someone uses it against us.

CRITIQUE OF NO FIRST USE

- NFU posture is only possible for a country that has extreme confidence not only in the survivability of its national nuclear forces sufficient to muster a devastating retaliatory strike, but also in the efficacy of its crisis management system. The Indian bureaucratic system is yet to show capability of handling any emergency as dire as a nuclear strike.
- India's NFU policy frees Pakistan from fearing an Indian nuclear attack to either terrorism or limited war. Pakistan has also threatened to deploy Tactical nuclear weapons in limited theatres such as against Indian naval armada or against Indian soldiers that capture Pakistani territory. This has raised concerns whether India can use strategic nuclear weapons that wipe out cities against a smaller nuclear attack by Pakistan.
- NFU is a confidence building measure among States, however no country practically believes those that pledge NFU. China has pledged NFU yet India will not trust China's pledge and similarly, Pakistan does not believe in India's NFU pledge.
- Countries that have pledged NFU such as India and China, while countries that haven't such as Pakistan have the same deployment pattern of weapons during peace time and War time.
- It is argued that a NFU means that India is not capable of deciding when to use nuclear weapons.

NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS GROUP – RELATED ISSUES

- Established in 1975, the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) is comprised of 48 states that have voluntarily agreed to coordinate their export controls to non-nuclear-weapon states.
- The NSG governs the transfers of civilian nuclear material and nuclear-related equipment and technology.
- The NSG aims to prevent nuclear exports for commercial and peaceful purposes from being used to make nuclear weapons.
- In order to ensure that their nuclear imports are not used to develop weapons, NSG members are expected to forgo nuclear trade with governments that do not subject themselves to confidence-building international measures and inspections.
- The NSG has two sets of Guidelines listing the specific nuclear materials, equipment, and technologies that are subject to export controls.

- India's explosion of a nuclear device in 1974 reaffirmed the fact that nuclear materials and technologies acquired under the guise of peaceful purposes could be diverted to build weapons. In response to India's action, several Zangger Committee members, along with France—who was not a member of the NPT at that time—established the NSG to further regulate nuclear-related exports
- The IAEA is charged with verifying that non-nuclear-weapon states are not illicitly pursuing nuclear weapons. To prevent nuclear material or technology from being stolen or misappropriated for weapons, IAEA safeguards include inspections, remote monitoring, seals, and other measures.

NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT)

The NPT is a landmark international treaty whose objective is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, to promote cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to further the goal of achieving nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament

INDIA'S MEMBERSHIP ISSUE OF NPT AND NSG

- India has advanced its bid to join the NSG.
- However, India did not sign the NPT which is a prerequisite for joining NSG
- India's stand is that NPT creates a club of “nuclear haves” and a larger group of “nuclear have-nots” by restricting the legal possession of nuclear weapons to those states that tested them before 1967.
- Although President Barack Obama expressed support for India's membership to the NSG in 2010, the group remains divided, in part because, as a non-state-party to the NPT, India doesn't meet a core criterion for membership.
- At the June 2016 NSG meeting, the United States and India pushed for acceptance of India's bid for membership.
- All of the participating states, except for China, support allowing India to join the NSG without signing the NPT.
- China noted that other non-NPT states in addition to India had expressed desire in joining the NSG, and therefore India should not receive an exclusive exemption.
- According to China - “NPT membership constitutes one of the prerequisite factors for consideration of NSG participation, [m]ore discussions are needed before the Group is in a position to

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review...participation by any specific non-NPT state at the meetings of the Group.”

- In response to India's bid, Pakistan also expressed a desire to join the NSG.

INDIA'S NUCLEAR TRIAD

- Nuclear Triad essentially has three major components—the **strategic bombers, Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) and Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs)** for the purpose of delivering a nuclear weapon.
- The reason for having such three branched capability is to significantly reduce the possibility of the destruction of the entire nuclear architecture of the state in the first nuclear strike by the enemy itself.
- The triad provides the potency to the country which has been under the nuclear attack to respond swiftly by nuclear means.
- Such system essentially increases the deterrence potential of the state's nuclear forces.
- India's 'triad' is a mix of missiles fired from -
- **land — the Agni 2, the Agni 4 and the Agni 5.** From the
- **Air - Sukhoi Su-30MKIs, Mirage 2000s and Jaguars** are capable of launching nuclear missiles.
- The 6,000-tonne **INS Arihant now adds a maritime strike capability.**

► DRONE ATTACK

Recently, two explosives-laden drones crashed into the Indian Air Force (IAF) station at Jammu airport. The attack is believed to be the first-ever offensive use of drones to target an Indian military facility — has raised serious security concerns.

DRONE USE IN THE PAST

- Drones are being used for military purposes since 1990s. **Instances of Drone Usage:** Used in Gulf War by USA, used against Al-Qaeda by US, Islamic State used drones in Iraq and Syria, Houthi rebels used drones to attack oil facilities in Saudi Arabia etc.
- However, the new threat is the use of drone by non-state actors for terrorism.

INDIA AND DRONES

- In the past, weapons have been dropped into J&K using drones. They have also been used for surveillance and providing cover to terrorists.
- In the recent years there have been estimated 100-150 sightings of suspected drones near India's western border annually, most for surveillance.

CHALLENGES POSED BY DRONE ATTACKS

- It is a low-cost easily accessible tool in the hands of terrorists and have become a key component of modern-day warfare.
- **Types of rogue drones:**
 - **Autonomous drones:** Drone controlled by onboard computers programmed to navigate to a fixed target and don't require real time human control.
 - **Drone swarms** - where hundreds of drones try to confuse the system is another challenge that needs to be tackled.
 - **Stealth drones:** Drones designed to reduce their radar signature and can be operated in patterns making them difficult to detect. To evade acoustic detection, rotors can be modified to dampen drone's engine noise.
- Drones can be used to smuggle arms and drugs, targeting VIPs, reconnaissance & surveillance, electronic attacks, delivery of weapons of mass destruction, messaging etc.
- Conventional Radars cannot detect the drones. If calibrated for small objects, **radars confuse them for birds.**
- Indian forces use eyesight to trace and shoot such drones. However, **drones flying at heights are difficult to target.**
- **Technologies to disable and shoot drones like** - interfering with their radio frequency, shooting them with energy beams **have not been fully successful.**
- Besides cross border drones, **challenge also lies in tackling the drones that attack from within the national boundary.**
- **Anti-drone systems are expensive** for the defenders, while **drones are cheaper for the attackers** who use the drone to attack.
- It provides Pakistan opportunity to use them clandestinely, which saves it from being blamed for terror attacks in India.
- Drones could also **pose a threat to essential civilian infrastructure** such as dams, power plants and bridges.
- Threat of air collision between drones and manned aircraft.

COUNTER-DRONE TECHNOLOGIES

These are systems that are used to detect and intercept unmanned aircraft. These technologies have already been extensively used in civil arena and combat zones

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including base protection, airspace protection at airports, security during large events and major sports gatherings, VIP protection etc. For ex. Counter drone systems have been routinely employed during Independence Day and Republic Day celebrations in Delhi.

There are two components of Counter-Drone systems: 1) Detection & 2) Interception

1) Detection: Early detection and identification is the key to effective neutralization of the UAV threat which can be undertaken by a combination of sensors. Some of the detection and identification systems being employed for counter drone measures are:

a) Radar: These systems can pick-up drones of the size of small birds using very low transmitted power.

b) Electro-optical/InfraRed: They monitor for drones in visible light and infrared spectrum.

c) Radio Frequency: Most drones are linked with the operator on the ground using a radio link. External properties of the data link's signal can be used for approximate position of the drone and operator.

d) Acoustic sensor: These sensors detect noise signatures created by UAV motors and propellers. However, these have limited range and suffer from high nuisance (false) alarm rates (especially in urban environments).

e) Passive coherent locator system: It is a passive radar system, which utilizes third-party transmitters like Television broadcasts, FM Radio or Mobile Telephone to detect a target and provide location, heading and speed information. A PCL system is capable to detecting extremely small signal changes scattered by micro drones.

2) Interception: This deals with response and neutralization of drones by focusing on denial of mission of rogue drones and their destruction. The options for response range from diverting the UAV in a different direction, capturing it, or to destroying it broadly. Neutralization measures being utilized by counter UAV system are:

a) Kinetic kill: Currently, the most relied and preferable option for neutralizing rogue drones. Ex. Shooting down with sniper rifles, using anti-aircraft guns and missiles, deploying fighter aircrafts, depending on the situation. However, high level of skill and expertise is required from the shooter.

b) High Power Electromagnetic Weapons (HPEM)/Lasers: This can be used in scanning and

neutralization. It utilizes high energy beams focused on the drones to physically burn the drone or a part of it. However, lasers are affected in adverse weather conditions, can cause hazard to humans. Also, it is difficult to keep them focused on the UAV.

c) Radio Jamming: Rogue UAV is identified and targeted with an electromagnetic signal strong enough to overwhelm the system's controls. However, UAVs are specifically encrypted to withstand these attempts.

d) GPS Spoofing: In this, drone is confused to forget its waypoints and go into auto-pilot mode and in this stage using power transmission; it is directed to obey new commands. Thus, this system removes the threat and also gives access to adversary's technology for analysis.

e) Drone Capture Nets: Capture nets can be used from ground as well as a hunter-killer drone. The net encompasses the drone and causes it to cease flying by disrupting the propulsion system. However, range of these capture nets are limited. Variants of this system like Drone-on-Drone and Bird-on-Drone are also used to bring the rogue drone down.

GLOBAL COUNTER DRONE SYSTEMS

- **Rafael** which has developed the **Iron drone for Israel** has also built a **Drone Dome technology**. It offers a 360-degree coverage. It can jam the signals and the visuals being sent out by the drone. It has high precision in shooting the drone with high powered laser beams.
- **US based Fortem technologies uses interceptor drone technology - "Drone Hunter"**. It fires a net to catch the drone mid-air.
- An **Australian company** also claims to have developed a **"Drone gun"** which can pin point and shoot the drone.

INDIA'S PREPAREDNESS FOR SUCH ATTACKS

- DRDO has developed a **detect-and-destroy technology for drones**. It was deployed for VVIP protection on Republic Day parade, Independence Day and the Namaste Trump event. It has capabilities of both:
 - Hard kill - destroying a drone with lasers.
 - Soft kill - jamming a drone's signals.
- However, it's range is very limited between 1 to 3 Kms.

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INDIA'S OFFENSIVE DRONE CAPABILITY

- India has **Heron surveillance drones** developed by Israel. India also has **Harop Loitering Munition systems** which is an attack weapon system designed to locate and precisely attack targets.
- India is looking to acquire **MQ9 Reaper drones from the USA**. The MQ9 Reaper, also called a '**Predator**' drone, can detect targets using its inbuilt sensors and radars. US forces have used in Afghanistan.
- **Hindustan Aeronautics Limited's** is developing **CATS Warrior drones**. It will have a mother vehicle - a fighter jet operating 700 km away that will be able to strike enemy targets through unmanned drones. The fighter jets guiding the unmanned drones can remain 150 km behind and control and give directions to four unmanned vehicles called the CATS Warriors.
- HAL is also developing **rotary unmanned aerial vehicle or 'drone helicopter'**, which can operate at 15000 feet. It will be crucial for speedy transportation of supplies in harsh high-altitude areas
- Indian Army placed an order for **indigenous Switch UAVs** meant for day and night surveillance of high-altitude areas.
- India has developed a **National Counter Rogue Drone Guidelines by Ministry of Civil Aviation**.

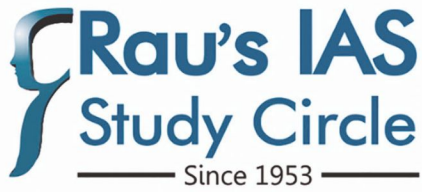
SALIENT FEATURES OF NATIONAL COUNTER ROGUE DRONE GUIDELINES:

1. Need to devise an automated UAS Traffic Management (UTM) system for low-altitude airspace to provide hyper-local and real-time information for managing UAS induced traffic. This would ensure that only authenticated UAS could operate in airspace.
2. The UTM architecture needs to have **surveillance, navigation, communication, traffic de-confliction and emergency assistance** aids to regulate drone traffic on real time basis.
3. To prevent drones from straying towards notified vital installations, **dynamic Geo-fencing may be implemented** by permitting UAS to operate only along permitted trajectory in the airspace and prohibiting of use of drones in certain areas.
4. All UAS manufactured, imported or operating in India to be mandated to be equipped with appropriate navigation and communication software and hardware for live telemetry and data exchange. UAS must allow for operational command to be transferred to UTM service provider, at any time and capable to executing manoeuvres.

5. Deploying counter UAS infrastructure at vital target systems. Towards this end, airspace regulators and security agencies shall be required to enhance capabilities to track, detect, identify and engage hostile drones in real time.
6. Multi-agency drone regulatory body to be developed with involvement of Air Force and Ministry of Civil Aviation for deployment of counter drone measures.
7. Implementation of **stringent airworthiness criteria** and drone pilot training along with certification.
8. Registration of drones as well as the vendors that are selling drones in India.
9. Vulnerability analysis of drone needs to be identified by security agencies based on Drone impact assessment
10. A legal framework for authorised use of Counter drone systems by security agencies should be put in place.
11. Interaction of R&D organisations and academia to develop systems for development of futuristic technologies.

SALIENT FEATURES OF UNMANNED AIRCRAFT SYSTEMS RULES 2021

- **UAS categorised** as airplane, rotorcraft and hybrid with further categorisation as remotely piloted aircraft, model remotely piloted aircraft and autonomous unmanned aircraft system.
- **UAS classified** as nano, micro, small, medium and large unmanned aircraft
- **Mandatory** for individuals and companies to obtain **approval from the DGCA to import, manufacture, trade, own or operate drones**
- **No Permission- No Take-off (NPNT) policy** adopted for all UAS except for those in the nano category
- Micro and small UAS are not permitted from flying above 60m and 120 m, respectively.
- **UAS prohibited from flying in strategic and sensitive location**, including near airports, defence airports, border areas, military installations/facilities and areas earmarked as strategic locations/vital installations by the Ministry of Home Affairs.
- Penalties have also been provided.



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