

Unit - IV

1. Characteristics of Indian Foreign Policy and Non-Alignment

Foreign Policy of India

India's foreign policy had begun to take shape even before we got our independence. Pandit Nehru's pledge of an independent foreign policy provided a definite shape to the country's foreign policy. After World War II, The world was divided into two belligerent camps that were at odds with each other. One was led by newly emerged capitalist power-the USA and the otherwise led by communist power-the USSR. Most of the remaining countries allied with one of the camps save a few countries including India which pursued an independent foreign policy. India did not join either of the group and followed an independent foreign policy by maintaining the equal relations with both the groups. India as a free and sovereign nation was determined to oppose the colonialism and imperialism in the world. India's foreign policy reflects a traditional policy of non-alignment, the exigencies of domestic economic reform and development, opposition of terrorism and the changing post-cold war international environment. The key features of the Indian foreign policy at the time of our independence were influenced by various factors including our history, culture, geography and economy. India's foreign policy has evolved considerably in the last 70 years. The foreign policy which was initiated by Pt. Nehru is not the same; it has changed with the change in times. In last four years it has witnessed unprecedented changes in its direction and objectives. While Nehru's foreign policy primarily

focused on Non-alignment, unlike him, present Prime Minister Modi focuses on engagement in regional multilateral institutions, the use of strategic partnerships, and what is termed 'normative hedging'. He considers multi-alignment more beneficial in the present context for boosting India's economic development and national security, as well as to project influence and promote its values than the traditional non-alignment. Modi has given realistic touch to the idealistic foreign policy of India. However, the fundamental nature of it remains the same. Salient features of foreign policy of India are given as under:

1. Policy of Peaceful Coexistence-

One of the features of Indian foreign policy is its faith in the policy of peaceful co-existence. History is a testimony to the fact that wars have devastated the humanity and hence enduring peace is the only alternative left for all the countries to follow. K. M. Panikkar said that India was concerned that there should not be any wars in future to hinder not only the progress of India but also blocks the development of the entire mankind by dragging all the countries of the world into a crisis or catastrophe. India has determined its role in the world by pursuing the policy of peaceful co-existence. Our policy makers were aware that the only alternative to peaceful co-existence was co-destruction. Our relations with neighboring nations are also being influenced by this policy. At times, it was considered by others to be our weakness rather than strength. We did not quit this policy in the hours

of great crises such as Aggression of China and conflict with it in 1962, the Suez Canal Crisis of 1965, the Arab-Israel War of 1967, the Indo-Pak agreement on Indus water of 1960, the Indo-Pak War of 1965 and the armed conflict with Pakistan and subsequent birth of Bangladesh in 1971-72. Peaceful coexistence is the advance stage of the philosophy of the "live and let live", which is the guiding principles of our culture. These principles continue to direct and guide our internal and external policy even today.

2. Anti-Colonialism and Imperialism-

Being subjected to colonial subjugation for about 200 years, India firmly stands in opposition to any form of colonialism and imperialism. It is with this line of thinking that India played a major role in liberating the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa from colonial shackles. Since the end of the World War II and our independence, India has always opposed colonialism and imperialism. Be it attack on Egypt in 1956 or the American intervention in the Gulf, we have opposed the imperial policy of the superpowers.

3. Anti-Apartheid-

One of the prominent salient features of Indian foreign policy is that it opposes policy of racial segregation and political and economic discrimination on the basis of race or the color of the human beings. Keeping no diplomatic relations with the apartheid supportive South African government prior to Nelson Mandela getting free and coming to power indicates our stand against apartheid.

4. Supporter of International Institutions-

Our foreign policy has fully supported the international institutions and organizations ever since our getting independence. We supported formation of UNO even before independence and later acquired its membership and since then participated in all its programs and agencies. India has been one of the largest contributors to the UN Peace Keeping Forces. Our commitment to UNO is sacred and inexhaustible. Our staking claim for the permanent membership of Security Council and our

extending unabated support to International Forums is an indicator of success of our foreign policy.

5. Based on Principles of Panchasheel-

Our foreign policy primarily with China and later with other countries was based on five principles of conduct of nations. The principle of Panchasheel did hit a setback when India was attacked by the Chinese in 1962 and Nehru was severely criticized for the country's failure to defend itself. The five principles are as follows:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
2. Mutual nonaggression;
3. Mutual noninterference in each other's internal affairs;
4. Equality and mutual benefit;
5. Peaceful co-existence.

6. Non-Alignment-

Our foreign policy has special connection with the policy of Non-Alignment. India became the first country to begin a policy that was new in the history of international relations. The policy of Non-Alignment was founded under the leadership of our then Prime Minister Pt. Nehru and was ably supported by Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, President Sukarno of Indonesia and Joseph Broz Tito of Yugoslavia. Nehru's policy of neutrality paved the way for the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). India facilitated the involvement of former colonies and newly independent countries into the organization which aimed to protect the interests of undeveloped nations in international politics. The policy of non-alignment meant the acceptance of the inevitability of war but on the conviction that it could be avoided. Non-alignment entailed a position to judge each issue without bias or prejudice. The secret of this policy was that India was never permanently pro-west or pro-east. The technique of maintaining world peace through non-alignment was to make sure that each nation pursued its own interest without disturbing other nations. Non-aligned

countries did not support or were in no way linked to groups of countries headed by the United States or the former Soviet Union. It also meant that they did not become part of any bi-lateral military agreement with any of these groups. During the first fifteen years of independence, India both endorsed and opposed the USA and the Soviet Union at different times. During the Korean War (1950), India backed the US by endorsing the United Nations resolution that condemned North Korea's attack on South Korea. USA turned to Asia during the Cold War in search of allies for the Western bloc. After India refused to side with it owing to its policy of Non-Alignment, USA found an ally in Pakistan. USA's close ties with Pakistan forced Nehru to improve India's ties with the Soviet Union in order to maintain a check on its arch enemy. The policy of non-alignment was based on the five principles of Panchasheel, which directed international conduct. The countries that followed the policy of Non-Alignment were supposed to remain away from the politics of factions of two opposite blocs. However, they extended full support to UNO and other organizations on the matters of peace and security of the world. The policy of Non-Alignment was not a policy of political neutrality and indifference. While defining the policy, Nehru categorically envisaged that if the peace is endangered and justice is in peril we cannot remain neutral now and will also not remain silent in future. These principles which were envisaged and formulated in the first large scale AfroAsian Conference known as Bandung Conference, which was a meeting of newly independent Asian and African countries, took place in April 1955 in Indonesia. NAM was officially founded in 1961 in Belgrade conference in which leaders of 25 developing countries participated. India was among the founding members of NAM and also hosted 7th Non Aligned Movement summit at New Delhi in 1983. The 17th NAM summit was held from September 13 to September 18, 2016 at Margarita City in Venezuela. The political scientists believe that the policy of Non-Alignment was born consequent upon the division of the world in two separate and antagonistic blocs. Two blocs were led

by the USA and the former Soviet Union respectively. With the collapse of communist bloc led by the USSR the politics of bi-polar world came to an end and it is replaced by the US centric unipolar world order. Some political analysts also believe that NAM has lost its traditional significance in the present context and hence not relevant to meet the political compulsions and demands of the international politics of the day.

1.1 Meaning of Non-Alignment-

Non-alignment means efforts to retain independence of thought, judgment and action under conditions of cold-war which generated military alliance and agreements of all sorts. The policy emphasized on not aligning with any alliance formed on military basis such as NATO, SEATO and Warsaw Pact and in pursuit of independent policy in world politics. This policy seeks to adopt an absolute, non-biased, independent and objective approach to all serious international problems. This is not a neutral policy but it is an independent policy which was free from the effects of the complex factional different politics. This policy favors the peaceful and non-violent solution of international disputes. During Cold War this policy emphasized on the necessity of staying away from the rivalry between two powerful blocs. This policy was in favor of making objective decisions by assessing the international problem on the basis of merits and demerits. It emphasizes on maintaining balance between opposing factions. Non-Alignment policy believes in making meaningful contribution to the world politics rather than staying away from its complexities.

1.2 Reasons for Adopting Non Alignment-

1. India was not in favor of joining any one faction to avoid conflict in the world.
2. India considered pursuing independent policy in international politics (which is free from the influence of any other power) to be more useful to her.
3. India was in favor of maintaining equal

relations with both powers for its economic development.

4. The policy of Non-Alignment was consistent with India's social, strategic, geographical, political, economic and cultural demands.
5. The early leadership of India had unwavering devotion and trust in the policy of Non-alignment.
6. The policy of Non-alignment was favorable for India's historical background and diverse pluralistic culture.

1.3 Relevance in Present Context-

The Non-alignment Movement has made many achievements in its tenure of over 50 years. Its most important achievement is the end of colonialism and imperialism in the world by which the countries of Asia and Africa could achieve their independence. It has also made significant contribution in not only ending of policy of apartheid but also supported the cause of democracy and justice in South Africa. In addition to this, it has played an important role in preserving the unity and cooperation among the newly created nations by presenting their viewpoint on different platforms, staying away from the factional politics for reducing the area of conflict and encouraging world peace. It also helped in easing the tension between the two power blocs. It has supported the cause of international peace, justice and freedom. NAM acted against the arms race of super powers during the cold war. It has opposed all form of injustices. It has focused to support enthusiastically Nuclear Disarmament, NIEO, Stability and Peace for all. After the demise of Cold War and collapse of communist bloc with the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, some experts of international relations have raised the questions of relevance and justification of NAM in changing world order. In fact, the truth is that Non-alignment believes in pursuance of an independent foreign policy with an aim to protect the equality, sovereignty and integrity of sovereign nations. In this context, its relevance is self-explanatory. It is a platform through which

various International issues and challenges related to Human Rights and world trade can be effectively addressed. This is also an effective forum to present the approach of developing countries in the context of climate change talks and to discuss about the UN reforms. Although with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Cold War and the bi-polar system have also ended; but the challenges to security and sovereignty of the poor and the weak countries have not diminished. There is possibility of emergence of a unipolar system under the leadership of America. The NATO a military alliance of the western countries has become very strong and may pose serious challenge to security of other countries. The Non-Aligned Movement has acted as a platform for cooperation and unity among the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Even today, there is a need for economic, social and political cooperation among these countries. This cooperation is known as South-South Cooperation. This cooperation is done through a broad framework of collaboration among countries of the South in the political, economic, social, cultural, environmental and technical domains. Involving two or more developing countries, it can take place on a bilateral, regional, intraregional or interregional basis. Therefore, the Non-Aligned Movement presents a platform to South-South Cooperation. To date, 17 Summits of Non-Aligned Countries have been organized so far. The 17th Summit was held on 17 and 18 September in Margarita, Venezuela, on 17-18 September 2016, under the theme "Peace, Sovereignty and Solidarity for Development." Earlier, the 16th summit was held in Tehran, the capital of Iran in August 2012. In the Summit of this Non-Aligned Movement, once again the issue of freedom of sovereignty and independence of nations was raised. Even today, the Non-Aligned Movement is an effective forum to address the major challenges of the world. This is a platform which provides equal participation to the developing nations of the world and which can effectively face the major challenges of the world such as threats to security, environmental pollution, health problems etc. There

are many agencies of the world order where the developing countries do not have adequate role in the decision making process and also to raise their voice on issues which have international significance. Therefore, there is a need to give more effective representation to the developing countries in different institutions of the world and end hegemony of powerful countries. Equal participation of all the countries in the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other International Financial Institutions can be ensured through Non-Aligned Movement. Non-aligned movement is also meaningful for mutual exchange of cultural, social and political values among various countries of the world.

1.4 Non-Alignment & Present Government-

India was also among the prominent founding nations of the Non-Aligned Movement, but in the changed circumstances, it seems that India is adopting a lackadaisical approach towards policy of Non-Alignment. The 57-year-old Non-Aligned Movement, once a powerful bloc of independent nations is apparently dying a quiet death and nobody is sending flowers. Interest had hit a new low with just eight heads of states showing up at Venezuela's Margarita Island in 17th summit held in September 2016. Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi did not participate in the 17th Summit. The hard reality is that after the end of the Cold War in 1990s; even his predecessors had lost interests in the NAM as a useful tool for the Indian diplomacy. Probably, the path on which Narendra Modi wants India to march forward for development and security has no special significance for the Non-alignment movement. However, NAM as an organization of 120 nations of the world is significant in its own right. Even though India is not diplomatically as engaged to NAM as it was before, but it has not lost its usefulness as yet. Since NAM is not associated with any particular ideology being its member may not cause any diplomatic and political loss. As expected, political issues continued to engage NAM and we benefitted from its activism occasionally. In fact, it was

through NAM that we operated to counter the efforts to expand the UN Security Council by including just Germany and Japan as permanent members. NAM submitted its own proposal and ensured that no quick fix was permitted. Whether our continued involvement with NAM would stand in the way of our 21st century ambitions or not is a big question before us. Our new nearness to the U.S. is not a red rag in NAM and our ability to be helpful in formulating U.S. policies gives us an advantage. NAM today, like the Commonwealth has always been, is a heritage we need not discard. NAM's vast membership of diverse countries from Singapore to Cuba makes it even more relevant. The very informal nature of NAM permits members to operate freely at individual level for their development. It also has the facility of members reserving their positions, as we did on the non-proliferation positions of NAM. India is among the countries which are most affected by terrorism. NAM forum can also be an effective instrument to project our anti-terrorist sentiments. Support of members of the Non-Aligned Movement is indispensable for its fight against the terrorism. In future, we can use NAM as a platform to isolate Pakistan. NAM is particularly important in elections at the UN, including the possible identification of new permanent members of the UN Security Council. India has been trying since long to get permanent membership of the Security Council and it needs support of non-aligned nations to make its claim strongly. The NAM position may not be decisive, but in the normal process of consultations, every grouping will get its own weightage and it is convenient to have a lobby behind us. Since NAM has lost its traditional significance, it may appear inconsequential in terms of the new transactional nature of the foreign policy we are developing. However, our moving ahead with the NAM in the midst of this phase of transition is an achievement in itself and not a waste of efforts. In view of above factors, India should not bid farewell to NAM because it does not have any conflict with its individual, national and international interests.

1.5 New Dimensions of Indian Foreign Policy-

The liberal reforms that were initiated in 1990s in the economic sector are still the foundation of India's foreign of India. The foreign policy of India largely depends on the financial condition of the country. India is a rapidly growing economy and one part of its speed and efficiency is directly linked to foreign policy. One of the important features of our foreign policy is continuity and there is no indication of any change in it at any given time. In a global order where the developing economies are facing increasing environmental regulations and socio-economic problems, transforming economies sustainably is a big challenge for India. The change in the government does not necessarily result in any comprehensive change in the nature, outline and structure of India's foreign policy. However, the foreign policy of any country cannot be based on rigid postures and unchanging idea and must assimilate the changes taking place within and in its surroundings and reform accordingly. In a global order where the developing economies are facing increasing environmental regulations and socio-economic problems, transforming economies sustainably is a big challenge for India. The main objective of India's foreign policy is to establish a safe and stable regional environment for continuing its economic growth steadily. The present government emphasizes in the pursuit of foreign policy according to the traditions of '*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*'. India wants to develop the network of its allies. India's foreign policy will follow the policy of '*zero tolerance*' towards '*terrorism*'. The present leadership has tried to make India's foreign policy more active. It emphasizes that our foreign policy should be not merely an effect-reacting function but also a cause-creating process. It is aware of growing power of China in Asia and the world. China is our next door neighbor and we cannot wish the facts of geography away. The present government also wants to concentrate on getting rid of the problems of rampant corruption, red -tapism, terrorism and to bring infrastructural

reforms for making India a rich economy and a powerful nation.

1.6 Beginning of New Chapter in Foreign Policy -

In the last four years India's global image and its political reach have considerably changed and have acquired a new form with the concerted efforts, imagination and speed of the present government. It is related to three points- trade, culture and communication. New foreign policy vision is driven by a desire to make India a major economic and strategic player in shaping the new Asian century. In last four years, India has acquired Centre stage in diplomatic maneuvering in the world due to charismatic, effective and active leadership and active, persistent and concerted efforts of the Ministry of External Affairs. It can be described as a revolutionary diplomacy. The main goal of foreign policy vision of present leadership is to make India a strategic global player. New foreign policy vision is integrated with government's domestic agenda. The focus on development, modernization, ease of doing business, campaigns such as Digital India, Startup India, Skill India, Make in India aims also to secure India's interests in an unfolding uncertain and competitive world. The goal is widening the pool of supportive countries through constructive positions on issues on global agenda. In these four years, India has overcome many obstacles and has accomplished many things. The four years of our present government has set India on a transformational path to rapid development at a time when democracy and freedom are being challenged in many other countries. The most significant achievements in India's foreign policy include resolution of a long disputed exchange of 162 enclaves with Bangladesh, building a closer strategic relationship with the United States, strengthening its relationship with Japan, Vietnam and Australia, and in bringing them closer to align with India's strategic goals, India's assertive diplomacy is in isolating Pakistan in the global community and shaming it for its role as a state sponsor of terrorism and effectively handling of Chinese intrusion in Doklam.

Undoubtedly, India cannot be a leading power without deriving strength from within. While Look East transformed into Act East has gained in momentum, Delhi needs to up its game in South East Asia and make connectivity projects operational. What is equally important is to put meat into strategic partnership with each of the South East Asian nations. The historic decision of demonetization taken on November 8, 2016 has been appreciated not only in our country but also by other countries. This step will be helpful in deciding the direction of India's foreign policy in the coming years as it is a new initiative towards improving the economic system of India. It will act as a big jolt to terrorism.

1.7 Five Basic Foundations-

Continuous talks, promoting economic prosperity, enhancing the prestige and respect of India, supporting national security and encouragement of Indian culture and beliefs of civilization are five basic principles that inspire foreign policy of our government.

1.8 Neighborhood First-

Soon after forming his governments present Prime Minister adopted policy of neighborhood first to give a new direction to India's foreign policy. The newfound diplomatic priority on the region was marked by his visits of all the neighboring countries. It initiated a new chapter in the Indian foreign policy. It reflects the fundamental changes in Indian foreign policy. The beginning of independent and revolutionary diplomacy of India was initiated by his making contacts with head of the states of our neighboring countries as well as regular leadership meetings in India and on the sidelines of multilateral summits. By inviting all the leaders of the SAARC countries including Mauritius in the oath taking ceremony of the government, India presented an unprecedented example of establishing intimate relations with its neighboring countries, whose future and dreams are deeply connected with India. In this series, the boundary agreement related to exchange of long disputed enclaves was signed with

Bangladesh and endorsed by the Parliament of India. The agreement of Hydroelectric Projects was signed with Nepal and the foundation stone of the India-Bhutanese 600-megawatt hydro power project was also laid. Our major projects in Afghanistan were completed within the given time and the Colombo-Jaffna rail link was re-opened with Indian assistance after 24 years. India has promptly assisted its distressed neighbors with a sense of genuine friendship. When the Maldives was facing an acute water crisis, "Operation Neer" was initiated by Indian government in response to Maldives government's request for help after major fire broke out at the Male Water and Sewerage Company. India was the first country to carry 1000 tonnes of water by sea and air. When there was a severe earthquake in Nepal, India was the first country to redress the suffering of the distressed friend with its resources and machinery. India has also become more forthcoming in providing support and in capacity building, whether concluding its biggest ever defense sale to Mauritius, or in providing humanitarian assistance to Nepal or Sri Lanka. Thus, India has equally demonstrated its compassion, the power of diplomacy, skill and energy towards neighboring countries. The policy which was earlier known as 'Look East' is now known as the 'Act East' because of India's active participation in the region. Present Prime Minister rhetorically replaced two decades of India's 'Look East' policy with 'Act East,' the purpose was to show greater intent in realizing what had long been an aspiration for India: to become an integral part of Asia. The greater urgency implicit in the shift in terminology is largely an outgrowth of Indian concerns regarding China's rise and the upsetting of Asia's delicate balance of power. The policy which was originally conceived as an economic initiative, has gained political, strategic and cultural dimensions including establishment of institutional mechanisms for dialogue and cooperation. The key principles and objectives of "Act East Policy" is to promote economic cooperation, cultural ties and develop strategic relationship with countries in the

Asia-Pacific region through continuous engagement at bilateral, regional and multilateral levels thereby providing enhanced connectivity to the States of North Eastern Region with other countries in our neighborhood. In terms of the broader strategic context in Asia, India's 'Act East' policy has three distinct facets: institutional, commercial, and security-related. The first has largely been successful mostly as by-product of two decades of Indian economic growth. Barring the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, India has integrated into Asia's multilateral networks, most notably the apex East Asia Summit. This policy is reflected in the frequent visits of our neighboring countries by Prime Minister and other official delegates of India. The prime minister paid three visits to Nepal since 2014 and also visited Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Bangladesh and Bhutan, Australia, Japan, South Korea, Singapore and China.

1.9 India and Middle East-

India has a long history of relations with the Muslim countries of the Middle East or Western Asia more than any of today's existing or emerging great powers. The wave of Islamic influence to India came from these countries. India has the highest Muslim population in the world. The waves of fanaticism and Islamic fundamentalism have also spread in India through the Islamic states of the Middle East via Afghanistan and Pakistan. Even in the era of technological age of globalization, the Middle East is still dominated by the medieval Islamic concept which inspires the citizens of these countries to move on the medieval model. In Middle East, Saudi Arabia and Iraq are dominated by the Sunni ideology, while Iran is dominated by the Shia ideology. Almost all the countries of the Gulf produce oil making their economies strong. Moreover, all the countries of the Middle East are categorized as authoritarian regimes of Sheikhs, Sultans or military dictators. India is largely dependent on the countries of the Middle East to fulfill its energy requirements. Iran is the major supplier of gas and oil to Indian. The relations

between Iran and India have mostly been cordial, but the bitterness between the US and Iran and the growing relationship of India with the US and Israel have affected the relations between India and Iran. India has invested heavily in the Chabahar port of Iran. One other prominent country of the Middle East, Saudi Arabia is directly or indirectly involved in spreading Islamic terrorism in India. It has provided a large amount of financial assistance in one form or the other supporting the cause of terrorism. The Gulf and the Arabian Sea are vital to India's interests. Moreover, India is the third largest oil importing country of the world and it is dependent on the Gulf countries to meet the requirements of oil and gas. Positive side is that about 7 million Indian workers are working in the Gulf countries which make huge remittances of approximately 35 thousand billion dollars back home. The downside is that they are exporting 'Wahhabi ideology' with along with their money to India, which has threatened the unity and integrity of India. Like many other countries India is also concerned about the increasing influence of the ISIS in Iraq and Syria. Over last three years, many youth have been attracted to ideology of the Islamic State in India; which is unfavorable to the interests of India. Indian policymakers are also concerned about increasing instability and the weakening of states in the Middle East, which threatens Indian energy imports and Diaspora. India's past inability to influence geopolitics in the Middle East, combined with its lack of security presence, led to costly evacuations of its Diaspora. This included the largest evacuation in history when 200,000 Indians were airlifted out of Kuwait during the Gulf War. Recently, under '**Operation Rahaat**' the Indian Armed Forces evacuated Indian citizens and foreign nationals from Yemen during the 2015 military intervention by Saudi Arabia and its allies in that country during the Yemeni Crisis. In the recent years; several factors have raised the strategic stakes for India for maintaining good relations with the Middle East countries. Firstly, there is a growing expectation among policymakers that India will

eventually become a global strategic power and hence, the existing pillars of the relationship like energy trade, have taken on greater strategic significance. With oil being particularly essential for military power prognosis, India's already growing dependence on Middle Eastern energy assumes a more strategic dimension. India's net oil import has grown from 42 percent in 1990 to an estimated 71 percent in 2012. In 2016, over half of India's oil and gas was imported from the Gulf. During Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to Saudi Arabia, the two countries agreed to transform the buyer-seller relationship into a broader strategic partnership. The joint statement from the visit explicitly linked expanding trade ties to enhanced diplomatic engagement. Besides Muslim countries of the Middle East, India also enjoys good relations with one and the only non-Muslim country of the Middle East-Israel. As far as population is concerned there is no similarity between India and Israel. While India is a huge country with population of 1.3 billion the total population of Israel is just 8 million. Despite this disparity, both the countries have many similarities. In both the countries two distinct ancient religions have existed which do not believe in making a change in religion through conversions. Both believe in democracy and secularism and are oppressed by Islamic terrorism. Both are close to the America and a sizeable Muslim minority community resides in them. The idea of 'Muslim nation' and terrorism pose serious challenge to their very existence. Both of them have their own interests, which emphasize mutual dependence. All these factors point to the fact that India is keen on developing bilateral relations with Israel, underlining its strategic importance for the country. Bilateral trade between India and Israel is reported to be about \$6 billion. A free trade agreement that could further increase trade between the two countries is also being discussed. As far as cooperation in defense is concerned, both nations face threats from terrorism and have signed agreements related to homeland security. India is Israel's largest buyer of defense equipment. Thus the present contracts clearly show India's gain is the

undisturbed inflow of defense and trade.

1.10 India and Russia-

Both India and Russia have been traditional friends. Relations with Russia are a key pillar of India's foreign policy, and Russia has been a longstanding time-tested partner of India. India has longstanding and wide-ranging cooperation with Russia in the field of defense. They have shared a long history of friendship with each other but the disintegration of the former Soviet Union in 1991 and when India adopted market-oriented economy of globalization in place of socialist economy the intensity of traditional relations decreased between the two countries. India still relies on Russia to cater for the needs of most of its military equipment and equipment. Enhancing trade and economic cooperation between India and Russia is a key priority for the two governments. Major items of export from India include pharmaceuticals, miscellaneous manufactures, iron & steel, apparels, tea, coffee and tobacco. Major items of import from Russia include defense and nuclear power equipment, fertilizers, electrical machinery, steels and diamonds. Indian investments in Russia are estimated to be about US\$ 8 billion. Russia is an important partner in peaceful uses of nuclear energy and it recognizes India as a country with advanced nuclear technology with an impeccable non-proliferation record.

1.11 India, US and European States-

India's present foreign policy is based on urgency and pragmatism. Present government of India has a complete understanding of the security needs of India and the changing equations of the current politics in Asia and elsewhere. This change in our foreign policy has primarily taken place as a reaction against the China's assertive foreign policy. At a time when, first power of the world, the United States of America is yet to open its full cards of its foreign policy of re-balancing and Pakistan's foreign policy continues to remain India centered, the foreign policy of India is broader and comprehensive because it is not oriented towards

any one particular country. India has been successful in isolating Pakistan on the issue of terrorism. Currently, India's foreign policy is in the transitional phase. The one area where India has had unalloyed success is in its relations with the United States. This is not because we have an identity of interests, but a congruence of needs that the other can fulfill. India needs the world's foremost military power to maintain a balance against China, while the US needs India because it is the only credible partner it has in building a coalition in East Asia to confront China. India-U.S. bilateral relations have developed into a "global strategic partnership", based on shared democratic values and increasing convergence of interests on bilateral, regional and global issues.

Important Points

- Determining of relations with other nations of the world is part of a foreign policy.
- The salient features of Indian foreign policy are:
 - Peaceful Coexistence
 - Anti-Colonialism and Imperialism
 - Anti-Apartheid
 - Supporter of International Institutions
 - Based on Principles of Panchasheel
 - Non-Alignment
- The Meaning of the Non-Alignment- When a country does not join any power group of the world and follow an independent policy and always promote the cause of the truth and justice, it is called Non-Alignment.
- With the dissolution of the Soviet Union and disturbing of the power balance between two super powers the relevance of the Non-Aligned Movement has been underline as a forum of Multi Polarity.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. The meaning of the term-peaceful co-existence is-
 - (A) Live and let live.
 - (B) Struggle together
 - (C) Removing national boundaries.
 - (D) Maintain your existence. ()
2. The statement that does not match with the objectives of Indian foreign policy is -
 - (A) Opposition of colonialism
 - (B) The expansion of imperialism
 - (C) Opposition of imperialism
 - (D) Untiring faith in Confidence in the United Nations ()
3. The word 'शील' (*Sheel*) implies -
 - (A) Seal
 - (B) Sealing of an envelope
 - (C) Moral conduct
 - (D) Inscription ()
4. India has demanded a permanent membership of which organ of the United Nations Organization -
 - (A) General Assembly
 - (B) Trustee Council
 - (C) Security Council
 - (D) International Court of Justice ()
5. The founders of Non-alignment movement was -
 - (A) Nehru (B) Nasir
 - (C) Tito (D) All these ()

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Describe two salient features of Indian Foreign Policy.
2. What are the two principles of *Panchasheel*?
3. Who is the founder member of the Non-

Aligned Movement?

4. When did Bangladeshi get independence?
5. Write the full name of the UNO.

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Write a comment on the principles of *Panchasheel*.
2. What is sub nationalism?
3. What do you mean by apartheid?
4. Explain the meaning of the Non-Alignment.
5. Explain the principle of peaceful co-existence.

Essay Type Questions-

1. Explain the major issues of India's foreign policy.
2. "After the depolarization of the power groups, the policy of Non-alignment is becoming irrelevant." Discuss the policy of Non-alignment in the light of this statement.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions:

- 1.A 2.B 3.C 4.C 5.D

2. United Nations Organization Contribution towards World Peace & Security

The UN is an influential international forum of the world today. It is a meeting-place for virtually all nations of the world. It provides them with the mechanism to help find solutions to disputes or problems, and to act on virtually any matter of concern to humanity. At the time of its establishment, the optimists had foreseen a world government to develop in its soul. However, they have been proved wrong so far. Though sometimes described as a “parliament of nations”, the United Nations is neither a supra-State nor a government of governments. It does not have an army nor does it impose taxes. It depends on the political will of its Members to have its decisions implemented and relies on contributions of its Members to carry out its activities. Dag Hammarskjöld, the second General Secretary of the United Nations said, ***“United Nations was not created to bring mankind to heaven, but in order to save it from hell”***. Clearly, the League of Nations, born of the destruction and disillusionment arising from World War I, was the most ambitious attempt that had ever been made to construct a peaceful global order. But the horrific massacre of World War II proved that it was a flawed attempt, which had failed to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War. In the shadow of stressful relations of winners and defeated nations efforts were again made by the world leaders and a new world organization emerged as the United Nations. The UN replaced the ineffective League of Nations. League of Nations like a proverbial old soldier never died, but rather faded away. Former British Prime Minister Churchill said that war of words was better than the

war of weapons. It would be better to have a world stage that all the countries of the world should be gathered and eat each other's heads and not have a head cut. Even after the creation of the United Nations the world was not without annihilating wars and conflicts continued among the nations. But in issues other than conflicts, the United Nations has certainly attained the status of an effective international forum. Therefore, despite many flaws and weaknesses the UN is still relevant. After World War II, the need for a comprehensive international organization was felt to maintain international peace and to establish cooperation among nations. The idea for creating an international organization dedicated to maintaining peace took hold during the war.

There were various ideas about the organization's perception. According to one thought, the new organization should be similar to the League of Nations. The second thought was that the nature of the organization should be determined by the post-war international conditions and experiences. This idea was finally accepted. The United Nations was founded on October 24, 1945 after five major nations of the world - USA, The Soviet Union, China, France and Britain signed the charter. October 24 marks the anniversary of the entry into force in 1945 of the UN Charter and has been celebrated as United Nations Day since 1948. The first session of the United Nations General Assembly took place in London on June 10, 1946 and the last session was held on September 12, 2017 at New York City. There are 111 Articles in the Charter of the United Nations which describe its

organization, powers and functions.

1. Objectives of UNO (Preamble)-

The objectives of the United Nations, according to preamble of its Charter, are:

- To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and
- To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and
- To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and
- To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

2. Aims/Purposes of UNO (Chapter I)-

The Purposes or the aims of the United Nations are described in Article 1 of chapter 1 the UN charter:

- To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;
- To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
- To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental

freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

- To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

3. Principles of UNO -

- The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.
- The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.
- All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.
- All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.
- All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.
- All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.
- The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under

the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

4. Membership of UNO -

There are two types of members of UNO

- Member countries which joined the UNO in the initial phase by having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco. There were 51 original members of UNO.
- Member countries which obtained membership of UNO subsequently after formation of UNO.

Article 3- The original Members of the United Nations shall be the states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of 1 January 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110.

Article 4- Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 5- A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

Article 6- A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Presently, there are 193 members of the UNO

and South Sudan became the 193rd member of the United Nations in 2011.

2.1 The General Assembly -

The General Assembly is the highest deliberative organ of the UN. It is also called the World Parliament of Nations. It shall consist of all the Members of the United Nations. Each Member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly. Each state has only one vote. The session of the General Assembly is convened on third Tuesday in the month of September every year. The opening day of the session stands designated as the International Day of Peace. The UN General Assembly holds deliberations on all issues which are related to the Charter of the United Nations. It also approves the annual budget of the UN. Its headquarter is located at New York (the USA).

2.2 Powers and Functions of The General Assembly -

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

1. It discusses matters related to maintenance of international peace and security.
2. It carries out inspection.
3. It passes the Budget
4. It carries out functions related to election.
5. It amends the UN Charter.

2.3 Organization of General Assembly-

The General Assembly is the highest deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the UN and follows its own rules and procedures. It is an organization which has neither any host nor a guest. It elects its President or the chairperson for one year on the personal merit basis through a secret ballot. Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium was

elected first President of the General Assembly of the United Nations and he chaired the first session on January 16, 1946 and held this office for one session. Generally the president is elected from the small countries. The Chief of the Cabinet assists the president in his functions and acts as an Under Secretary of officials of the general assembly. The General Assembly also has 17 Vice-Presidents which are representative of different fields. 17 Vice-Presidents and 7 presidents of permanent councils jointly make a General Council.

2.4 Sessions of General Assembly-

The General Assembly shall meet in regular annual sessions on 3rd Tuesday of September and in such special sessions as occasion may require. Special sessions shall be convoked by the Secretary-General at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of the Members of the United Nations.

The General Assembly shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its President for each session. The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

Under the special procedure established in 1950, if there is obstruction in the restoration of peace even after using Veto by the Security Council, then a special session of the General Assembly can be convened within 24 hours. It can take an appropriate decision to restore peace which the Security Council is also bound to accept.

2.5 Appreciation of General Assembly-

While assessing the role of the General Assembly, Stark had once said that "Practically the General Assembly has been able to acquire the main form in terms of questions of international peace and security, it is really remarkable". Since its inception, the UN General Assembly has been a forum for lofty declarations, sometimes audacious rhetoric, and rigorous debate over the world's most vexing issues, from poverty and development to peace and security. After adopting the "Uniting for Peace" resolution in 1950, there has been a surprising change in the role of the General Assembly. This

resolution has made the General Assembly the patron of collective security of the United Nations. The resolution states that if the Security Council fails to maintain international peace and security in any situation such as threat to international peace and security or in aggression, the General Assembly will have the right to make collective efforts. Thus, as a result of "Uniting for Peace", the position of the General Assembly has been substantially strengthened. Theoretically, it seems that resolution has made the General Assembly quite powerful; but in actual practice, getting the resolution passed with the 2/3 majority is quite difficult a task. No doubt, the General Assembly has acquired an extraordinary status through this power. The 'Uniting for Peace' resolution revealed the latent powers of the General Assembly existing within the UN Charter to make recommendations in lieu of a blocked Security Council, up to and including the use of force. However, it went too far when it assigned to the Assembly a role that effectively usurped the primary role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security. When P5 members of the Security Council realized that it potentially restricted their respective sovereign interests, it was relegated to obscurity. Nevertheless, it creates a constitutional balance between the UN's primary organs. The resolution represents a viable tool capable of overcoming the worst effects of a veto exercised in circumstances that cry out for an international response.

The Security Council

The Security Council is the United Nations' most powerful executive body, with "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security." Five powerful countries sit as "permanent members" along with ten elected members with two-year terms. Since 1990, the Council has dramatically increased its activity and it now meets in nearly continuous session. It dispatches military operations, imposes sanctions, mandates arms inspections, deploys election monitors and more. It has 15 Members, and each Member has one vote. Under the UN Charter, all

Member States are obligated to comply with Council decisions. The Security Council takes the lead in determining the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression. It calls upon the parties to a dispute to settle it by peaceful means and recommends methods of adjustment or terms of settlement. In some cases, the Security Council can resort to imposing sanctions or even authorize the use of force to maintain or restore international peace and security. It is final authority in implementing the UN Charter and also the decisions taken at the General Assembly. The success or failure of UNO largely depends on the working of the Security Council. The General Assembly is a directional organ whereas the Security Council is an implementing body. It has been rightly said by G.J. Maigone that neither in history nor in present world there exist a powerful organ such as Security Council to avert the war. In case of a breach of or threat to peace or international security, it has the possibility and to a certain degree the responsibility to act preventively and repressively. The Security Council has proved its worth in the later years.

2.6 Composition-

The Security Council shall consist of fifteen Members of the United Nations. The veto powers - the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect ten other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen, two of the four additional members shall be chosen for a term

of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

2.7 Functions and Powers-

The UN Security Council is the world's top patron of peace and security. It has been entrusted with special responsibility for maintaining world peace and security. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XII. The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.

The UN Security Council has powers to :-

1. Maintain international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations;
2. Formulates plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments;
3. Recommends to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary-General and, together with the Assembly, to elect the Judges of the International Court of Justice.
4. Investigate any dispute or situation, which might lead to international friction and peaceful settlement thereof.

2.8 Critical Assessment -

The Security Council is a relic of the geopolitics of 1945. On the basis of its elaborate powers, it is regarded as the most important and highly sensitive organ of the United Nations. While the structure and operational mechanisms of the UN Security Council have been criticized since 1950,

they have recently come under heightened attack given the inability of the UNSC to intervene effectively in the conflict in Syria. It has failed to fulfill the responsibilities and role it was assigned under the UN Charter. According to Palmer and Perkins, *"the Security Council was conceived as the Central Agency of the United Nations, but it did not fulfill its expected role."* To be legitimate today it must reflect contemporary realities. It needs to accommodate today's powers that are currently excluded Japan and Germany, and contemplate the accommodation of tomorrow's big states India and Brazil. It must also address the extraordinary powers inherent in the veto. Legitimacy is not to be found in the uneven distribution of such clout. As the many failed attempts at reform instruct us, positive change is not easy.

The International Court of Justice-

Article 92-The International Court of Justice shall be the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It shall function in accordance with the annexed Statute, which is based upon the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and forms an integral part of the present Charter. It was established in June 1945 by the Charter of the United Nations and began work in April 1946. The seat of the Court is at the Peace Palace in The Hague (Netherlands). Of the six principal organs of the United Nations, it is the only one not located in New York (United States of America). The Court's role is to settle, in accordance with international law, legal disputes submitted to it by States and to give advisory opinions on legal questions referred to it by authorized United Nations organs and specialized agencies.

2.9 Structure-

All Members of the United Nations are ipso facto parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice and also its members. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the

Security Council. There are following conditions for the new membership :

1. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.
2. Contribute to the estimated expenditure by the General Assembly.

Presently, The Court is composed of 15 judges, who are elected for terms of office of nine years by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council. Besides, there are a few ad-hoc judges also there. It is assisted by a Registry, its administrative organ. Its official languages are English and French. Judges must be elected from among persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are *jurisconsults* of recognized competence in international law. The Court may not include more than one national of the same State. Moreover, the Court as a whole must represent the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world. They will be chosen without considering their nationality.

Election of Judges -

The judges are elected by members of the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council, where polling takes place simultaneously but independent of each other. In order to be elected, a candidate must have an absolute majority in both bodies, which often leads to much lobbying, and a number of rounds of voting. In order to ensure a sense of continuity, especially in pending cases, elections are conducted triennially for a third of the 15-member Court. Elections are held in New York during the autumn session of the United Nations General Assembly, and the elected judges enter office on February 6 of the subsequent year. After the Court is in session, a President and Vice-President are elected by secret ballot to hold office for three years. If a judge were to die in office, resign, or be incapacitated to perform the duties expected of her, a special election is held as soon as

possible to fill the vacancy for the unexpired duration of her tenure.

Tenure of Judges -

The judges of the International Court of Justice are elected for 9 years old and after every 3 years 5 judges are retired. Judges are eligible to stand for re-election. Although, national governments can nominate the judges and also participate in their elections, but the judges neither act as representative of their country nor follow the instructions of their government. The Court also adheres to a rigid ethno-cultural matrix to ensure that it is representative of the 'main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world.' This internal arithmetic is maintained at every election to the ICJ. Of the 15 judges, it is mandated that three should be from Africa, two from Latin America and the Caribbean, three from Asia, five from Western Europe and other states, and two from Eastern Europe. Presently, Justice Dalveer Bhandari of India is one of the judges of the International Court of Justice. Earlier Justice Dr. Nagendra Singh of Dungarpur served as President of the International Court of Justice from 1985 to 1988.

2.10 Powers & Jurisdiction-

The International Court of Justice possesses two types of jurisdiction:

Contentious jurisdiction Contentious jurisdiction involves States that submit the dispute by consent to the Court for a binding decision.

Advisory jurisdiction Advisory jurisdiction, on the other hand, concerns questions referred to the Court by the General Assembly, the Security Council or other organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations. Those questions can only refer to legal questions arising within the scope of their activities. Advisory opinions given by the International Court of Justice are not binding.

1. Contentious Jurisdiction-

In the exercise of its jurisdiction in contentious cases, the International Court of Justice settles disputes of a legal nature that are submitted to it by States in accordance with international law. An

international legal dispute can be defined as a disagreement on a question of law or fact, a conflict, or a clash of legal views or interests. Only States may apply to and appear before the International Court of Justice. International organizations, other authorities and private individuals are not entitled to institute proceedings before the Court. Article 35 of the Statute defines the conditions under which States may access the Court. While the first paragraph of that article states that the Court is open to States parties to the Statute, the second is intended to regulate access to the Court by States which are not parties to the Statute. The conditions under which such States may access the Court are determined by the Security Council, subject to the special provisions contained in treaties in force at the date of the entry into force of the Statute, with the proviso that under no circumstances shall such conditions place the parties in a position of inequality before the Court. The Court can only deal with a dispute when the States concerned have recognized its jurisdiction. No State can therefore be a party to proceedings before the Court unless it has in some manner or other consented thereto.

i. Optional jurisdiction - The international court has voluntary jurisdiction regarding the laws of states. This means that in such a case, the state brings it under any agreement. It is not a restriction on any state that it is brought to its court in the same court.

ii. Compulsory jurisdiction- It is that legal obligation that is at the root of the term "compulsory". The jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice is based on the consent of the parties. No State can be compelled without its consent to submit a dispute with another State to international adjudication. States have the option to accept or not to accept the Court's jurisdiction and can do so under terms and conditions they determine themselves. However, once a State has granted its consent, and when a dispute that falls within the scope of that consent is submitted to the Court, the State must subject itself to the Court's jurisdiction. The Court's jurisdiction covers all questions that

states refer to it, and all matters provided for in the United Nations Charter, or in international treaties and conventions. States may bind themselves in advance to accept the jurisdiction of the Court, either by signing a treaty or convention that provides for referral to the Court or by making a declaration to that effect. Such declarations accepting compulsory jurisdiction often contain reservations excluding certain classes of disputes.

According to Article 36-

- i. The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in the Charter of the United Nations or in treaties and conventions in force.
- ii. The states parties to the present Statute may at any time declare that they recognize as compulsory ipso facto and without special agreement, in relation to any other state accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes concerning:
 - a. the interpretation of a treaty;
 - b. any question of international law;
 - c. the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation ;

2. Advisory jurisdiction -

The International Court has the power to advice on the legal questions to the other special agencies established by the General Assembly, the Security Committee and the General Assembly. The advice of the international court is taken by the written request. The court itself does not reveal its own opinion In addition; its advice is not required by the agency seeking the advice. It is advisable only, no decision.

2.11 The Trusteeship Council-

According to Article 7 of the UN Charter the Trusteeship Council is one of the six organs of UNO. It was established by the Charter in 1945 to provide international supervision for 11 Trust Territories placed under the administration of 7 member states,

and ensure that adequate steps were taken to prepare the Territories for self-government or independence. The Charter authorized the Trusteeship Council to examine and discuss reports from the Administering Authority on the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples of Trust Territories; to examine petitions from the Territories; and to undertake special missions to the Territories. By 1994, all Trust Territories had attained self-government or independence, either as separate states or by joining neighboring independent countries. The last to do so was the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Palau), which became the 185th member state. Its work completed, the Trusteeship Council its membership reduced now to the five permanent members of the Security Council (China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States) has amended its rules of procedure to meet as and where occasion may require.

2.12 Contribution-

The Trusteeship Council was set up as one of the main organs of the United Nations. Its objective was to administer and support the transition to independence and self-governance of the colonies held by the Axis Powers from World War II, as well as the territories mandated by the League of Nations. The Trusteeship Council has completed its mission, but continues to exist on paper, under the UN Charter, chapter XII. It has worked well to promote the advancement of the inhabitants of Trust Territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence. However, since all Trust Territories have today “attained self-government or independence, “the Trusteeship Council hasn't really exercised any regular function since 1994. Nonetheless, it may still meet occasionally whenever required.

2.13 Economic and Social Council -

The Economic and Social Council coordinates the economic and social work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and institutions, as well as their functional commissions and five regional

commissions known as "the United Nations family" of organizations. Most people associate the United Nations with the maintenance of peace and security. However, most of the organization's resources are spent on promotion of higher standards of living, full employment and economic and social progress as formulated in the UN Charter. Article 1(3) of UN Charter underlines that one of its purposes is to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

2.14 Secretariat and General Secretary -

The Secretariat which consists of international staff working in duty stations around the world. It carries out the diverse day-to-day work of the Organization. It services the other principal organs of the United Nations and administers the programs and policies laid down by them. At its head is the Secretary-General, who is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council for a five-year, renewable term. The duties carried out by the Secretariat are as varied as the problems dealt with by the United Nations. These range from administering peacekeeping operations to mediating international disputes, from surveying economic and social trends to preparing studies on human rights and sustainable development. Secretariat staff also informs the world's communications media about the work of the United Nations; organize international conferences on issues of worldwide concern; and interpret speeches and translate documents into the Organization's official languages. The secretariat staff is appointed by the Secretary General as per the rules established by the General Assembly. The Secretariat has some 25,530 staff members on contracts of one year or more, of whom some 17,630 are paid from extra budgetary resources. Staff on short term-contracts brings the total to some 30,550 staff from 193 countries. As international civil servants, staff members and the Secretary-General answer to the

United Nations alone for their activities, and take an oath not to seek or receive instructions from any government or outside authority. Under the Charter, each member state undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff, and to refrain from seeking to influence them improperly.

2.15 Special Agencies of UNO-

Specialized agencies are autonomous organizations working with the United Nations and each other through the coordinating machinery of the United Nations Economic and Social Council at the intergovernmental level, and through the Chief Executives Board for coordination (CEB) at the inter-secretariat level. Specialized agencies may or may not have been originally created by the United Nations, but they are incorporated into the United Nations System by the United Nations Economic and Social Council acting under Articles 57 and 63 of the United Nations Charter. UN has many specialized agencies that carry out various functions on behalf of the UN. The specialized agencies are listed below.

1. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
2. United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)
3. World Health Organization (WHO)
4. World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)
5. Universal Postal Union (UPU)
6. International Telecommunication Union (ITU)
7. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)
8. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)
9. International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)
10. International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)
11. World Trade organization (WTO)

12. International Maritime Organization (IMO)
13. International Labor Organization (ILO)
14. International Monetary Fund (IMF)
15. World Bank Group (WBG)
16. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)
17. International Finance Corporation (IFC)
18. International Development Association (IDA)
19. World Meteorological Organization (WMO)
20. World Tourism Organization (UNWTO or WTO)

2.16 Role of UNO-

Maintaining world peace and security is the highest necessity of today's era. Today we cannot secure security for one state at the expense of the other. Security can only be universal, but security cannot only be political or military, it must be as well ecological, economical, and social. It must ensure the fulfillment of the aspirations of humanity as a whole. At the end of World War II, which broke out just 20 years after the end of the World War I, the civilized states felt it necessary to establish an international organization vital for maintaining the world peace and security and accordingly on 24 October 1945 the United Nations was established. When the United Nations took the place of the League in 1945 it was entrusted with economic, social and other non-political functions far greater than those of its predecessor. The preamble of the United Nations Charter declares that the aim of this international organization is to protect future generations from the scourge of war. In the UN Charter, highest priority was accorded to maintenance of peace and security in international relations. The war was declared an illegal act and the responsibility of disarming the world, ending colonialism and stopping the war was entrusted to the United Nations. It was also entrusted the responsibility of maintaining world peace and security and promoting peaceful coexistence and cooperation among the different countries of the

world. The importance of the '**international peace and security**' can be gauged from the fact that the term has been used 32 times. In the first Article of the Charter highlighting the purposes of the United Nations, international peace and security have been described as the main priority of the United Nations. Article 1 of the Charter underlines the purpose of the UN says "To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace." The United Nations has made all the efforts to fulfill all these responsibilities in the last seven decades of its existence. In the direction of disarmament and nuclear denuclearization it has done good job through several institutional activities and still making its efforts. It has acted like an international forum in establishing mutual friendship and cooperation among different countries. It has done commendable work to develop socio-economic-cultural cooperation among different countries and their citizens. United Nations has played a particularly admirable role in the end of colonialism and ending imperialism, to establish a new international economic order, declare the Indian Ocean as the region of peace, to work for nuclear disarmament and arms control. It has contributed a great deal in making the colonies free from colonial rule and to end racial discrimination in South Africa. Many other resolutions have also been passed to solve international problems.

2.17 World Peace and UN efforts-

The world has changed dramatically since the United Nations was established after World War II, but the organization has not fully adapted to reflect the 21st century. While the U.N. has had its share of successes, its aging structure has struggled with new threats like Ebola and terrorist groups that control

large areas of its member countries. U.N. members have been discussing change for decades, but agreement has proven impossible because of competing interests. The United Nations came into being in 1945, following the devastation of the Second World War, with one central mission: the maintenance of international peace and security. The UN does this by working to prevent conflict; helping parties in conflict make peace; peacekeeping; and creating the conditions to allow peace to hold and flourish. These activities often overlap and should reinforce one another, to be effective. The UN Security Council has the primary responsibility for international peace and security. The General Assembly and the Secretary-General play major, important, and complementary roles, along with other UN offices and bodies. Since 1945 there have been many occasions where local conflict between two countries could have flared up in a regional war or a full-fledged world war. United Nations prevented such wars from spreading through the actions of collective security. It has used all means available to it under Chapter VII of its charter to establish peace in the world. It has used all means including using military action in past 73 years. It has been successful in resolving a number of complex problems through negotiations and other peaceful means and continuing doing so even today. UN made its best efforts to resolve following problems for the maintenance of peace and security of the world by the United Nations -

1. Iran Conflict
2. Greek Conflict
3. Indonesia Conflict
4. Kashmir Problem
5. Racism in South Africa
6. Congo Crisis

2.18 Relevance of UNO-

It is true that UN could not resolve various conflicts during the Cold War in the period from 1945-70 and 1980-89. It failed to resolve many outstanding problems which flared up in serious military conflicts such as Iran-Iraq war continued

for over ten years. Soviet occupation of Afghanistan also remained for almost 10 years. About 100 major conflicts and disputes have occurred during the Cold War, in which about 20 million people were killed. The P5 permanent members of the United Nations Security Council prevented the UN in resolving many disputes by using their Veto power for 279 times. Nevertheless, UN has not become irrelevant due to its various handicaps but it certainly needs to adapt to the changed circumstances. It is very important even in the 21st century. The United Nations has positively contributed a great deal in maintaining international peace and security, promoting cooperation among states and international development. Today, people of the world still face the two major issues of peace and development. The achievements of United Nations have always been debated and during last two decades the relevance of the organization has been questioned. It is always argued that the organization is not democratic in nature; rather it is manipulated by a handful of powers like US and its cronies for serving their own purposes. The composition of the Security Council has always been a bone of contention among the member countries. For many years, some member-states have been advocating expansion of the Security Council, arguing that adding new members will cure the democratic and representative shortfall from which the Council suffers. The Security Council reflects the global power structure of 1945, and it was in 1965, the last time, under pressure from a growing membership, that the UN expanded the Council, bringing its total membership to 15 by adding 10 temporary members to it. The arrangement of P5 makes the Council both autocratic and fruitless. The veto-wielding permanent members (P5) avert many issues from reaching the Council's agenda and they often selfishly block widely-agreed and much-desirable initiatives. Despite the ten elected members, the Security Council remains geographically unbalanced and unrepresentative. At the heart of this divide lies a disagreement over claims to new permanent Council seats. Brazil, India, Japan and Germany want a permanent seat in the Council, and

have threatened to session their monetary or military troop offerings to the UN if they are not rewarded with permanent member status. African countries have also uttered the need for permanent African representation in the Council to bring an end to the domination of industrialized nations in the influential UN organ. But the P5 prefer to keep their oligarchy. Nations agree on the Council's loopholes, but they differ sharply on the required solutions. On September 16, 2008, however, the United Nations members endorsed India's viewpoint that the General Assembly should begin the inter-governmental negotiations on expansion of the Security Council, with consensus emerging in favor of starting parleys by February 2009. The need of the hours that after the end of Cold War and traditional rivalry between the USA and the USSR after the collapse of the Communist Bloc, the powerful countries of the world including the USA should come together and cooperate for the common cause of the maintenance of the international peace and security and to make the functioning of UNSC more democratic by expanding its permanent membership. Democratization, decentralization and empowerment of UNO are not only important for the betterment of the world but also necessary for the survival of this prestigious international forum. The United Nations today is a big organization of 193 countries and nearly represents the entire humanity save a few rouge elements. But its security council is lacking uniform, equal and proper representation of all the continents and key powers of the world. It is very essential to increase the number of permanent members of this institution and provide permanent membership to India, Japan, Germany and Brazil. In addition, the number of non-permanent members should also be increased. In fact, it is necessary that membership of the UN Security Council must be increased from 15 to at least 25 or 27. This is a natural and vital need of the present international order. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by

peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

Important Points

- United Nations Organization was founded on 24 October 1945.
- UN Charter has 111 Articles.
- The purpose of establishment of the United Nations -
 - To maintain international peace and security.
 - To resolve any kind of international problem, economic, social, cultural and human.
 - To establish respect and friendly relations for equal rights.
 - To be a center to streamline the task to achieve the above objectives.
- Major Agencies of United Nations - UNESCO, World Bank, World Health Organization (WHO), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and UNICEF etc.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Which of the following statements does not match the purposes of the UNO?
 - (A) To maintain international peace and security.
 - (B) To save the world from wars.
 - (C) To maintain trade between India and Pakistan
 - (D) To take initiatives to solve international problems. ()
2. The number of founding members of the United Nations was -
 - (A) 193
 - (B) 51

- (C) 15 (D) 05 ()
3. Which of the following is a permanent member of the Security Council?
(A) France (B) India
(C) Japan (D) Australia ()
 4. United Nations agency for the spread of education and culture is -
(A) World Bank
(B) World Health Organization (WHO)
(C) UNESCO
(D) International Monetary Fund ()
 5. Presently, who has been elected as the judge of the International Court of Justice from India?
(A) Justice Dalveer Bhandari
(B) Justice Dr. Nagendra Singh
(C) Justice Vineet Kothari
(D) Justice Amar Singh Gondekar ()

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. When was the United Nations formed?
2. In which city is the headquarters of the International Court of Justice located?
3. What is the number of temporary members of the Security Council?
4. What is the exclusive power of permanent members of the UN Security Council called?
5. Who is the present UN General Secretary?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Explain the main objectives of the United Nations.
2. What are the three main functions of the General Assembly?
3. Name the five permanent members of the Security Council.
4. What is 'Veto'?
5. What is the task of the Trusteeship Council?

Essay Type Questions-

1. Elaborate about the main objectives of establishing the UNO and justify its current relevance.
2. Write an article on the organizational structure of the United Nations Organization.
3. Security Council was formed for international peace and security, but today it has become a hallucination of the superpowers. Do you agree with this statement? Discuss Critically.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. C 2. B. 3. A 4. C 5. A

3. India's Relations with Its Neighbours (Pakistan, China and Nepal)

Presently, India's relations with its neighboring countries Pakistan, China and Nepal are very sensitive and significant. The main element of India's foreign policy is to maintain peaceful, amiable and friendly relations with its neighboring countries. In view of these principles, India favors cordial relations with its neighbors but it cannot remain silent on border encroachment, infiltration and interference in its internal affairs. Thus whenever the neighboring countries cross their limits India is forced to retort back. Though immediately after India had acquired its independence it had normal relations with China and Nepal but soon after the sudden intrusion of China (1962) and its encroachments upon Indian frontiers resulted in bitterness between the two. Critical conditions prevailed in Nepal after the brutal massacre of king Birendra Bir Bikram Shah and his family. The conditions improved afterwards but could not be restored to desired normalcy. Although the fundamental element of India's foreign policy is to bring harmony, peace and friendly relations with neighboring countries. But it is a responsibility to be carried by both the sides. Since Pakistan which was once part of India was born on unfounded, unethical unpopular and impractical principles, the relations between the two countries had never been friendly in the true sense. Shortly after the formation of Pakistan on 14th August, 1947, it invaded Kashmir which was an integral part of India and occupied one part of it which is still under its possession. The study of India's foreign policy clearly manifests that India has been constantly facing complex challenges since its independence from the British yoke.

Pakistan raised the Kashmir dispute immediately after the independence which later exploded into a full-fledged war between India and Pakistan. Since then, three more wars have been fought between India and Pakistan on Kashmir dispute; which however stands unresolved till date. Similarly, many complications and intricacies have also erupted in India's relations with China and Nepal. The age old amity with neighboring countries is also tangled due to border disputes and military conflicts. Our maintaining relationship with big powers which is mutually beneficial had not been easy. Apart from this, our national security and bilateral relations has also been endangered due to the risks of inter-state conflicts with its small neighbors such as Nepal and Sri Lanka. Whether it was a communal civil war in Sri Lanka or struggle of Bangladesh or using territory of Nepal as a sanctuary for promoting separatism, all these issues have been headaches for Indian foreign policy. Thus, India's relations with these three countries can be broadly discussed as under:

3.1 India & Pakistan Relations-

With the end of British colonial rule in Asia, a new struggle started which resulted in word 'peace' disappearing from this region forever. India's independence in 1947 and its subsequent division into two nations India and Pakistan - have sowed the seeds of continuing conflict between the two neighboring countries since their independence. This conflict which is called -Indo-Pak conflict is deeply rooted in Pakistan's continuous provocative support to terrorist activities; its religious animosity and unwarranted nuclear proliferation aimed

against India. To understand the nature of Indo-Pak conflict in a correct manner, study of the facts related to the partition of India is essential. The partition of India was primarily based on the religious divide between the two communities the Hindus and the Muslims. It further widened the already existing hatred, distrust and animosity between the two communities. The creation of Pakistan as a Muslim country in contrast to India which was Hindu dominated formed much of the initial thinking behind the idea of the state. Pakistan, which was born amidst problems further complicated its problems since then and has sparked a new conflict in the sub-continent making the region a nuclear flashpoint.

3.2 Problem Areas of India- Pakistan Relations-

1. Problems arising out of the Partition;
2. Problems arising from Pakistan's policy against India and its open support to terrorism;
3. Pakistan's acquiring membership of SEATO and CENTO to encircle India and its acting as a US stooge earlier and now as stooge colony of China;

Facts file showing the military tension between India and Pakistan since independence -

1. India and Pakistan make expenditure of 6.2 percent and 3.8 percent of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on developmental activities respectively;
2. India and Pakistan spend 2.9% and 4.7% of their GDP respectively on their military preparedness;
3. Pakistan spends more than 8 percent of its GDP on jihad and sponsoring terrorism activities, while India's expenditure in this area is zero;
4. Pakistan is involved in infiltration and illegal trade in India through smuggling;
5. India has to spend an extra expenditure of about Rs.9 thousand Crores annually on the security of its borders including Siachen due to

its tense relations with its neighbor;

6. Pakistan's unauthorized occupation of one part Kashmir.

3.3 Problems Arising from the Partition-

India was hopeful that peace and mutual harmony would prevail between the two countries after the ordeal of partition was over and they will progress on the difficult path of economic development with the mutual peace, goodwill. But Pakistan, from its very birth started created some problems that led to bitterness in the relations between the two countries.

These problems inherited by India from partition were

1. Hyderabad dispute;
2. Junagadh dispute;
3. Question of repayment of loan;
4. Water dispute;
5. Question of refugees;
6. Illegal occupation of one part of Kashmir by Pakistan;

3.4 Kashmir Dispute -

The problem of Kashmir is perhaps the most burning, difficult and outstanding of all the problems between India and Pakistan. It is like a dormant volcano which is forgotten when quiescent but erupts in terrifying lava as and when aggravated. The Kashmir conflict is probably the longest on record in the modern world. To quote Alan Michael - "Kashmir problem is not necessarily a problem of land or water; it is a question of the people and prestige of both countries." It is probably, the oldest and the most serious dispute between Pakistan and India. All efforts seemed to have failed to resolve this problem so far. After independence, not only India and Pakistan emerged as two new countries, in principle the princely states also became independent with the end of the British colonial rule. The British government had announced that the princely states could merge with India or Pakistan according to their wishes. Theoretically, a Princely

state could join any state i.e. India or Pakistan or stay independent. Most of the princely states merged either with India or with Pakistan and no problem arose. Initially two princely states, the state of Nizam of Hyderabad and Nawab of Junagadh resisted the move of their merger with India but the issue was resolved soon and they were finally merged with India. Jammu and Kashmir was also one of the princely states. The situation of the state of Jammu and Kashmir was a special. Located on the northwestern border of India, this state connects both India and Pakistan. Although the majority of its population was Muslim, the genetic ruler was Hindu. In 1947, Maharaja Hari Singh, the princely ruler, was allowed to join either of the two newly independent countries India or Pakistan. In August, 1947, the ruler of Kashmir did not make any immediate decision regarding his merger. He delayed making a decision until Britain's departure from the subcontinent and had offered to make standstill agreement with India and Pakistan both. Later, he signed a standstill agreement with Pakistan. Pakistan on the contrary had ulterior motives and wanted to annex it by force. Accordingly, on October 22, 1947, the Pakistani army launched a full-fledged war on Kashmir by infiltrating its Pathan tribesmen and also regular troops in garb of the tribesmen of North-West Frontier Province. At the same time, Pakistan also organized its army on the border. Within 4 days, the invaders reached Baramulla, 25 miles away from Srinagar. The king was in precarious situation. He was unable to prevent his princely state from this alien invasion and therefore he finally requested Indian Government to render necessary military support. India first made sure that until and unless the princely state formally accedes to the state to India, it would be impossible to provide any military assistance. Under this condition, Maharaja Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession on 26th October 1947 and also appealed for Indian army's help to save his kingdom from the invaders. Government of India accepted the proposal immediately. Accordingly, India provided its military assistance on the next day by sending

Indian forces on October 27, 1947 and was able to retake two-third of the princely Jammu and Kashmir state from the invasion of the Pakistani tribesmen and the regular army. Since then the state of Jammu & Kashmir became an integral part of India with the condition of a referendum on the end of the war. However, the remaining portion went under the control of Pakistan. Kashmir has become a territorial dispute between the two nations ever since India safeguarded it from the clutches of Pakistani invaders and having legally acceded to Union of India. The Indian government asked Pakistan to stop the intrusion of the tribesmen in its territories. But, when India found direct involvement of Pakistan in Kashmir aggression it referred the issue to the UN. In its direct appeal to the UN Security Council (UNSC) on 1st January 1948, India stated that "there now exists a situation whose continuance was likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security owing to the aid which infiltrators, consisting of nationals of Pakistan and of tribesmen from the territory immediately adjoining Pakistan on the northwest, under directions from Pakistan for operations against Kashmir, a state which has acceded to the Dominion of India and is part of India. India also reiterated its demand that Pakistan must take actions to compel the raiders to withdraw from Kashmir. Soon the UN intervened to the issue and the two countries agreed to ceasefire on 1st January 1949. The Security Council appointed the United Nations Commission for the purpose of resolving this issue by appointing 5 countries - Czechoslovakia, Argentina, USA, Colombia and Belgium as observers to look into the situation on the ground realities.

3.5 Work of the United Nation Commission-

The United Nations Commission started its work immediately and after studying the ground situation, on 13th August 1948, the UNCIP (United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan) passed its first resolution. According to this resolution, both parties were to agree upon the issuing of a ceasefire

order within four days of their acceptance of the resolution; the Commission would appoint Military Observers to supervise the ceasefire; troops withdrawals and the territorial evacuation were to be administered by the local authorities under the observation of the Commission; and both parties were asked to reaffirm their agreement that the future of Kashmir would be determined in accordance with the will of the people. The UNCIP arbitrated that following measures to be taken prior to reaching any truce between the two confronting parties.

1. Pakistan must withdraw/pull out not only all its troops but also the tribesmen and the intruders from Kashmir.
2. Troops withdrawals and the territorial evacuation were to be administered by the local authorities under the observation of the Commission;
3. When the Commission shall have notified the Government of India that Pakistani withdrawal has been completed, India was to withdraw the bulk of its forces;
4. India would maintain a minimum force during the ceasefire to assist local authorities in the observance of law and order;

On the basis of these principles, the two sides agreed to a ceasefire on 1 January 1949 after a long interaction. Final settlement of Kashmir's merger was to be done on the basis of the plebiscite. Admiral Chester Nimitz, an American citizen, was appointed an administrator to complete the referendum. He talked to the two parties regarding the referendum, but no results were found. The pre-condition of plebiscite was complete withdrawal of Pakistani troops followed by India. After both the withdrawals were completed, a plebiscite would be held. The resolution was accepted by India but effectively rejected by Pakistan. In the end, he resigned from his post. The Indian government considered itself to be under legal possession of Jammu and Kashmir by virtue of the accession of the state. The assistance given by Pakistan to the rebel forces and the Pakhtoon tribes was held to be a hostile act and the

further involvement of the Pakistan army was taken to be an invasion of Indian Territory. From the Indian perspective, the plebiscite was meant to confirm the accession, which was in all respects already complete, and Pakistan could not aspire to an equal footing with India in the contest. India required an asymmetric treatment of the two countries in the withdrawal arrangements regarding Pakistan as an 'aggressor', whereas Pakistan insisted on parity. The UN mediators tended towards parity, which was not to India's satisfaction. In the end, no withdrawal was ever carried out, India insisting that Pakistan had to withdraw first, and Pakistan contending that there was no guarantee that India would withdraw afterwards. On January 1, 1949, a ceasefire was agreed, with 65 per cent of the territory under Indian control and the remainder with Pakistan. When the cease fire line was set up, Pakistan held under its occupation a total area of 32000 square miles with a population of 7 lakh. Pakistan named this area "Azad Kashmir." India had 53,000 square miles under its possession with a population of 33 lakh. The ceasefire was intended to be temporary but the Line of Control remains the de facto border between the two countries since 1972. The LOC is rooted in the ceasefire lines drawn up after the first India-Pakistan war in 1947-8. It was formally established in 1972, after a third war between India and Pakistan in 1971.

3.6 Kashmir Dispute between India and Pakistan is Permanent in Nature-

At the time of independence; India with a population of 33 crores was the second most populous country in the world. In this case we are still in second place. If we had a peaceful relationship with our neighbors, then we could have established economic and cultural cooperation with them. But Pakistan was not ready for this. Pakistan was not prepared to accept that the majority Muslim population of the Kashmir Valley was willing to go along Sheikh Abdullah on the democratic and secular path of India. Pakistan also forgot that it had sent its soldiers as infiltrators in garb of tribesmen to forcibly capture and to illegally occupy Kashmir by

having imposed an undeclared war on India. Since the Kabayali aggression of 1947, till date Pakistan has left no stone unturned to make the Kashmir issue complicated. Pakistan with the help of religion and religious money pouring from the countries of the Middle East it has been successful in giving this dispute a religious coloring and making it a serious concern for India. It is an issue which is primarily linked with the security and integrity of India. The declaring the state of J&K as part of the Mountbatten plan by Maharaja Hari Singh and subsequently signing a standstill agreement with Pakistan were two most unfortunate events for both Kashmir and India. Pakistan has foiled all its negotiations with India by bringing to fore the thorny issue of Kashmir. Although the consecutive elections held in Kashmir after the incident have made the holding of plebiscite useless. The people of Jammu and Kashmir have exercised their will in the free and fair elections held in the state so far. It demonstrates their will and wish to stay with India. It is only the religious animosity of Pakistan that it wants to woo Kashmir in its favor by sponsoring terrorism based on a religious ideology.

3.7 Kashmir Problem An Emotional and Secular Issue -

The problem of Kashmir is not limited to dispute of the land. Kashmir as an integral part of India is also a big criterion for its secular identity. Kashmir state is not merely confined by the periphery of Srinagar valley; it is a vast area covers in it extended areas of Ladakh and the glacier of Siachin. The state of J&K has 3 major regions: The Kashmir Valley which is predominantly Muslim, Jammu which is Hindu dominated, and Ladakh which has largely Buddhist population. The POK has a Muslim majority. The bone of contention is just a 100-mile-long valley, which is only about 9 percent of the original J&K territory. It is the most sensitive part of indo-china border. The original Kashmir has been divided in 3 parts: 45% with India, 35% with Pakistan, and 20% with China. In the 1962 war, China grabbed about 35,000 sq. km in Aksai Chin. It got another 5,000 sq. km in Baltistan

from Pakistan under a treaty signed in March 1963. Hence, Kashmir problem cannot just be settled by restoring normal relations between Pak occupied Kashmir and Srinagar valley. Any resolution of Kashmir problem has to include stake holders of all its regions and religions and not just Kashmir valley and Muslims. No Government at the Centre can overlook and ignore the oppression and displacement of Hindus from the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

3.8 Indo-Pak war in 1965 -

India and Pakistan became engaged in a short but sharp conflict into Pakistani claimed-area in the Rann of Kutch in April 1965. Two contingents of Pakistani army entered the Indian Territory and took control of many parts of Kutch. Besides having provoked a military conflict in Rann of Kutch, Pakistan had started infiltration in Kashmir too. This intrusion was fully planned and schematic. There was a plan to create such a situation in Kashmir internally by causing fury and destruction that forced the Indian army to leave the field from Kashmir. Pakistan believed that Kashmiri Muslim people would join the guerrillas. But it was proved to be wrong. On 4th and 5th of August, 1965 thousands of Pakistani guerrillas intruded in the territory of Kashmir. With the idea of stopping Pakistani infiltration forever, the Indian government decided to take over the places from where Pakistani intruders used to come to the Indian part of Kashmir. Meanwhile, the regular army of Pakistan crossed the International Boundary Line and attacked the Indian Territory and the full-fledged war started. On September 4, 1965, the Security Council passed a resolution and requested both India and Pakistan to stop the war. The war ended in both countries on September 22, 1965. India occupied 750 square miles of land in the war, and Pakistan had to face a humiliating defeat there.

3.9 Tashkent Agreement-

The 17-day war between Pakistan and India of August September 1965 ended with the cease-fire having been secured by the United Nations Security

Council on Sept. 22, 1965. After the war was over, the agreement was mediated by Soviet premier Aleksey Kosygin, who had invited the President of Pakistan Ayub Khan and Prime Minister of India Lal Bahadur Shastri to Tashkent. They met on 4th January 1966 in Tashkent. The main aim of this agreement was to establish peace between both the countries. Accord was signed by India's Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri (who died the next day) and Pakistan's president Ayub Khan on Jan. 10, 1966. The parties agreed to withdraw all armed forces to positions held before Aug. 5, 1965; to restore diplomatic relations; and to discuss economic, refugee, and other questions. The agreement was criticized in India because it did not contain a no-war pact or any renunciation of guerrilla aggression in Kashmir. According to this agreement India had to return back all the territory including the strategically important Haji peer pass which was captured and occupied by Indian army at the huge cost of men and money. However, this agreement was significant because India and Pakistan declared their firm resolves to restore normal and peaceful relations between their countries and to promote understanding and friendly relations between their peoples.

3.10 Indo-Pakistan War of 1971 & Shimla Agreement-

After the war of 1965, the political situation in Pakistan further deteriorated. The dictatorial military rule started mass scale exploitation of people of East Bengal by perpetrating on them most heinous kind of atrocities including mass killings, genocidal rapes, ethnic cleansing and plunder. Disappointment of the people of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) grew leap and bounds. The demand for autonomy of east Bengal grew stronger under the leadership of Sheikh Mujib. The people of East Pakistan extended full support to Mujib for this cause. Pakistani General Yahya Khan started torturing the Bengalis. Under fear of terrible atrocities, people started migrating to India to save their lives leaving behind their homes and everything else. 10 thousand refugees came to India

every day. The number of refugees reached 10 million in India. The war started when Pakistan launched air strikes on 11 Indian airbases on December 2, 1971. Pakistani carriers made a fierce bombing at the Indian airports and cities. The Indian PM, Indira Gandhi, brought the country in the state of emergency and ordered Indian army to reflect the aggression. Fierce military operations developed on the ground, in the air and in the sea. Indian Army retaliated on September 4, 1971. India's planes bombed the important airports of Pakistan. After the fiercest war, the Pak army had to face a humiliating defeat and a new country Bangladesh emerged out of Pakistan. On December 16, 1971, in a military ceremony in Dhaka, Pak military commander General Niazi and his 93 thousand soldiers surrendered before Lt Gen Jagjit Singh Arora of India. Bangladesh became independent and India ordered unilateral ceasefire. India has captured 6,000 square miles of Pakistan in this war. Pakistani general Yahya Khan had to relinquish the power and was replaced by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as Prime Minister. There was correspondence between Bhutto and Mrs. Gandhi and it was decided that the talks between the leaders of the two countries were scheduled to be held in Shimla from June 28, 1972. On July 3, 1972, the historic "Shimla Agreement" was signed between the two countries. The goal of this agreement was to establish peace and harmony between the two countries. India had three primary objectives at Shimla. First, a lasting solution to the Kashmir issue or, failing that, an agreement that would constrain Pakistan from involving third parties in discussions about the future of Kashmir. Second, it was hoped that the Agreement would allow for a new beginning in relations with Pakistan based upon Pakistan's acceptance of the new balance of power. Third, it left open the possibility of achieving both these objectives without pushing Pakistan to the wall and creating a revanchist anti-India regime. The Shimla Agreement of 1972 was expected to be a milestone in India-Pakistan relations, for not only did it rend Pakistan asunder, but India also held 93,000 prisoners of war (POWs) who could constitute a major bargaining chip with

Pakistan. Critics of the Shimla Agreement say that Indian soldiers had won the war in the battlefield but it was lost on the table at Shimla. It is treated by some analysts as the diplomatic blunder of India. It without finding a permanent solution to the Kashmir problem, returned 5,139 square miles of area to Pakistan, which was captured by Indian army at the huge cost of precious lives of its soldiers. India again repeated the diplomatic blunder it had made at Tashkent. India did not force Pakistan to convert the ceasefire line in Kashmir into the international boundary. Although, it was the result of India's peaceful diplomacy, but Pakistan did not take it in the right perspective. And later Pakistan again began to follow its old revengeful and hostile policy towards India. The Shimla Agreement did not fully achieve any of India's objectives. If anything, it may have whetted the Pakistani military's appetite to try to turn Kashmir into India's Bangladesh.

3.11 Terrorism and Pakistan -

In recent years, fundamentalist Islamic aggression has given a profound boost to terrorism for many reasons. The state, which has been merged with oil earnings like Libya and Saudi Arabia, has provoked jihadi passion in an irresponsible manner. Due to strategic pressure, the US has consistently ignored Saudi Arabian communalism and Islamic fundamentalists. Apart from this, the US has prepared the Taliban's dreaded terrorist squad in Pakistan to expel the Soviet Union from Afghanistan. Shah's turnaround in Iran or disintegration of Soviet Union Worldwide Islamic fundamentalist and booming terrorism enhanced Pakistan's audaciousness. Pakistan, which was troubled by decades of civil war in Afghanistan, who came to Pakistan and was creating a risk for it, it has been easy for Pakistan to enter Kashmir as professional jihadis. In this way, the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan was a bilateral dispute, today it has been entangled with international terrorism and Islamic jihad. Whenever Pakistan argues that India-Pakistan conflict cannot be eliminated without tackling the Kashmir problem, it forgets that his plot to link jihadi

terrorism in Kashmir with the question of autonomy of the state has provoked the lip of this struggle.

When Al-Qaeda launched a terrorist attack on America, it seemed that the US would put pressure on Pakistan to punish Islamist terrorists and to sympathetically understand the problem of India in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. But very soon this hope got tarnished. In the International Campaign against Terrorism, the United States has always been adopting double standards and unless Pakistan finds it helpful in a wider background, then its pressure will not fall in favor of India. Thus, Pakistan has become a home of terrorism in the form of an unsuccessful country, which is proving to be a major headache for India.

3.12 Pakistan's Fragile Condition and Problems of India -

Since its becoming independent, the neighboring countries have been creating troubles for India's foreign policy. Ever since their acrimonious split, India and Pakistan remain at daggers drawn. India and Pakistan's rivalry isn't territorial or ideological it's psychological. Pakistan formed on the basis of religion has always treated secular India as its natural enemy. By the time of partition, the two sides had lived together in one society for more than a millennium. Ever since their birth as two separate countries in 1947, Pakistan has been psychologically obsessed with India. The relationship between India and Pakistan further worsened when Pakistan sent armed infiltrators in the state of Jammu and Kashmir and helped spread communal riots not only in J&K but also in other parts of India. These are the psychological dynamics that play out in the dispute over Kashmir. Issues like sharing of government assets, the refugees, compensation for property and distribution of river-water also contributed in contaminating bilateral relations between the two. For Pakistanis, the rivalry against Indians is driven by a deep sense of being "wronged" at the time of partition, the corollary being a "desire" to compete with and trump Indians at any cost. It's this bitterly competitive urge that drives Pakistan's leaders, army officers and

populace to defy India's obvious demographic, economic and military supremacy, and to do so with such intensity. The biggest setback came when the military coup overturned the democratic government of Pakistan destroying any possibility of democracy in that country. This coincided with the spread of the Cold War in South Asia. Non-aligned India was not willing to become a member of military alliances of either the US or the Soviet Union. This proved critical for India. The Pakistani military dictatorship willingly became puppet of the USA as its economy largely depended on the financial aid given by the USA. It was now very easier for the US to make Pakistan dance like a puppet on its gesture. In fact, in Pakistan democracy did not exist at all because it had never developed and thrived. There has never been a direct people's participation in power. The army has power over most of the time. Growing up in the face of illiteracy, unemployment and poverty, Pakistan has always been a constant headache for India. The mutual conflicts of various interest groups and provocation of terrorist activities have been the regular features of Pakistan establishment. Today, Pakistan, a politically volatile country with majority of Muslims is the most vulnerable and sensitive place in the South Asian region. Internally politically fragile and unstable and externally volatile Pakistan is a cause of great worry for India. It poses security risks to India.

3.13 Promotion of Terrorism by Pakistan -

Later, the relations between India and Pakistan consistently suffered because Pakistan continued to promote of terrorism against India, including Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan has always had its involvement in terrorist activities in the region and beyond since long back. Pakistan's tribal region along its border with Afghanistan has been claimed to be a "haven for terrorists". Pakistan's support of terrorism against India and its interference in India's internal affairs appeared in the terrorist blasts of Mumbai in March 1993. Mumbai Blasts of 1993 were part of a continuum of terror by Pakistan. Its direct

involvement in planning, coordinating and implementing the bomb blasts in Mumbai confirmed the opinion of the Indian public that Pakistan intended to intervene in the internal affairs of India and to create situations to make India unstable. India warned Pakistan that its continued support to terrorism against India not only violated the spirit of the Shimla Agreement and the international conduct but also adversely affected the efforts to create an atmosphere of mutual trust in bilateral relations. Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (The ISI) has been playing a role in major terrorist attacks across India including terrorism in Kashmir. In the 1980s-90s, under the fear of Soviet invasion Pakistan began to get huge economic and military aid from the US and China both. The CIA of the USA initiated a program to arm the mujahedeen through Pakistan's ISI. They supplied the latest anti-tank missiles, earth-to-earth and the shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles besides destroyer aircrafts such as F-15, F-16, and F-16C, to strengthen Pakistan in the pretext of stopping Soviet expansion in South Asia. Thus, Pakistan armed and fortified by the superpowers also clandestinely acquired nuclear capability in the name of Islamic bomb posed a serious security concern for India. Although Pakistan had to face a humiliating defeat in the Kargil war, but still it has been continuously supporting terrorism and intrusion of terrorists across the Indian borders. Terrorism emanating from Pakistan or territory under Pakistan's control remains a core concern in bilateral relations.

3.14 Indo-Pak Relations: Attempts to Improve Relationships -

India always desires peaceful, friendly and cooperative relations with Pakistan, which require an environment free from violence and terrorism. Efforts have time and again made to normalize Indo-Pak relations. Tashkent Agreement and Shimla Agreement were some of the efforts towards restoring normalcy in bilateral relations. The tripartite agreement that was concluded in 1974, resolved the problem of prisoners of War. In November 1974, agreement was also signed

between the two countries on posts, telegrams, travel etc. Trade agreement was also reached in November 1974. In 1976, the two countries decided to re-establish diplomatic relations. On April 14, 1978, there was a treaty between India and Pakistan regarding the Salal Hydro Power Project, popularly known as the Salal Water Treaty. Salal Hydroelectric Project is built on river Chenab near Reasi in Udhampur district of Jammu & Kashmir in India. When Pakistan abandoned the CENTO membership in 1979, it was granted membership of non-alignment movement at the Havana Summit in September, 1979 and India did not oppose it. On December 17, 1985, a six-point agreement was signed between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and President Jia-ul-Haq in which it was decided that they would not attack each other's nuclear facilities. On January 10, 1986, a new era began in India and Pakistan's mutual economic relations. In addition to restarting free trade between the two countries, it was agreed to double the public sector trade, to launch direct air services between both the countries and to increase the air service facility. In December 1988, under the leadership of Benazir Bhutto, the democratic government was established. Benazir rejected the proposal of the no-war pact with India and accepted the importance of the Shimla Agreement for resolving mutual disputes, including the Kashmir problem. On December 31, 1988, three agreements between the two countries were signed. The most important agreement between them was related to not attacking each other's nuclear installations. India took initiative to start a Delhi-Lahore-Delhi bus service. Regarding regularizing this service, an agreement and a protocol was concluded on 17 February 1999 in Islamabad. Prime Minister of India, Atal Bihari Vajpayee took a historic initiative in February, 1999, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Delhi-Lahore-Delhi bus service and visited Lahore. The Prime Ministers of both countries signed the Lahore Declaration, which is a milestone for the peace and security of the two countries. Later, many other leaders and delegates of both the countries continued to visit one another. But

this did not yield any meaningful results.

3.15 Continuous Dialogues but Cipher Results -

As expected the result of the talks between the Indo-Pak Foreign Ministers (15-16 July, 2010) in Islamabad, was similar. Although the Government of India was hopeful of some meaningful results from these talks, the people of the country knew very well that such a dialogue would neither bring any result and nor was it likely to yield any result in the future. Though millions of people from both countries might have thought of peace and brotherhood between these estranged neighbours, but the dictatorship of Pakistan would never let the two countries board the cart of friendship. Without Pakistan linking its own terrorism with the terrorism in Kashmir no solution to Kashmir problem is possible. If Pakistan sincerely strives to resolve the problem then it has to stop terrorism and violence in Kashmir. If Pakistan wants to save itself from the brunt of terrorism it has to cease its support to terrorists active in Kashmir. Only when Kashmir remains calm Pakistan can escape from burning its fingers from the fire and fury of violence. At the same time, Pakistan must sincerely act to immediately vacate the Kashmiri portion which is an integral part of India but under its illegal possession and control. Peace cannot be endured till Pakistan continues giving shelter to enemies of India such as Hafiz Saeed and Dawood Ibrahim. Pakistan violated the ceasefire on January 8, 2013, by brutally killing two Indian soldiers, which resulted in the peace process between India and Pakistan derailed. The new visa policy was to be introduced between the two countries, in which people over 65 years of age were to be given 'Visa on Arrival' was also postponed. Pakistani players playing in the Indian Hockey League competition organized in India were asked to go to their own country and cultural ban was also imposed with the immediate effect. The hostile action of Pakistanis the root cause of all these developments. After Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif received the strong mandate in the May 2013 election, Prime

Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh in his congratulations expressed his desire to work with the new government of Pakistan to write new chapters of bilateral relations. Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh met with Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif during the UNGA in New York on September 29, 2013. In addition to raising the issue of continuous terrorism against India, the Prime Minister stressed the need for quick judicial action on all criminals of the Mumbai attack.

3.16 Positive Initiative of New Indian Government towards Pakistan -

Prime Minister Narendra Modi on May 26, 2014, invited Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to his swearing-in ceremony. It appeared that it would lead to the resumption of dialogue between the two countries. But after the meeting of the Pakistani High Commissioner with the separatist Hurriyat leaders, India stopped the Foreign Secretary level talks to be held in Islamabad on 25 August 2014. There was no talk of Modi-Sharif during the 18th SAARC Summit held in Kathmandu on November 26-27, 2014. Every new start in relations between India and Pakistan proved to be a futile exercise. Prime Minister Narendra Modi, at the eve of Christmas (December 25, 2015), arrived in Lahore for a meeting with his Pakistani counterpart Nawaz Sharif in a surprise visit to this country - the first visit to Pakistan by an Indian premier in more than 10 years. He greeted Nawaz Sharif on his birthday and also blessed his granddaughter on her marriage. It seemed to be the decisive moment of that tireless diplomatic drill throughout the month through which the two countries could once again be involved in the process of dialogue. But only a week later, this enthusiasm was completely shattered when Pakistani armed intruders attacked the Pathankot Air Base on the eve of New Year (January 1, 2016). After this, Pakistan subsequently infiltrated terrorists in Kashmir providing evidence of its interference in our internal affairs. The Government of India is continuously trying to restore peace in Kashmir but the elements supporting Kashmiri

militants and sitting in Pakistan are not only provoking the people of Kashmir against the Indian forces, but also providing military and financial assistance to the terrorists.

India-China Relations

3.17 Historical Perspective-

In the decade of 1950 the slogan of "*Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai*" (India and China are brothers) was in vogue. The spirit of brotherhood brought China and India together for a brief period. Old cultural relations between the two ancient civilizations were also referred every now and then. India was the first democratic country out of communist camp which recognized the People's Republic of China. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru sent his friend and assistant K. M. Panikkar to China as the Indian ambassador. India was one of the pioneers in the campaign to provide permanent seat to China in the Security Council. It were the efforts of Nehru and Krishna Menon that China was invited in the Bandung summit on the issue of Tibet. India accepted the sovereignty of China and signed the *Panchsheel Agreement*. It was then felt that despite the differences as regards the border dispute, the relations between the two countries would remain cordial. Chinese diplomats got support from India for settling the Indo-China crisis at the Geneva Peace Conference and nobody had the impression that the situation would get worse soon. In 1962 most of the Indians felt that China had betrayed India. China suddenly crushed the hopes of millions of Indians by invading under the guise of border dispute.

In 1962, the far-reaching consequences of the Indo-China border war came out. Before this, India had been claiming that India and China were two major powers in Asia and that both had distinct cultures and thousands of years old civilizations. After this war, it became clear that India was completely alone in the non-aligned African-Asian fraternity. All plans for India's planned economic development were disturbed and the perception of then Indian leadership that India was capable to play

an important role at the international level also misfired. The McMahon line, which India recognizes as its boundary, is not accepted by the Chinese. The line was drawn by Sir Henry McMahon, the surveying officer and the foreign secretary of the British- Indian government who was acting as the chief negotiator in the Shimla conference between Britain, China and Tibet. The Chinese delegate, Ivan Chen, stated he was not authorized to discuss Tibet's border with India. The McMahon line was negotiated between the British and Tibetans, without Chinese participation and when opposed by the Chinese it was declared as a bilateral accord between India and Tibet. The land south of Tibet was declared as British India. This made the Tawang region of Arunachal Pradesh a part of India. Historically, this area was known as south Tibet. In 1950, Tibet lost its status as an independent territory and India took control of the area. In response to China's claim, India argues that China had no sovereignty over Tibet at the time when the McMahon line was drawn. Also historically it has had no claim to the area that is Arunachal Pradesh. It began to raise the claim after it annexed Tibet. Historically, the Ahom rajas and Deb rajas of Tawang have had a tributary system with the tribes of Arunachal. The Tawang monastery that has links with Lhasa exercised a spiritual and not a temporal influence. The tribes of Arunachal were integrated more to the south as the high passes of 14,000 and 18,000 feet restricted contact with Tibet. There was just about 60-75 km of "border" areas where regular contact was possible. So, though some accounts see Tibet "ceding" territories to India at the Shimla conference, even ancient travellers like Hieun Tsang speak of the influence of local kingdoms. Also before China's annexation of Tibet, the latter's relations with India were by and large peaceful. It is worth remembering that in the Shimla Agreement of 1913, where both sides i.e. British India and China had recognized this boundary, but China had never accepted it with serious bent of the mind. It is worth remembering that as far as China's national pride and its traditional boundaries are concerned, all the Chinese governments have had identical views

whether they were imperialists, nationalists, communists or the Maoists. The Republic of China was under the impression that the behavior of India would not be similar to its predecessors-the British colonial rulers and it would readily accept its claims over Tibet and Himalayan borders. China was hopeful that it would gain what it had lost in the past because the Congress Party of India had extended full support to China's liberation war.

3.18 Independent India & China

Initial Stage-

Right from the very beginning the attitude of India was friendly towards China. During freedom struggle of India Pt. Nehru had emphasized on friendly relations with China. In Oct 1949 the communist revolution was supported by India. India was among the first countries to give diplomatic recognition to China and made its best efforts to help China get recognition by the UNO. India also accepted the sovereignty of China in Tibet, which was proved to be a blunder on the part of India later. Panchsheel, or the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, were first formally enunciated in the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India signed on April 29, 1954. India was a new and messy democracy, China an impoverished communist dictatorship. Culturally, politically, and socially, they were worlds apart. Yet for a brief period in the mid-1950s, China and India came together in the spirit of "Hindi Chini Bhai-Bhai" (India and China are brothers). Unfortunately this spirit was a short-lived delusion for India. In 1956 there was an uprising against the Chinese rule in the Kham area of Tibet which continued till the end of 1959. This rebellion had full support of Dalai Lama, the Buddhist religious leader of the Tibetan Lamas. The People's Republic of China brutally crushed the rebellion and Dalai Lama had to flee China and took shelter in India on 1 March 1959. Back in Tibet, thousands died fighting the Chinese forces. All fighting-age men who had survived the revolt were deported, and those fleeing the scene reported that Chinese troops burned corpses in [Lhasa] for 12 hours. India giving

political asylum to Dalai Lama was considered by China as a hostile action. These developments woke up the Prime Minister of India to harsh realities that accepting all Chinese claims unconditionally in the Himalayan region and in Tibet's area could eventually be very harmful to India. Accordingly, in strategic context, Pt. Nehru wanted to have a buffer state or territory as an intermediary strip between China and India, despite having good relations and traditions with the former. Nepal was considered important as a 'buffer' state and strategic utility of Tibet was equally significant for India. In 1950, when China had occupied Tibet, Nehru deemed the policy of Panchsheel as useful for the peaceful resolution of the disputes with China.

Sino-Indian Relationship Got Sour over Tibet-

In 1956 when the teenage Dalai Lama came on a journey to India and showed the reluctance of returning to Tibet, Nehru understood and convinced him that China would get annoyed if he stayed in India. When the Dalai Lama, who had been struggling with the growing atrocities of Communist China in Tibet, returned to India with his supporters in 1959 as a refugee, then China considered it hostile action. It was obvious that the escape of Dalai Lama from Tibet and his seeking asylum in India would expose China as a violator of human rights

Border Dispute between India and China and the Series of Unconcluded Talks-

Sino-India relations have been marred by their territorial disputes in the past decades. There were several rounds of diplomatic talks to resolve the border disputes between India and China which included both the talks held at the level of officials and the summit talks. Unfortunately, neither the deadlock could be removed nor any positive progress was made to reach an agreement. India was not ready to give even one inch of its land to China. China believed that relations between both the countries should be based on Asian brotherhood and the unity of the Third World. While India's

emphasized on western international laws and the treaties, which were avoided by the People's Republic of China. Futile and unconcluded bilateral negotiations are in progress even to this day. Moreover, now China has adopted a more aggressive policy by adopting a more aggressive and expansionist policy.

China's Expansionist Policy -

China had already occupied more than fifty thousand square kilometers in the Himalayan Plateau. Where he had completed the construction of strategic importance and had deployed his troops on a large scale. China had taken possession of Aksai Chin region of Ladakh.

Sudden Encroachment on Indian Terrain -

The Sino-India war began on October 20, 1962 when the People's Liberation Army of China invaded Ladakh and Arunachal Pradesh (then known as the North East Frontier Agency) in a synchronized move. The Chinese forces made rapid advancement into Indian territories as the Indian Army was ill-prepared, poorly equipped and short in supplies. They could not resist the aggressor effectively for the lack of equipment and weaponry. In this hour of crisis, many ordinary Indians made extraordinary sacrifices out of the tide of ecstatic love for their country. Almost a month later, after completing all their strategic diplomatic purposes, China announced a one-way ceasefire and something went back. The war lasted till November 21, when China unilaterally withdrew from Indian territories before the snow could block safe passage to its forces. Around 3,250 Indian soldiers were killed. India lost about 43,000 square kilometers of land, captured by China in Aksai Chin. The 1962 war was a jolt to India and Nehru. This led to reversal of defense policy of the country putting the Indian Army on the path of modernization. The greater emphasis on nuclear power and use of nuclear weapons became part of India's defense policy. Thus, relations between India and China have been permanently marred since 1962. China continues to

pursue its expansionist policy firmly and trying to make strategic encirclement of India from all sides whether it is Himalaya or the sea route.

Indo-Russian Relations Develops to Balance Chinese Influence -

There were many far-reaching consequences of Indo-China border war of the 1962. In China, Mao adopted a different Communist model as a single alternative for its development which was influenced by the policy of 'Great Leap Forward' which invented by him. Unlike China, India had not chosen the communist model based on armed guerrilla war for its development rather it adopted a unique democratic model premised on peaceful mixed economy. The India-Russia relationship was born of mutual necessity. The Soviet Russia became apprehensive of growing expansionist and extremist attitude of China and inclined towards India, because it also had border dispute with China. Thus, Russia chose India to balance its relations with China. Gradually, this relationship grew intensively and both became good friends. It as a natural friend has always stood with India in the hour of each of its crises. Whenever there was a conflict between Indo-Pak or Indo-China, Russia always supported India. USSR always supported the Indian stance over Kashmir at the United Nations. The Indo-Russian strategic collaboration is unique. Both states have had strong diplomatic, economic, and strategic ties since the 1950s. Their defense trade includes enhancing India's armored, naval, nuclear and air strike capabilities as well as counter terrorism and surveillance exchange. Close collaboration in the nuclear field is also vivid. Even today, in the changed political equations; Russia continues to provide strong support to India by supplying nuclear fuel, transfer of technologies and strategic equipment.

Ceremonial Agreements -

It is claimed time and again that an agreement to increase mutual trust between the two countries can be signed to prevent the border disputes getting explosive. But the officials of the Chinese army

have emphatically said that such an agreement should merely be "political" or "ceremonial" in nature and it would not have any effect on ground reality or on the strategic equation. The functioning of China's army is different from the Indian Army because the latter follows the orders of the elected representatives of the people. The relationship between the People's Liberation Army and the Communist Party of China is very intimate and complicated. The Chinese government cannot dismiss its point of view.

Water Dispute -

The conflict of interests between India with China is not limited to the border dispute. There are outstanding water disputes between them. As water scarcity in both China and India worsens, the competition over shared water resources in their trans-boundary rivers, particularly the Brahmaputra River, is set to intensify. Without an effective working mechanism between the two countries, water conflicts could potentially become a serious challenge to Sino-India relations. As lower riparians, India and Bangladesh rely on the Brahmaputra River for water, agriculture and livelihoods. Upstream, China holds an important strategic advantage over the river's flow. Chinese dam-building and water division plans along the Brahmaputra (the Yarlung Zangbo in China) is a source of tension between the two neighbors. Diverting waters of Brahmaputra River by China will have adverse effects on the downstream countries. The Chinese ambitious project of diverting water flow from south to the north is known to all. To ensure water security China is building a giant dam in the high mountains which will, due to the water security and environment of the entire Indian subcontinent. In this matter, India has given technical information.

3.19 Relationship on the Ladder of Development-

During the rule of the Janata government in India and post Maoist leaders in China diplomatic relations were also re-established. The two

countries tried to forget the past events and re-establish an intimate relationship afresh. Through many diplomatic channels, India learnt that Peking was keen to improve relations with India. In 1975, a team of Chinese players took part in the table-tennis competition held in Kolkata. In January, 1978 a high level Chinese delegation led by Wang-Ping-Nan visited India. Later trade-delegates also visited each other and there was a trade of about 1.22 million in 1978 between the two countries. China's agricultural scientists visited India in September 1978 and Foreign Minister Vajpayee met with Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua in New York. Vice President B.D. Jatti attended the celebration of the 29th anniversary of the establishment of China organized on October 29, 1978. In November 1978, Indian Dance Troupe led by Mrinalini Sarabhai was extended a grand welcome in China. Foreign minister Vajpayee termed his Chinese visit beginning on February 12, 1979 as a 'reconnaissance mission'. According to Foreign Minister Vajpayee, the purpose of his Peking trip was not to do any transaction, but to know as what was in the air in China after the troubled relationship of so many years. Since 1980 till date, various delegations of India and China have visited each other and reached many commercial-trade agreements and also negotiated other trivial issues.

China is a big and powerful neighboring Asian country and situation of constant conflict with it is unpleasant and harmful to the overall interests of both the countries. If both countries sit together to mutually resolve their outstanding issues, the impact of Asia in world politics is bound to increase. In addition, the expenditure incurred on military preparedness for meeting situation of mutual conflict can be greatly reduced by mutual goodwill and cooperation. China is also forced by many internal and external compulsions to make friendship with India. China knows that India is opposed to the aggressive attitude of expansionist policy and rivalry of the superpowers. A viable and powerful Asian confederation can only be formed in collaboration with India. Therefore, the process of improving relations with India is in the interest of

China.

Later, the gradual process of dialogues and agreements paved the way for mutual co-operation between India and China. Representatives, diplomats and delegates of both the countries have constantly been visiting each other to negotiate further on disputed issues and reach viable agreement to move forward on the progressive path. The visits of recent years of the present Prime Minister Narendra Modi and President of China's Jinping can be considered positive diplomatic moves towards improving the mutual relations. Mutual cooperation cannot be one sided and it requires sincere efforts from both the parties. But China on its part is not extending full support to India on the mutually beneficial matters in the international forums. Mutual suspicion and apprehensions do not help in building a positive relationship with each other.

3.20 Economic Relationship-

As neighbors and two of the world's oldest civilizations, China and India have shared a long history of cultural, scientific, and economic linkages. In modern times, economic ties between the two countries were almost completely severed from 1949 to 1978. There is also a need to rethink seriously about developing a balanced economic relationship between India and China. The trade imbalance is unfavorable and unbalanced for India. Bilateral trade reached a record high of \$84.4 billion last year, up 20.3 per cent from 2016, the fastest growth for five years. The trade between the two countries touched the historic high despite bilateral tensions over a number of issues, including the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), China blocking New Delhi's move to designate Pakistan-based Jaish-e-Mohammed terror group Chief Masood Azhar a global terrorist, Beijing blocking India's entry into the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and the Doklam stand-off. Unfortunately, the trade volume is almost unilateral and China's trade pressure is continuously growing. China is our number one partner, but our trade in China is not even at the tenth place. Although it is true that when

the whole world is in the grip of the overwhelming economic slowdown, then we cannot afford any kind of risk and continue doing business with China is in the country's interest. China is the world's largest market and there is a huge cache of cheap labor. In the field of state-of-the-art technology, China is also far ahead of India. Its status in sectors such as food security to energy security confirms this fact. So, India should carry on with the existing trade practices but it must strive hard to raise its exports to China and reduce the imports to make the economic partnership balanced and favorable to its interests.

China's President Xi Jinping's India visit-

President Jinping arrived in Ahmedabad on September 17, 2014 for the first time on a three-day visit to India. There were three agreements between the Chinese and the Gujarat government in the presence of Prime Minister Modi. The first agreement was related to the development of Gujarat on the lines of Guangdong, the second agreement was related to the development of Ahmedabad similar to Guangzhou and the third one was related to the development of industrial park near the Vadodara. China also consented on opening a new route for Kailash-Mansarovar pilgrimage. In all 12 agreements were signed between the two countries on September 18, 2014. China agreed to invest about 1,200 billion rupees in five years in India. India will also get support from China for running a bullet train and in modernization of its railway stations. But no agreement was reached on the border dispute between the two sides. Prime Minister Modi empathetically said that there must be "quick settlement of boundary dispute." Whereas Jinping said, "Intrusion possible until the boundaries are set."

Visit of Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi to China -

Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited China from May 14-16, 2015. India and China signed 24 agreements of 10 billion dollars. Again on 26th May,

26 agreements of 22 billion dollars were signed between the companies of India and China. Modi invited investors of China to invest in India. Modi announced the e-visa to Chinese citizens. For those going to Kailash-Mansarovar, the Nathula route has been opened since June 2015.

PS : India-China Doklam Stand-Off and Current Scenario-

It may be recalled that last year, a face-off situation that had arisen in the Doklam region. It was later resolved following diplomatic discussions between India and China, based on which both sides arrived at an understanding for the disengagement of their border personnel at the face-off site. When China started constructing a road in the disputed area of Doklam, Bhutan asked for help from India and it sent the army to stop the construction. The military standoff at the area lasted more than two months. However, after diplomatic conversations between the two sides, both countries agreed to withdraw troops from the region. Doklam (or Zhonglan or Donglong) is a disputed area between China and Bhutan just like Jakarlung and Pasamlung. It is an area with a plateau and a valley which lies on the Bhutan-China border, near India. Doklam's geographical position makes it a strategically important area as it is located between Tibet's Chumbi valley to the North, Bhutan's Ha valley to the East and India's Sikkim state to the West. The area of Doklam carries huge military advantage and if it falls into the hands of China, it will not only compromise the security of Bhutan but also of India. If China comes in control of the Doklam, it will get the high ground which would enable it to completely crush Bhutan in case of a war.

Conclusion-

In short, it can be said that final settlement of the boundary dispute between India and China is bound to have comprehensive and far reaching impacts and consequences for the international and regional politics. There was usually peace on the

Indo-China border barring few incidents of military skirmishes and intrusion bids by Chinese troops before the recent Doklam deadlock. The two countries have also repeated their commitment to maintaining peace and tranquility in accordance with the Agreement on the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas (1993) and Agreement between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of China on Confidence-Building Measures in the Military Field Along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas (1996). China did not support Pakistan on the Kargil issue and showed goodwill towards India. Close relationship between India and China has become inevitable in the changed international conditions. India's growing status in the world order, fast economic development and its expertise in the field of modern technology, especially in the IT sector are the reasons for bringing the two countries closer. Trade between the two countries has increased manifold in the last five years and now the trade is also gradually balancing. China has almost accepted India's stand on many issues of border dispute. He has accepted Sikkim as part of India and Nathu-la pass has been opened for business. However, in the coming years, stiff competition between these two is likely in many fields. Since China has shown its true colors in the border standoff at Doklam, it is unlikely that it will make any compromise in its traditional expansionist foreign policy towards India and its small neighboring countries. Since doing trade with India is its economic compulsion, it may not indulge in full scale war with India. However, India needs to be extra-cautious of the conduct of its hegemonic neighbor and to move forward slowly and cautiously.

India and Nepal Relations-

The geographical region which is called "South Asia" is historically identified and known as "India" or "Hindustan" and consisted of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. They were until the year

1947, an undivided state, which had fought jointly in their fight for independence. "South Asia" signifies the notion that the region forms a geographical, historical and cultural entity. Other related terms are Greater India and South Asia. Sometimes, the term "South Asia" is used interchangeably with "Indian subcontinent", although that is typically defined to include Afghanistan as well. Politically, the Indian subcontinent usually includes Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka and Burma (now Myanmar) were also closely linked to the Indian subcontinent in the administrative system of the British Empire. Not only did large numbers of Indian immigrants reside in these two countries but they also played an active role in economic and cultural life. It is also true that Burma or Sri Lanka did not consider any Indian as 'foreigner'. Even Nepal cannot be said to be different from these examples. Geographically, socially, culturally and historically, the two countries are linked most intimately. Cultural ties between India and Nepal have existed since the dawn of civilization. The Pashupati Nath temple, with four priests from South India still shines out as the most precious cultural link between the two. As close neighbors, India and Nepal share a unique relationship of friendship and cooperation characterized by open borders and deep-rooted people-to-people contacts of kinship and culture. There has been a long tradition of free movement of people across the borders. There are possibly no two countries in the world other than India and Nepal whose histories, cultures and traditions have been so closely interlinked for such a long time. They are more than just neighbors and the relationship is "special." One aspect of this is that the Indian establishment has always viewed Nepal as being within India's larger security envelope in relation to China. But, since late 2015, cultural and political issues have strained relations between the two countries with anti-Indian sentiment growing amongst the government and people of Nepal.

3.21 Initial Phase-

Nepal is a small country inhabited in the

Himalayan Mountains. It is a “buffer state” between India and China. It was the only Hindu state in the world until few years back. Presently, there is a democratic and secular system of governance. Founder of modern Nepal king Prithvi Narayan Shah (1723-1774) once said that the country Nepal was like a flower blossomed between two rocks. He also said that Nepal should have friendly relations with both the Chinese emperor and India which ruled the seas. But out of two of his neighbors, he considered India as a major source of danger. The key feature of history of Nepal's foreign policy of past 200 years is keeping good relations with both the neighbors and fulfilling its own interests. Nepal, which is located in the northeast of India, is very important in strategic terms. After China occupied Tibet, the political importance of Nepal's strategic position has increased in the Indo-China relations. India's security in the north depends on Nepal's security to a large extent today. On March 17, 1950, Pandit Nehru said, “India cannot tolerate any attack on Nepal. Any possible attack on Nepal will surely be a threat to Indian security.” In 1956, the President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad during his visit to Nepal, had said that any threat to Nepal's peace and security is a threat to Indian peace and security. Friends of Nepal are our friends and enemies of Nepal are our enemies.

3.22 Nepal during British Period-

In view of the international law, Nepal was always independent, but the independence of the King of Nepal was not very different from the 'subordination' of other Indian princely states. The Maharaja of Nepal also had to accept the appointment of British resident in his court, and accepting British dominance (paramountcy), this mountainous land was governed by the directives of Government of British India. In the external affairs Nepal was completely under the control of the colonial government in India. Even in domestic politics, the King of Nepal was not free. The real power was vested with autocratic Prime Minister who hailed from Rana dynasty and was also the

army chief. They were connected with the dynasty of kings of Nepal as well as many other Indian princely states by marriage alliances. Obviously, for this reason the British had continued to maintain the feudalism in Nepal.

3.23 India Nepal Border Connectivity-

The western end of the Indo-Nepal border is small-Baitadi-Karnali in the Mahakali zone. It stretches along Nepal's far western border with India, marked by the Kali River or Mahakali River. The land of the valley touches hundreds of miles of the invisible international boundary with the Indian states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. It has always been a porous border and the free flow of people, goods and other articles was never preventable. Indians and Nepalese living in this area happily consider themselves children of the two countries and it is very difficult to differentiate them by way of language and religion. Majority of people of both the countries worship the same religion. Moreover, Nepal is the only foreign nation whose citizens are recruited in the Indian Army. It is noteworthy that even before Independence, although Nepal was not formally a part of India, its close and intimate relationship with India was not less important than that of Pakistan, Bangladesh or Sri Lanka. It was the protected state of India during the British era, which voluntarily accepted the advice of the Government of India in the matters related to external affairs and defense.

3.24 Complications with Nepal-

Relations with Nepal have a vitally important domestic as well as a foreign policy dimension for India. Many factors make India's relationship with Nepal critical. The irony is that all the other neighboring countries except Pakistan were our friends; but they have moved away from us gradually. The deep cultural relations we have with Nepal can hardly be with any other country. Even its citizens can be recruited in the Indian Army. But Anti-Indian sentiment or Indophobia which refers to negative feelings and hatred towards India was rising in the speeches of people and the politicians

which were very rarely heard before 2015. Sometimes the Treaty of Peace and Friendship signed between India and Nepal in 1950 and water disputes have acted as irritants in the relationship. The pitch of Nepalese criticism at any given time has depended on the degree of hostility or political insecurity felt by a particular power center in Kathmandu vis-à-vis India. If India was uneasy about the smugglers and terrorists taking shelter in Nepal and using its land to perpetrate crimes against India, then the Nepali nationalists complain about one sided business which was more profitable to Indian businessmen. Swadhin Nepal says that India cannot decide about the friends and foes of Nepal. But it must also understand that in the atmosphere of growing dissension and suspicion about India it cannot be supported and treated as someone special. Nepal can enjoy special relationship as long as it also supports India's concerns. India's vision is that the model of Nepal's stability and development is in line with the Indian mold. India's policy of supporting Nepal's monarchy created a lot of tension in the Indo-Nepal relations. Nepal has also from time to time projected its concerns about elements from India misusing the open border. But, the assessment of political role of Nepalese Maoists in tune with Indian Maoists is not conducive to us. We cannot see the interests of India in Nepal only through the prism of its relationship with China. Nepali society is not less diverse than India. Unbalanced economic development is a big challenge for Nepal too. India needs to be more practical and pragmatic in its approach towards building new relationship with Nepal. We cannot weave the future with the fond memories of the past alone.

3.25 Treaty of Peace and Friendship 1950-

On the demand of the prime minister of Nepal in 1947, the Indian government sent a senior Indian diplomat to Nepal, to assist in preparing the constitution of Nepal. But the proposed constitution provided for abolition of absolute monarchy in Nepal so the king of Nepal did not let it execute. Since 1950s, there has always been desire in the

society of Nepal for establishing democracy, but various attempts to establish it were either unsuccessful or thwarted by ruling Shah Dynasty. The Indian government also wanted to make a new treaty with Nepal. In 1949, a draft of the treaty was also prepared but it could not be signed because government of Nepal became skeptical of India because India wanted to include establishment of democratic rule as one of the conditions of the treaty. India's anxiety about Nepal's security increased due to China's activities in Tibet, and on March 17, 1950, Prime Minister Nehru said in Parliament that any possible attack on Nepal would definitely be a threat to India's security. Finally, in the year 1950, General Vijay Shamsher and N.M. Dixit travelled to India as a representative of the Nepal government. The historic treaty between the two countries was signed on July 30, 1950. Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the Government of India and The Government of Nepal is a bilateral treaty between Nepal and India establishing a close strategic relationship between the two South Asian neighbors. In the meantime, the relations between the Government of India and the Rana government of Nepal became sore due to the incidents occurred in Nepal.

3.26 Opposition of Monarchy in Nepal & Role Played by India-

When the British left India the Rana government deviated from the principle of political isolation and tried for international recognition by extending diplomatic relations to evade political pressure from India. The independent India regarding the Rana system as outdated and tyrannical showed growing support for oppositional politics in Nepal, especially among the exiled Nepalese living in India. But accruing from this was the danger of Nepali dependency from India and of losing her identity. This had a very negative impact on the Indo-Nepali relations during the following decades. Leading Indian politicians time and again not only stressed the close historical and cultural foundations of both countries, but even went as far as saying that Nepal had always been a part of India.

These declarations were confirmed by exiled Nepali leaders, who being mainly members of high Hindu castes stressed their descent from India. Nepal's political events of 1950/51 have often been praised as a people's revolution (janakranti). This proves problematic because political changes were not brought about by the masses, but they were the result of the cooperation of internal and external forces in a highly effective regional political situation. Independent India was looking for internal stability and external security. In face of the Chinese invasion of Tibet and declared Chinese claims for the Himalayan region, the rotten Rana system and the actions of exiled Nepalese in India constituted an enormous threat to Indian interests. So, India was looking for a system that satisfied Nepal's three political interest groups Ranas, King and the young party politicians and that at the same time gave India direct control over the political affairs in Nepal. In the year 1950, an attempt was made to liberate Nepal from the absolute rule of Rana-Shahi. There was an uprising in Nepal. On November 16, 1950, Maharaja Tribhuvan of Nepal deserted his palace with 14 members of the royal family and took shelter in India. Civil war broke out against Rana Shamsher which was being run from the territory of India. In the end, with the help of India, the rule of Rana-Shahi came to an end in Nepal and Maharaja Tribhuvan of Nepal became the real ruler and democracy was established. At this time Pandit Nehru said, "While respecting Nepal's independence, we cannot tolerate any chaos in Nepal." Thus, the events of 1950/51 have not been a turning point for the Nepali civilization. They only brought the replacement of one autocratic government, that of the Ranas, by another one, that of the Shah kings, with a mere touch of democracy. As a result of this unfinished political change the fifties became the stage of power struggle between the traditional feudal forces, represented by the institution of monarchy, and the young but totally inexperienced leaders of the political parties. The more the party politicians demonstrating their own incompetence turned for advice to India the more could the king as "father of the revolution" play to

the gallery as unifying bond, symbol of the nation and popular leader. This already started in the early fifties under the ailing King Tribhuvan who played the party leaders off against each other. By several amendments of the initially democratic interim constitution of 1951, Tribhuvan stabilized his political position in the sense of an absolute monarch and successfully foiled elections for a constituent assembly. With the help of India, Nepal became a member of the United Nations in 1955. Nepal's foreign minister said in a speech on February 1, 1955 that Nepal would not be against India in any of the circumstances. India helped Nepal to get international recognition and said that she is Nepal's biggest friend.

3.27 Growing Interest of China in Matters of Nepal-

India's traditionally strong relations with Nepal are being challenged by fast-evolving regional political and security dynamics. Nepal is important for China in order to check the rise of India. In recent years, China is increasingly exploiting anti-Indian feelings prevailing among the Nepalese in a big way to achieve this objective. China was always apprehensive of India-Nepal special relationship and wanted to make foothold to meet its strategic interests. Nepal on its part also wanted to get free from the hold of Indian dependency and so it gradually started moving away from India and closer to China. In 1959, Prime Minister of Nepal Koirala traveled to China and invited Chau-En-Lai to visit Nepal. There was also an agreement about the Everest Mountain Peak between China and Nepal, which was strongly criticized in India. The council of ministers of Prime Minister of Nepal was dissolved shortly afterwards and many Nepalese Congress leaders were arrested, but some of them fled to India and from there they started organizing mass movement in Nepal. It was misconstrued in Nepal that India was involved in the activities against the monarchy of Nepal. This resulted in bitterness in the relations between the two countries which continued for a long time. Paying no heed to the warnings of India, the then

Maharaja Mahendra created a threat to India by reaching an agreement with China for construction of the Kathmandu-Lhasa route. Maharaja Mahendra traveled to China and spoke of the historic and unbreakable relationship of Nepal with India, but he also referred the ancient relation with China. When India-China war broke out in 1962, Nepal remained neutral which caused disappointment and apprehensions in India.

3.28 Re-establishment of Relationship-

After the Chinese invasion, it became necessary for India to reinforce its position in Nepal. The then Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri visited Nepal and removed many doubts from Nepal with a simple moral policy. Afterwards king of Nepal came for 13 days visit to India and Dr. Radhakrishnan visited Nepal. The Government of Nepal assured that there would be no invasion of India through the territory of Nepal. On 23 September 1964, an agreement was reached between the two under which India would construct a 128-mile long road between Akhauri in the border town of Nepal and Akhara Valley in Middle East Nepal. There were also agreements on construction of another road scheme from Kathmandu to Raxaul in the Indian border and the Kosi project. The objective of Kosi project was to save Nepal from floods, to fulfill the power requirements and to benefit from irrigation. These agreements were followed by many other mutual negotiations between India and Nepal. The diplomats, leaders and experts from both countries continued to visit each other. After the Indo-Pak war of 1971, Nepal became quite cautious about Pakistan. It understood that India was no more the weak and humbled country of 1962, but had become a strong and powerful country now.

3.29 Indo-Nepal Economic and Technological Relations -

India has invested the most in Nepal's developmental activities. Nepal receives all types of training, technical and non-technical assistance from India. India has trained many Nepali nationals under the Colombo plan. India has provided

assistance in most of the projects in Nepal which includes :-

1. Hydro power projects of Devi Ghat, Trishul, Karnali and Pancheshwar;
2. Tribhuvan Ganpath, Kathmandu-Trishuli Marg and Tribhuvan Airport;
3. Kathmandu-Raxaul telephone plant;
4. Sage Canal Project, Kosi and Gandak Project;
5. The work of geological research and mineral exploration;
6. Construction of Veeraganj and Haitoda railways; And
7. Establishment of an industrial settlement in Patan, a suburb of Kathmandu valley.

One of India's famous projects in Nepal includes the construction of 22 bridges in the Kolhapur-Mahakali area on the East-West Highway of Nepal. In December, 1991, Nepal accepted the Indian proposal to establish "India Nepal foundation" on the death anniversary of the great patriot and freedom fighter B. P. Koirala. This foundation was established by the contribution of both the countries to promote bilateral cooperation and mutual ties between the two countries. Both countries also agreed to set up joint ventures in the industrial sectors such as sugar, paper and cement. On the request of Nepal, India extended full support in various works such as B. P. Koirala Memorial Medical College at Biratnagar, a telephone plant in Rangeley, Renovations of Janakpur-Bijalpur rail line, construction of Biratnagar-Jhapa and Chatarivipur road, and converting railway line to Raxaul in broad-gauge.

3.30 Collapse of Bilateral Treaty of 1950-

After the end of bilateral mutual trade and cooperation between India and Nepal on March 23, 1989, the matter started with small differences between the two countries finally turned into deep tension. India decided to close most of the border in March 1989, causing severe economic hardships for Kathmandu, after Nepal refused Indian terms for a renewal of old pacts. India wanted the Nepal

government to respect the conditions of peace and friendship treaty of 1950 or reestablish the structure of bilateral relations afresh. The Treaty of 1950 was the basis on which the foundation of India-Nepal relations was laid. According to Article 7, "The Governments of India and Nepal agree to grant, on reciprocal basis, to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of a similar nature. "As a result of this treaty Nepali citizens enjoy full rights as any Indian citizen does. He has freedom to live in India, to move freely, to work and to get government jobs. Even in Nepal, Indians got similar rights till 1967, but after that the condition of getting work permit was imposed on Indians. According to India; these steps violated the conditions of special treatment with Indian nationals and Indian goods. Moreover, Nepal had not even consulted India before making such restrictions. However, according to the provisions of the treaty it could not discriminate between its citizens and Indians. India has not imposed any such restriction on nearly 50 lakh Nepalese living here. India is the largest trading partner of Nepal and biggest source of its FDI. As per statistics of Nepalese financial year ending July, 2014, the bilateral trade with India was 66.5 percent of total external trade of Nepal. India has 46 percent of total foreign investment in Nepal.

3.31 Disputes between India & Nepal-

1. Pressure for Nepal to Declare It a Peace Zone -

Though India and Nepal have equal security interests and concerns, their relations have undergone many ups and downs. Nepal often ignored Indian interests or mostly acted against the interests of India. Nepal entered into an agreement with communist China and compromised the security concerns of India. There have always been misconceptions, apprehensions and differences in terms of transit facilities and trade operations of goods between the two countries. The anti-India activities of China in Nepal, which were mostly violent, aroused suspicion in Indian establishment.

The agreement with China in relation to Nepal's construction of the Kathmandu-Lhasa road was a clear anti-India step. The agreement on Mount Everest reached between Nepal and China was a betrayal for India. Nowadays Nepal urges to be declared a "Peace Zone". The view of the Government of India is that not only Nepal but the entire Indian subcontinent should be declared as the "Peace Zone." India considers this move of Nepal to be against its interests. It is indirectly an indictment on India that it is a threat to Nepal. The main purpose behind declaring Nepal as a "peace zone" is to deny India's influence and specific status, which it considers as a hindrance in the search of its national identity. It is also a form of historical syncretic role it played between India and China. Nepal wants to use this proposal as a bargaining tool to get more financial support from India.

2. Murder of Ruling Family of Nepal and Declaration of Emergency -

After the murder of his brother Raja Birendra and his entire family in June 2001, King Gyanendra ascended the throne of Nepal under very mysterious and controversial circumstances. Since becoming a king, Gyanendra worked for destroying Parliamentary democracy, dissolving Parliament and sacking and appointing the Prime Ministers at his will. Significantly, this was done by Gyanendra in Nepal at the time when the bloody civil war of the Maoists was continuing in Nepal. On February 1, 2005, King imposed Emergency in Nepal, demolished democracy and established the absolute monarchy.

3. Death of Democracy in Nepal -

Since taking over the political power in January 2005, all political actions of Raja Gyanendra had been reactionary. While the acquisition of power by the king strengthened the Maoist movement, the political suppression and oppressive policy created a deep gap between the king and his political claims. The ambition of King Gyanendra to the center of power brought all the political parties and the Maoists on one platform. Under the rising international pressure and the

strong popular movement against the monarchy, King Gyanendra had to announce the reinstatement of the old parliament on April 24, 2006. The new parliament took away almost all rights from King Gyanendra and also made the Parliament supreme. The Maoists now decided to join the interim government.

3.32 Nepal on the Path of Democracy -

The Maoists' armed struggle of 11 years came to an end on November 21, 2006, when they signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement with the interim government of political parties. This bloody war was initiated in February 1996, by the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) to establish a Mao-style "people's republic." A decade later, however, they signed a peace agreement with the government, joined the mainstream political parties in parliament and in an interim government, and participated in democratic elections. The two sides agreed that all rights of the King of Nepal will be over, and all the property related to the royal palace will be of the government. In the armed movement of the Maoists, more than 20 thousand people were killed in the last one and a half decades of violence. While welcoming the agreement, India reiterated that through this treaty between the government and Maoists, Nepal would move forward on the path of peace and democracy. With that the 240 years old monarchy of Nepal also came to an end on May 28, 2008 and the newly elected Constituent Assembly declared the country a secular federal democratic Republic. Consequently, the status of Maharaja of Nepal was like any other common citizen of Nepal. The Foreign Secretary of India visited Nepal on January 2011. He met the leaders of political parties during the visit. In these meetings, he emphasized the need for the strengthening of close and multidimensional relations between the two countries. During the visit, he also emphasized that India wants to see Nepal as a democratic, stable and prosperous nation. India will continue to extend full support to strengthen the multi-faceted democracy in Nepal and to make the Nepali-led peace process a success.

He also promised help in the process of drafting of their constitution. Unfortunately, the beginning of democratic process in Nepal had started a new phase of political instability. The ambition of the Maoist leader Prachanda and the new Nepalese constitution giving second grade citizenship status to the Madhesi community resulted in yet another class struggle in Nepal.

3.33 Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Goodwill for Nepal Government -

Nepal was among Mr. Modi's first destinations abroad, in keeping with his 'neighborhood first' policy. Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Nepal on August 3-4, 2014 on an official visit. He addressed the Assembly and Legislative Parliament of Nepal. Modi also paid homage at Pashupatinath Temple and gifted the temple 2500 kg of sandalwood. During his visit, Modi also flagged off the Kathmandu-Delhi passenger bus service 'Pashupatinath Express' with a green flag. He promised that the Government of India will fund the cost of about INR 550 crores towards construction of the proposed National Police Academy in Panauti, PM handed over one Dhruv Advanced Light Helicopter (ALH) Mark III to the Nepal Army. In the earthquake that erupted in Nepal on April 25, 2015, India provided immediate relief under the 'Operation Friendship' campaign and relieved thousands of people.

3.34 Madhesi Movement and Indo-Nepal Relations -

Geographically, Madhes is the lowland region or middle country between the hills of Nepal and the plains of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Madhes is a 50 km wide strip of land, which is inhabited by half the population of Nepal. The Madhesi constitute 35% but have traditionally been marginalized, live in the Terai areas bordering India and share close ties (roti-betikarishta) with their kin across the border. Madhes is the most backward, poor, marginalized and neglected area of Nepal. Political power in Nepal has always been held by upper caste Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Newari people of the hilly

regions, whereas Madhes is dominated by backward and Dalit society of Maithil and Bhojpuri people of Indian origin. Nepalese rulers always discriminated with Madhesis. Continuous exploitation and discrimination by the upper-caste Pahadi migrant communities (especially during the monarchy period) and the Nepali state has played an important role in the consolidation of the Madhesi identity. In September 2015, as a new constitution was being drafted in the Himalayan country of Nepal, violent protests broke out in the southern plains area. Clashes between demonstrators and police led to the deaths of several people. On Sept. 17, 2015, despite the climate of unrest in the southern plains of Nepal, the new constitution was ratified by the parliament without discussions with the Indian government. The new constitution did not accommodate the judicious and genuine demands of the Madhsis. As a result, a political movement known as Madhesi Movement was launched by various political parties, especially those based in Madhes, for equal rights, dignity and identity of Madhesis and Tharus, Muslims and Janjati groups in Nepal. In nearly a decade, Nepal witnessed three Madhes Movements- the first Madhesh Movement erupted in 2007, the second Madhes Movement in 2008 and the third Madhesh Movement in 2015. Ramesh Mahato was first Madhesi martyr in 2007 at Lahan. In the new constitution of 2015, hill leaders ignored the logic of the population and ensured their majority in Parliament. Consequently, the Madhsi leaders started a movement to change the constitution to accommodate their genuine demands. The Nepalese government suppressed the Madesi movement and openly violated human rights. Madhesis and Tharus, indigenous tribes of Nepal's Tarai region, had been protesting in the run up the promulgation, and claimed the constitutional draft had eroded their political representation, compromised the architecture of inclusion, divided up their territory and carved out federal units which would deprive them of self-rule, and institutionalized discriminatory citizenship provisions. During their

protests Madhesi blocked the India-Nepal border as a last resort to get their demands met. Knowingly or unknowingly, the Government of India had to stand with the Madhsis. There was a crisis of petrol, gas and medicines across Nepal. Centuries-old India-Nepal relations were in danger. The Nepal government called it an undeclared Indian blockade; it systematically raised the anti-Indian nationalism sentiment; it tried to cozy up to China and use it as an alternative source of supplies, but with little success. In view of the crisis in the country, the Nepal Government has reached a new agreement with China. The Maoists had to reach a new agreement with Madhesis under the pressure of stiff resistance from Madhsis and blocking of supply from India. Now the constitution is being diluted to accommodate Madhesis and other tribes on the basis of their share in the population which would enable them to move forward and join parliament, government and other places. Hopefully this will improve Nepal's situation.

3.35 Nepal-China Petroleum Products Agreement -

After the heavy shortage of supply of petroleum products from India, Nepal turned to China. Nepal signed two agreements with 'Petro-China' on October 28, 2015. Under the agreement, China will supply 1000 metric tonne petroleum products and 1.3 million liter gasoline Nepal. By reaching this agreement with Nepal, the dragon has defeated India on the front of diplomacy. China is increasing its relations with all our neighboring countries. There is a communist government in Nepal at this time, which is more inclined towards communist China than democratic India. In 2014 when Modi visited Nepal, he had promised to make all possible efforts to bring the relations back on the track. The people of Nepal also welcomed his assurances, but this agreement has proved that India is needed to urgently reconsider its Nepal policy. The Nepal-China Accord also threatens the security of India. The 10 key agreements signed with China

has lessened Nepal's excessive dependence on India and provided a "psychological boost" to the land-locked country to become self-reliant. Nepal and China signed major deals in 2016 which included a landmark transit treaty that will see the end of Nepal's near-total dependence on Indian sea ports for trade. As relations with India soured, Nepal's northern neighbor China came to the rescue with a deal to supply a third of the country's required petroleum. The deal signaled to Kathmandu the importance of diversifying its trade away from India. Chinese engagement in Nepal is sharply increasing with new areas of cooperation, making India uncomfortable. India views Nepal as its traditional sphere of influence, and wants to contain Chinese influence.

3.36 Nine Agreements between India and Nepal-

In February, 2016 Nepalese Prime Minister K.P. Sharma 'Oli' made maiden foreign trip to India after assuming charge. It was first bilateral visit by any Nepalese Prime Minister to New Delhi since Baburam Bhattarai's in October 2011. His visit eased out the sagging period of relations between the two countries. 9 agreements of cooperation were also signed in the presence of the Prime Ministers of both countries under which construction of 518 km of roads in the valley of Nepal would be under taken by India. It includes 17 roads. After the resignation of Oli, the next Prime Minister again reiterated it.

3.37 Psychology of Nepal -

Nepal is suffering from the psychology of the junior partner in the context of India, and the ghost of the fears of southern neighbor overpowering it haunts him. Nepal wants to develop relations with India and China on the basis of equi-distant theory to satisfy China too. But India does not accept the relationship at par with China and wants to have a special relationship with Nepal on the traditional basis. India reiterates that Nepal is an internal country and it is historically and culturally linked more to India than any other country so it is natural to have a special relationship with Nepal.

3.38 Future Strategy of Nepal-

In the treaty in 1950, one thing was also said that Nepal would inform India if any imports of weapons were made. Basically, the provision was kept to fulfill Nepal's requirements for arms through India so that it did not have to spend its foreign exchange in importing arms from other countries. Primarily it was responsibility of India to make supply its arms and weapons requirement. But, contrary to Indian wishes Nepal feels that such a move dilutes its national sovereignty. It is also said that the treaty of 1950 was signed in the context of the situation prevailing in the world at that time but much has changed today. In recent years, Nepal has begun to increase its proximity to China by taking lessons from economic blockade on the Indian border. Former Nepal Prime Minister K.P. Sharma 'Oli' has urged China to build a rail line from Nepal to Tibet through China to reduce its dependence on India. On March 20, 2016, China agreed to it. During Oli's visit to China, Nepal and China have signed 10 agreements to strengthen their relations. In April, 2018, Nepalese PM Oli visited India in an attempt to repair Nepal's ties with New Delhi. India had offered these mega projects during Oli's visit as a move to counter China's efforts to expand influence over Kathmandu by offering various infrastructure projects. Prime Minister Narendra Modi paid a return visit in May, 2018. His visit is seen more as a realization that the relationship between the two countries had deteriorated in recent years and there was an urgent need to arrest the slide. Beginning in Janakpur, Modi paid homage at the Janaki Temple and gave a speech in which he eulogized Nepali culture and emphasized the deep links between Nepal and India. Flying to Muktinath in the mountain region, he worshipped at the temple there, highlighting the unity of cultures from the Himalayas to the Tarai. And finally visiting the Pashupatinath temple in Kathmandu, he completed his visit to religious sites in all topological regions of Nepal: the Tarai, the mountains and the middle hills. These visits made evident that Modi's chief purpose in visiting Nepal was to help eliminate the negative

sentiments towards New Delhi that has prevailed among a large section of Nepal's population since the blockade of 2015-16. Although it is too early to say, it appears that visit has served its intended purpose. In this way, the Indo-Nepal relationship is again back on the track and beginning of new chapter will surely have far-reaching consequences. India has residual concerns over enhancing the constitution's provisions for Nepal's plains-based Madhesi population, but these should be taken up discreetly and diplomatically. Recovery in the relationship is still fragile, and any grandstanding must be avoided. India needs to be very cautious in handling tricky diplomatic issues with its northern neighbor because any step taken by Nepal to move close to China will be detrimental to our security concerns.

Important Points

- India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were an undivided state till 14th August, 1947.
- The causes of bitterness in relations between India and - Treaty of 1950 and River water dispute.
- The cause of the dispute between India and China is problem of Tibet and Geographical Boundaries.
- Partition of Kashmir and subsequent incidents has been the cause of mutual differences between India and Pakistan.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions -

1. Which ruler of Nepal took refuge in India in 1950?
(A) Prithvi Narayan Shah
(B) Raja Tribhuvan
(C) Shamsheer Bahadur
(D) Girija Prasad Koirala ()
2. What is the name of geographical boundary

between India and China?

- (A) McMahon Line
(B) Durand Line
(C) Palk Strait
(D) Redcliffe Line ()

3. Which principles did Nehru propose to maintain India's good relations with China?
(A) Doctrine of Peace
(B) Doctrine of Lapse
(C) Doctrine of Panchasheel
(D) Doctrine of Non-alignment ()
4. What is the cause of tension in relations between India and Pakistan?
(A) Tibet problem
(B) Dam problem
(C) Kashmir dispute
(D) Afghanistan ()
5. Which section of the Constitution gives a special status to Kashmir?
(A) Article 356 (B) Article 352
(C) Article 360 (D) Article 370 ()

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. When does Pakistan celebrate its Independence Day?
2. Write the names of countries adjacent to India's borders.
3. When was the famous treaty between India and Nepal signed?
4. Who is considered the founder of modern Nepal?
5. Whom did India give shelter in India in 1959, which China considered a hostile action?
6. What is the name of the part of Brahmaputra River in China?
7. When did Prime Minister Narendra Modi visit China?
8. How many agreements were signed in

Ahmedabad in September 2014 during the visit of Chinese President Jinping?

9. What was attitude of China in the Kargil war?
10. How much money does Pakistan spend in promoting the terrorist activities?
11. How much money does India have to spend every year on the security of its borders?
12. Which day did Pakistan infiltrate Kashmir in the first place?
13. How much land of Kashmir is under occupation of Pakistan?
14. What was the cause of the 1971 war?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What is the strategic importance of Nepal that lies on the north-eastern border of India?
2. What agreement did China reach with Nepal in 1959?
3. What assurances did Prime Minister Narendra Modi gave during his visit of Nepal?
4. Discuss India's contribution in the economy of Nepal.
5. What is the main cause of the Madhesi movement in Nepal?
6. Which three agreements did China reach with the government of Gujarat?
7. Write a brief comment on India-China trade.
8. What are the three major disputes of India with China?
9. How did Russia become our partner during our conflict with China?
10. Why is China not supporting the claim of India for securing the membership of the Security Council?
11. What decisions were taken in Tashkent Agreement?
12. Why is Pakistan called as a bastion of terrorism?
13. What steps Prime Minister Narendra Modi has taken to improve relations with Pakistan?

14. What were the intentions of Pakistan behind carrying out the terrorist attacks at Mumbai and Pathankot?
15. What action has India taken against the human rights violations in Pakistan?

Essay Type Questions-

1. Why are the relations of India and Nepal repeatedly disturbed? What are the main causes of strenuous relations of both countries?
2. Why China is considered a hindrance to the good relations of India and Nepal? Why is China's special interest in Nepal?
3. Discuss critically on Indo-Nepal relations.
4. What is the historical basis of India-China relations? What is the status of the relations between the two countries at present?
5. How has the India-China economic relationship added to the growth of the economics of both countries? Write in detail.
6. What is the status of China as the main component of Indian foreign policy?
7. "Kashmir is the opposite pivot of Indo-Pak relations." Describe as to how the situation in Kashmir has worsened due to Pakistan factor?
8. Pakistan is increasing relations with our other neighbors with the aim of disturbing India. How does this affect India?
9. Write an essay on the foreign policy of our Prime Minister Narendra Modi towards Pakistan.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. B 2. A 3. C 4. C 5. D

4. Regional Organizations: ASEAN & SAARC

ASEAN

South-East Asia is the most important strategic region in the world politics. In this region consists of various countries located in the south of China and east of the Indian subcontinent. This region includes countries like Myanmar, Brunei, Thailand, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Singapore, Kampuchea, Vietnam and Philippines etc. The recent dispute of the South China Ocean recently is linked to the strategic interests of the region. The dispute involves both island and maritime claims among several sovereign states within the region, namely Brunei, the People's Republic of China (PRC), Republic of China (Taiwan), Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. This region has become very important since the Second World War. The term 'South East Asia' came into being in the world politics after the Second World War. The term was used for the first time by Admiral Mountbatten in the Quebec Conference in 1953 during the establishment of the South East Asia Command under his leadership. Southeast Asia has long been a crucially important region in world politics. There is a renewed recognition globally that developments in Asia will determine the landscape of international politics over the coming decades. Ten countries (as listed above) are located in this region. South East Asia is strategically and geographically important because it is located on the sea route which connects the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean and connects Asia and Australia via the natural bridge. Thailand, which is located in this region, is called "The Rice Bowl of Asia" for its highly fertile land. Malaya is the largest producer of Rubber in the world.

Indonesia, Sarawak, and Northern Brunei are among the major oil producing countries. Politically, communist superpower China which is located near this region is continuously and aggressively increasing its influence. At the same time, the western countries led by the United States are trying to stop spread of China's communist ideology and its influence in this region. Indigenously, the countries of this region are mostly inhabited by the people of Mongoloid race. The decline of the power of Britain after the Second World War, created power void in this region and China tried to fill this vacuum. China's expansion in the region threatened the interests of the small countries and they became apprehensive and cautious towards China. The establishment of the communist rule in China in 1949 had both direct and indirect bearing on the region. The countries of this region emphasized on the policy of mutual cooperation and remained neutral towards the China's increasing expansionist and imperialist policy. Finally, to promote mutual economic cooperation, they established the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) on 8 August 1967 at the initiative of Indonesia.

4.1 Organization of ASEAN -

The South East Asian Nations Association was established on August 8, 1967 by five nations as a civilian organization with the objective of regional cooperation. It promotes economic and political cooperation among its members as well as regional peace and security. Its early members included Indochina, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. In 1984, Brunei also became a member of

ASEAN. Initially, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar were given the status of Observer. Vietnam was made a full time member of ASEAN in 1995 and Cambodia on April 30, 1999. Initially, India was made 'sectoral dialogue partner' of ASEAN. On July 24, 1996, India has been made a 'full dialogue partner'. China and Russia have also been made full dialogue partners like India. The ASEAN secretariat is in Jakarta (Indonesia). The president of ASEAN is called the Secretary-General. Dato Paduka Lim Jock Hoi from Brunei Darussalam became the 14th Secretary-General of ASEAN on Jan 1, 2018. So far, ASEAN's subsidiary, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) which is an important forum for security dialogue in Asia Pacific region comprises 27 members: the 10 ASEAN member states (Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Burma, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam), the 10 ASEAN dialogue partners (Australia, Canada, China, the European Union, India, Japan, New Zealand, the Republic of Korea, Russia and the United States), one ASEAN observer (Papua New Guinea), as well as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Pakistan, Timor-Leste, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. ASEAN's first summit was organized in Bali (Indonesia) in 1976 and its 28th and 29th conference was held in Vientiane (Laos) from 6 to 7 September 2016. ASEAN's 30th Summit was held at Manila (Philippines) from 26 - 29 April 2017.

4.2 Nature & Objectives of ASEAN-

All the ten member states of the ASEAN have different backgrounds. They also differ in the colonial heritage, historical background, and political, economic and social life values. However, all these nations had some common interests and challenges and the ASEAN came into being to collectively face these challenges. The challenges of population explosion, poverty, economic exploitation and security were the main common concerns of these countries. They thought of resolving these challenges through mutual regional cooperation. The main objective of the construction of ASEAN was to accelerate economic progress in

Southeast Asia and to provide sustainability to member economies. Aim of this organization was to have collaboration of the member countries in political, social, economic, cultural, trade, scientific, technical and administrative fields and to find solutions to the various common problems together. One of the most important goals of this organization was to create a 'common market' and to promote the mutual trade among these countries. ASEAN is primarily a non-military organization based on economic cooperation. It is a civilian organization and not a military alliance. The member countries of ASEAN are not bound by any mutual military obligation or any other conditions of collective security. In fact, this organization is not working under the influence of any of the super powers.

The ASEAN Declaration states that the aims and purposes of the Association are:

- (1) To accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region through joint endeavors in the spirit of equality and partnership in order to strengthen the foundation for a prosperous and peaceful community of Southeast Asian nations, and
- (2) To promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries in the region and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter. In 1995, the ASEAN Heads of State and Government re-affirmed that "Cooperative peace and shared prosperity shall be the fundamental goals of ASEAN."

4.3 Role & Functions of ASEAN-

The scope and arena ASEAN have been growing steadily. By and large, it has been active in most the sectors such as -political, cultural, economic, social, technical and administrative. Its members have been are trying to resolve their working mechanisms on a regional basis. The span of ASEAN has become quite wider in past many years since its inception. Many significant

agreements covering different range of issues and subjects have been signed among the ASEAN members. The major notable agreements are- Agreement for the Promotion of Cooperation in Mass Media and Culture Activities 1969 for exchange of various programs of radio and television in all the countries, Agreement for formation of a group called ASEAN Tourism Association (ASEANTA) in 1971 to promote visa free mutual tourism among these countries, Multilateral Agreement on commercial rights of non-scheduled air services 1971, Agreement for the Facilitation of Search for Aircraft in Distress and Rescue of Survivors of Aircraft Accidents 1972, Agreement for providing assistance to ship in distress and Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response 2005. Another important agreement is- The ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), a trade bloc agreement local manufacturing in all ASEAN countries. In order to give priority to the production of food grains in the agricultural sector and food grains in ASEAN, concrete steps have been taken to give introductory technical education to the farmers. In the same way, efforts are also being made to set up independent trade zones in these countries so that export-import becomes possible among them. As an intergovernmental institution, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations is in the process of a long evolution that may transform it into a regional association with a significant role in post-conflict reconstruction and rebuilding, a departure from its usual role of low-key engagement in the internal affairs of its members. Historically, ASEAN has not had much of an appetite for democracy building initiatives in its member states, including in those affected by conflict. While some regional associations are now playing a role in humanitarian issues in countries where there is an ongoing conflict or a post-conflict scenario, ASEAN has not played any major role in such activities.

4.4 India & ASEAN-

India-ASEAN relations have traversed a long, dynamic path interspersed with multiple

achievements to reach the year 2017, when the two celebrated 25 years of their partnership. India and ASEAN uphold each other's centrality in shaping the evolving regional architecture. In pursuit of this objective, India's 'Look East' policy had morphed into 'Act East' by 2014. Common concerns and aspirations bind the ASEAN countries and India at a time when Asia is in the throes of a disruptive phase that could well determine the future balance of power in the region. The two remain indispensable to the creation of new 'rules of the game' in Asia. India is a "full dialogue partner" of ASEAN and is also a member of ASEAN's subsidiary organization ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). Present Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi has established a very close and intense mutual relationship with the ASEAN and all its member countries under his 'Act East' policy. He stressed on combating terrorism and fundamentalism together by addressing the 14th ASEAN India Summit in Vietnam's capital Vientiane, between 6 and 7 September. While addressing the ASEAN Summit, he said that ASEAN is the center of India's Act-East policy. The India-ASEAN Strategic Partnership acquired a new momentum with the announcement of "Act-East Policy" in the 12th Summit in 2014. It conveyed a clear intent on the part of India to up-scaling its engagement with the ASEAN Member States. The Act-East Policy emphasizes Connectivity, Commerce and Culture as the focus areas of action for a greater ASEAN-India integration. It takes into account the blueprints of the three pillars of ASEAN community building process, the ASEAN vision document ASEAN 2025-Forging Ahead Together, the ASEAN Master Plan for Connectivity 2025, the ASEAN ICT Master Plan (2016-2020) and the Initiative for ASEAN Integration Work Plan III. At this conference, Narendra Modi tried to isolate Pakistan by terming it as an exporter of terrorism and said that the country which is exporting terrorism should be punished. He stressed on mutual cooperation for tackling the threat of terrorism which is a collective threat to regional security. He emphasized on establishing a new trade and strategic relationship with all Southeast Asian

nations including Japan. India-ASEAN relationship has ushered in new era in all the arenas. India and ASEAN celebrated 25 years of their Dialogue Partnership, 15 years of Summit Level interaction and 5 years of Strategic Partnership in 2017 both in India and in ASEAN Member States. The celebrations involved conducting key activities in various sectors of our engagement to highlight the strengths of the relationship. These activities culminated in a grand Commemorative Summit of ASEAN and Indian Heads of States/Governments on the theme "Shared Values, Common Destiny" hosted in India. In perhaps the most significant exposition of its 'Act East' India invited the heads of state or government of all 10 ASEAN member countries to witness its Republic Day celebrations on Jan, 26 2018. India and ASEAN are also "actively" engaged in negotiations on forging a 'regional comprehensive economic partnership', which is expected to emerge as the largest regional trading arrangement accounting for about 40% of world trade. Issues concerning economics, security, and connectivity have always been at the center of ASEAN-India relations. In the year 2016-17,

ASEAN accounted for around 10.4 percent of India's exports and 10.6 percent of India's imports. India has a Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement with various countries of the ASEAN region. This has resulted in concessional trade and a rise in investments. Around 10 percent of the total FDI equity inflows to India come from the ASEAN region. On the security issues; inclusion in ARF was a major positive for India, which missed out on a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. Over recent years, ASEAN and India have seen their interests converge on the issue of nontraditional security in the Indian Ocean region. Many argue that India's growing engagement with the ASEAN countries is primarily driven by the China factor. The recent developments of Doklam standoff between India and China, South China Sea dispute, and other outstanding disputes of China with India and ASEAN countries are causes of worry for both and have brought them together. China's unmatched rise and unusually aggressive postures pose serious threat not only to India but also to collective regional security which is a serious concern for ASEAN too.



- | | | | | |
|----------------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1. Brunei Darussalam | 2. Cambodia | 3. Indonesia | 4. Laos | 5. Malaysia |
| 6. Myanmar | 7. Philippines | 8. Singapore | 9. Thailand | 10. Vietnam |

4.5 Appreciation & Contribution of ASEAN-

When all the activities and achievements of ASEAN, since its inception are analyzed, it is found that the goals for which ASEAN was established could not be achieved completely. This organization has not been able to increase economic and other cooperation among member countries fully. ASEAN has not succeeded like European Common Market. The reasons for slow economic cooperation in ASEAN are basically the lack of required capital and low purchasing capacity of the ASEAN member countries. The clash of interests among member countries have also given rise to international disputes. It appears that most of the ASEAN countries are inclined more towards western powers. Apart from Indonesia, other ASEAN member countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines and Thailand are linked to western countries through security alliances and not only on various issues of international politics, but even on Indochina, they have supported the western countries. There are external military stations also on the soil of ASEAN member countries. Nonetheless, despite all such criticisms, ASEAN remains a non-military cooperation organization. The doors of ASEAN membership are open to all those nations of South East Asia who endorse its aims, objectives and goals. Making ASEAN region as free trade area is an important step forward towards regional cooperation. The significance of ASEAN can be gauged from the fact that 27 important countries which include USA, Russia, Japan, China and India are the members of ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum).

SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation)

The establishment of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in Dhaka on 8 December 1985 was a historical step towards regional cooperation in South Asia. Its Secretariat is in Kathmandu. The organization promotes development of economic and regional

integration. Originally it had seven members - India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, and Maldives. Afghanistan became the eighth member of the SAARC on April 2007. In addition to its member countries it also has some observer states, which include USA, Australia, China, Japan, South Korea, Myanmar, Mauritius, Iran and European Union. Meetings of heads of state are usually held on annual basis and meetings of foreign secretaries twice a year. SAARC comprises 3% of the world's area, 21% of the world's population and 9.12% of the global economy. SAARC maintains permanent diplomatic relations at the United Nations as an observer and has developed links with multilateral entities, including the European Union.

4.6 Historical Background -

The historic unofficial conference on Asian relations convened in New Delhi in 1947, marked the beginning of formation of a regional organization in South Asia. Thereafter, the 1950 Baguio Conference was called by Philippine President in the hope of establishing an Asian regional organization. Again, in 1954, in Colombo Conference the process for establishing such organization was discussed. Politically, the mutual tension between India and Pakistan had adverse effect on the entire region of South Asia and impaired the prospects of regional cooperation. The necessity of formation of an organization for a broad regional cooperation was felt in the 1970s. The success of many other regional organizations of the world, especially the ASEAN forced the leaders of South Asian countries to think seriously about having such an organization in South Asia. In 1977 initiative for establishing a regional organization was taken by the then Prime Minister of Bangladesh President Zia Ur Rahman. He emphasized that a regional organization which would give the leaders of South Asian countries an opportunity to improve their understanding of one another's problems and to deal with conflicts before they turned into crisis.

Then, in the meeting of foreign ministers of the seven countries held at Colombo in 1981, the proposal mooted by Bangladesh was given a serious

thought. After detail discussions five major issues were earmarked for regional cooperation. The first South Asian foreign ministers' conference was held in New Delhi from August 1-3, 1983, where the Integrated Programme of Action (IPA) on mutually agreed areas of cooperation (i.e., agriculture, rural development, Telecommunications, meteorology, health and population control, transport, sports, arts and culture, postal services and scientific and technical cooperation) was launched. The first summit of SAARC was held in Dhaka on 7-8 December 1985. Eighteen summit meetings have been held so far. The headquarters (Secretariat) of SAARC is in Kathmandu (Nepal). With the establishment of SAARC, a new era of regional cooperation among 8 countries of South Asia has begun. Eighteenth summit meeting of SAARC was held in 2014 in Kathmandu.

4.7 Summit Meetings of SAARC-

1985	-	Dhaka
1986	-	Bengaluru
1987	-	Kathmandu
1988	-	Islamabad
1990	-	Male
1991	-	Colombo
1993	-	Dhaka
1995	-	New Delhi
1997	-	Male
1998	-	Colombo
2002	-	Kathmandu
2004	-	Islamabad
2005	-	Dhaka
2007	-	New Delhi
2008	-	Colombo
2010	-	Thimphu
2011	-	Addu
2014	-	Kathmandu

2016 (was proposed in Islamabad, which could not be held because of the boycott by India and other member countries in the wake of Uri terror attack).

The 19th summit meeting of SAARC was proposed to be held in Islamabad in October 2016. But, the continuous Pak sponsored terror activities in India and terror attack on military camp in Uri (J&K) in which 20 soldiers were martyred and consequent Indian surgical strike inside Pakistan occupied Kashmir by Indian army created tension in the region which ultimately led to the cancellation of the Islamabad Summit meeting.

4.8 Charter of SAARC -

The SAARC Declaration or the Charter which was accepted in the conference in 1985 in Dhaka contains 10 Articles. The main principles, objectives and organizational structure are described in the charter. As defined in the charter of the SAARC the primary objectives of SAARC are to promote the welfare of the people of South Asia and to improve quality of their life through accelerated economic growth, social progress and cultural development in this region. The cooperation shall be based on respect of principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, political independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of the states and mutual benefit. The objectives of the ASSOCIATION shall be:

1. To promote the welfare of the peoples of SOUTH ASIA and to improve their quality of life;
2. To accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region and
3. To provide all individuals the opportunity to live in dignity and to realize their full potentials;
4. To promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of SOUTH ASIA;
5. To contribute to mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problems;
6. To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields;

South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC)



Member Countries-

- | | |
|-------------|----------------|
| 1. India | 5. Bangladesh |
| 2. Pakistan | 6. Sri Lanka |
| 3. Nepal | 7. Maldives |
| 4. Bhutan | 8. Afghanistan |

7. To strengthen cooperation with other developing countries;
8. To strengthen cooperation among themselves in international forums on matters of common interests; and
9. To cooperate with international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes.

Article two describes the main principles of SAARC. It includes cooperation, equality, regional integrity, intervention in interdependent matters etc.

4.9 Organizational Structure-

Article 3 provides for the Summit Conference of the SAARC Heads of States.

Article 4 provides for the council of foreign ministers of member countries which must sit twice every year.

Article 5 provides for a standing committee with foreign secretaries of member countries as its members. One meeting of this committee in a year is compulsory and it identifies the areas of cooperation and also monitors its progress.

Article 6 provides for Technical committees to coordinate cooperation in newer areas.

Article 7 provides for Executive Committee.

Article 8 provides of the SAARC Secretariat. It was established in 1987 with headquarters at Kathmandu. There is a General Secretary whose tenure is for two years. Besides Secretariat, 12 regional centers have also been formed in different member countries for mutual cooperation. Apart from these, 6 other high level institutions and 17 recognized institutions are in existence for social, economic and literary cooperation.

Articles 9 and 10 provide for financial institutions and economic share.

South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA)-

Under the umbrella of SAARC, the ideas of SAARC preferential trading agreement (SAPTA) and SAFTA were developed. The proposal to establish the South Asian Free Trade Area was mooted and agreed for the first time in the meeting

of SAARC Foreign of Ministers in 1995. In the 10th SAARC Summit held in 1998, a decision was taken to constitute a committee of experts to prepare the background of SAFTA. Finally, The South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) agreement was reached on January 6, 2004, at the 12th SAARC summit in Islamabad, Pakistan and it came into effect from January 2006. It created a free trade area of 1.6 billion people in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The seven foreign ministers of the region signed a framework agreement on SAFTA to reduce customs duties of all traded goods to zero by the year 2016. SAFTA requires the developing countries in South Asia (India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) to bring their duties down to 20 percent in the first phase of the two-year period ending in 2009, but it was not possible due to policies of Pakistan. In the final five-year phase ending 2012, the 20 percent duty will be reduced to zero in a series of annual cuts. The least developed nations in South Asia (Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Maldives) have an additional three years to reduce tariffs to zero. India and Pakistan ratified the treaty in 2009, whereas Afghanistan as the 8th member state of the SAARC ratified the SAFTA protocol on 4 May 2011. The total trade between the SAARC nations is just around 1 per cent of the GDP of those countries, while the trade volume of ASEAN nations is 10 per cent of their GDP. This failure of SAFTA can be considered as the slow pace of economic cooperation and lack of mutual trust among the SAARC nations.

4.10 Evaluation and relevance of SAARC-

The declared objective of SAARC is to develop socio-economic and cultural development on the basis of mutual cooperation among the countries of SAARC, but the ongoing process of cooperation has slowed down due to the political disputes between India and Pakistan. India has expressed its concerns about the deadlock in the economic cooperation in the Summit held at Islamabad in 1988. Pakistan and to some extent Bangladesh opposed the large scale cooperation in

the economic field because they feared that huge economy of India would swallow their small economies. Nonetheless, their apprehensions are baseless. In the early years, cooperation in agriculture, culture and scientific sectors did increase as a part of increased the integrated programme (IPA). Political disputes have also disrupted that mutual cooperation. Problems such as Kashmir, terrorism, Chinese interference and other trivial outstanding disputes between various member countries have disrupted the effective working of the SAARC and made it irrelevant. In last few years many displaced Rohingya Muslims of Rakhine province of Myanmar have migrated in mass scale to countries such as Bangladesh, India and other South Asian Countries and settled there illegally. They have caused a great human catastrophe and also magnified the menace of terrorism in these countries. The SAARC has to face the challenge of this complex problem.

India has made tremendous progress in economic, political and diplomatic fields. Politically, successful working of Indian democracy has been appreciated everywhere. Therefore, it is but natural for India to seek a decisive role in South Asia. If Pakistan does not accept this fact in the SAARC, then possibly the relevance and future of the SAARC will be at stake.

Important Points

- ASEAN was established by 5 countries on 8th August 1967.
- The full name of ASEAN is Association of South East Asian Nations.
- Myanmar, Brunei, Thailand, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Singapore, Cambodia, Vietnam & Philippines are member of ASEAN.
- India is full dialogue partner and a member of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).
- SAARC was established in 1985 as South Asian Regional Organization.
- SAARC has 8 member countries India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Maldives & Afghanistan.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. When was the SAARC established?
(A) 1985 (B) 1995
(C) 2004 (D) 1947 ()
2. In which city is the headquarters of SAARC located?
(A) Dhaka (B) Colombo
(C) Kathmandu (D) Mumbai ()
3. What is SAFTA?
(A) South Asia Free Trade Area
(B) South Asia Free Tennis Association.
(C) An agency of the United Nations
(D) None of these. ()

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Write the full name of the SAARC.
2. Write the full name of SAFTA.
3. Write the full name of ASEAN.
4. When was the ASEAN established?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Write a brief about the ASEAN organization.
2. Explain the role and functions of ASEAN.
3. Why SAARC was established?
4. What is SAFTA?
5. Write the names of the SAARC member nations.

Essay Type Questions-

1. Write an article on the ASEAN organization.
2. 'SAARC is a prominent medium of dialogue and deliberation of South Asian countries.' Elaborate this statement in the backdrop of organizational structure of the SAARC.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. A 2. C 3. A