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Learning Objectives

- To understand the meaning, evolution and objectives of planning.
- To trace the formation of the Planning Commission of India; to study the composition and functioning of the Commission.
- To examine the role of the Planning Commission towards achieving the ideals enshrined in the Indian constitution.
- To discuss the formation of NITI Aayog and to understand its composition and functioning.
- To understand the process of industrialization in India and to examine the role of the government in industrial development and regulation.
- To trace the process of land reforms in India.
- To examine the introduction of green revolution in India and to study its impact on the Indian economy.
- To discuss about white revolution in India and to examine its achievements.

8.1 Planning: Meaning, Evolution and Objectives

Planning before Independence

Planning exists in all economies and political systems. A planned system aims at the systematic utilization of the available resources of the state for a long-term progress. It is a process where the state aims to increase its output, national dividend, employment and also enhance the social welfare of the people. In such a system, all productive units in a country use their resources according to the directives of the government which is the central authority for development. It also includes laying down targets for public and private enterprises by the state. The state regulates and controls the functioning of both the private and public enterprises. All economic activities of the State are regulated by the government for the progress of the nation and the welfare of the people.

The modern state assumes welfare functions. Unlike the olden days, when states were “police states” concerned only with the security of the population and law and order, the welfare states have a wider role to play. They not only give good governance but also ensure socio-economic justice to the people. The democratic form of government gives opportunities and scope to realise the welfare state objectives of the modern state. The state recommends and implements socio-economic reforms so that nations can shed their backwardness and move towards development. In India,
the Planning Commission was set up with the objective of having a systematic process of planning in the nation so that the right strategy could be used for the appropriate utilization of resources of the country, for the needs of the present and the development of the future.

The need for economic planning was realized in India even before independence. In 1936, M. Visvesvarayya published a book entitled ‘Planned Economy for India’ in which he proposed a ten year plan for India. He is considered a pioneer of economic planning in India. In 1938, the National Planning Committee was initiated within the All India Congress Committee by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. It had the task of preparing an economic plan for India so that many of the economic problems of the nation could be addressed. The committee could not complete its task due to the outbreak of the world war II and the imprisonment of some of the national leaders. In 1944, the Bombay Plan was prepared for economic development by Indian industrialists. M. N. Roy proposed a plan which was called People’s plan which gave more importance to agriculture and small scale industries. Later, the Gandhian Plan was put forward by Shriman Narayan Agarwal in 1944 and in 1950 Jayaprakash Narayan drafted the Sarvodaya plan. All these plans aimed at improving the economic conditions of the nation.

**Activity**

**Group Discussion**

Teacher can divide the class into five groups. Each group consists of three or five members and discuss the examples given below in the class.

**What may be development for one may not be development for the other. Discuss.**

**Example 1:** More wages means development for a worker, but it can go against the entrepreneur.

**Example 2:** A rich farmer or trader wants to sell food grains at a higher prices but a poor worker wants to purchase it for low prices.

**Example 3:** Construction of a dam means more and cheap power, but people who will lose their habitat will demonstrate.

**Example 4:** To get more electricity, the industrialists may want more dams. But this may submerge the agricultural land and disrupt the lives of the people.

In this scenario it is worthy to follow the concept of sustainable development.

Planning after Independence

After Independence, the Directive Principles of State Policy were enshrined in Part IV of the Indian constitution to ensure socio-economic justice for the people.
The constitution makers understood the importance of economic development along with guaranteeing social justice. Thus planning was considered essential for the long term development. Accordingly, the Government of India adopted planning as a means of fostering economic development. The Planning Commission was set up with the objective of increasing production so that higher levels of national and per capita income could be achieved. It aimed at guaranteeing employment and narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor. It also aimed at establishing an egalitarian society by giving a wider role to the state so that the goal of socio-economic justice could be guaranteed and economic development could be realised.

8.2 Planning Commission of India

The Planning Commission of India was set up in March 1950 by a resolution of the Government of India under the chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru - the first Prime Minister of India, to prepare a plan for the “most effective and balanced utilization of the country’s resources”. The Planning Commission played an advisory role with regard to the formulation of the plans. It was the duty of the Central government and state governments to implement the planning programmes.

Function of Planning Commission

The Planning Commission had the function of assessing the resources of the nation so that they could be developed for the future needs of the country. These included material, capital and human resources. It was the primary duty of the Commission to prepare the plans so that these resources could be used in an effective and balanced manner. The resources had to be allocated among various sectors as per priorities and the stages of progress; and completion of programmes was to be laid down to the Commission. The Commission had to identify the conditions and issues that would be a hindrance for development.

Activity

Think-Pair-Share
Topic 1: Human development is the essence of social development
Topic 2: Money cannot buy all the goods and services that one needs to live well.

It had to examine the ways by which the plan could be effectively implemented in the prevailing conditions of the nation. It also determined the stage by stage execution of the plan. The planning process had to be assessed periodically so that right strategies could be used to implement the plans. In the process, the Planning Commission had the function of advising the central and state governments with regard to the appropriate strategies of planning. The Commission also had to analyse particular issues and advice on it to the government. It was the role of the Commission to determine the rate of growth of the economy specifying the targets of the plan period for every sector.
Composition and Organization

The Planning Commission consisted of the Prime Minister and four full time members and a few part time members who were of cabinet rank. The full time members were persons who have excelled in the technical field, economy and administration. The Prime Minister is the chairman of the Planning Commission enabling the coordination of the functions of the Commission.

As per the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission changes were made in the composition of the Commission. It included the Prime Minister as the Chairman who presides over the meetings of the Commission, a deputy chairman who is the de-facto executive head and who has the responsibility of formulating the drafts of the plan to the central cabinet, a secretary, four full time members and some cabinet ministers as part-time members. The Finance Minister and Planning Minister are ex-officio members of the Commission and a member secretary who is usually a senior IAS officer are also part of the Commission. The functioning of the administration was coordinated by the additional secretary. Senior officers in the ranks of deputy secretaries and under secretaries had to monitor the progress of the programmes. There were no representatives from the state government and it was a central body.

The Planning Commission of India worked on the principle of collective responsibility. It had three organs namely the General Division, Subject Division and the Administrative Division. The General Division relates to the entire economy and Subject Divisions concerns with specific areas of development like food and agriculture, power and irrigation, transportation etc. The Commission also includes the General administration branch and Evaluation Divisions.

Along with these, various other bodies also worked with the Planning Commission for the formulation and execution of plans. They are:-

i) National Planning Council

The National Planning Council was constituted during the Fourth Plan in 1965. It consisted of experts in science, engineering and economics and worked on areas that include agriculture, land reforms, irrigation, education, employment, industry, trade, management, family planning, social welfare, natural resources, transport and international trade. It was the responsibility of each of these groups to study in detail the needs of each of the areas and give the data to the Planning Commission which helps the Commission to formulate the plan.

ii) National Development Council (NDC)

The National Development Council included all the Chief Ministers of the States along with the Prime Minister as its chairman. The inclusion of the states enables the implementation of the plans in the respective states. Some cabinet ministers of the central government could also be present during the deliberations of the NDC. The NDC had the role of reviewing the implementation of the plans periodically and discusses various issues relating to the development of the state. It makes recommendations for the effective implementation of plans and also ensures involvement and support of the people in plan implementation. It works for effective
Efforts Towards Poverty Eradication

One of the major problems of India was poverty. The Planning Commission aimed not only at increasing the per capita income but also improving the quality of life of the people. Growth of the economy necessitated the inclusion of all sectors. It was also understood that the quality of life of the common man was interrelated to his economic conditions. So, it was realised by the state that it was important to guarantee people a decent standard of living along with proper access to education and health care which are next to food, clothing and shelter. But the challenge was that economic growth and reduction of poverty are not always related. From the fourth five year plan, the government focussed on this issue and concentrated on ‘garibi hatao’ during the early 1970’s.

Employment generation was considered to be one of the measures for reduction of poverty. There were many problems due to unemployment and underemployment. In all the five year plans emphasis was given to employment.

Ensuring Social Justice

Article 38(2) states “The State shall, in particular, strive to minimize the inequalities in income, and endeavour to eliminate inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities, not only amongst individuals but also amongst groups of people residing in different areas or engaged in different vocations”. This was kept in mind by the planners in formulating each of the plans.
Ensuring social justice has gone hand in hand with economic planning. Along with measures for development, it is also important to give equal opportunities to all with regard to education and employment. The establishment of a socialistic pattern of society ensured that there will be no concentration of wealth in the hands of a few so that exploitation and oppression could be ended.

Historically, the Indian society has fostered exploitation and suppression of one section by another. It was a challenge to the constitution makers to tackle all these traditional forces and social evils so that social and economic justice could be realized. The justiciable rights under Part III of the constitution dealing with Fundamental rights enables the citizens to get protection for all the rights required to live a complete life. The non-justiciable rights under Part IV on Directive Principles of State Policy ensures that the system functions in such a way that the inequalities of income among people is reduced and an egalitarian society is established.

State instrumentalities and contractors engaged by them are under a constitutional obligation to ensure the safety of persons who are asked to undertake hazardous jobs such as manual scavenging, the Supreme Court said in a landmark judgment seven years ago. But, India continues human beings as manual scavenger in many cities.

The 2018 Global Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development reaffirmed the importance of multi-dimensional approaches to poverty eradication that go beyond economic deprivation. The 2018 MPI answers the call to better measure progress against Sustainable Development Goal 1 – to end poverty in all its forms; and opens a new window into how poverty - in all its dimensions – is changing.

With the 2018 estimates, the MPI measures acute multidimensional deprivations in 105 countries covering 77 percent of the global population.

2018 MPI estimates, by (millions)

- South Asia: 545
- Sub-Saharan Africa: 560
- Total: 1,334
The MPI looks beyond income to understand how people experience poverty in multiple and simultaneous ways. It identifies how people are being left behind across three key dimensions: health, education and standard of living, comprising 10 indicators. People who experience deprivation in at least one third of these weighted indicators fall into the category of multidimensionally poor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions of Poverty</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Deprived if living in the household where…</th>
<th>Weight</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Health</strong></td>
<td>Nutrition</td>
<td>An adult under 70 years of age or a child is undernourished.</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{6})</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Child mortality</td>
<td>Any child has died in the family in the five-year period preceding the survey.</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{6})</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td>Years of schooling</td>
<td>No household member aged 10 years or older has completed six years of schooling.</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{6})</td>
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<td></td>
<td>School attendance</td>
<td>Any school-aged child is not attending school up to the age at which he/she would complete class 8.</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{6})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Standard of living</strong></td>
<td>Cooking Fuel</td>
<td>The household cooks with dung, wood, charcoal or coal.</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{18})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sanitation</td>
<td>The household's sanitation facility is not improved (according to SDG guidelines) or it is improved but shared with other households.</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{18})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drinking Water</td>
<td>The household does not have access to improved drinking water (according to SDG guidelines) or safe drinking water is at least a 30-minute walk from home, round trip.</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{18})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>The household has no electricity.</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{18})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>Housing materials for at least one of roof, walls and floor are inadequate: the floor is of natural materials and/or the roof and/or walls are of natural or rudimentary materials.</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{18})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assets</td>
<td>The household does not own more than one of these assets: radio, TV, telephone, computer, animal cart, bicycle, motorbike or refrigerator, and does not own a car or truck.</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{18})</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The rural urban divide was another important area where the Planning Commission had to concentrate. In the process of economic development, industrialization and urbanization increased and this had its impact on the Indian society and economy. Disparity in the development of the rural and urban population would foster inequality which is against the principle enshrined in the constitution. The Planning Commission recommended many programmes for the development of the rural economy so that the development of both the rural and urban population could be ensured.

**Democratic Socialism**

When India got independence, there were many problems that the nation had to handle. One among these problems was which would be the best strategy for long term development. Jawaharlal Nehru was the architect of planning in India. He was inspired by the soviet model of planning and was also inspired by the liberal principles of capitalism. He wanted to bring the two ideas together in India which was termed as democratic socialism. For Nehru, democracy and planning had to go together. Planning was an integrated way to look at the needs of the society. It had to interlink production, consumption, employment, transport, education, health, social service etc. Such a society enables the complete development of the personality of the individual. It is the responsibility of the state to direct its policy to secure a better distribution of ownership and control of the material resources of the community. To protect the weaker sections, the state is also expected to control the distribution of essential commodities.

**Mixed Economy**

The idea of a mixed economy was thus adopted which included the liberal policy of encouraging private enterprises and also promoting the public sector for the good of the society by socializing the means of production and giving powers to the state to have control over the economy. India is an inspiration to many nations for the idea of a mixed economy. Article 38 of the Indian constitution says ‘The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life’. The system of a mixed economy works for the realization of this ideal of the constitution.

The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 was adopted by the Indian Parliament in April 1956. It was a guideline for the economic policy of the country. The five year plans were made on the basis of this resolution. It emphasised on more powers to the governmental machinery so that a socialistic pattern of society could be realized. The industries were divided into three categories. Firstly, there were industries which were entirely state owned. Secondly the category of industries which were state owned but the public enterprises could also be included and thirdly industries which were with the private sector. The state had control over all the industries and the third category of industries could not function only for self interest or profit motives but were regulated for the interest of the entire society. The welfare of the community was the top priority.

Planning was considered to be a prerequisite for a mixed economy. As the
benefits of the public sector and the private sectors were to be integrated for the welfare of the community, the Five Years Plans were formulated in such a manner that the objectives of economic growth and social justice could be achieved. It also made the governments to formulate appropriate plans and adopt right strategies to bring about development in the right manner.

After the introduction of economic reforms in 1991 by the Congress government led by Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao, a new industrial policy was announced in July 1991 which aimed at taking steps to reduce bureaucratic control over the Indian industrial economy and liberalization so that the Indian economy could be integrated with the world economy. Restrictions on direct foreign investment was removed. The reforms in the industrial policy was reflected in areas such as industrial licensing, foreign investment, foreign technology policy and public sector policy.

The seventh Five year plan got completed in 1990. Due to the economic condition of the country, the eighth five year plan could not be introduced in 1990. In the years 1990-91 and 1991-92 annual plans were formulated. The eighth five year plan was implemented in 1992.

**NITI AAYOG**

In 2015, the Government of India made a shift in its approach towards planning.

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**Objectives of NITI Aayog**

- fostering COOPERATIVE FEDERALISM, Active Involvement of states
- formulation of plans at VILLAGE-level, aggregation at higher levels
- SPECIAL ATTENTION to sections at risk of not benefitting adequately from economic progress
- economic policy that incorporates NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS
- feedback for constant INNOVATION IMPROVEMENTS
- partnerships with national and international THINK TANKS
- creating a KNOWLEDGE, INNOVATION & ENTREPRENEURIAL support system
- platform for RESOLUTION of inter-sectoral & inter-departmental issues
- state of the art resource center for RESEARCH on good governance
- focus on TECHNOLOGY upgradation and CAPACITY BUILDING
It introduced a new Commission called the NITI Aayog (National Institution for Transforming India) which replaced the Planning Commission. It was formed with the idea of making the entire planning process more decentralized. In such a system the states could be involved in the formulation and implementation of developmental plans in a better manner. It aims at cooperative federalism where the states can play a wider role. It also focuses on need specific plans making the entire process inclusive so that all sections of the population could be a part of the developmental process.

The NITI Aayog functions as a think tank of the government. It has the function of providing the central government and the state governments with relevant and strategic technical advice relating to policy making. It advices on all issues of national and international importance and analyses on the best practices from our own country and from other nations of the world. The Government issued a resolution of the Union Cabinet on 1st January, 2015 by which the Planning Commission was replaced by the NITI Aayog.

**Structure**

The Prime Minister is the Chairman of the NITI Aayog. He appoints a Vice-Chairman. There are 5 full time and 2 part time members. It has a Governing Council which consists of the Chief Ministers of all the states and Lt. Governors of Union Territories. The Regional Councils are formed to address specific issues relating to the states or a region. It functions for a specific period of time. The Prime Minister has the power to invite experts, specialists and practitioners on particular domains as special invitees. The part time members are from leading universities and research institutions.

**Why NITI Aayog Replaced Planning Commission: Reasons**

1. The new National Institution for Transforming India (NITI) will act more like a think tank or a forum, in contrast with the Commission which imposed five-year-plans and allocated resources to meet set economic targets.

2. NITI will include leaders of India’s 28 states and 9 union territories. Its full-time staff - a Deputy Chairman, Chief Executive Officer and experts - will answer directly to the Prime Minister, who will be the Chairman. It is different from Planning Commission, which used to report to the National Development Council.

3. The major difference in approach to planning between NITI Aayog and Planning Commission is that the former will invite greater involvement of the states, while the latter took a top-down approach with a one-size-fits-all plan.

4. The Planning Commission’s role was formulation of broad policy and its capacity was more advisory. NITI Aayog shall have powers for resource allocation to states, based on their respective needs.

5. The states had little direct say in policy planning, which was the purview of the Planning Commission. Involvement of the states was indirect through the National Development Council; which is not the case in the NITI Aayog.
organizations. Four members of the Union Council of Ministers are also nominated as ex-officio members. It also comprises of a Chief Executive officer (CEO).

The plurality and diversity of the Indian state was recognized by the government. The nature of each of the States and Union Territories is different. The needs of the people are different, the geographical condition of each of the regions vary and the economic conditions are different. Some states are more developed than other states. So, the government realized that a uniform plan of development for the entire nation is not a right approach and will not give desired results. Thus, the NITI Aayog was formed so that the needs of each of the regions could be addressed in the right manner.

The Planning Commission was set up by a resolution of the Government of India in 15th March 1950. It has been replaced by the National Institution for Transforming India, also called NITI Aayog. It was formed via a resolution of the Union Cabinet on January 1, 2015. The Prime Minister of India serves as the Chairperson of NITI Aayog.

The resolution of the Union Cabinet declared that the nation has transformed from an underdeveloped economy to an emergent global nation. Elimination of poverty is still the biggest challenge to the
nation. So, it was felt necessary to formulate policies in such a manner that the poorest of the poor get benefited. Every citizen living in the state was to enjoy the benefits of development. People should live a life of dignity and self respect.

It was felt important to integrate the villages into the development process. At the same time, it was also recognized that the industry and service sectors have contributed to the development of the nation. The Government had to enable a better functioning of these sectors. It had to focus on legislation, policy making and regulation of these sectors. Small businesses had to be supported as they create job opportunities for the uneducated and unskilled. Skill and knowledge development and access to financial capital were considered to be important for these industries. The contribution of the people by their active participation in all the spheres was also recognized. The changing role of the public sector and private sector gives more scope for participatory citizenry as more and more people are included in the development process.

The potential of the entire population was to be made use of in any kind of development. The strength of the people was determined much by education, skills, gender equality and employment. The youth were to be encouraged to work so that the poorest of the poor get the benefits of development. Women have to be given every opportunity to contribute towards nation building. The weaker sections of the population including the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes should also be given all opportunities to contribute to the well being of the state. This would lead to a real inclusive governance.

**Activity**

Have a discussion on the working of NITI Aayog in your class under the guidance of your teacher.

Added to these are the environmental and ecological issues. The duty of the citizens to safeguard and protect the environment had to be emphasised so that there would be sustainable development and the resources of the future generations do not get exhausted. The profit oriented privatization, very often leads to indiscriminate exploitation of natural resources, and displacement of people (mostly of hilly, forest and coastal regions) from their natural habitat. The over-exploitation of natural resources would have serious adverse impact in future. The government and people have to be vigilant. It was felt important to uphold the quality of life of the present and future generations.

Addressing all the above issues the government reiterated that effective governance in India is the need of the hour. Such an effective governance would include a pro-people agenda so that the aspirations of the individuals and the society are fulfilled. It was also stressed that the government will be pro-active in anticipating and responding to the needs of the people. Participation of people would be encouraged and all sections of the population would be included so that people enjoy equality of opportunity and women are also empowered. Transparency is considered to be another important prerequisite for effective governance and the information technology could enable this in an effective manner. The NITI Aayog is considered to be an institution that would enable the government to realise the above ideals.
Objectives of NITI Aayog

The objectives of the NITI Aayog are:

To include the States in the planning process so that the Central government along with the State governments could identify developmental priorities and strategies. This would foster cooperative federalism as the states would be a part of the planning process. To formulate credible plans at the village level and aggregate it progressively. To ensure that the interests of national security are incorporated in economic strategy and necessary checks on indiscriminate tampering with ecology and environment policy and to check whether all sections of the population are benefitted from economic progress.

Long term policy and programme frameworks to be designed and their progress would be monitored by the Aayog and innovative improvements would be made. Partnership between key stakeholders, like-minded think tanks, educational and policy research institutions to be encouraged and knowledge, innovation and entrepreneurial support system to be created through a community of national and international experts, practitioners and other partners.

Activity

Compare the functioning of the Planning Commission and NITI Aayog and represent it in tabular form.

The Commission also offers platform for resolution of inter-sectoral and inter-departmental issues so that the developmental programmes can be accelerated. It maintains a state-of-art resource centre which will work for research on good governance and best practices in sustainable and equitable development. It will monitor and evaluate the implementation of the programmes so that needed resources could be identified.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Difference in composition</th>
<th>NITI Aayog</th>
<th>Planning Commission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chair Person</td>
<td>Prime Minister</td>
<td>Prime Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice-Chair Person</td>
<td>Appointed by PM</td>
<td>Deputy Chariman (nominated = Cabinet rank)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governing council</td>
<td>CM’s and L-G’s</td>
<td>National Development council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member secretary</td>
<td>To be known as the CEO and to be appointed by the Prime Minister</td>
<td>Secretaries or member secretaries were appointment through the usual process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time members</td>
<td>To have a number of part-time members, depending on the need from time to time</td>
<td>Full Planning Commission had no provision for part-time members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time members</td>
<td>the number of full-time members could be fewer than Planning Commission</td>
<td>The Last Commission had eight full-time members</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The NITI Aayog also emphasises on technology upgradation and capacity building for implementation of programmes and initiatives. To undertake other activities that are necessary to further the execution of the national development agenda.

Some of the initiatives of the NITI Aayog include “15 year road map”, 7 year vision, Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT), Digital India, Atal Innovation Mission etc. The NITI Aayog signed the Sustainable Development Framework for 2018-2022. The commitment of the government in attaining the sustainable development goals is reflected by this. The areas that are focussed are poverty and urbanization, health, water and sanitation, education, job creation, gender equality, youth development.

8.3 Land Reforms in India

Introduction

Land has been always considered as the most important element of Wealth. It is also used to not only to produce wealth in the form of Agricultural Products such as rice, wheat, etc., but also used as an instrument to control the tenants and labour. Despite efforts taken by the British Government during the Colonial Era such as Permanent Settlement Act, Land Regulation Acts, the friction between the land lords, tenants and labourers continued even after Independence. As it became very complicated after India’s Independence, a series of measures have been taken to settle and prevent the problems between land lords and tenants, tillers and labourers.

At the time of independence, ownership of land was concentrated in the hands of a few. This led to the exploitation of the landless farmers and labourers and socio-economic inequality in the rural life. In the eve of independence, peasant riots broke out in many parts (Telengana, Travancore and Tanjore Districts in Tamil Nadu) of India. It was on this occasion, Vinobha Bhave launched Boodhan Movement in which the landlords were to voluntarily transfer their surplus lands, and the government would help with necessary legislations.

Vinoba Bhave

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Jagannathan and Krishnammal

The distribution of lands were made among the landless poor. The Sarvodaya Movement, attempted to launch and strength co-operative societies to assist the poor farmers. In Tamil Nadu, Jagannathan and Krishnammal strived hard to make the Boodhan and Sarvodaya Movement popular among the rural people. Equal distribution of land was therefore an area of focus of Independent India’s government. Laws for land ceiling were enacted in various states during the 1950s & 1960s and also from initiatives taken by the Federal Government.

The Policy Makers in the Post-Independence Era had to strike a balance between economic development through
intensive agricultural production to achieve self-sustenance, economic equality and anti-poverty measures etc. Under the 1950 Indian constitution, states were granted the powers to enact and implement land reforms. Moreover, the Directive Principles of State Policy also paved way for guiding the State Policy to establish socio-economic equality, to bring parity between rich and poor and to address the issues related to agrarian poverty. More over, the Preamble of the Constitution has been amended to incorporate Socialist mode of governance in 1976. However, in real practice there has been significant variations across states in types of land reforms that have been enacted at different times.

For the purpose of understanding the reform measures, it can be classified into four main categories:

The first category was the enactment of laws related to tenancy reforms. These include attempts to regulate tenancy contracts both via registration and stipulation of contractual terms, such as share in tenancy contracts, as well as attempts to abolish tenancy and transfer ownership to tenants.

The second category of land reform acts attempts to abolish intermediaries. These intermediaries who worked under feudal lords (Zamindari) to collect rent for the British were reputed to allow a larger share of the surplus from the land to be extracted from tenants. Most states had passed legislation to abolish intermediaries prior to 1958.

The third category of land reform acts concerned efforts to implement ceilings on land holdings, with a view to redistributing surplus land to the landless.

Finally, the reform acts which attempted to allow consolidation of disparate land-holdings. Though these reforms and in particular the latter were justified partly in terms of achieving efficiency in agriculture, it is clear from the acts themselves and from the political manifestos supporting the acts that the main impetus driving the first three reforms was poverty reduction.

**Land Reforms since Independence**

The peculiarities of Indian agriculture, combined with the declared desire to bring about economic development as well as social justice led the govt., in the post-Independence period, to undertake a comprehensive programme of land reforms.

**In short these reforms aimed at**

- Abolition of Zamindars and intermediaries (middle men)
- Bringing land ceiling
- Protection of tenants, tillers and labourers
- Cooperation among farming community

(a) **Abolition of Intermediaries**

One of the first aims of the agrarian reforms was to eliminate the middlemen such as the Zamindars and Jagirdars so as to bring the cultivator into direct relationship with the govt. The work of Zamindari abolition was comparatively easy in the temporarily settled areas such as Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh where adequate records and administrative machinery existed.

(b) **Land ceiling**

In order to achieve equality in possession and utilization of land,
legislations were passed in all states imposing ceiling on existing land holdings as well as on future acquisition of land. However, provisions relating to level, transfers, and exemptions differed considerably from state to state. In Assam, Jammu and Kashmir, West Bengal and Manipur, there was one uniform ceiling limit irrespective of the class of land, ceiling being fixed at 50 acres, 22 ¾ acres and 25 acres respectively. But due to differences in uniformity among states, land ceiling became a political issue and was not properly implemented.

(c) Tenant Regulation

Third attempt was to bring uniformity and regulation of agrarian labour and tenancy. Consequently, governments in the Centre and States have formulated agrarian policy aimed at reducing disparities in wealth and income, eliminating exploitation, providing security for the tenant and worker, and opportunity to different sections of the rural population. With these guidelines provided by the Planning Commission, the State govt. adopted certain measures, viz., regulation of rents, security of tenure and conferment of ownership on tenants.

(d) Co-operative Farming

The fourth attempt was Co-operative farming where farmers take the land for lease and pool the resources to make a collective attempt to farm and the profit will be equally divided after settling the

Indian Union Co-operative Act- 1904

On the basis of Indian Union Co-operative Act, 1904, the Madras State Co-operative Act, was enacted. This act was further strengthened after independence. The Co-operative organizations functions in three ways such as Co-operative Banks, Land Development Banks, Co-operative Societies. Co-operative organizations functioning in Tamil Nadu, apart from Agriculture, includes various hand craft industries like Cotton weaving, silk weaving and pottery. Tamil Nadu currently has more than 10,000 Co-operative Societies.
Tamil Nadu’s Development Experience

“While India has increased its per capita income in recent years through fairly sustained high growth rates in income, its human development indicators still trail those of some countries with similar incomes. An oft-cited example is Bangladesh which, despite lower per capita incomes, fares better than India in various human development parameters. It is in this regard that states like Tamil Nadu within the country have been hailed as a model in recent years for combining relatively high growth with high levels of human development. In fact, Tamil Nadu along with Kerala, is likely to rank at the top among South Asian countries, with regard to attainments in health and education.

Dreze and Sen (2013), in their book, India: An Uncertain Glory, clearly highlight the progress that the State has made in various aspects of human development such as education, health and poverty reduction. The factors that drive this process and the continuing challenge to improve further therefore warrant attention.

The experience of a relatively advanced state like Tamil Nadu also offers lessons for other less developed ones in the country. Importantly, it also offers a window to observe some of the inadequacies in the path traversed this far and hopefully help such states avoid similar pitfalls. While the possible discordance between growth and development is now well recognised, there is a growing realisation of the importance of institutions that govern growth and distribution. In the context of India, Dreze and Sen (2013) cite literature to show how the institution of caste has inhibited growth. As Ambedkar has pointed out, caste is not a division of labour, but a division of labourers that poses barriers to mobility and access to resources.

The process of rendering institutions more inclusive is therefore critical to ensure growth and more importantly to ensure that the fruits of growth are shared in a broad-based manner. This is particularly important in a context where investments in human capital are seen to be critical to sustain a virtuous cycle of growth and development. Tamil Nadu has been a State that is witness to a long history of social and political mobilisation against caste-determined hierarchies; and it has been pointed out that its relatively better performance in terms of growth, poverty reduction and human development can be attributed to such collective action (Kalaiyarasan, 2014).

Tamil Nadu is a State that continued to have poverty levels higher than the national average even until the 1980s. It is only since the early 1990s that we witness rapid reduction in poverty and improvement in per capita incomes. As Dreze and Sen (2013) point out, the State’s investments in social infrastructure, such as the free...
Mid-day Meal Scheme (MDMS) for school children, driven by the emergence of concerted public action with its roots in social movements that sought to question and delegitimise social hierarchies and democratise public spheres have been critical to this shift.

Further, the case of Tamil Nadu clearly demonstrates that investments made in social welfare need not undermine the growth imperative as it was believed that such investments dried up resources for productive growth-enhancing investments. In fact, it would appear that investments in social sectors driven by democratising collective action have led to translation of such inputs into growth increases. Importantly, the improvements in growth have allowed the State to mobilise resources that could be channelled back into social sectors.”


Changes in land relations in Tamil Nadu

DESPITE Tamil Nadu having emerged as a model state in recent years, it has often been criticized for its poor implementation of land reforms. One might, therefore, naturally presume that landlordism would have survived in its earlier form with high levels of tenancy and exorbitant rents, particularly in areas like the Cauvery delta region which is noted for its high incidence of tenancy.

However, landlordism has declined in the delta region in general and tenancy conditions have enormously eased. The power relations between the landlord and tenant have been completely reversed with the tenant enjoying certain powers to negotiate compensation for giving up the right to cultivate.

Mobilizations by both the Communists and the Dravidian movement have been critical to the creation of a culture of collective action and resistance to landlord power. Further, the coming to power of the Dravidian parties in 1967 created appropriate conditions for consolidating the power of lower caste tenants who benefited both from a set of state initiatives launched by the Dravidian ideology soon after its coming to power and a culture of collective action against dominant landlords.

The Cauvery delta had evolved elaborate agrarian relations over a long period of time as it is one of the world’s oldest deltas. Land tenure systems involved both fixed rent (kuthagai) and sharecropping (varam) arrangements. Kathleen Gough found in 1952 that the tenant could get only 7-10% of the produce as his net share after meeting all expenses in a village in the western delta. In response to such unequal distribution and exploitative land relations, the Communist Party of India, in 1943, formed an Agricultural Association in the district. A less recognized aspect of mobilization in the region was one undertaken by the Dravidar Kazhagam. The Dravidar Kazhagam formed the Dravidar Vivasaya Thozilalar Sangam (DVTS):
The Agricultural Workers Union formed in 1952, was stronger in the eastern delta. The ascendance of Dravidian ideology to power decisively tilted the struggle in favour of tenants, both through a series of legislations and a further consolidation of political power among the lower castes. Though several legislations had been passed during the Congress period as well, but the real protection for the tenant came when the Dravidian ideology passed the Tamil Nadu Cultivating Tenants (Special Provisions) Act, 1968, that allowed for payment of rental arrears in easy instalments and thus eased the process of paying rent. The earlier tenancy protection acts were not as effective since there was no registration of tenants. The Dravidian government introduced a law to rectify this lacuna in the existing tenancy protection laws.

The Tamil Nadu Agricultural Lands (Record of Tenancy Rights) Act, 1969, provided for the registration of tenants with ease. Nearly five lakh tenants and about seven lakh acres of land were registered against their name in Thanjavur district under this law. Amendments to the Tenancy Act in 1979 further reduced rents by 25% and protected the tenants against eviction even if they failed to pay rent during natural calamities. Another important move that gave an enormous foothold to the tenants and agricultural labourers was the Conferment of Ownership of Homestead Act, 1971. This legislation freed the landless from the control of the landlords. In the following year, in 1972, the government of Tamil Nadu passed another legislation that waived off all the rental arrears of tenants.

Thus, the ascendency of the Dravidian ideology to power led to refinements and innovations in laws which empowered tenants and agricultural labourers in important ways. Registration of tenancy, remission of rent, an increase in the number of revenue courts, and provisions to buy leased land and conferment of ownership title over the homestead increased the negotiating position of the tenants manifold. The political power enjoyed by the backward castes and the new assertion by the Dalits have all combined to improve the de facto rights of the tenants.

As a result, the rent has fallen steeply over time and compensation for giving up tenancy right was institutionalised. Thus a combination of historical, political and social factors has led to the decline of landlordism in the delta and tenancy has become a non-issue. - J. Jeyaranjan.

rent and expenses. Until late 1960's, a total of 7294 cooperative farming societies having a membership of 1.88 lakhs had been formed and these covered an area of 3.93 lakh hectares. However, many of these societies were defunct and some existed only on paper for the sake of obtaining state grants though their land was cultivated in the old way. In these, there was neither the pooling of resources nor joint operation of land. A number of these were formed with a desire to evade land reforms measures in various states.

**Activity**

Have a discussion on Land ceiling reference in Tamil Nadu since 1960 in the class under the guidance of your teacher.
Land Bill: Six facts you need to know

2. The Bill creates five special categories of land use: 1. defence, 2. rural infrastructure, 3. affordable housing, 4. industrial corridors, and 5. infrastructure projects including Public Private Partnership (PPP) projects where the central government owns the land.

3. The Bill exempts the five categories from provisions of the LARR Act, 2013 which requires the consent of 80 per cent of land owners to be obtained for private projects and that of 70 per cent of land owners for PPP projects.

4. The Bill allows exemption for projects in these five categories from requiring Social Impact Assessment be done to identify those affected and from the restrictions on the acquisition of irrigated multi-cropped land imposed by LARR Act 2013.

5. The Bill brings provisions for compensation, rehabilitation, and resettlement under other related Acts such as the National Highways Act and the Railways Act in consonance with the LARR Act.

6. The Bill changes acquisition of land for private companies mentioned in LARR Act, 2013 to acquisition for ‘private entities’. A private entity could include companies, corporations and nonprofit organisations.

Activity
- The students are asked to find out the land reforms shared out by Tamil Nadu Government.

8.4 Green Revolution and White Revolution

Green Revolution

Introduction
Agriculture has been the most intensive form of economic activity leading to 12-15% of its contribution to GDP. Agriculture is not only for sustaining the food grains and vegetation to cater to the requirements of the growing population but has its contribution in creating largest employment sector, fostering one large section of the Indian industry called Agrarian Industry and has been contributing and earning foreign exchange to our nation. Agriculture is not just grains alone, but it spreads to various Agricultural Tertiary sectors such as Coconut Farming, Orchids and cash crops such as Cashew Nuts, Coffee, Tea, Pepper and Vegetables.

Activity
- Visit a village and observe the farming activities. Understand ownership, tenancy, agricultural activities and the nature of farming in the village.
- Understand roof top gardening, vertical gardening and organic farming and do an experimentation of the same.

The primary need to sustain Indian agriculture to cater the growing requirements of the population was felt
Immediately after Independence. However the nature of importance that was given to Agriculture varied from the First Five Year plan to 12th Five Year Plan. Because in the initial years after independence, the importance was given to setting of industry and industrial system in India. In the first 10 years after Independence, with the continuous adoption of primitive technology of farming the agricultural outcome was able to meet the basic needs of the population that was growing around 2.5% annually. It was during the 1960’s when India began to face the shortfall in meeting the population needs. Because, the Food Grain production did not increase to cater to the needs of the population. This led to the Green Revolution.

Green Revolution in India

As we all know that India is basically an agricultural country with the growing population dependent on agriculture. With the experience of India’s first two five-year plans, it was realised that agriculture in India had serious shortfalls namely,

a) It was not able to produce required grains to suit the growing population.

b) Insufficiency in production due to the traditional agricultural practice which was primitive in use of technology.

c) The pattern of agriculture was not only very primitive but farmers relied on long term crop patterns which took long time to see the results.

d) Since India is a monsoon dependent state the agricultural output was dependent on the nature of rainfall, insufficient rain fall resulted in drought which affected the grain production in India leading to famine, starvation and deaths.

During 1960’s a new Agriculture Policy was formulated on the basis of suggestions given by the Ford Foundation. In its report ‘India’s Crisis of Food and Steps to Meet it’ the Ford Foundation’s agricultural experts suggested ways and means to improve the agricultural process namely the usage of High Yield Crop Seeds and mechanization of agricultural activity leading to intensive methods of production, optimal usage of fertilizers, agrarian marketing and storage of grains to avoid wastage etc., Mexico adopted the suggestions and witnessed tremendous growth in agriculture. Philippines also adopted the suggestions to bring about self-sufficiency in its agricultural production.

It was in 1959-60 the Government of India adopted the suggestions given by the Ford Foundation and introduced the reforms in agriculture. These reforms were adopted as a collective programme in order to bring existing and new irrigation facilities,
application of fertilizers, hybrid seeds that can bring high yield, pesticides, insecticides etc.. This new way was gradually adopted in Indian agriculture. This was called GREEN REVOLUTION. The plan for Green Revolution was formulated by the notable agriculture scientist Dr. M.S. Swaminathan who was later known as Father of India's Green Revolution. In simple terms, the increased use of fertilizers and irrigation are known collectively as the Indian Green Revolution. The Green Revolution took place between 1967-78 which resulted in 50% increase in agricultural production.

In 1960, seven districts in seven states were selected by the Indian Government for a pilot project known as Intensive Area Development Programme (IADP). As the results were far more satisfactory, the reform programme was extended to other States. Hence, this programme was extended to remaining states and one district from each state was selected for intensive development. Subsequently it was extended to 144 districts in 1965.

In the initial stage, this programme was implemented around 2 million hectares of area. Gradually the coverage of the programme was enlarged and total area covered by this Green Revolution programme was estimated as 70 million hectares which accounted to 40% of the agricultural cover. Consequently, farming activities began to take throughout the year, that is, from single cropping pattern to multiples of cropping and mixed cropping, which meant not just the cultivation of wheat or rice alone as in the traditional farming pattern. Due to the geo-climate variations in different parts of India, farmers in India adopted different types of cropping pattern. Northern States of India like Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh quickly found better results with regard to wheat, while Southern states like Karnataka, Tamil Nadu etc found lesser rate of success in regard to cultivation of rice. However, the over all result in the long run was more impressive to alleviate food shortage.

**Major impacts of Green Revolution**

- **Substantial Increase in Agricultural Production**
  
  Volume of agricultural outcome increased by two to three fold compared to the period in 1950's. The increased production of rice, wheat, cereals and vegetables had erased the humiliation that India had to import grains from the United States during the PL-140 programme in 1950's. Moreover the agricultural goods were freely available to the people in the open market.

- **Increased Opportunity in Agricultural Employment**
  
  Due to intensive cropping throughout the year, the demand for agricultural employment increased. The demand was felt in two groups namely, unskilled agrarian labour to work in the farm and qualified agricultural engineers and experts to help and facilitate the knowledge regarding scientific farming.

- **Agriculture, Industry and Market**
  
  The Green Revolution in India not only brought a change in agricultural activity, but also brought a healthy relationship between market and industry. As the scientific farming was more dependent on agricultural engineering such as farm equipments, tractors etc., industries began to show interest to produce farm
equipments to suit the increasing demand at low cost. At the same time the market also began to play effective role in processing and supplying the products to the consumers.

❖ **Inter State Exchange and Market Mechanism**

One of the major problem faced by the states in India was that the Green Revolution was beneficial only to those states where the soil was fertile. Hence, states that produced in excess distributed their output to other states which were climatically dry such as Vidarbha and Telangana. Hence, inter-state agrarian market began to grow to cater the needs of the consumption. Consequently, the import burden came down drastically.

❖ **Disparity between small farmers and big farmers**

One of the major impact of the Green Revolution was the marginalization of small scale farmers. Farmers holding very small pieces of land had to compete with the large land holders with regard to finance, infrastructure and agrarian market forces. This led to marginalization of farmers and they were disinterested towards new techniques in farming. Hence, there was variations among farmers and also variation in various regions across India.

❖ **Mass Movement**

One of the important feature of the Green Revolution was it brought majority of farming community in India together both for their personal and national socio-economic welfare. This led to substantial increase in income status of the farming community as the high yield of food grain led high income. Agricultural market also played crucial role in creating competitive pricing which helped the farming community to sell their goods in the open market. Hence, the whole farming community in India took part in the Green Revolution. Unlike industrialization, agriculture showed very short term profit and growth. Hence, it articulated the revolutionary feeling among the agrarian community to actively participate in the Green Revolution.

**Major Shortfalls of the Green Revolution**

The following factors have been the shortfalls due to Geo-Climatic factors in India.

1. Regional, crop and farming variations.
2. Widened the gap between rich and poor agriculturist.
3. Lack of finance among small scale farmers to put up with initial investment
4. It forced the farmers to use harmful fertilizers and pesticides to increase the crop output.
5. Lack of socialization and preparedness with regard to adopting new technology.
6. It has become a never ending process due lack of adequate check on population overgrowth.

**Achievements of Green Revolution**

1. It brought down the scarcity of food grains. Hence, it brought down agricultural imports.
2. It encouraged the farmers to test new varieties of high yield seeds and varieties of crops.
3. It stimulated to bring radical changes in fishing, poultry and dairy industries namely Blue, Yellow and White Revolution.
4. Cash and spice crops were also given equal importance which led India to export cash crops to various countries.
resulting in high export earnings. However, other necessary crops like sugarcane, oilseeds and cereals were not shown adequate interest by the farmers. Their importance was felt only during 1970’s and early 1980’s.

White Revolution

In 1950’s, India was not just struggling to achieve self-sustenance in agriculture production, but also in producing milk products such as dairy milk, butter and infant feeds. India has been importing butter, milk power and infant milk feeds.

Very similar to revolution in agriculture the need was felt in animal husbandry to produce milk products.

Major Reasons for the White Revolution

Rearing cows and buffaloes was considered secondary to agriculture.

It was non-profit mode of small scale industry because of its primitiveness and poor maintenance of farms and animal sheds.

The milk producing animals such as cows and buffaloes were native Indian origin which did not produce enough milk to supply bigger population.

Farming in India was a rural industry which was suffering from necessary supporting systems like transportation, preservation and distribution of milk and other dairy products. Hence it suffered from lack of networking.

Farming also suffered from the usage of age old primitive technology and inadequate of veterinary specialists. Mortality rate of cows and buffaloes was very high due to communicable diseases which forced the milk vendors to show a very poor interest to continue the business in a large scale. A rural development programme was started by India’s National Dairy Development Board (NDDB) in 1970. This national grid aimed to augment the milk production and distribute across all parts of the nation so as to prevent shortage of milk products.

Tamil Nadu Co-operative Milk Producers’ Federation (TCMPF)

The Tamil Nadu Dairy Development Corporation Limited was formed in 1972 to manage the activities such as milk procurement, processing and marketing of the milk and milk products. Based on Dr.Kurien pattern, Tamil Nadu Co-operative Milk Producers’ Federation (TCMPF) was formed in 1981. The per capita availability of milk in Tamil Nadu has increased from 169 gm/day in 1993-94 to 268 gm/day in 2017-18.

“Operation Flood started the White Revolution in India and made our country self-sufficient in milk and this was achieved entirely through the cooperative structure.”

- Varghese Kurien.

The Government of India adopted the method and process followed by Gujarat’s AMUL (Anand Milk Union Limited) founded by Varghese Kurien. AMUL had a humble beginning in 1950’s in Gujarat with less then 200 farms. Milk was collected from these farms and it was supplied to the consumers in Mumbai (then called Bombay). As it was found very profitable among the farming community it was extended to more numbers in
Gujarat. In 1960’s AMUL became a very well established dairy society in India. In 1966, Prime Minister Lalbahudar Sastri inaugurated Operation Flood with NDDB headed by Mr. Verghese Kurien. Verghese Kurien became the architect of the programme and gave professional help in bringing this White Revolution in 1970’s.

“In 1955 our butter imports were 500 tons per year; today our cooperatives alone produce more than 12,000 tons of butter. Similarly, we imported 3000 tons of baby food in 1955; today our cooperatives alone produce 38,000 tons of baby food. By 1975 all imports of milk and milk products stopped. The import permitted was that of food aid under Operation Flood.”

-Verghese Kurien.

Major Objectives of the Operation Flood:
1. To increase milk production (“a flood of milk”)
2. To increase rural incomes of dairy sheds.
3. To provide fair prices for consumers
4. To reduce the import burden on the national exchequer.
5. To establish a National Milk Grid.
6. To meet nutrients needs.

The White Revolution or Operation Flood programme was implemented in three phases. In the first phase (1970-79), 18 of the country’s main milk sheds were connected to the consumers of the four major cities namely Mumbai, Delhi, Calcutta and Madras. The total cost of this phase was Rs.116 crores.

In the second phase (1981–85), the milk sheds were increased from 18 to 136 and the city market points increased to 290 for urban distribution of milk. By the end of 1985, more than 43,000 self sustaining village cooperatives with 42.5 lakh milk producers were covered. Domestic milk powder production increased from 22,000 tons in the pre-project year to 140,000 tons by 1989.

1. Sir Viswesvarayya who is considered to be a pioneer in economic planning in India was a chief civil engineer, scholar, statesman, politician and the 19th Diwan of Mysore, who served from 1912 to 1919. He received India’s highest honour, the Bharat Ratna, in 1955.

2. While the World Milk Day is celebrated on June 1 each year, National Milk Day is celebrated on November 26th. This day marks the birth anniversary of Verghese Kurien, the Father of White Revolution in India.

In the third phase (1985–96), the dairy cooperatives were enabled to expand and strengthen the required facilities to procure and market increasing volumes of milk. Veterinary medical care, cattle nutrition and artificial insemination services for cooperative members were expanded along with intensified dairy farm education. It went with adding 30,000 new dairy cooperatives to the 42,000 existing societies organized during Phase II. Milk sheds peaked to 173 in 1988–89 with the
numbers of women members and Women’s Dairy Cooperative Societies increasing significantly.

**Major Achievements of the White Revolution.**

The phenomenal growth of milk production in India – from 20 million metric tons to 100 million MT with in a span of 40 years was made possible only because of the dairy cooperative movement. This has propelled India to emerge as the largest milk producing country in the World today. It not only achieved self sufficiency but also increased the production infant milk powder very considerably.

The dairy cooperative movement facilitated the Indian dairy farmers to take interest in cows and buffaloes which has resulted in the 500 million cattle population in the country which is the largest in the world.

The dairy cooperative movement has spread across the length and breadth of the country, covering more than 125,000 villages of 180 districts in 22 states.

The movement has been successful because of a well-developed network of procurement and distribution system with the support of National, State and Village governance.

**8.5 Industrialization**

Industrialization has been one of the most significant processes in the Indian economic development since independence. After independence, the leaders understood the importance of industrialization for our country. They initiated the process of industrialization under the Industrial Policy Resolution 1956 and in all the five year plans industrialization was given due importance by our policy makers. The initiatives of the governments led to a considerable increase in industrial production making India the sixth most industrial country in the world. The development in industries spread across both small scale and large scale and included consumers, intermediate and capital goods.

Due to the progress in industrialization a change in foreign trade of India could be seen. India increased the export of engineering goods. Correspondingly, there was development of technological and managerial skills as the industries had to be operated and also planning and designing of the industries had to be done in an efficient manner. Heavy industries were developed and high technical capability also had to be developed in terms of improved infrastructure, advanced technology and appropriate production equipments. The engineering industry was the key to the industrial development of India. It had to be developed as per the strategy of the planners to accelerate industrialisation in India.

During the planning process, there was development of basic and capital goods industries. The productive capital of these industries increased from 50 percent in 1959 to 79 percent
in 1990-91. This showed an increase in employment and an improvement in value added products. The number of workers in factories and mines increased tremendously. Industrialization improved the iron and steel, fertilizers, chemicals, cement and non-ferrous metals industries. New capital goods industries were started and developed.

During this period, the per capita consumption of power for industries and mines increased manifold. There was a huge expansion of infrastructural facilities in the country. The petrochemical industries developed with efficient refineries, pipelines, storage and distribution systems. These were drastic changes in the economy with improved irrigation system, storage works and canals, hydro and thermal power generation, improved railway system and well laid national and state highways. Better transportation and developed telecommunication system were instrumental in connecting India to the rest of the world.

With the introduction of economic reforms in India, there were changes in the industrial pattern of India. There was faster growth of capital goods and consumer goods and there was a slowdown in the rate of growth of basic industries. The growth in banking, insurance and commerce and also the expansion and modernization of ports, shipping and both domestic and international air services have all been due to these economic changes which led to enlargement in industries. The major beneficiaries of these developments were the wealthier class both in the rural and urban areas.

Tremendous changes happened in the field of science and technology as well. The contribution of Indian scientists to different fields including agriculture, industry, technology, communication etc. have been tremendous. Many people were trained in the technical field which included cement factories, chemical fertiliser units, oil refineries, power houses, steel plants, locomotive factories, engineering industries etc.

**Industrial policy**

An effective industrial policy is essential for any industrialised nation. It enables the state to have proper policies, rules and regulations so that the industries can be regulated and the process of industrialization benefits the economy and the society. It deals with the norms and regulations relating to the industries.

**Activity**

**Read The Cartoon**

Identify the Context. Can you explain what this cartoon is about? Share your views, in 200 words with the class.
Industrial Policy Resolution 1948

As the Indian system incorporated the concept of a mixed economy, the Industrial Policy Resolution adopted in 1948 emphasised that both the public sector and private sectors would function in their respective spheres. All the key industries were to be under the control of the central government. The public sector had control over arms and ammunitions, the production and control of atomic energy, railways etc. which were to be the exclusive monopoly of the central government. The state also had control over coal, iron and steel, aircraft manufacturing, ship building etc.. Private enterprises and the cooperatives managed the remaining industries.

Industrial Policy Resolution 1956

Significant developments took place after the adoption of the 1948 Industrial Policy Resolution. The first Five Year Plan got completed and efforts were taken towards the attainment of a socialistic pattern of society. A new industrial policy was formulated and was adopted in April 1956. As per this policy, three categories of industries were specified. There were industries which were totally controlled by the state, industries which were owned by the state and the private enterprises which could supplement in the management of such industries and the third category of industries were those which were exclusively managed by the private enterprises. The industries of the private sector were to be encouraged by the state by improved systems of transport, power sector and other services. The small scale industries and cottage industries were also to be encouraged by the state. There had to be a uniform development in all the regions so that the benefits of development could reach all sections of the population.

In December 1977, the Janata government announced a new industrial policy. The main elements of the policy were development of small scale sector which were categorised into cottage and household industries, tiny sectors and small scale industries. Such small scale industries were to generate employment and were also to reduce the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of big industrialists. However, the large scale industries had to depend on their existing resources for their new projects. But this policy could not come to force because of the fall of the Janata government.

Industrial Policy, 1980

An industrial policy was announced by the congress government in July 1980. It stressed on a pragmatic approach towards development acknowledging the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956. It stressed on strengthening the public sector undertakings. It emphasised on an integrated industrial development with setting up of nucleus plants in industrially backward regions. Small scale units and cottage industries were to be started which could function more effectively using improved technology. It aimed at promoting a concept of economic federalism.

The industrial policy of 1980 made considerable changes by bringing about a liberalised licensing policy by which the large undertakings were much benefitted as they were made free from the MRTP Act and FERA. The government delicensed industries which were located in the areas that were declared as backward. The
concept of broad banding was introduced. This gave flexibility to the manufacturers in production as the products could be designed as per the demands of the market. Within the licensing limits, any number of products could be produced which enabled the manufacturers to adopt newer strategies of marketing and in turn increasing their business. The threshold asset limit of companies under MRTP Act was 20 crores which was increased to Rs.100 crores. Earlier 56 companies were under compulsory licensing and this was reduced to 26 under this Act.

**Industrial Policy 1991**

A new industrial policy was introduced by the P.V.Narasimha Rao government in July 1991. This was a landmark in the economic history of the nation because the government had introduced its policy of liberalization.

**New Economic Policy**

New Economic Policy was introduced in India on July 24, 1991 under Prime Ministership of P.V. Narasimha Rao, Dr. Manmohan Singh the Finance Minister is regarded as the Father of New Economic Policy of India.

The highlighting features of the Act were to unfold the Indian economy from centralized bureaucratic control. The conditions of public enterprises was reexamined as they showed very less rate of growth. So, entrepreneurs were freed from restriction of MRTP Act and restrictions on direct foreign investment was removed. The Indian economy was integrated with the world economy through this policy of liberalization. Major reforms were introduced in the areas of industrial licensing, foreign investment, foreign technology, public sector policy and MRTP Act.

Changes were made with regard to industrial licencing which was abolished for many industries. As per the new Act, 18 industries were included for compulsory licensing. Some of the industries in this category were coal and lignite, petroleum, sugar, industrial explosives, hazardous chemicals, electronic aerospace and defence material, drugs and pharmaceuticals etc. It comprised of industries which were related to security concerns, health, environment etc. In 1993, three more industries were removed from the list of 18 industries under the compulsory licensing. They were motor cars, white goods (which include refrigerators, washing machines, air conditioners etc.) and raw hides and skins and patent leather. By dereservation of these industries from public sector, there was possibility of more inflow of investment in these industries.

**Activity**

Make a presentation on large scale industries in India.

With respect to foreign direct investment, upto 51 percent foreign equity were permitted to those industries which required large investments and advanced technology. Foreign companies were encouraged so that they could assist Indian industries to export their products in the world market. The performance of public sector enterprises was analysed so that technology and infrastructure could be improved with regard to their functioning which could enable them to give enhanced
results. Rehabilitation schemes were introduced with the help of the Board for Industrial and Financial Reconstruction (BIFR) so that the public enterprises whose performance was poor could be improved. During such a rehabilitation process, the interest of the workers of such industries was to be protected.

**Competition Act, 2002**

The Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act (MRTP), 1969 was repealed by the Ministry of Corporate Affairs and this was replaced by the Competition Act, 2002 which was later amended in 2007 and 2009. The MRTP Act had the objective of preventing the concentration of money and checking unfair practices in trade so that monopolistic practices could be stopped. But, the new Act encouraged freedom of trade so that there was healthy competition and the consumer could get the best products. Emphasis was given to regulating the activities of the companies. The companies did not have to get the prior approval of the government in making changes in their establishments.

In spite of many efforts towards industrialization, there are also few inadequacies. India still has the problem of unemployment and underemployment. Uniform development in all regions is a challenge to the policy makers and the larger society. Even after long years of independence and industrialization, governments have to still design programmes for poverty eradication. The industrialization process leads to the development of large sectors but the small and medium sectors still have a long way to go. More and more industries are concentrated in cities. In terms of development there is a vast difference between the urban areas and the rural areas. Issues relating to urbanization and migration are bigger challenges to the state.

**Glossary**

- **Five Year Plan**: The Indian economy focussed on centralized and integrated planning since independence. These were carried out through the five year plans of the Planning Commission.
- **Welfare State**: A welfare state not only protects the people but also takes care of the social and economic wellbeing of its citizens.
- **Public Sector**: The public sector is that part of the economy which is controlled by the state. It includes public services and public enterprises.
- **Private Sector**: The private sector is that part of the national economy that is not under direct state control. It is run by private individuals or groups for profit.
- **Administrative Reforms Commission**: It is the committee appointed by the government of India for giving recommendations for reviewing the public administrative system of India.
- **Planned Economy**: It is a type of economic system where investment and the allocation of capital goods take place according to economic and production plans.
- **Capital Goods**: Goods that are used in producing other goods, rather than being bought by consumers.
- **Liberalisation**: It is any process whereby a state lifts restrictions on some private individual activities. The
term is most often used in discussing economic liberalization.

- **FERA**: Foreign Exchange Regulation Act is an act which was enacted to regulate payments and foreign exchange in India.

- **Per Capita Income**: Per Capita income measures the average income earned per person in a given area in a specified year. It is calculated by dividing the area's total income by its total population.

- **Zamindari System**: Zamindari System was introduced during the British rule in India. Zamindars were recognized as owner of the lands and were given the rights to collect the rent from the peasants.

- **Ryotwari System**: The Ryotwari system was used to collect revenues from the cultivators of agricultural land. These revenues included land taxes and rents, collected simultaneously.

- **Land Ceiling Act**: The urban land ceiling act was passed in India in 1976. It means fixing maximum size of land holding that an individual can own.

- **Right to Property**: The forty-fourth amendment of 1978 deleted the right to property from the list of fundamental rights and a new provision, Article 300-A, was added to the constitution which makes right to property a legal right.

- **Urbanization**: It is the shift of population from rural to urban areas. It leads to an increase in urban population and has an impact on the individuals and the society.

- **Animal Husbandry**: It is concerned with animals that are raised for meat, fibre, milk, eggs, or other products. It includes care, breeding and the raising of livestock.

- **Rural-Urban Divide**: The glaring disparities in income distribution, consumption, and quality of life between rural and urban areas.

- **GDP**: Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is a monetary measure of the market value of all the final goods and services produced in a period of time which is often calculated annually.

### I. Choose the correct answer

1. The chairman of the Planning Commission is
   a. The President
   b. The Prime Minister
   c. The Home Minister
   d. The Finance Minister

2. NITI Aayog was introduced under the Prime Ministership of
   a. Manmohan Singh
   b. Narasimha Rao
   c. Vajpayee
   d. Narendra Modi

3. Who among the following used the term ‘Evergreen Revolution’ for increasing agricultural production in India?
   a. Norman Borlaug
   b. M.S Swaminathan
   c. Subramanian
   d. R.K.V Rao
4. Who is the father of Green Revolution in the World?
   a. Norman Borlaug   b. M.S Swaminathan
   c. Raj Krishna       d. R.K.V Rao

5. Green Revolution refers to
   a. Use of green manure   b. Grow more crops
   c. High Yield Variety Programme d. Green Vegetation

6. The Green Revolution in India was an introduction of high-yielding varieties (HYV) of seeds for
   a. Millet   b. Pulse
   c. Wheat    d. Oilseed

7. Consider the following.
   I. Continued expansion of farming areas;
   II. Double-cropping in existing farmland;
   III. Using seeds with improved genetics.
   Which of the above statement is not the one of the three basic elements in the method of the Green Revolution?
   a. Only I   b. Only II
   c. I and III d. None of the above.

8. In which Five year plan was green revolution introduced?
   a. Fourth Five Year Plan   b. Fifth Five Year Plan
   c. Sixth Five Year Plan    d. Seventh Five Year Plan

9. Who started the White Revolution in India?
   a. Norman Borlaug   b. Raj Krishna
   c. R.K.V Rao        d. Verghese Kurien

10. Where is the AMUL dairy located?
    a. Ajmer in Rajasthan    b. Anand in Gujrat
    c. Balrampur in Uttar Pradesh d. Udupi in Karnataka

11. Match the following:
    1. Planning Commission a) Narendra Modi
       2. NITI Aayog b) M.S. Swaminathan
       3. Green Revolution c) Verghese Kurian
       4. White Revolution d) Jawaharlal Nehru
   1) b a d c 2) d a b c
   3) c b a d 4) a d b c

12. The following question consists of two statements, one labeled the Assertion (A) and the other labeled as the Reason (R).
    **Assertion (A):** Agriculture and Industrialization are equally important for a country’s progress.
    **Reason (R):** Industries should be developed without compromising on agriculture.
Codes;
   a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A
   b) Both A and R are true but R is not a correct explanation of A
   c) A is true, but R is false
   d) A is false, but R is true

II. Answer the following questions very shortly
   1. What do you mean by democratic socialism?
   2. Explain the meaning of a mixed economy.
   3. Explain the principles of cooperative farming.
   4. Define cooperative federalism.
   5. Write a note on operation flood.

III. Answer the following questions shortly
   1. What are the features of a welfare state?
   2. Examine the role of the National Development Council.
   3. Discuss the composition of the NITI Aayog.
   4. Describe the features of Industrial policy resolution, 1956.
   5. “Land reforms are more important for India” Discuss.

IV. Answer the following questions in detail
   1. Discuss the role of NITI Aayog.
   2. Examine the process of industrialization in India.
   3. What are the attempts towards land reforms in India since independence?
   4. What were the impacts of the green revolution?
   5. Enumerate the major achievements of white revolution.

Reference Books
   ❖ Economic Development and Planning in India Hardcover – 30 Jan 2010 by V. Nath
   ❖ Dynamics of Development And Planning: Mizoram A Comprehensive Regional Analysis (English, Hardcover, G Kumar)

Web links
   ❖ https://www.epw.in/
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   ❖ https://www.amazon.in/dp/8180696588/ref=cm_sw_r_wa_apa_i_g78mDbAY8RMKH
Learning Objectives

- To know about the role of India in the contemporary world.
- To grasp the policies of India towards super powers.
- To ponder over the futuristic ideals of the modern world.
- To understand about nuclear policies and its peaceful purpose.
- To explore about globalization and its impact in India and third world.
- To understand environmental changes and sustainable development and India's role

9.1 Evolution of India’s foreign policy (1947-54)

Independence and Partition

In the pre-independence era India's foreign policy was the responsibility of the British Raj. India contributed to the British victory in the second world war by providing necessary man power and materials. The colonial India's army fought the colonial power's war. With the end of the Second World War in 1945 and the subsequent independence of India in August 1947 from the British Raj, India had to deal with the outside world by herself and have to build her own foreign policy. Several factors influenced the formation of India's post-independence foreign policy. The post-war global political events and India's own political climate shaped India's foreign policy.

The world was polarised into two military blocs and each bloc tried to overcome the other which was known as the Cold War. Though a major war was averted, each bloc was spending enormous money in military buildups due to which tense condition prevailed. The newly liberated countries were not in a position to squander their resources in conflicts between two military blocs. They had to divert all their resources for nation building. An ideological battle known as the Cold War happened between the two superpowers of that time – the United States of America and the Soviet Union. These were also extraordinary global circumstances with the emergence of newer nations from the clutches of colonisation with new boundaries. There was large scale human migration taking place across continents while the war-tired Western powers were working on framing a new world order. The world also witnessed the formation of the United Nations Organisation on October 24, 1945, through the Atlantic Charter.

Jawaharlal Nehru was the architect of India's foreign policy. India’s ideological alignment, its role in the U.N and its commitment to a peaceful world were at stake. Nehru's foreign policy took in to consideration, independent India's priorities such as nation's socio-economic
development, modernization, global peace, avoidance of war, peaceful and constructive relationship with other nations, decolonization of Afro-Asian countries, strengthening the UN and economic cooperation with other countries.

Pakistan was formed after the partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947. This event witnessed the largest transporation of refugees across the boundary in human history. The Kashmir issue continues to be one of the fundamental aspects that drives India’s foreign policy causing three wars since 1947.

**Panchsheel and Non-Aligned Movement (1954-1991)**

Nehru also firmly believed that India must develop and maintain a close friendship with its neighbours, especially with China as both countries have a long history of civilizational and cultural ties. This led to the signing of the Panchsheel Treaty between India and China in 1954 between Nehru and the Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai. The Panchsheel consists of five principles with which the two nations would conduct relations between them. This included:

**Panchsheel Principles**

- Respecting each other's territory and sovereignty
- Non-aggression
- Non-interference in each other's internal affairs
- Diplomatic equality and cooperation
- peaceful co-existence

Despite the agreement, India and China eventually fought a war in 1962 on border disputes. The border dispute between the two nations stands till now and it is one of the top issues that determine India's foreign policy. Attempts are onto resolve this issue through negotiations. The Panchsheel nevertheless, marked an important phase in the evolution of India's foreign policy.

India had to define its ideological belief in the era of the Cold War. Pandit Nehru, who held the position of Minister for External Affairs for 17 years (1947-64) was assertive about India having its own foreign policy without getting caught in the Cold War. This led to the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1961.

**Bandung Conference (Indonesia)** held on April 18-24, 1955 attended by 29 Heads of States are the immediate antecedent for the creation of Non-Aligned Movement.

Nehru was one of the founding fathers of the NAM along with Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Ahmed Sukarno of Indonesia and Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia. Nehru repeatedly explained the concept of 'Non-Alliance'
that it did not mean neutrality, as no one could remain neutral in a conflict between justice and injustice. Non-Alliance meant not committing militarily to any super powers or military bloc, but retaining independence to decide issues on the basis of merit and concentrating on peaceful cooperation among nations. It was this freedom of choice that enabled India to procure arms from western countries during its war with China, and enter into a diplomatic treaty with Soviet Union just before the Bangladesh war in 1971.

The thought of not aligning with the two power blocs existed even before the formation of NAM. The Bandung Asian-African Conference held in 1955 had the principles of such a movement which later became the foundation of NAM in 1961.

**Activity**

Have a discussion on the ‘Ten Principles of Bandung’ under the guidance of your teacher in the class.

As a powerful advocate of decolonisation of Asia and Africa, Nehru’s India envisioned the NAM as an alternative to the USA and the Soviet Union blocs for newly emerging independent countries. This was the central idea of NAM which several new nations decided to be part of as they did not want their country to become a theatre for the cold war.

**Fall of the Soviet Union and Economic Liberalisation (1991-present)**

The economic compulsion, casued by the fall of Soviet Union and the rise of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation – LPG forced India to move away from its largely socialistic economy to a market economy. India hence had to open its doors to Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) and it was the beginning of improving relations with the USA.

In present days, India faces a new set of challenges and its foreign policy is tranformed, without changing its core principles, to cope with the ever-changing nature of geopolitics. China has become one of the world powers which has a bearing in South Asia and our neighbourhood policy. With a growing economy, India has also become a regional power and hence it needs to be more responsible than ever before. These changes require India to finetune its foreign policy to protect its interests and improve ties with its neighbours.

Other factors that have contributed in building India’s relations with the outside world over the years include its civilian and defence Nuclear capability and its increasing presence in key international institutions such as the BRICS, G20, SCO, MTCR, etc.. Having steadily grown in stature, several global powers have voiced their opinion for the inclusion of India as a permanent member of the UN Security Council. To summarise the essence of India’s foreign policy, it is worthy to mention
that it holds a rare distinction of being the only nation to have friendly ties with Israel, Iran, Palestine and Saudi Arabia.

9.2 India-United States of America (USA) Relations

History

Formal political relations with the USA began during World War II. The first exchange of envoys, Thomas Wilson and Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai, took place in 1940 which resulted in the establishment of a diplomatic office in Delhi.

It was not until 1946, under the presidency of Harry S Truman, that the full-fledged diplomatic relations emerged between India and the US. This was consolidated further after India became independent in 1947. Under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, India's foreign policy was marked by the idea of “Non-Alignment” which meant that the states considered themselves not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc.

During the partition, Kashmir, acceded to India, which Pakistan contested. Pakistan claimed that this accession was done forcibly by India. This issue was taken up by the United Nations for discussion in 1948, as a result of which, a U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was set up. India was stated that this was a “completely wrong” move and strongly criticised USA and U.K for their role. Nehru's first visit to

Vivekananda House

The famous Vivekananda House on the shores of Marina beach in Chennai, which was once called the Ice House, stands as a testimony to India-USA economic ties. It was used for storing the ice that was transported from America by Tudor Ice Co., formed in 1840. The poet Henry David Thoreau who saw ice being harvested for Tudor at Walden Pond wrote in 1847 - “The sweltering inhabitants of Charleston and New Orleans, of Madras and Bombay and Calcutta, drink at my well”. Interestingly, socio-economic relations go back much before the 1600s when the American merchants came regularly to India in search of business and profits. Elihu Yale, born in Boston, served as the President of East India company for two decades. Yale University in Connecticut is named after him. Some of the earliest Indian diaspora were the soldiers of the British Imperial Army, who went to North America to fight the Anglo-French war.
the United States followed soon after the formation of the commission.

Devoid of personal rapport between the heads of the two states and mutual criticisms, the gap between India and USA further widened. Things did not improve with the formation of an American sponsored alliance system - SEATO (South East Asian Treaty Organization) and CENTO (Central Treaty Organization). Pakistan's inclusion in the organisation and the resulting US-Pakistan military pact left little hope for any improvement in the bilateral relations. Although there were small periods of a better environment in the second term of Eisenhower and during Kennedy's term, it was still a very long way from ‘all-weather friendly’ ties.

The disapproval of the American aid programme and the troops in Vietnam were further stressing the India-USA relations.

Under PL480, five agreements were signed between India and USA for supply of agricultural commodities to India in 1954.

The USA tried to interfere and influence India’s domestic (economic) programmes when India sought economic and technical assistance from her for industrialization.

But the Soviet Union was more liberal in rendering assistance and building infrastructure base for heavy industries. India entered into trade pacts with Soviet

India–United States Civil Nuclear Agreement

The 123 Agreement signed between the United States of America and the Republic of India is known as the USA–India Civil Nuclear Agreement or India-USA nuclear deal. The framework for this agreement was a July 18 2005, joint statement by the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and the US President George W. Bush, under which India agreed to separate its civil and military nuclear facilities and to place all its civil nuclear facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards and in exchange the United States agreed to work toward full civil nuclear cooperation with India.

The deal places under permanent safeguards those nuclear facilities that India has identified as “civil” and permits broad civil nuclear cooperation, while excluding the transfer of “sensitive” equipment and technologies, including civil enrichment and reprocessing items even under IAEA safeguards.

On October 1, 2008 the USA Senate also approved the civilian nuclear agreement allowing India to purchase nuclear fuel and technology from and sell them to the United States.
Union. India under Mrs Gandhi, refused to yield to US pressure and declined to sign the one sided Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Later, under Rajiv Gandhi, India became a growth-oriented emerging economy, with a willingness to open up to private investment.

**Post-Cold War Relations**

Fifty years after India’s independence, emerging from the devastation of long colonisation, India became the largest democratic nation whose commitment to peace was undeterred by internal diversity or external factors. India’s demographic asset with IT (Information Technology) capabilities and English speaking abilities was a thriving ground for feeding the global talent force for the age of the internet. At the turn of the millennium, it was clear that the Asian giants - China and India were out of the deep slumber, marking the shift of power from west to east. With the change of attitude between Indian and American leadership during the Rao-Clinton period, there was the birth of a new strategic partnership.

The position taken by the US, not to back Pakistan during the Kargil war, for violating the LoC (Line of Control) was welcomed in India. In 2000, Clinton’s visit to India was seen as the emergence of a new era in India-USA relations. Vajpayee befittingly referred to India as a neighbour and partner of the United States on the digital map. Further, science and technology, environmental sustainability, climate change, education, HIV, tsunami relief etc., became areas of collaboration. Subsequently, despite minor issues, US-India ties during the Bush administration continued on the same path of progress, lending the term ‘natural allies’ more meaning. The relations further matured into co-operation on defence, civil nuclear energy and enhanced people to people ties during the Obama administration.

**TIMELINE: India-USA Relations**

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<tr>
<th>S. No</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Important Events</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Prime Minister Nehru Visits USA</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>President Carter Visits India</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Economic Reforms</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>May 11, 1998</td>
<td>India Tests Nuclear Devices, USA imposes economic sanctions</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Clinton Trip Signals Warming Ties</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>USA Lifts India Sanctions</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>USA, India Sign New Defense Framework</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>USA, India Ink Cybersecurity Memorandum</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Obama’s Second India Visit Elevates Ties</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>Obama Recognizes India as Major Defense Partner</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>2019</td>
<td>Trump Ends India’s Special Trade Status</td>
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**Way Forward**

The apparent choice for isolationist tendencies visible in the Trump administration has caused anxiety and reactions in the world. Although there is continuity in the India-USA ties under the
new administration calling the partnership “two bookends of stability”. However, the trade and technology conflicts and America. First policy are potential roadblocks in an otherwise deepening friendship. The USA attempts to undermine the traditional India-Iran ties pose serious challenges for Indian foreign policy. India is in pursuit of autonomy in foreign policy and is balancing the India-USA ties with that of other major partners.

9.3 India–Russia Relations

Indian-Soviet Union Relations (1947-1991)

The Soviet Union was India’s closest friend and a strategic partner since 1947. The relationship between the two countries has withstood several challenging geopolitical circumstances. Unlike the USA, Russia has historically understood and respected India’s strategic autonomy. It views India as an ancient civilisation rich in culture, knowledge systems and wisdom. This basic quality of the relation has enabled the bilateral ties to flourish over the years.

Initially, when India became free, the Soviet Union (USSR) under the leadership of Joseph Stalin was suspicious of the genuineness of India’s independent policy of non-alignment. However, India-Soviet bonhomie started with the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru’s visit to the USSR in June 1955 which was followed by the Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev’s visit to India in December 1955.

This was also the time when India adapted Soviet-style state planning and a ‘socialistic pattern of society’. In this era, the USSR used instruments of aid, trade and diplomacy in developing countries to limit Western influence. Subsequently, India-Soviet relations flourished over the decades in the fields of metallurgy, defence, energy and trade sectors.

The India-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation was signed by the two sides in 1971. This was a landmark moment in the relationship between the two countries.

It provided immediate consultation in case of military action against parties to the Treaty. During the India–Pakistan war in 1971, the USSR took a firm position in favour of India and sent ships to the Indian Ocean to counter any move by the USA, which had already sent its 7th Fleet into the Bay of Bengal. The results of the 1971 India–Pakistan war and emergence of Bangladesh established a trusted partnership between India and the USSR.

India-Russian Relations (1991-present)

With the fall of the USSR in 1991, bilateral relations between a new Russia and
India went through a period of uncertainty. The Treaty of 1971 became ineffective as the Soviet regime no longer existed. Russia was also pressed to shift its focus towards domestic affairs and its relations with the USA and Europe. India now had to deal with a Russia which did not have an interest nor the resources for developing its ties with other nations like India.

During his visit to New Delhi in 1993, the Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a new Treaty of Friendship which was an effort to rekindle the spirit in which the 1971 Treaty was signed. However, the fundamental character of the Treaty was transformed as the new Treaty just called for regular consultation and coordination in case of any threat to peace. Unlike in the Soviet era, Yeltsin described India as a ‘natural partner’ but he did not give the impression of a ‘special relationship’. Though the relationship continued between the two countries in the early 1990s, the ‘benign neglect’ of India by Russia in this period was evident.

**India-Soviet Treaty of Peace Friendship and Cooperation 1971**

- Desirous of expanding and consolidating the existing relations of friendship between them.
- Believing that the further development of friendship and cooperation meets the basic national interests of lasting peace in Asia and the world.
- Determined to promote the consolidation of universal peace and security and to make steadfast efforts for the relaxation of international tensions and the final eliminations of the remnants of colonialism,
- Upholding their firm faith in the principles of peaceful coexistence and co-operation between states with different political and social systems.
- Convinced that in the world today international problems can only be solved by co-operation and not by conflict.
- Reaffirming their determination to abide by the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

**Deal for S-400 Air Defence System**

India and Russia have formally inked the $ 5.2 billion deal for S-400 system in the year 2018. The air defence system is expected to be delivered by the year 2020. 400 Triumf is an advanced surface-to-air missile system, developed by Russia’s state-owned company Almaz-Antey, and can shoot down hostile aircraft and ballistic missiles. It has an estimated range of 250 kilometres and a possible upgrade is speculated to extend it to 400 kilometres.

The new Russian leadership under Vladimir Putin (President, 2000–present) reversed the Yeltsin-era drift in India-Russia bilateral relations. Russia signed the Declaration on Strategic Partnership with India in 2000 and established the institution of annual summit meetings. Its declaration was further elevated to the level of “Special and Privileged Strategic Partnership” in 2010. Moscow realized that as a Eurasian power, an active Russian role in an emerging Asia would be limited without a solid partnership with old friends like India.
Areas of Cooperation

Currently, India is the largest importer of Russian defence equipment. The defence facet of the relationship is one of the strongest pillars of the India-Russia relationship and has gone through the test of time. The defence cooperation has evolved from the traditional buyer-seller one to that of joint production and development. Russia is also the only country that lays emphasis on sharing high-end defence technology with India which highlights the mutual trust between the two countries.

India, Russia and other neighbouring countries are engaged in efforts to operationalise the International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC) which promises to propel connectivity and trade relations between the two countries. In an important new step to integrate our economies: India and the Eurasian Economic Union have agreed to begin negotiations on a Free Trade Agreement. The two countries have also agreed to undertake joint projects in third countries. This includes the prospects of a joint nuclear power project in Bangladesh and joint oil and gas exploration in Vietnam.

India and Russia deeply cooperate in a diverse set of areas which includes nuclear energy, trade, oil and gas, space program, science and technology, at the UN, BRICS, SCO and other international fora. The two countries share common ground on critical global challenges such as terrorism, cyber security, climate change, preventing the weaponisation of outer space and prevention of weapons of mass destruction. Russia also supports India’s permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council. It also has remained a strong supporter of India in the Kashmir issue which is of India’s core interest.

9.4 India-European Union Relations

India-European Union

Why India needs resources and expertise from the European Union? Discuss.

The period of colonialism ushered in a time of intense contact between India and Europe. Even people belonging to non-colonial European nations came to India to “work among the masses” or to study Indian culture, and their contributions to social development, education and healthcare in India are significant. There was not only an exchange of ideas and technology, but the culture and ethos of both these entities were mutually influenced, notwithstanding the fact that this was a period of economic exploitation of the colonised by the colonisers. One of the things that permeated the Indian ethos was a sense of nationhood, which soon, by the early 20th century, led to an overwhelming desire and movement for independence.

In 1498, Portuguese sailor Vasco da Gama succeeded in finding a sea route to India from Europe which opened the doors for direct trade between Europe and India.
Post-Independence (1947-Current)

By the end of World War II, the European powers were no longer in a position to continue to stay in control of the Indian sub-continent and so withdrew, leaving colonial India as two nations, divided on the basis of religion.

**BREXIT (Britain’s Exit)**

After months of negotiation, the UK and EU agreed a Brexit deal at Brussels summit.

**What is Brexit?**

Brexit is a term used to denote Britain's Exit.

- Brexit is the withdrawal of the United Kingdom (UK) from the European Union (EU), following a referendum held on 23 June 2016 in which 51.9 per cent of those voting supported leaving the EU.
- The invocation of Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty set a two-year process which was due to conclude with the UK's exit on 29 March 2019.
- On 21 March 2019 the European Council agreed to the UK's request to extend the deadline and extended it to 12 April 2019.

In 1994, the India-EU Cooperation Agreement was signed which made India one of the first countries in the world to engage with the EU as an entity. In 2004 the EU-India Strategic Partnership was concluded. However, the attempts since 2007 to arrive at a free trade agreement have been deadlocked since 2013. The EU was India’s largest trading partner in 2018-19 with USD 104.3 billion in bilateral trade, but BREXIT might impact that going forward.

Another issue in the EU-India relationship which the Common Agenda on Migration and Mobility seeks to address is preventing illegal migration and streamlining mobility for citizens.

The EU and India have some common interests other than trade – preventing climate change, maintenance of the Iran nuclear deal, increased cooperation in education and technology including nuclear energy. The EU model of federal democratic government with devolved state power should be of interest to India who has to deal with a federal structure and a multicultural society too.

**9.5 India-Japan Relations**

**History**

The relations between India and Japan can be traced back to the 6th century when Buddhism reached Japan.
Historical records indicate that scholars from Japan visited Nalanda University in India and one of the most famous travellers was Tenjiku Tokubei. Tenjiku, is the Japanese name for India, meaning “the heavenly abode”. The earliest political exchange was established between Japan and the Portuguese colonies in India, particularly Goa.

In contemporary times, among prominent Indians associated with Japan are Swami Vivekananda, Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, JRD Tata, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and Judge Radha Binod Pal. The Japan-India Association was set up in 1903, post which the direct political exchanges began in the Meiji era (1868-1912). Since then, the two countries have exchanged cultural, social, economic and political ties.

**Post Indian Independence**

The diplomatic relations between the two countries began with the signing of Japan’s Peace Treaty with India in 1952, after the end of World War II. India was one of the first countries to extend diplomatic ties, with the invitation to the Asian Games held in New Delhi in 1951. The relations were further strengthened by the mutual visits of Japanese Prime Minister Nobuke Kishi and Jawaharlal Nehru. India became the first receipt of Japan’s yen loan and gradually emerged as India’s largest aid donor. Many Indian political and economic thinkers praised Japanese economic rebuilding after the war as a success that India could emulate.

The relations between the two countries suffered a setback during the cold war years, as Japan aligned with the United States while India chose to adhere to Non-alignment policy. Further, the relations were hampered when Japan took a neutral stand during the Sino-Indian border war of 1962. While Japan’s economic engagements with East and South-East Asian nations deepened during the 1970s and 1980s, India was left outside the gamut of the definitions of Asia. Japan also regarded nuclear tests by India as a threat to its Non-Proliferation objective.

The relations started to improve with the visit of Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori to India in 2000. The bilateral ties headed toward a new direction - “global partnership”, defending and spreading the value of democracy and freedom. A strong institutional dialogue mechanism, held regularly, has been established between the two countries. There is Foreign Office Consultation at the level of Foreign Secretary/Vice Foreign Minister as well as a 2+2 Dialogue at the level of Foreign and Defence Secretaries. Similarly, there are dialogue mechanisms in diverse fields such as economy, commerce, financial services, health, road transport, shipping, education etc. to name a few sectors.

**Economic Relations**

Sony, Yamaha, Honda and Toyota have become household names in India, with the setting up of their manufacturing facilities in the country. Suzuki’s partnership with the Indian automobile company - Maruti Suzuki
is one of the largest car manufacturers. Japan's support for India's efforts in economic development, in priority areas like power, transportation, environmental projects and projects related to basic human needs have been significant.

Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori's visit to India in August 2000 provided the momentum to strengthen the Japan-India relationship. Mr. Mori and Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee decided the establishment of “Global Partnership between Japan and India”. Since Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's visit to India in April 2005, Japan-India annual summit meetings have been held in respective capitals. When Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited Japan in December 2006, Japan-India relationship was elevated to the “Global and Strategic Partnership”.

Security Cooperation

During Prime Minister Singh's visit to Japan in October 2008, two leaders issued “the Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation between Japan and India”.

Japan signed the Declaration on Security Cooperation with India in October 2008, only the third country with which to have such a security relationship after the USA and Australia. This event sent a positive message to the world community that Japan and India were keen on strengthening their bilateral ties beyond cheque book diplomacy. The rise of China also serves as a significant reason for the realignment of partnerships in the region. India's inclusion in security discourses in Japan is now more prominent than ever. Besides increasing the number of bilateral visits by the top defence and military officials as a part of their 'strategic and global partnership', both are engaged in initiatives on maritime security, counter-terrorism, counter-proliferation, disaster management and energy security.

In September 2014, Prime Minister Narendra Modi paid an official visit to Japan and had a summit meeting with Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. They agreed that Japan-India relationship was upgraded to “Special Strategic and Global Partnership.” In December 2015, Prime Minister Abe paid an official visit to India and had a summit meeting with Prime Minister Narendra Modi. The two Prime Ministers resolved to transform the Japan-India Special Strategic and Global Partnership into a deep, broad-based and action-oriented partnership, which reflects a broad convergence of their long-term political, economic and strategic goals. They announced "Japan and India Vision 2025 Special Strategic and Global Partnership Working Together for Peace and Prosperity of the Indo-Pacific Region and the World" a joint statement that would serve as a guide for the “new era in Japan-India relations.”

In November 2016, Prime Minister Modi paid an official visit to Japan and had a summit meeting with Prime Minister Abe. Prime Minister Abe stated that this summit meeting was magnificent that substantially advanced the “new era in Japan-India relations,” and he hoped the two countries would lead the prosperity and stability of the Indo-Pacific region as a result of coordinating the “Free and Open India and Pacific Strategy” and the “Act East” policy.

Japan expects India for improving the business environment, including the easing of regulations and the stabilization of the system. India established the “Japan Plus” office in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in October 2014 as a “one-stop” location for resolving problems faced by Japanese companies. Japan and India agreed to set up 11 candidates of Japanese industrial townships around DMIC and CBIC areas in April 2015. Prime Minister Abe requested India's early
decision on introducing special incentive packages in Japanese industrial townships in December 2015 and November 2016.

India decided to introduce the Shinkansen system in December 2015, when Prime Minister Abe visited India. The Japan’s Shinkansen system is the highest class of High-Speed Railway systems around the world in terms of its safety and accuracy. Japan and India confirmed that the general consultant would start its work in December 2016 with the construction work to begin in 2018, and the railway operation would commence in 2023.

India has been the largest recipient of Japanese ODA loan in the past decades. Delhi Metro is one of the most successful examples of Japanese cooperation through the utilization of ODA.

The India-Japan bilateral trade reached US$ 15.71 billion in 2018. Exports from Japan to India during this period were US$ 10.97 billion and imports were US$ 4.74 billion. India’s primary exports to Japan have been petroleum products, chemicals, elements, compounds, non-metallic mineral ware, fish and fish preparations, metalliferous ores and scrap, clothing and accessories, iron and steel products, textile yarn, fabrics and machinery etc. India’s primary imports from Japan are machinery, transport equipment, iron and steel, electronic goods, organic chemicals, machine tools, etc. More than 1000 Japanese companies are registered in India. Japanese FDI into India has mainly been in automobile, electrical equipment, telecommunications, chemical and pharmaceutical sectors.

In terms of human resource development in the manufacturing sector in India, Japan announced its cooperation of training 30,000 Indian people over next 10 years in the Japan-India Institute for Manufacturing (JIM), providing Japanese style manufacturing skills and practices, in an effort to enhance India’s manufacturing industry base and contribute to “Make in India” and “Skill India” Initiatives. JIM and the Japanese Endowed Courses (JEC) in engineering colleges will be designated by Japanese companies in India, and this is a good example of cooperation between the public and private sectors. In summer 2017, the first four JIMs started in the States of Gujarat, Karnataka, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu, and the first JEC was established in the State of Andhra Pradesh. Since then, four more JIMs and one JEC have started. Those institutes are also expected to give more Indian students the ambition to study the Japanese language.

### Bilateral Treaties and Agreements

- Treaty of Peace (1952)
- Agreement for Air Service (1956)
- Cultural Agreement (1957)
- Agreement of Commerce (1958)
- Convention for the Avoidance of Double Taxation (1960)
- Agreement on Cooperation in the field of Science and Technology (1985)
- Japan-India Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (2011)
- Agreements between Japan and the Republic of India on Social Security (2012) and (2016)
- Agreements between the Government of Japan and the Government of the Republic of India for Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy
Cultural Relations

The year 2012 marked the 60th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Japan and India. Various cultural events took place both in Japan and in India to promote mutual understanding between the two countries, under the theme of “Resurgent Japan, Vibrant India: New Perspectives, New Exchanges.”

During the visit of our Prime Minister to Japan in November 2016, the two Prime Ministers agreed to mark the year 2017 as the Year of Japan-India Friendly Exchanges to further enhance people-to-people exchanges between Japan and India. The year 2017 also marks the 60th anniversary since the Cultural Agreement came into force in 1957. Various commemoration events took place in both countries.

9.6 India-Africa Relations

Introduction

Asia and Africa are home to some of the most ancient civilizations in the world. They have enjoyed significant trade, cultural, economic, and political exchanges for over a millennium. Trade included items such as carved beads, cotton, and terracotta for soft carved ivory and gold. The earliest known exchanges are that of food crops and domestic livestock which date back to the second millennium BCE. The first-ever written account of such a trade relationship was that of a 10th century Byzantine logbook that came to be known as the ‘Periplos of the Erythraean Sea’ or a guidebook to trade along the Red Sea. In the following centuries, the interests of both entities have expanded and diversified.

Post-War Era

As we know, the Indian independence was declared in the year 1947. It is notable however that most African countries were very intent on seceding from the influence of Europe. Liberia is the first African country to have gained its independence in 1857 from the USA. While in 1909, South Africa was able to cut ties with the United Kingdom only to fall to the internal caucasian rule and Apartheid. The last African country to have liberated itself from its colonial masters is Djibouti from France in 1977. A final territory- The Sahrawi Republic still lies in the hands of Spain and Morocco, despite its declaration of Independence in the same year.

Ever since India declared independence, it had raised its voice for African liberation representing their case at multiple international forums. The end of racial struggle and decolonization became the rallying point of India–Africa relations.
NAM and Africa

The Non-Aligned Movement was conceptualized as a response to the formation of power-blocs in the USA and the USSR during the cold war. In order to prevent a third world war, the newly decolonized countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America declared neutrality. A key role was played in this process by the then Heads of African State of Egypt and Ghana along with India, Indonesia and Yugoslavia.

NAM was also started as an anti-colonial alliance to prevent the regression of its countries to war resource hosts. Africa being the nest of colonies, began resistance movements against the colonial forces with resounding successes. In the years it took to dismantle the systemic racism and slavery in the continent, Dr Nkrumah along with the other founders of NAM declared that Africa shall always be the first to fight racial discrimination and maintain the principles of Non-Alignment. The post-Nehruvian India in the 1970s carried forward the anti-imperialistic and anti-racial worldview.

Indian Diaspora in Africa

Diaspora refers to people of a specific ethnic background establishing a community far away from their native lands. Several centuries of shared colonial history between India and Africa have brought them closer. The Britishers shipped many Indian labourers to the Afro-Carribean islands to produce sugar, rubber, and other cash crops. An estimate of 769,437 Indians migrated to Mauritius, South Africa, Reunion Island, Seychelles, and East African region during the colonial period. Currently, Durban in South Africa is home to 1.3 million Indians. It is the largest Indian city outside India, followed by Mauritius and the Reunion Islands.

Current Scenario

India-Africa Forum Summit: The India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) held once in three years since 2008 is the official platform for India’s relation with the African states. The issues of cooperation within the scope of IAFS are agriculture; trade; industry and investment; peace and security; promotion of good governance and civil society; and information and communication technology.

In the last few years, the degree of India-Africa engagement has risen dramatically. As a rapidly growing economy, India’s need for energy resources has added a new dimension to its ties with Africa. Moreover, the scope for bilateral security ties has increased as most African nations consider the USA to be purely militarized and China as a major mercantile power. Both India and Africa have expressed a commitment to reducing trade barriers and transferring skills to the youth, while also encouraging student scholarships and bridging the digital divide. One of the largest cultural exports from India to Africa is Indian cinema. Countries like Nigeria are a thriving market for Indian films despite the scarce population of Indians in these countries.

Asia-Africa Growth Corridor: The Asia-Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC) is an India-Japan economic cooperation agreement aimed at the socio-economic development of Asia and Africa. The vision document for AAGC was released by India in the 2017 African Development Bank meeting. The aim of the AAGC is to develop infrastructure and digital connectivity in Africa through India-Japan collaboration. It
is viewed as an India-Japanese response to China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The four pillars of this AAGC are:

1. Enhancing capacity and skills.
2. Quality Infrastructure and Institutional Connectivity.
4. People-to-People partnership.

9.7 India-Latin America and Caribbean Relations

Background

The relationship between India and Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) has long been “Out of sight; Out of Mind”. The geographical distance between them meant that there wasn't a strategic compulsion nor economic rationale to proactively build ties. Yet, the Latin America and Caribbean nations and India maintained a history of warm friendship.

Latin America and Caribbean nations share the spirit of anti-colonialism with India though many of them had gained independence almost a century before (19th century) India became free. Societies in Latin America and Carribean also have an ancient and rich civilizational value like India and other parts of Asia and Africa. One could hence draw similarities in some cultural practices between India and the Latin America and Carribean region. Latin America and Carribean countries such as Suriname and Guyana have a sizeable population of Indian origin who were shipped by the colonial powers as slaves centuries ago. This forms the basis of India's ties with Latin America and Carribean.

Post-Independence

1947-1991: After India's independence, its engagement with Latin America and Carribean was limited to cooperation in the United Nations General Assembly over several international issues and in the NAM. State visits from India have also been negligible in this period with Nehru's visit to Mexico in 1961 and Indira Gandhi's visit to 8 Latin American and Carribean nations in 1968. In this period, the Latin American and Carribean states were also suffering from dictatorship regimes and they became a theatre for the cold war. On the other hand, as a socialistic economy up to 1991, India did not develop economic ties with

List of Countries in Latin America and Caribbean - 40

- Latin America is generally understood to consist of the entire continent of South America in addition to Mexico, Central America, and the islands of the Caribbean.
- Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, French Guiana, Guadeloupe, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Martinique, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Saint Barthélemy, Saint Martin, Saint Pierre and Miquelon, Uruguay, Venezuela
- **Caribbean countries**
  - Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Haiti, Jamica, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago
Latin America and Carribean. These factors and the geographical distance between India and Latin America and Carribean reduced the scope for India to deepen its bond with the far-flung continent.

1991-Present: The political transformation of Latin America and Carribean from the rule of dictators to a democratic process began to take place in the 1980s and early 1990s. With the emergence of democracies in the region, their focus shifted to economic fundamentals, regional integration and equitable development. With India’s economic reforms and the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the necessity to strengthen the economic ties with Latin America and Carribean became more prominent than ever before.

From a negligible few million USD worth of trade with Latin America and Carribean in the early 1990s, India has over USD 30 billion worth of trade as of 2017-18. Several companies from the Indian IT industry; pharmaceuticals; oil and gas have invested in Latin America and Carribean. This has contributed to the growth in trade over the years.

India and Brazil are the two components of BRICS which was formed in 2006. This getting together of Brazil-Russia-India-China and South Africa (BRICS) has provided a platform for India to actively engage with Latin America and Carribean. The grouping of these emerging nations of the world facilitates greater economic and cultural exchange between India and Latin America and Carribean. The 2014 BRICS summit in Brazil enabled the Indian Prime Minister to hold meetings with other Latin America and Carribean leaders on the sidelines.

With a population of about 620 million and a resource-rich land, Latin America and Carribean presents itself as a great opportunity for India to expand its global footprint. With the advancement of technology and transport mechanisms, the geographical distance can be narrowed to facilitate deeper engagement. History of friendly relations between Latin America and Carribean and India also provides a foundation for enhanced cooperation in the 21st century.

9.8 India and Regional Organisations

SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation)

SAARC was established on 8 December 1985 with the signing of the SAARC Charter in Dhaka to promote economic cooperation and development, the welfare of the people and for the close cultural and historical links among the South Asian Countries. SAARC comprises of eight Member States: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The Secretariat of the Association was set up in Kathmandu on 17 January 1987.

The objectives of the Association are outlined in the SAARC Charter and the main area of focus includes:

- To promote the welfare of the peoples of South Asia and to improve their quality of life.
- To accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region and to provide all individuals with the opportunity to live in dignity and to realize their full potentials.
To promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia.

To contribute to mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problems.

To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields; to strengthen cooperation with other developing countries.

To strengthen cooperation among themselves in international forums on matters of common interests.

To cooperate with international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes.

On the organisational structure, the SAARC has a four-tier institutional set-up, which includes the Summits comprising of the Heads of all the South Asian States and they meet once in every two years; The Council of Ministers comprises of the Ministers of Foreign / External Affairs of the Member States; the Standing Committee comprises of the Foreign Secretaries of the SAARC Member States and the Technical Committees comprising representatives of Member States are responsible for the implementation, coordination and monitoring of the programmes in their respective areas of cooperation. Until now nearly eighteen summits have been hosted by the member states.

Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD)

- It is an informal mechanism between India, the US, Australia and Japan, and interpreted as a joint effort to counter China’s influence in the India-Pacific region.
- The idea of the QUAD could be originally attributed to Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe.
- It got operationalized in 2007 and was revived in 2017.

The SAARC member counties taking the growing economy scenario in South Asia have formed the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA). The agreement came into force in 2006, succeeding the 1993 SAARC Preferential Trading Arrangement. One of the main aims of the SAFTA is to recognize the need for special and differential treatment.
of developing counties in South Asia and formulate policies that would support the growth of the entire region.

**ASEAN**

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) was established on 8 August 1967 in Bangkok, Thailand, with the signing of the ASEAN declaration or popularly known as the Bangkok declaration by the founding fathers of ASEAN, namely Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Since the establishment of ASEAN, other Southeast Asian nations who were not part of the organisation initially have also joined, which includes Brunei Darussalam joining on 7 January 1984, Vietnam on 28 July 1995, Laos and Myanmar on 23 July 1997, and Cambodia on 30 April 1999. ASEAN has around ten primary Member States and it has been the only official organization that pursued regional economic integration in East Asia. It is responsible for several economic integration initiatives in East Asia including
- the ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AFTA),
- the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services (AFAS) and
- the ASEAN Investment Area (AIA).

Although India’s association with Southeast Asian Countries has been for centuries, its recent initiative towards engaging Southeast Asia started in the early ‘90s. India’s new growth story in the ’90s made India take interests on its new initiative “Look-East policy” and began reviving its economic relations with Southeast Asia. Meanwhile, having been for years influenced by China and other western partners, ASEAN too realized the importance of India as the third-largest economy in Asia and an emerging regional power. This understanding led to the acceptance of India as ASEAN’s sectoral partner in early 1992 and its full dialogue partner in July 1996. The Look East Policy over the years has matured into an action-oriented programme, namely ‘Act East Policy’. The Prime Minister of India at the 12th ASEAN India Summit and the 9th East Asia Summit held in Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar, in November 2014, formally enunciated the

**Asia Reassurance Initiative Act (ARIA)**

- It aims to establish a multifaceted USA strategy to increase USA security, economic interests, and values in the Indo-Pacific region.
- The new law mandates actions countering China’s illegal construction and militarization of artificial features in the South China Sea and coercive economic practices.
- ARIA recognizes the vital role of the strategic partnership between the USA and India in promoting peace and security in the Indo-Pacific region and it calls for strengthening diplomatic, economic, and security ties between both the countries.
- It allocates a budget of $1.5 billion over a five year period to enhance cooperation with America’s strategic regional allies in the region.
- USA recently renamed its strategically important Pacific Command (PACOM) as the USA Indo-Pacific Command, indicating that for USA government, East Asia and the Indian Ocean Region are gradually becoming a single competitive space and India is a key partner in its strategic planning.
- USA launched Indo-Pacific Business Forum as an economic pillar for country’s Indo-Pacific Strategy.
Act East Policy. India's relationship with ASEAN is one of the key pillars of India's foreign policy and the foundation of Act East Policy.

Important initiatives of India – ASEAN relations include Political-Security Cooperation; Economic Cooperation; Socio-Cultural Cooperation and Connectivity. In addition, financial aid schemes have also been established for socio-economic development.

**BRICS**

The acronym, BRICS stands for (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and was coined by Jim O'Neill of Goldman Sachs in 2001 as part of an economic modelling exercise to forecast global economic trends over the next half-century. He predicted that by the year 2050, Brazil, Russia, India and China would become bigger than the six most industrialized nations in dollar terms and would completely change the power dynamics of the last 300 years.

BRICS works on the benefit it gains from its collective strength and deals with wide range of political and economic issues of mutual interest as well as topical global issues, such as Sustainable Development Goals, international terrorism, climate change, food and energy security, reform of global governance institutions, trade and tax, health, traditional medicines, labour, disaster management, anti-corruption, information and communication technology, customs cooperation, industries, etc. In addition, BRICS countries also cooperate in People-to-People format on culture, sports, youth, cinema, academics, tourism, skill development, science, technology and innovation, etc.

One of the major achievements of BRICS is the establishment of the New Development Bank (NDB) which has come into existence on 7 July 2015, with the vision of mobilizing resources for infrastructure and sustainable development projects in BRICS and other emerging economies and developing countries. The NDB helps the member countries to raise and avail resources for their infrastructure and sustainable development projects. Contingent Reserve Arrangement is another BRICS initiative that acts as a financial safety instrument for BRICS countries in the event of a financial crisis.

### 9.9 Indian Diaspora

Diaspora refers to the movement of the population from its original homeland meaning a country's native people move out to some other homeland or country. A group of people with the same culture or belonging to the same country might vacate their original homeland and relocate in some other country or homeland due to several reasons such as economy, livelihood, political situations and other social conditions.
Sometimes people are even chosen to leave their homelands and settle elsewhere. Such movement or relocation of the population can be either voluntary or forced due to traumatic events, wars, colonialization, slavery or from natural disasters. Feeling of persecution, loss and yearning to go back home is common amongst the people of the forced diaspora. Voluntary diaspora consists of a community of people who have left their homelands in order to search for better economic opportunities, for example, the gigantic emigration of people from depressed regions of Europe to the United States during the late 1800s. Unlike the forced diaspora, people from voluntary diaspora take immense pride in their shared experience and are convinced of the strength in numbers both socially and politically.

Presently, the needs and demands of a large diaspora influence government policy ranging from foreign affairs, economic development to immigration. Diasporas play a major role in the economic development of their homeland. They also act as senders of remittances, they promote trade and FDI, create and nurture entrepreneurship and help in exchange of new knowledge and skills.

The Indian diaspora is a common term used to represent the people who have migrated from territories and states that come under the jurisdiction of the Republic of India. This diaspora is presently estimated to be over 30 million, encompassing NRIs (Non-Resident Indians) and PIOs (Persons of Indian Origin) spread all over the world.

**The Indian Diaspora is categorised as:**

- **NRI** – Indian citizens living abroad for an indefinite period of time for whatsoever purpose.
- **PIO** – Overseas Indians who have claimed the citizenship of another country and have settled there.
- **SPIO** – Stateless Person of Indian Origin, those citizens who do not have documents to substantiate their origination as Indian.

The Indian government recognizes the significance of Indian Diaspora, as it has brought economic, financial and global recognition. These citizens have been away from India but are striving to make India shine on the global arena.

Over Thirty-one million people of Indian birth or descent are part of the Indian diaspora spread around the world. Of them 3.1 million, or 10 per cent, are Indian-Americans living in the US. The Indian-American diaspora has proven to be a vital resource contributing to the economic, political and social development of India.

In the period after India became free, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru pursued a policy of “active dissociation” from the Indian diaspora. He was concerned about the impact of connecting with and advocating for, this diaspora on the sovereignty of host countries. Nehru’s policy left a bitter taste for generations among Indian-origin societies abroad. Indian community globally was considered as ‘one’ only on national days or other important occasions. It was under the regime of Rajiv Gandhi that there was a boost in the diaspora policy. He offered support at Fiji Indian crisis in 1986. Besides, having realized Indian diaspora as a strategic asset, he took administrative measures to establish the Indian Overseas department in 1984.

The policy of reaching out to the Indian diaspora began during the leadership of
Atal Bihari Vajpayee. During his tenure as the Prime Minister, the Pravasi Bharatiya Divas was first launched in 2003. It is to be celebrated on 9th of January which marks the day when Mahatma Gandhi returned to India from South Africa. The government planned to celebrate it annually by holding events including conferring awards on the prominent members of the Indian diaspora. The initiatives undertaken by the Indian government during last two decades has bolstered the role and significance of Indian diasporic community in the development of the country, in addition to attracting global investment, aids and technology. India's diaspora has sent $79 billion back home, retaining its position as the world's top recipient of remittances.

**Tamil Diaspora**

The Tamil Diaspora refers to the people who emigrated from their native lands in Tamil Nadu, Puducherry and Sri Lanka. They are spread over fifty countries across the world in South East Asia, Oceania, the Americas and the Caribbean, Europe, Middle East and Africa. Throughout ancient history, the Tamils have been seafarers with a strong interest in exploring beyond their lands. The Tamils hence have a long history of overseas migration.

The early settlement patterns could be traced to sugarcane plantations in Mauritius, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Suriname, Guyana, rubber estates and railways in Malaysia, coffee and tea plantations in Sri Lanka. In addition to being taken as labour, there were voluntary emigrants who took up clerical, administrative and military duties. It is these emigrants who gradually became dominant in trade and finance in South East Asia, particularly in Myanmar, Singapore, Malaysia and South Africa.

### Status of Tamil around the world

1. Countries where Tamil is an official language are Singapore, Sri Lanka
2. Countries where Tamil is Recognized as Minority Language are Canada, Malaysia, Mauritius and Seychelles, South Africa, Reunion and France

The modern Tamil diaspora accounts for around 3.5 million people who voluntarily migrated as skilled professionals to several countries across the world which includes Singapore, the United Kingdom and the United States. Singapore has a dedicated Tamil newspaper, Tamil TV channel and radio for the promotion of the language. Many Tamil diasporas across the world participate in the annual Pravasi Bharatiya Divas festival. Despite moving out of their homeland, they remain culturally engaged and contribute to the spreading of Indian and Tamil culture across the world.

### Glossary

**Cold War**: Ideological War between Russia and USA.

**JWG**: Joint working group mechanism between India and China.

**LAC**: Line of Actual Control between India and China.

**Aksai Chin**: Indian territory in Ladakh region claimed by China.

**Cultural Revolution**: Happened in China between 1966-76, under the leadership of Mao.

**Communism**: Ideology related with workers equality. Followed by USSR between 1917-91.

**Cuban Crisis**: Closest Nuclear encounter between USA and USSR.
I. Choose the Correct answer

1. India is the founding member of ______.
   a) UN  b) ASEAN  c) OAC  d) OPEC

2. Which of the following treaties was signed between India and Russia in 2010?
   a) Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation
   b) New Treaty of Friendship
   c) Declaration of Strategic Partnership
   d) Special and Privileged Strategic Partnership

3. 1962 war fought between ______.
   a) India-China  b) India- Russia  c) India – Srilanka  d) India- Pakistan

4. What is the name of India-Japan join cooperation in Africa?
   a) India-Africa Forum Summit  b) Non-Alignment Movement
   c) Asia-Africa Growth Corridor  d) Asian-African Nations Conference

5. In Which city was the SAARC Charter signed?
   a) New Delhi  b) Colombo  c) Islamabad  d) Dhaka

6. Panchsheel Principle was agreed between ______.
   a) India-China  b) India- Pakistan  c) India- Srilanka  d) All

7. Who initiated NAM?
   a) Nehru  b) Tito  c) Nasser  d) All

8. 123 agreement is between
   a) Indo-Russia  b) Indo-America  c) Indo-Pakistan  d) Indo-Africa

9. Match the following:
   1. SCO  a) 2015
      2. SAARC  b) 2001
      3. New Development Bank  c) 1985
      4. Launch of Pravasi Bharatiya Divas  d) 2003
   1) b c a d  2) b d a c
   3) c b a d  4) a d b c

10. Consider the following:
    I. To promote the welfare of the peoples of South Asia and to improve their quality of life;
    II. To promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia;
    III. To strengthen cooperation among themselves in international forums on matters of common interests.
    Which of the above statements include SAARC Charter and its main area of focus?
    a. Only I is correct  b. Only II is correct
    c. I and III are correct  d. I, II and III are correct.
II. Answer the following questions very shortly

1. Explain Non-Alignment Movement.
2. Define 'Diaspora.'
3. What is Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation?
4. What are the tenets of India's foreign policy?
5. How is the Indian Diaspora categorised?
6. Explain the objectives of BRICS.

III. Answer the following questions shortly

1. Write a note on India-USA nuclear deal.
2. Write about the Tamil Diaspora across the world.
3. Write a note on India-E.U relation.
4. Write a note on India-Japan relation.
5. What was Africa's role in the formation of NAM?

IV. Answer the following questions in detail

1. Discuss the role of India in SAARC.
2. Evaluate India- American relations in the 21st century.
3. Critically examine the relationship between India and ASEAN.
4. How did India's foreign policy evolve since independence?

Reference Books


Web links

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# Unit 10
## India and It’s Neighbours

### Learning Objectives
- To understand about India’s states and role in the modern world
- To know about various peace Initiatives taken for India
- To know about India’s relations with neighbour Nations
- To explore further about India’s dynamic role as a peace loving Nation
- To ponder about India’s Nuclear States
- To find out the economic and trade relations
- To investigate India as a super power in the 21st century

### Introduction

India has a long land frontier and coastline. It shares boundaries with Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Bhutan, China, Myanmar (Burma), Nepal, and Sri Lanka. India has adopted a foreign policy of neutrality and non-involvement.

With India being situated in a politically sensitive geography, her relations with the neighbours are always characterized by ups and downs. The foreign policy orientations and attitudes of all these countries towards India exercised profound influence on the framers of the India’s foreign policy. On its part India tried to maintain cordial and friendly relations with these countries but has faced considerable difficulties in dealing with some of the neighbouring countries and often they have adopted hostile postures towards India.

In her relations with the neighbours, India has been following the five principles of the famous Panchsheel.

### 10.1 India- Afghanistan Relations
India has sought to establish its presence in Afghanistan from the early days of its independence in 1947. In 1950, Afghanistan and India signed a “Friendship Treaty.”

India had robust ties with Afghanistan during King Zahir Shah’s regime. Prior to the Soviet invasion in 1979, India had formalized agreements and protocols with various pro-Soviet regimes in Kabul. While India’s role in Afghanistan was constrained during the anti-Soviet jihad, between 1979 and 1989, India expanded its development activities in Afghanistan, focusing upon industrial, irrigation, and hydroelectric projects.

After the Taliban consolidated their hold on Afghanistan in the mid-1990s, India struggled to maintain its presence and to support anti-Taliban forces. However, Indian objectives in Afghanistan remained modest given the constrained environment. India aimed to undermine the ability of the Taliban to consolidate its power in Afghanistan, principally by supporting the Northern Alliance in tandem with other regional actors. Working with Iran, Russia, and Tajikistan, India provided important resources to the Northern Alliance, the only meaningful challenge to the Taliban in Afghanistan. Since 2001, India has relied upon development projects and other forms of humanitarian assistance. Expanding India’s presence in Afghanistan through increased Indian training of Afghan civilian and military personnel, development projects, and expanded economic ties. Indian and Pakistan competition in Afghanistan is seen as a new “Great Game.”

In 2005, India proposed Afghanistan’s membership in SAARC and in April 3, 2007 it joined.

India-Afghanistan: Strategic interests

Afghan is India’s natural ally. India is interested in retaining Afghanistan as a friendly state from which it has the capacity
to monitor Pakistan and cultivate assets to influence activities in Pakistan. While India is keenly interested in cultivating a significant partnership with Afghanistan, Pakistan is trying to deny India such opportunities.

India’s interest in Afghan is more than just Pakistan-centric and reflects its aspiration to be seen as a regional power. Islamic fundamentalism in Pakistan and Afghanistan has dangerous effects in the domestic social fabric of India.

**India-Afghanistan: Economic interests**

Afghanistan has a mineral wealth of about US $1-3 trillion which includes Iron ore, Lithium, Chromium, Natural Gas, Petroleum etc. Safeguarding Indian investments and personnel in Afghanistan is of utmost importance to India as Indian investment in Afghan amounts to about US $3bn.

The top commodities exported by India were man-made staple fibers, cereals, tobacco, electrical machinery, dairy produce eggs, honey, rubber products, pharmaceuticals, clothing accessories, boilers and machineries whereas the imports mainly comprised of fresh fruits, dried fruits/nuts, raisins, vegetables, oil seeds, precious/semi-precious stones etc. To achieve the possibilities of trade, India and Afghanistan signed a Preferential Trade Agreement in March 2003 under which India allowed substantial duty concessions ranging from 50% to 100% to certain category (38 items) of Afghan dry fruits. In November 2011, India removed basic customs duties for all products of Afghanistan (except alcohol and tobacco) giving them duty free access to the Indian market. India is one of the major export destinations of Afghanistan's goods.

The operation of the Chabahar port in Iran could substantially increase Afghanistan’s exports by providing a new transit route for Afghan to trade with India and the rest of the world. Recently the Indian government has approved USD 85 Million for upgrading the capacity of Chabahar Port in Iran for an alternate trade transit route for Afghanistan.

**India-Afghanistan: Security interests**

India faced many security challenges from the Taliban in Afghan during the 1990s. Pakistan has raised and supported several militant groups such as Lashkar-e-Taiba, Harkat-ul-Mujahideen/Harkat-ul-Ansar, and Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami among others, which operate in India. All of these groups have trained in Afghanistan, with varying proximity to the Taliban and by extension al-Qaeda. Thus India is absolutely clear that Afghanistan should not again become a terrorist safe haven. Radical ideologies and terrorism spreading in this region are a security threat for India.

With Pakistan increasing its strategic depth in Afghanistan, it can reverse the gain of India. Pakistan can incubate and move around various anti-India groups in Afghan especially in Loya Paktia. The
golden crescent comprising of Iran, Afghan, and Pakistan is a worry for India, especially with respect to the issue of drug abuse in Punjab. Islamic State is using Afghan as an outpost in Asia as it has come under stress in Iraq and Syria.

**Indian policy on Afghanistan**

In 2011, India became the first country that Afghanistan signed a strategic partnership agreement. Until then, India was following the US demand of India’s limited cooperation with Afghanistan. India has repeatedly stressed that its relationship with Afghanistan is independent of Pakistan. India argues that the tripartite relationship between India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan is mutually independent. In both the 1965 and 1971 wars, Afghanistan was non-committal and did not support India. On the Kashmir issue, Afghanistan has not publicly supported India. India has not entered the debate on the Durand Line.

India also realises that stability can result in Afghanistan only if all the major actors and countries have a stake in its stability, growth and prosperity. India has been championing efforts to attract regional and trans-regional investment into Afghanistan that provides a viable alternative to the dominant narrative of extremism and offers job opportunities to its population by pioneering events like the Delhi Investment Summit on Afghanistan in June 2012. Recognising that the region holds the key to peace in Afghanistan, India is spearheading commercial confidence building measures in the region within the purview of the Heart of Asia Process. Multilaterally, it helped initiate a dialogue on Afghanistan through various platforms like the Afghanistan-India-US trilateral and the Afghanistan-India-Iran trilateral that seek to bring together international partners with disparate worldviews in pursuit of the common goal of securing peace and prosperity in Afghanistan. India also expressed its support to international cooperation on Afghanistan at the UN and at various international conferences focused on the future of Afghanistan, including the seminal Tokyo Developmental Conference in July 2012 and London Conference in December 2014.

In 1999, Pakistan terrorists hijacked Indian Airlines flight IC:814 and landed it in Kandahar, Afghanistan during Taliban rule.

In 2015, in a first major offensive military platform to Kabul, India gifted three Mi 25 attack helicopters. The delivery marks the first time India has gifted offensive combat capability to Afghanistan, a sensitive topic in the past due to strong objections by Pakistan. Under the agreement, India will also train Afghan defence personnel in operations.

**Way Ahead**

India’s developmental approach has earned it immense goodwill among the Afghan people. However, the “soft power” strategy has limitations. There is a domestic consensus in India that boots-on-ground is not an option. Thus, India is in the dilemma between continued soft-power or to aggressively push its hard power.

While India’s principled position that it will not directly or publicly talk to the Taliban until it engages the Afghan government, it is necessary that India stays abreast of all negotiations and isn’t cut out of the resolution process. It is hoped that a robust channel is open between Indian intelligence agencies and all important
groups in Afghanistan, including the Taliban, in order to ensure that Indian interests, development projects, and citizens are kept secure.

India should leverage the goodwill it enjoys among the Afghan people. India must intensify its dialogue with regional and global stakeholders, and impress upon them that any dialogue with the Taliban must not come at the cost of the hard-fought victories of the Afghan people in the past two decades; on establishing constitutional democracy and the rule of law, and securing the rights of women and minorities. It is time for India to engage the Taliban to secure its interests. India also needs to reassess its policy choices in close coordination with Russia and Iran, constantly reminding them that complete surrender to the Taliban's demands will be detrimental to their own security.

10.2 India – Pakistan Relations

History has been uncharitable to India and Pakistan, two close neighbours who, just a little over seven decades, shared geography, culture, religion, language, and the very ethos and philosophy of life that sustained an ancient civilization. The bitter partition of India and Pakistan, led mass migration amidst horrendous violence as Muslims fled to Pakistan and Hindus and Sikhs to India in millions. The tragedy that began at the time of partition continues to have effect until this day in forms of wars that both countries fought and the menace of terrorism for which both countries are victims.

Activity

If China can be India’s largest trading partner why can’t India be Pakistan’s, burying the issue of Kashmir through free movement of capital and people? Discuss
Kashmir Imbroglio

The region of Kashmir is at the heart of hostility between the neighbours and was the cause of two of their three wars since independence from Britain in 1947. Under the partition plan provided by the Indian Independence Act, Kashmir was free to accede to either India or Pakistan. The Maharaja of Kashmir, Hari Singh, initially wanted Kashmir to become an independent nation - but in October 1947 chose to join India, in return for its help against an invasion of tribesmen from Pakistan. A war erupted and India approached the United Nations asking it to intervene.

The war came to an end on January 1, 1949, by a UN-mandated ceasefire line, along with the deployment of a UN peace-keeping group at the ceasefire line. This was the first Indo-Pakistani war. This proved to be the longest-running war over Kashmir, but was also the least costly as a result of the limited nature of the firepower employed by both sides. As a fallout of end of war in Kashmir a result of the ceasefire agreement, a Line Of Control (LOC) was established between the opposing armies, which left Pakistan occupying about a third of the State.

The United Nations recommended holding a plebiscite to settle the question of whether the state would join India or Pakistan. However the two countries could not agree to a deal to demilitarise the region before the referendum could be held. In July 1949, India and Pakistan signed an agreement to establish a ceasefire line as recommended by the UN and the region became divided. A second war followed in 1965. The only declared war between Pakistan and India was in 1971, rest of the wars were more related to the border skirmish and not a declared battle. What is more, since the time both nations got their freedom, they have always been assuring each other that both stood for peace and not for war.

Then in 1999, India fought a brief but bitter conflict with Pakistani-backed forces known as the Kargil War. By that time, India and Pakistan had both declared themselves to be nuclear powers. Separatists began an insurgency against Indian rule in 1989 backed by Pakistan and since then tens of thousands of people have been killed there due to terrorism.
In a message on August 15, 1947, Nehru said “I want to say to all nations of the world including our neighbour country that we stand for peace and friendship with them.”

Today the question of India – Pakistan relations revolves around three major issues; Kashmir, Terrorism and Economic relations. While, each of these aspects are interlinked,
it is important to understand by itself these issues are a major concern for the peace of South Asia. Having not been able to take over Kashmir, and also having lost East Pakistan (now called Bangladesh) due to India’s intervention in 1971, Pakistan is keen in destabilising India by supporting terrorism.

**Repealing article 370**

On August 5, 2019, the President of India gave assent to the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 2019, issued under Article 370(1) of the Constitution of India. While exercising power under Article 370 (1), the President has repealed all the clauses of Article 370. However, Article 370(1) has been extended with certain modifications. By virtue of those modifications, all the provisions of the Constitution of India shall be applicable to Jammu and Kashmir.

**Major issues - in India-Pakistan relation**

1. **Siachen Dispute**

   ![Siachen Glacier Map]

   Indian and Pakistani forces have faced off against each other in mountains above the Siachen glacier in the Karakoram range, the world’s highest battlefield, since 1984. The two sides have been trying to find a solution that would allow them to withdraw troops, but no solution has been arrived at so far.

   **Surgical Strikes**

   It was launched as a response to Pakistan’s frequent provocations along the border and Line of Control.

   **What is a surgical strike?**
   - Surgical strikes are attacks on particular opponent targets.
   - They aim at having a minimum damage to the surrounding structures including civilian buildings.
   - They aim at having a zero or minimum deaths of civilians.

2. **Water Sharing Issue**

   The two countries disagree over use of the water flowing down rivers that rise in Kashmir and run into the Indus river basin which goes to Pakistan. The use of the water is governed by the 1960 Indus Water Treaty under which India was granted the use of water from three eastern rivers, and Pakistan the use of three western rivers. Pakistan says India is unfairly diverting water with the upstream construction of barrages and dams. India denies the charge.

3. **Sir Creek Dispute**

   ![Sir Creek Map]

   Sir Creek may be a small area of water but it holds immense economic significance for both India and Pakistan. Red line is the border claimed by Pakistan but disputed by India. It lies in the middle of Sir Creek as per the Tashkent principle.
Assassination of Abdul Ghani Lone:

Insurgents attack on Jammu and Kashmir Province of India. But after India’s independence in 1947, the Indian forces for failing to provide enough security cover for Mr. Lone.

Kashmir and Siachen aren’t the only issues the two nuclear powers of South Asia lock horns. Sir Creek is another major issue that’s been waiting for a resolution for over 70 years. Sir Creek is a 96-km strip of water disputed between India and Pakistan in the Rann of Kutch marshlands. Originally named Ban Ganga, Sir Creek is named after a British representative. The Creek opens up in the Arabian Sea and roughly divides the Kutch region of Gujarat from the Sindh Province of Pakistan. The dispute lies in the interpretation of the maritime boundary line between Kutch and Sindh. Before India’s independence, the provincial region was a part of the Bombay Presidency of British India. But after India’s independence in 1947, the Indian government over the collection of firewood from the creek area.

2005-2007: Two rounds of joint surveys of Sir Creek carried out by a joint India-Pakistan team.

2008: At the fourth round of the composite dialogue in Islamabad, the two sides agree on a joint map of the area, which had been worked out through the joint survey.

June 2012: After dialogue resumes on the Sir Creek issue in New Delhi, the two sides “reiterate their desire to find an amicable solution of issue through sustained dialogue.”

Party Hurriyat Conference leader, was assassinated by an unidentified gunman during a memorial rally in Srinagar. The assassination resulted in wide-scale demonstrations against the Indian forces for failing to provide enough security cover for Mr. Lone.

The 2008 Mumbai attacks (Also referred to as 26/11) were a series of terrorist attacks that took place in November 2008: 10 members of Lashkar-e-Taiba, an Islamic terrorist organisation based in Pakistan, carried out 12 coordinated shooting and bombing attacks lasting four days across Mumbai. The attacks, which drew widespread global condemnation, began on Wednesday 26 November and lasted until Saturday 29 November 2008. At least 174 people died, including 9 attackers, and more than 300 were wounded.

2016 Uri attack: A terrorist attack by four heavily armed terrorists on 18 September 2016 near the town of Uri in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir killed 18 and left more than 20 people injured. It was reported as “the deadliest attack on security forces in Kashmir in two decades”.

2019 Pulwama attack: On 14 February 2019, a convoy of vehicles carrying security personnel on the Jammu Srinagar national highway was attacked by a vehicle-bound suicide bomber in Lethpora near Awantipora, Pulwama district, Jammu and Kashmir. The attack resulted in the death of 38 Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) personnel. The responsibility of the attack was claimed by the Pakistan-based Islamist militant group Jaish-e-Mohammed.
Sindh became a part of Pakistan while Kutch remained a part of India. Apart from its strategic location, Sir Creek’s core importance is fishing resources. Sir Creek is considered to be among the locking horns over the presence of great oil and gas concentration under the sea, which are currently unexploited.

**TIMELINE: India-Pakistan relations**
A timeline of the rocky relationship between the two nuclear-armed South Asian neighbours.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Important Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Britain, as part of its pullout from the Indian subcontinent, divides it into secular (but mainly Hindu) India and Muslim Pakistan on August 15 and 14 respectively.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1947/48</td>
<td>The first India-Pakistan war over Kashmir is fought, after armed tribesmen (lashkars) from Pakistan’s North-West Frontier Province (now called Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa) invade the disputed territory in October 1947.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>The accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India is ratified by the state’s constituent assembly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Following the 1962 Sino-Indian war, the foreign ministers of India and Pakistan - Swaran Singh and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto - hold talks under the auspices of the British and Americans regarding the Kashmir dispute.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Following the failure of the 1963 talks, Pakistan refers the Kashmir case to the UN Security Council.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>India and Pakistan fight their second war.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>On January 10, 1966, Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistani President Ayub Khan sign an agreement at Tashkent (now in Uzbekistan), agreeing to withdraw to pre-August lines and that economic and diplomatic relations would be restored.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>India and Pakistan go to war a third time, this time over East Pakistan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi sign an agreement in the Indian town of Simla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>The Kashmiri state government affirms that the state “is a constituent unit of the Union of India”. Pakistan rejects the accord with the Indian government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>The two countries sign an agreement that neither side will attack the other’s nuclear installations or facilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>A joint declaration prohibiting the use of chemical weapons is signed in New Delhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee meets with Nawaz Sharif, his Pakistani counterpart, in Lahore. Kargil war was an armed conflict between India and Pakistan later in the same year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Tensions along the Line of Control remain high, with 38 people killed in an attack on the Kashmiri assembly in Srinagar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>On February 18, the train service between India and Pakistan is bombed near Panipat, north of New Delhi. Sixty-eight people are killed, and dozens injured. (Samjhauta Express)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>In November, India executes Pakistani national Kasab, the lone survivor of a fighter squad that killed 166 people in a rampage through the financial capital Mumbai in 2008, hanging him just days before the fourth anniversary of the attack.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>India launches what it calls “surgical strikes” on terrorist units in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir in September, less than two weeks after an attack on an Indian army base leaves 19 soldiers dead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>2019</td>
<td>In the early hours of February 26, India conducts air attacks against what it calls Pakistan-based rebel group Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM)’s “biggest training camp”, killing ’a very large number of terrorists’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10.3 India – Bangladesh Relations

Bangladesh is one of the most important neighbours of India. Bangladesh is also a key partner to India in the South Asian region, and is crucial both for stability in the north-eastern region and as a bridge to South-East Asia. It is an important lynchpin to India’s ‘Look East’ policy.

Historical Relations with Bangladesh can be traced to the idea of India and Pakistan pre-dating 1947. The population of both the countries share close and multi-faceted socio-cultural, religious and linguistic ties. What is more, both countries have a distinct honor of having their national anthem written by the same poet ‘Rabindranath Tagore.’ The creation of Bangladesh with the support of India, is a significant milestone in the history of South Asia.

In 1970, the Bengali Awami League Party won the Pakistani National Elections. But West Pakistan refused to recognize the election results and used brutal force to suppress the agitation by the Awami League Party. This situation led to near war scenario, with armed east Bengalis forming the Mukti Bahini (freedom force). India’s support to the Mukti Bahini by training and the supply of arms, became imminent with millions seeking refuge in India. Pakistan’s preemptive strike at India provided the Indian army the much needed excuse to attack East Pakistan. By December 1971, Bangladesh emerged as an independent state.

Establishment of a new state provided a chance for India to have a friendly neighbor. In January 1972, Mujibur Rahman assumed power as the Prime Minister of Bangladesh and his tenure happened to be one of the best times in India – Bangladesh Relations. His tenure also witnessed the signing of Indo-Bangladesh Friendship Treaty.

Major Issues in Indo Bangladesh Relations

1. The Farakka Barrage: Of the various issues responsible for deteriorating Indo-Bangladesh relations, commissioning Farakka dam in West Bengal, about 11 miles from Bangladesh’s border, has perhaps attracted the most International attention. India maintains that it needs the barrage for the purpose of flushing the Hooghly River to make it free from silt and therefore keep the port of Calcutta operational and also to meet the demand from Kolkata for industrial and domestic use, and for irrigation purposes in other parts of West Bengal. Despite the negotiations since 1970’s at both regional and international levels, both the nations have still not been able to reconcile with a proper solution.
India- Bangladesh Border

India and Bangladesh have a 2,979 km land border and 1,116 km of riverine boundary. They also share 54 common rivers, including the Brahmaputra. India’s West Bengal, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Assam and Tripura share 4,096 km border with Bangladesh.

Tripura and other northeastern states are surrounded by Bangladesh, Myanmar, Bhutan and China on three sides and the only land route access to these states from within India is through Assam and West Bengal by Siliguri or the Chicken’s Neck Corridor.

2. Sharing of Teesta Water: The Teesta River originates from Teesta Kangse glacier about 7,068 metres (23,189 ft.) height and flows southward to Sikkim, West Bengal and Bangladesh. This river merges with the Brahmaputra river when it enters Bangladesh and ends in the Bay of Bengal. The dispute was started when West Bengal government began constructing barrages on the river in 1979 mainly for irrigation purposes. The Bangladesh Government opposed it and argued that the major rice producing areas of Bangladesh, especially the ‘rice bowl’ Rangpur region lie in the Teesta and Brahmaputra river basin. In 1983, an adhoc agreement on water sharing was signed between both countries. Yet, being an upper riparian state, India has not been able to supply the promised amount of water. Politically river water sharing continues to haunt both the countries.

3. New Moore Island or South Talpatti (Known in Bangladesh): was a small uninhabited offshore sandbar landform in the Bay of Bengal, off the coast of the Ganges-Brahmaputra Delta region. It emerged in the Bay of Bengal in the aftermath of the Bhola cyclone in 1970, and disappeared at some later point. For nearly 30 years, India and Bangladesh have argued over control of a tiny rock island in the Bay of Bengal but later in 2010 the rising sea levels have resolved the dispute for them as the island was submerged. New Moore Island, in the Sunderbans, has been completely submerged. Its disappearance has been confirmed by satellite imagery and sea patrols. Scientists at the School of Oceanographic Studies have noted an alarming increase in the rate at which sea levels have risen over the past decade in the Bay of Bengal. Although the island was uninhabited and there were no permanent settlements or stations located on it, both India and Bangladesh claimed sovereignty over it because of speculation over the existence of oil and natural gas in the region.

The Resolution: In Permanent Court of Arbitration (PAC) the dispute was settled in July 2014 by a final verdict not open to appeal and in favour of Bangladesh. The Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) verdict awarded Bangladesh with 19,467 km² out of 25,000 km² disputed area with India in the Bay of Bengal. However New Moore Island has fallen in India’s part of the Bay of Bengal. If you have any more questions or need further assistance, feel free to ask!
4. **Chakmas Refugees Issue:** The Chakmas and Hajongs living in the Chittagong Hill Tracts fled erstwhile East Pakistan in 1964-65, since they lost their land to the development of the Kaptai Dam on the Karnaphuli River. In addition, they also faced religious persecution as they were non-Muslims and did not speak Bengali. They eventually sought asylum in India. The Indian government set up relief camps in Arunachal Pradesh and a majority of them continue to live there even after five decades. According to the 2011 census, 47,471 Chakmas live in Arunachal Pradesh alone.

5. **Border Issue:** Bangladesh and India share a common border of 4096 km running through five states, namely, West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram. There are 162 enclaves between Bangladesh and India. The border regions have emerged as a major transit point for smugglers of contraband goods, human traffickers and terrorist and insurgent groups living near the border. Hence, border management has become a major challenge for both countries.

   Through negotiation between India and Bangladesh 50 enclaves were transferred to India and 111 transferred to Bangladesh. While the border issue is sorted to a great extent, through related issues like illegal arms smuggling, human trafficking, drug trafficking and cross border terrorism continue to haunt India and Bangladesh.

**Trade and Connectivity**

- Trade has been growing steadily between the two countries at about 17% in the last 5 years.
- A bus service and a train service between Kolkata and Dhaka was also launched.

- Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) has been signed on the development of Ashuganj-Zakiganj stretch of Kushiya river and Sirajganj-Daikhawa stretch of the Jamuna river to improve connectivity between the two countries and this will help reduce cost of cargo movement to northeast India and also reduce congestion through the Siliguri’s ‘Chicken’s Neck’ corridor.

- Connectivity is an issue of mutual interest as these initiatives on passenger and goods trains will be of benefit to both Bangladesh and northeast India.

- Dhaka also has the central role in shaping the future of sub-regional cooperation with Bhutan, Burma, India and Nepal. It is also a land bridge to East Asia and the fulcrum of a future Bay of Bengal community.

- However, the most important issue in contemporary Asian geopolitics is transit and connectivity. In 2016 when Chinese President Xi Jinping visited Bangladesh, it agreed to join the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

- China is already investing in a number of infrastructure projects in the country including the deep sea port at Chittagong. It is likely that these projects will now be subsumed under the BRI project which is the matter of concern for India.

**Energy Cooperation**

- Energy cooperation between the two sides has also shown a lot of positivity with Indian state Tripura supplying a total of 160 MW of power to Bangladesh in addition to the 500 MW the country is receiving from West Bengal since 2013.

- Bangladesh has sought extra 100 MW electricity from India to solve its power crisis, and will be likely on the negotiating table.
Defence Cooperation

- There are talks that a defence treaty is to be signed between India and Bangladesh, it will be a long-term defence deal that will allow for increased defence cooperation, information sharing, joint exercises, training and so on. However, India needs to figure out where it can meet Bangladesh’s security concerns, considering Bangladesh’s largest defence partner is China.

- Expanding security cooperation with India could only enhance Dhaka’s global leverage. For India, a strong partnership with Bangladesh will help boost the prospects of peace and prosperity in the eastern subcontinent.

- Defence deal between the two nations on the basis of sovereign equality and geopolitical realities will take us a long way ahead.

Conclusion

The India-Bangladesh relations can be summarised as hanging on three ‘T’s – 1. Tackling Terrorism, 2. Trade + Transit and 3. Teesta Treaty. we should hope to resolve the issues and take the relationship forward so that the growing mutual trust and political comfort between Delhi and Dhaka will have a long-term consequence. It is important for India’s North-East as well.

10.4 India-China Relations

![India-China Flags]

The Modern history of India-China relations starts after 1949, with China becoming a Communist country. India was one of the first countries to recognise the People’s Republic of China. However, the initial bonhomie did not last long as India became suspicious of China's intention when Tibet was occupied by the Chinese army in 1950. The Hindi – Chini – Bhai Bhai (Indians and Chinese are brothers) enthusiasm in the 1950s did cast off some of India’s fears, but all these developments that happened in due course were lost with the India and China war of 1962. India-China relations can be broadly categorised into three aspects – border issue; economic interests; and cooperation on international issues.

India and China are civilizational powers with long and historical legacies. Buddhism went from India to China along with texts and culture. Fa Hien and Xuan Zhang are some of the travellers who came to ancient India to study. Add to the cultural relations, the ancient Silk Road allowed closer economic relations.

Border Issue

India and China share over 4056 km long border. It is divided into three sections; the border to the east of Bhutan, central border across Utter Pradesh, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh and the border separating Jammu and Kashmir from Chinese territories of Sinkiang and Tibet.
India – China border is known as the McMahon Line, named after Arthur Henry McMahon who was the Secretary of State for India in the British Cabinet. This demarcation was determined in 1914 at the Conference of the representatives of British India, Tibet and China held at Shimla. The boundary line was drawn taking into consideration of the natural boundary as it passes through Tibetan Plateau in the north and Indian hills in the South. This boundary was accepted by all the representatives, although, China at a later date condemned it as an imperialist line. India continues to accept this line as the border with China.

Tibetan Plateau

In 1949, at the end of a protracted civil war, a communist regime was established in China. China had always treated Tibet as its Province and used to collect tributes from her. The Communist regime also treated it as one of her autonomous Provinces. But, a theocratic Tibet could not reconcile with socialist China. The Tibetan issue, particularly granting asylum to Tibetan leader Dalai Lama and his people was a cause of rift between these two countries.

India China border issue cannot be understood without talking about Tibet's occupation by the Chinese. While the roots of the India–China border issue can be traced to centuries, its immediate reason relates to China's occupation of Tibet in 1950. China's reasons for occupation is based on historical linkage and ideological fervour.

Ever since the occupation of Tibet, China started claiming many of Indian territory as theirs. Despite the talks both the countries had since the 1950s, there was hardly any progress in the clear demarcation of borders. Nonetheless, there was information about frequent cross border infiltrations. By 1961, India decided to firmly fix the borders and launched ‘forward policy’, establishing military posts in the disputed territories. This move by India did not go well with China and it launched a massive attack on Arunachal Pradesh and Ladakh on October 20, 1962. The war lasted only for 31 days, yet it made a long lasting humiliating impact on India.

India–China War, 1962

- When China announced that it would be occupying Tibet, India sent a letter of protest proposing negotiations on the Tibet issue. China was even more active in deploying troops on the Aksai Chin border.
- In 1954, China and India concluded the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, under which, India acknowledged Chinese rule in Tibet.
- In July 1954, Nehru wrote a memo directing a revision in the maps of India to show definite boundaries on all frontiers; however, Chinese maps showed some 120,000 square kilometres of Indian territory as Chinese. On being questioned, Zhou Enlai, the first Premier of People’s Republic of China, responded that there were errors in the maps.
- The People’s Republic of China’s leader, Mao Zedong felt humiliated by the reception Dalai Lama obtained in India when he fled there in March 1959. Tensions increased between the two nations when Mao stated that the Lhasa rebellion in Tibet was caused by Indians.
- China’s perception of India as a threat to its rule of Tibet became one of the
most prominent reasons for the Sino-Indian War.

- In October 1959, India realised that it was not ready for war after a clash between the two armies at Kongka Pass, in which nine Indian policemen were killed; the country assumed responsibility for the border and pulled back patrols from disputed areas.

- On October 20, 1962, China’s People’s Liberation Army invaded India in Ladakh, and crossed the McMahon Line in the then North-East Frontier Agency.

- Till the start of the war, the Indian side was confident that war would not be started and made little preparations. India had deployed only two divisions of troops in the region of the conflict, while the Chinese troops had three regiments positioned.

- In 1962, the world’s two most populous countries went to war. The Sino-Indian War claimed about 2,000 lives and played out in the harsh terrain of the Karakoram Mountains, some 4,270 meters (14,000 feet) above sea level.

- After hundreds of more deaths and an American threat to intervene on behalf of the Indians, the two sides declared a formal ceasefire on November 19, 1962. The Chinese announced that they would “withdraw from their present positions to the north of the McMahon Line.”

- Thus, the India-China War of 1962 ended and Colombo Conference was convened by Non-Aligned activist to resolve the dispute amicably.

### Six-Nation Colombo Conference- (10 December 1962)

Pursuant to growing tension between India and China and the war, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike convened what came to be known as the Colombo Conference, bringing together the leaders of Burma, Cambodia, Egypt, Ghana and Indonesia to mediate and reach a possible solution to the conflict between the two Asian giants. India accepted the principles of the Colombo Conference in toto while China accepted them in principle, as the basis to start negotiation.

### India-China border conflict?

- Sovereignty over two large and various smaller separated pieces of territory have been contested between China and India.

- The western most, Aksai Chin, is claimed by India as part of the Union Territory of Ladakh but is controlled and administered as part of the Chinese autonomous region of Xinjiang.

- It is a virtually uninhabited high altitude wasteland crossed by the Xinjiang-Tibet Highway.

- The other large territory, the eastern most, lies south of the McMahon Line. It was formerly referred to as the North East Frontier Agency, and is now called Arunachal Pradesh which is claimed by China.

- The McMahon Line was part of the 1914 Simla Convention between British India and Tibet, an agreement rejected by China.

Even until this day, the 1962 Sino-Indian War is a widely debated topic. The end of the war threw a new boundary line between India and China known as Line of Actual Control (LAC). In 1993, an Agreement on
the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) on the India-China border Areas was signed during Prime Minister Narasimha Rao’s visit to China. The LAC continues to be a matter of irritation between both countries.

**Economic Interests**

Since the mid-1980s, India and China started having a closer bilateral economic relations. The process of dialogue initiated by the governments of the two countries helped in identifying the common trade interests. In 1984, India and China entered into a Trade Agreement, which provided them with the status of Most Favoured Nation (MFN). Since 1992, India and China have been involved in a full-fledged bilateral trade relations.

India-China trade in 2016 stands at US$ 71.18 billion. India’s exports to China was US$ 11.748 billion while India’s imports from China were US$ 59.428 billion. The Indian trade deficit with China in 2016 was US$ 47.68 billion. India was the 7th largest export destination for Chinese products and the 27th largest exporter to China. India’s top exports to China included diamonds, cotton yarn, iron ore, copper and organic chemicals. China’s top exports to India include electrical machinery, equipment, fertilizers, Chinese antibiotics, Chinese organic chemicals. The cumulative Chinese investment in India till March 2017 stood at US$ 4.91 billion and the cumulative Indian investment in China till March 2017 reached US$ 705 million.

**Cooperation on International Issues**

In the international arena, India and China are competitors for resources. Investments in many of the developing countries by both these emerging Asian giants are all to meet the increasing economic demands of India and China. Despite the widespread competition, India and China have also found some real convergence of interests. Both the countries support for multipolar world order and resist interventionist foreign policy doctrines emanating from the West, particularly the United States. In addition,
China and India also share wide-ranging concerns on climate change, trade negotiations, energy security, and global financial crisis. India and China also play a significant role in the WTO and global trade negotiations in the hope for getting better leverage for the developing world over developed states.

In addition to this significant role, China and India are also partners in major international organisations like BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), EAS (East Asian Summit), SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organisation), etc.

10.5 India – Sri Lanka Relations

Since the Independence of India in 1947 and Sri Lanka in 1948, both India and Sri Lanka enjoyed closer relations with each other. Despite these closer relations, domestic developments in Sri Lanka has always had a negative impact on each other relations. The main reason for this negative impact is because of the ethnic crises between the Tamils and the Sinhalese and the Indian response towards this issue. Security interests and the shared ethnicity of Tamils living in southern India and in northern and eastern Sri Lanka are the two major factors in Indo – Sri Lankan relations.

Major Issues in India and Sri Lanka Relations

One of the first issues between India and Sri Lankan began with the Ceylon Citizenship Act of 1948, where the Plantation Tamils or Malayaha Tamizhar were deprived of their citizenship.

Ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka has enormous impact on India- Sri Lanka relations due to large Tamil speaking population in southern India as well as the attempts by Sri Lanka to balance India’s influence with the Tamils in Sri Lanka by building geo-strategic pressure by engaging the West or the Chinese selectively. Sri Lanka is critical to India’s coastal security and its interests in the Indian Ocean Region. Any presence of external powers will hence have drastic impact on its defence and security.

Ethnic Composition

According to the 1921 Census, there were nearly 10 principal races, three pairs being subdivisions of larger groups, in Sri Lanka (then known as Ceylon). Of these three were principal races namely, the Low Country and Kandyan Sinhalese, the Ceylon and Indian Tamils, and the Ceylon and Indian Moors. Four other specified races were the Burghers, Eurasians, Malays and Veddas.

The predominant community Sinhalese, which is about three-quarters of the population, are Buddhist and Speak Sinhalese.

The Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka are also largely Hindus. The Muslims mainly of Tamil origin speak both Tamil and Sinhala.

Since the end of Eelam War IV, India – Sri Lanka relations have been more constructive. In the recent years the bilateral
trade has increased manifold. Nevertheless there are few major concerns both countries need to work out.

Return of Sri Lankan Tamil Refugees continues to be a matter of concern. Unless, there is favorable political situation in Sri Lanka, refugees will not return to their homeland.

The attack on the Indian fishermen continues and has become a regular occurrence. There have been many suggestions to solve this crisis, including deep sea fishing, lease in perpetuity of Katchatheevu, alternate day fishing by Indian and Sri Lankan fishermen, etc., but sadly none of these suggestions have seen the light of the day.

**Sri Lankan Tamil Refugees Issue**

In 1948, immediately after the country's independence, a controversial law labelled the Ceylon Citizenship Act was passed in the Sri Lankan Parliament which deliberately discriminated against the Tamils of South Indian origin, whose ancestors had settled in the country in the 19th and 20th centuries. This Act made it virtually impossible for them to obtain citizenship and over 700,000 Tamils (consisting of up to 11% of the country's total population) were made stateless. In 1964, a pact was signed between Bandaranaike and the then Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri to repatriate much of the population of the stateless Tamils. Over the next 30 years, successive Sri Lankan governments were actively engaged in deporting over 300,000 Tamils back to India. It wasn't until 2003, after a state-sponsored programme against Tamils and a full-scale civil war, that Indian Tamils were granted citizenship but by this time, their population had dwindled to just 5% of the country's population. Tamils repatriated to India were assimilated with location population after taking Indian citizenships.

Around 62,000 refugees, living in 107 camps across Tamil Nadu, have been receiving various relief measures of the Central and State governments. In addition, in recent years, the Tamil Nadu government has taken steps for scores of young boys and girls of the refugee community to join professional courses, particularly engineering. This has benefitted eligible candidates among 36,800 non-camp refugees in the State too.

**Change in status quo**

At present, for both India and Sri Lanka, the repatriation of refugees must be a priority. Tamil Nadu hosts the largest number of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in India. It would be in the interest of both the countries to find the permenant resolution for this problem. While for India a long-standing problem would be resolved, for Sri Lanka it would be a step towards ethnic reconciliation.

The two governments can come out with a comprehensive package on voluntary repatriation, after involving representatives of the refugee community, the Tamil Nadu government and Sri Lanka's Northern Provincial Council.

For refugees who want to stay back, India can consider providing them citizenship, as it did for refugees from Pakistan and Afghanistan. This can be acheived by filtering out any potential anti-social or anti-state elements, leading to the eventual closing down of refugee camps in Tamil Nadu. Such a process will bring an end to an episode that has lasted longer than the civil war of Sri Lanka.
Katchatheevu

Katchatheevu originally belonged to kings of Ramanathapuram. No maps of Sri Lanka showed it as its territory. However, seeing its strategic location, Sri Lanka started claiming it. The issue was discussed some times during the meeting between Indian and Sri Lankan leaders. However in 1974 Indira Gandhi signed an agreement whereby Katchatheevu was given to Sri Lanka. Katchatheevu is an uninhabited 285-acre island situated in between India and Sri Lanka in the Gulf of Mannar. It has a Catholic shrine and has been declared as a sacred area by the government of Sri Lanka. The shrine attracts devotees from both the countries. This 1974 agreement had secured the rights of Indian fishermen only to dry their nets and use the Church for religious observance. But then in 1976, delimitation of International Maritime Boundary Line (IMBL) was agreed upon as required by the UNCLOS. With this, Indian fishermen do not have any right to even engage in drying of nets and use of Church because 1976 agreement superseded 1974 agreement. Since then our fishermen are facing innumerable problems.

Nehru-Kotelawala Pact (1954)

The Nehru-Kotelawala Pact was an agreement that was signed between Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, and John Kotelawala, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, on 18 January 1954. It was an agreement regarding to the status and future of people of Indian origin in Ceylon. They were brought by British from Madras Presidency in British India to work in tea, coffee and coconut plantations of British Ceylon. In the pact, India accepted in principle the repatriation of Indian population in Ceylon. But Jawaharlal Nehru only supported voluntary repatriation of those who accepted Indian citizenship. India disagreed on Sri Lankan position that suggested granting Indian citizenship to people, who failed to qualify for Sri Lankan citizenship.

Fishermen Issue

- According to Joint Working Group on Fisheries (JWGF) data, 111 boats of Tamil Nadu fishermen and 51 Indian fishermen were in arrest or detention in Sri Lanka’s Northern Province in 2019.
- Reasons include ongoing disagreement over the territorial rights to the island of Kachchatheevu, and the damaging economic and environmental effects of trawling.
- Due to the dearth of multi-day fishing capability, Indian fishermen cannot shift their fishing effort from the Palk Bay area to the offshore areas way beyond the continental shelf.
Also, due to a gradual drop in fish count in the Indian waters, Indian fishermen are forced to wander into Sri Lankan waters as the catch is insufficient here.

In November 2016, an inter-ministerial delegation discussed terms for a joint working group, but the Sri Lankan delegation rejected India's request for a three year grace period so that the government can assist fishermen to move from bottom trawling fishing method to another sustained and effective method.

India's rehabilitation measures for Sri Lankan Tamils

The construction of 43,000 houses for resettlement and rehabilitation of IDPs in Northern and Eastern Provinces is part of the overall commitment to build 50,000 houses announced by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh during the State visit of the President of Sri Lanka Mahinda Rajapaksa to India, in June 2010, 47,000 have been completed until 2018. USD 350 million grant to build the houses was one of the largest grants by India in any country. Indian PM flagged off a train service at the north-western Sri Lankan town of Talaimannar - the closest point to India - restored after decades of civil war, completing the reconstruction of the entire Northern Province Railway Line. Accompanied by

Mrs Srimavo Bandaranaike visited India in 1964. After prolonged negotiations, an agreement was signed between Bandaranaike and Shastri

- It sought to solve the problem of 9 lakh 75 Thousand stateless persons in Sir Lanka using the following formula:
  - 3 lakh people will get Sir Lankan citizenship,
  - 5 lakh 25 thousand will get Indian citizenship. They were to move to India in a period spanning over 15 years.
  - Remaining 1.50 lakh stateless persons fate was to be decided later

Diplomatic agreement between PM Rajiv Gandhi and Sri Lanka President JR Jayawardene to solve the ethnic problem

- An autonomous unit comprising northern and eastern provinces (where Tamils are concentrated) would be constituted
- Elections to provincial councils were to be completed by Dec 31, 1987 in the presence of Indian observers
- Emergency was to be lifted from northern and eastern provinces
- Tamil, Sinhalese and English would be official languages of Sir Lanka
- Deployment of IPKF to guarantee and enforce cessation of hostilities between Lankan army and Tamil militants

Agreement was vehemently opposed by Sri Lankans and an attack was attempted on Rajiv Gandhi when he was inspecting guard of honour at Colombo airport.

Shastri – Srimavo Agreement, 1964

Sri Lankan President Maithripala Sirisena, Modi also unveiled a plaque inaugurating Talaimannar 1650 Pier Railway station.

The newly-constructed 63-km railway track is the last segment of the 265-km long, prestigious Northern Railway Line Reconstruction Project which is being executed by IRCON International Ltd., a Government of India owned company.

During the period of Lal Bahadur Sastri’s premiership an agreement was reached between the two nations in resolving the issues of Indian origin Tamils.

India agreed to provide citizenship to two thirds of the people of Indian origin; But the ethnic conflict between native Tamils (Eelam Tamils) and the Singhalese erupted into a protracted civil war, revolting a massive influx of Tamil refugees into India. The Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi intervened and signed an agreement with the Sri Lanka Government (Rajiv-Jayawardhene Agreement) and India sent a peacekeeping force to ensure peace and implementation of the treaty in the island Nation.

But the peace did not last long. After that, India followed a passive role in Sri Lankan civil war and avoided another military intervention. Sri Lankan force brutally crushed the Tamils’ rebellion, in that process committing serious human rights violations. India has contributed a lot in rehabilitating war refugees, and rebuilding the economy of war ravaged Tamil majority provinces.

**Way Ahead**

- India can try to get back the island of Kachchatheevu atleast on “lease in perpetuity” or by negotiations.
- Permit licensed Indian fishermen to fish within a designated area of Sri Lankan waters and vice versa.
- There is a glaring need for institutionalisation of fishing in Indian waters by the Government of India so that alternative means of livelihood are provided.
- Government will have to mark up a comprehensive plan to reduce the dependence of Indian fishermen on catch from Palk Bay.

If these social issues can be sorted out. India and Sri Lankan can become prime movers in the regional polity.

**10.6 India – Nepal Relations**

India and Nepal are geographically close to each other. Nepal’s lowland areas are a part of the Gangetic plain and it occupies the central part of the Himalayan foothills and mountains that extends between China and South Asia. Nepal and India share a border of over 1850 kms in the East, South and West with five states, Sikkim, West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand sharing their borders. Nepal had been earlier the only...
Hindu Kingdom in the world. However, one-eighth of its population are Buddhists and there is a small population of Muslims and Christians living in the country.

While Nehru always regarded Nepal as a sovereign state, at the same time it was considered as an integral part of India’s security system. Occupation of Tibet by China in 1951 affirmed Nepal’s importance in India’s security umbrella. It was never a “threat from Nepal” but “threat to Nepal”, that India could not afford. An important step towards establishing such an order was the signing of Treaty of Peace and Friendship between India and Nepal on July 31, 1950.

India’s overtures to Nepal went beyond the security interest. On the same day of signing Peace and Friendship Treaty, both the countries also signed Treaty of Trade and Commerce. This agreement became a hallmark of close economic relations between both the countries.

**Nehru: Parliament Debates 1950**

From time immemorial, the Himalayas have provided us with a magnificent frontier… We cannot allow that barrier to be penetrated because it is also the principal barrier to India. Therefore, such as we appreciate the independence of Nepal, we cannot allow anything to go wrong in Nepal or permit the barrier to be crossed or weakened as that would also be a risk to our security.

Frankly, we do not like and shall not brook any foreign interference in Nepal. We recognize Nepal as an independent country and wish her well, but even a child knows that one cannot go to Nepal without passing through India. Therefore, no other country can have an intimate a relationship with Nepal as ours is.

**Political Relations**

India’s relations with Nepal in the immediate aftermath of independence of both the countries revolved around the political struggle between the King and the Rana’s, (Prime Ministerial clan of Nepal). While negotiating the 1950 Treaty India was also persuading Nepal’s Rana rulers to liberalize their political system to become more democratic and accommodate a section of the population that was fighting to get political rights and freedom. However, India’s advice did not seem to be making much impact on the Ranas, which forced New Delhi to adopt proactive stance and intervene directly in the Nepali situation.

India’s approach to Nepal remained consistent ever after the death of Nehru. The subsequent Prime Ministers Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi, VP Singh and Chandrashekar followed the same policies for Nepal. There were numerous bilateral visits taken by Prime Ministers of both countries to improve ties.

Post 1990’s India has been following a twin pillar policy since restoration of the multi-party system. The pillars include...
constitutional monarch and multi-party democracy sustaining together. But, this policy started experiencing strains with the beginning of new millennium due to two reasons, namely, the changing character of monarchy and the growing intensity of the Maoist insurgency.

**Current Issues on India-Nepal Relations**

**Context**
- Nepal and China finalized the protocol of their Transit and Transport deal.
- Nepal declined to attend BIMSTEC military exercise (MILEX 2018) hosted by India.

**Brief background of relationship**
- India and Nepal share a very special relationship with each other. They share a common culture and terrain south of the Himalaya. Bound by languages and religions, marriage and mythology, the links of their civilizational contacts run through both the countries.
- At the people to people level, relations between India and Nepal are closer and more multifaceted than between India and any other country.
- Republic of India and Nepal began their formal relationship with the 1950 Indo-Nepal treaty of Peace and Friendship. This treaty is the cornerstone of our current relation with Nepal.

**Significance of Nepal Strategic relations**
- Nepal's geographical location is unique such that it is a natural buffer between India and China.
- Since Nepal is a landlocked country it greatly depends on India for its interaction with the outside world.

**Political relations**
- Nepal shares a special relationship with India historically.
- India has a Treaty of peace and friendship with Nepal since 1950.
- This treaty is instrumental for a close cooperation between the two countries.
- India has always considered South Asia to be its sphere of influence.

**India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship-1950**

The 1950 India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship is a bilateral pact between the Government of Nepal and Government of India aimed at establishing a close strategic relationship between the two South Asian neighbours. The treaty was inked at Kathmandu on July 31, 1950 by then Prime Minister of Nepal Mohan Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana and the then Indian ambassador to Nepal, Chadreshwar Narayan Singh. The treaty permits free movement of people and goods between the two countries and a close relationship and collaboration on matters of defence and foreign affairs.

**Cultural relations**
- India and Nepal share a common culture and have a long history of people to people relationship.
Nepali and Indian people visit each other’s country for religious pilgrimage. Pashupati and Janakpur are traditional centres in Nepal whereas Varanasi and the four Dhaams are important pilgrimage destination in India.

The Buddhist network is interlinked -- Lumbini is in Nepal, while Kushinagar, Gaya and Sarnath are in India.

It is said that India and Nepal have ‘Roti-Beti ka Rishta’ (ties of food and family).

**Areas of Cooperation**

1. **Trade and Economic**
   - India is Nepal’s largest trade partner and the largest source of foreign investments, besides providing transit for almost the entire trade which Nepal has with other countries.

2. **Indian Investment in Nepal**
   - Indian firms are the leading investors in Nepal, accounting for about 40% of the total approved foreign direct investments.

3. **Water Resources and Energy cooperation**
   - A three-tier mechanism established in 2008, to discuss all bilateral issues relating to cooperation in water resources and hydropower.

   - Nepal has many fast flowing rivers and its terrain makes it ideal for hydroelectric power generation. Nepal's installed capacity is less than 700 MW while it has a potential to generate over 80,000 MW.

   - A 900 megawatts hydropower project Arun III has been launched recently.

   - An Agreement on “Electric Power Trade, Cross-border Transmission Interconnection and Grid Connectivity” was signed between India and Nepal in 2014.

4. **Defense Cooperation**
   - The Gorkha Regiments of the Indian Army are raised partly by recruitment from hill districts of Nepal.

   - Since 1950, India and Nepal have been awarding Army Chiefs of each other with the honorary rank of General.

   - Bilateral defense cooperation includes assistance to Nepal Army in its modernization through provision of equipment and training.

   - About 250 training slots are provided every year for training of Nepal Army personnel in various Indian Army Training institutions.

   - India and Nepal conducted a joint military exercise, Surya Kiran XIII from May 30 to June 12 in Uttarakhand this year.

5. **Infrastructure and Connectivity**
   - India provides development assistance to Nepal, focusing on creation of infrastructure at the grass-root level.

   - Recently a MoU was signed on Raxaul-Kathmandu railway line. A postal highway project is also being undertaken.

   - Both the countries are also focused on inland waterways connectivity.

6. **People to People cooperation**
   - The Governments of India and Nepal have signed three sister-city agreements for twinning of Kathmandu-Varanasi, Lumbini-Bodhgaya and Janakpur-Ayodhya.

   - Direct bus service between Janakpur and Ayodhya under Ramayana Circuit under Swadesh Darshan Scheme was launched.
Nepal and India share Hindu and Buddhist heritage. Lumbini, the birth place of Lord Buddha is in Nepal while Bodh Gaya where he attained enlightenment is in India. Similarly the hindu pilgrimage places are also spread in both countries.

**Challenges**

1. **Border issues:**
   - The two major areas of dispute at Susta and Kalapani (India-China-Nepal tri-junction).
   - Countries agreed to start talks at the foreign secretary-level in order to resolve the problem, however, only a single round of talk has taken place in 2015.

2. **Internal Security**
   - There is an open border between India and Nepal which leads to illegal migration and human trafficking.
   - Indo-Nepal border is used as launch pad by maoist, terrorist and drug traffickers.

3. **Trade**
   - Nepal’s trade deficit with India has surged in recent years with continuously rising imports and sluggish exports.
   - The current deficit in trade with India is 689.85 billion in Nepali Rupee. The country earned Rs 42.46 billion from its exports to India while paying the import bills worth Rs 732.31 billion.
   - Indo-Nepal trade continues to remain massively in India's favor.

4. **Peace and friendship treaty**
   - The India-Nepal treaty of 1950 has been criticized by the Nepali political elite as an unequal one.
   - Treaty obliged Nepal to inform India and seek its consent for the purchases of military hardware from third countries. Nepal wants to change this provision.
   - The Nepal-India Eminent Persons’ Group (EPG) is revisiting all bilateral agreements to submit a comprehensive report to both governments on how to reset bilateral relations.

5. **Nepal's growing proximity to China**
   - Nepal's attempt to balance the overwhelming presence of India next door by reaching out to China is resented by India as such actions heighten India's security concerns.
   - Chinese are building a number of highways from the Tibetan side into Nepal, all the way down to East-West highway that traverses Nepal.
   - China plans to extend the Tibet railway to Kathmandu across the border in the next few years.
   - Nepal signed the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) Framework agreement with China last year.
   - China is trying to contest Indian interests by cultivating local interest groups that could advance China's interests in Nepal.

**Activity**

Give two reasons why King Gyanendra refused to accept the transition from a feudal autocracy and monarch to a democratic republic.

**Transit and Transport deal**

Nepal and China finalized the Protocol of Transit and Transport deal. As per
the agreement Nepal can access four ports and three dry ports paving way for the use of Chinese ports for trade. This will reduce Nepal’s dependency on India for its trade.

- These and other road and railway projects between China and Nepal will allow China to potentially project power against India on a different section of the Sino-Indian boundary.

- According to the Transit and Transport Agreement between Nepal and China, Nepalese traders can use rail or road to access seaports.
- China to give permit to trucks and containers ferrying Nepal bound cargo to and from Xigatse in Tibet.
- Nepal to access Chinese territory from six check points.

**ROADBLOCKS**

- Distance an issue as nearest Chinese port is more than 2,000km away from Nepal.
- Traders say lack of proper roads and customs infrastructure on the Nepalese side is a challenge.

**Why China cannot replace India vis-à-vis Nepal?**

- India has an advantage of geography on its side. Chinese rail and port connectivity projects are not very feasible owing to the difficult terrain.
- The nearest Chinese ports will be close to 3000 km away while Kolkata and Visakhapatnam ports, which Nepal currently uses are much more closer.

### 10.7 India – Bhutan Relations

India shares a special relation with Bhutan. Being a land locked country, Bhutan is dependent on India for most of its products and financial support and India on its part has been providing all possible support. This makes both the countries ideal example for good neighbourly relations.

Diplomatic relations between India and Bhutan was established in 1968 with the appointment of a resident representative of India in Thimpu. Before this India’s relations with Bhutan were looked after by the Political Officer in Sikkim.

On India’s initiative, Bhutan has become a member of the Colombo Plan in 1965, joined Universal Postal service in 1969 and finally India sponsored Bhutan’s membership in 1971. Bhutan’s relations with the NAM (Non-Aligned Movement) countries is yet another initiative of India.
Timeline of events:

1. **Treaty of Punaksha** (1910): Bhutan become protectorate state of British India. It means Bhutan to have internal autonomy and not external autonomy.

   - The treaty is termed as the continuation of the Anglo-Bhutanese Treaty of 1910. It treats the Himalayas as the sentinel of India's security.
   - Prime Minister Nehru, 1958
     “Some may think that since India is a great and powerful country and Bhutan a small one, the former might wish to exercise pressure on Bhutan. It is, therefore, essential that I make it clear to you that our only wish is that you should remain an independent country, choosing your own way of life, and taking the path of progress according to your will. At the same time, we two should live with mutual goodwill. We are members of the same Himalayan family and should live as friendly neighbours helping each other. Freedom of both Bhutan and India should be safeguarded so that none from outside can do harm to it.

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

   - Revised treaty (2007)
     - On request of Bhutan, India revised treaty of friendship and cooperation.
     - It has been suggested that the revised one modifies India’s role from guiding partner to a close friend and equal partner.
     - Under the revised norms Bhutan no longer require India's approval over importing arms.
     - There are no limitations for Bhutan with respect to other countries, but it cannot use its territory for activities against India’s security threat.

3. **India-Bhutan trade and transit Agreement (1972)**: It provides for duty-free transit of Bhutanese exports to third countries.

   - **Treaty of Cooperation in Hydropower and Protocol (2006)**: Under this, India has agreed to assist Royal government of Bhutan in developing a minimum of 10,000 MW of hydropower and import the surplus electricity from this to India by the year 2020.

**Areas of cooperation**

**Hydropower Cooperation**

- India has constructed three hydroelectric projects (HEPs) in Bhutan totaling 1416 MW (336 MW Chukha HEP, 60 MW Kurichhu HEP and 1020 MW Tala HEP).
- Hydropower exports provide more than 40% of Bhutan’s domestic revenues and constitute 25% of its GDP.
- Presently, there are three Inter-Government (IG) model HEPs-1200 MW PanatSangchhu-I, 1020 MW Panat Sangchhu-II, and 720 MW Mangdechhu under construction.

**Security Cooperation**

- Both the countries have conducted joint military operation against insurgents.
The most notable was in 2004 when the Royal Bhutanese army conducted operations against ULFA (United Liberation Front of Assam).

**Diplomatic Cooperation**
- Regular visits between highest level Government functionaries of both the countries have become a tradition. For example, in 2014, our Prime Minister chose Bhutan as his first country to visit after getting elected.
- India sends foreign service officers to Bhutan to maintain good diplomatic relations.
- Bhutan is a founding member of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). It is also a member of BIMSTEC, World Bank, the IMF, Group of 77 and others.

**Economic Cooperation**
- Bhutanese currency is Ngultrum (Nu.) and is officially pegged to the Indian Rupee (Rs.).
- India remains the single largest trading partner of Bhutan.
- In 2016 a new trade agreement was signed. This agreement aims at cutting down the documentation related to trade and establishing additional trading points in Bhutan.
- India also offers duty free transit to Bhutan for trade with third countries.

**Educational and Cultural cooperation**
- Many Bhutanese students pursue undergraduate courses in Indian universities on self-financing basis.
- India-Bhutan foundation was established in 2003 for improving people to people cooperation in the areas of culture, education and environment protection.

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**Gross Nations Happiness**

The fourth King of Bhutan King Jigme Singye Wangchuck coined the phrase “Gross Nations Happiness” in 1972 and declared that is more important than GDP.

**Areas of Contentions**
- The Motor Vehicles Agreement that was signed in 2015 involving Bangladesh, Bhutan, India and Nepal (BBIN) was blocked by Bhutan’s upper house citing environmental concerns.
- Growing and unsustainable trade imbalance is in favor of India. Bhutan’s trade deficit is set to worsen as India’s Good and Services Tax (GST) makes its exports to Bhutan cheaper and imports from Bhutan more expensive.
- Bhutan wants to increase its export power tariff to India as it is lesser than the cost of production.
- Bhutan has been taken as safe haven by insurgent elements like National Democratic Front for Bodoland (NDFB), United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) militants and Kamtapur Liberation Organization (KLO) that often pose threat to internal peace and security in the northeast region of India.

**Doklam Issue**

Doklam, or Donglang in China, is an area spread over less than a 100 sq km comprising a plateau and a valley at the trijunction between India, Bhutan and China. It is surrounded by the Chumbi Valley of Tibet, Bhutan’s Ha Valley and Sikkim.

Despite several rounds of engagement between China and Bhutan, the dispute between the two over Doklam has not been resolved. It flared up in 2017 when the Chinese were trying to construct a road in the area,
and Indian troops, in aid of their Bhutanese counterparts, objected to it resulting in the stand-off. Doklam is strategically located close to the Siliguri corridor, which connects mainland India with its north-eastern region. The corridor, also called Chicken’s Neck, is a vulnerable point for India. In recent years however, China has been beefing up its military presence in the Chumbi Valley, where the Chinese are at a great disadvantage militarily. Both Indian and Bhutanese troops are on a higher ground around the Valley.

**Issue with Hydropower projects**
- Bhutan supplies power to India at very cheap rate.
- Bhutan alleged that India wanted greater role in management on joint venture Hydro projects in Bhutan.
- Cross Border Trade of Electricity (CBTE) issued by power ministry will establish the monopoly of India being Bhutan's sole power market. It restricts the type of hydro power investments that could be made in Bhutan.
- Hydro power plants are also attached with certain environmental concerns.

**Steps taken to boost relations**
- There is a frequent visit of state heads to boost the bilateral relations.
- India announced assistance for establishment of an E-Project covering all the 20 districts of Bhutan.
- The Prime Minister coined the idea of B2B as 'Bharat to Bhutan' for building effective and renewed bilateral relationship.
- Bhutan recently become the largest beneficiary of India's foreign aid.
- A 1,000 strong Indian Military Training Team (IMTRAT) is permanently based in western Bhutan to train the Royal Bhutan Army, while other units regularly cooperate with the Royal Bhutan Army.

**Way Ahead**
1. India–Bhutan relationship is like ‘milk and water’. They cannot be separated. Therefore India should leave no stone unturned to maintain good relations with Bhutan.
2. India needs to complete some of the hydropower projects that were delayed due to lack of funds.
3. India has a very good relationship with Bhutan whereas China has many border disputes with Bhutan. This relationship and goodwill must be maintained to counter China’s strategic calculations in Bhutan and the region.
4. India needs to augment the connectivity of Bhutan and its North Eastern states for the region’s economic development.
5. India needs to combine the Gross National Happiness of Bhutan with its own economic development to maintain a shared prosperity and relationship between the two countries.
10.8 India – Myanmar Relations

India – Myanmar (formerly known as Burma) relations goes back to 2500 years. For the Burmese, Buddhist connections binds both India and Burma together. According to the legend of Shwedagon Pagoda – the heart of the temple is on the buried strands of Lord Buddha’s hair gifted by him to two Burmese merchants. It’s this belief that made King Ashoka to build pagodas in Burma and also for the spread of Buddhism.

Every Burmese Buddhist wish is to come to India at least once in their lifetime and offer prayers in Bodh Gaya. Long before both nations became independent states, diverse indigenous population living in the border areas, mainly Mizos, Nagas, Kukis, Tangkhul and Paite, enjoyed close familial, linguistic, religious and cultural ties. It’s only after the arrival of British were the borders demarcated and the emergence of two different nations.

Ethnic Composition

The defence of Burma is in fact the defence of India and it is India’s primary concern no less than Burma’s to see that its frontiers remain inviolate. In fact, no responsibility can be considered too heavy for India when it comes to the question of defending Myanmar.

- K. M Panikkar

Modern Era

The Historical close relations between Myanmar and India found it’s low point during the British rule when the Indians had to face resentment amongst the Burmese as the Indian soldiers (under the British Army) fought against the BIA (Burma Independence Army). Burma always perceived that Indian officers and staff functioned as tools of the British colonial regime.

Introduction

India shares a long land border of over 1600 Km with Myanmar as well as a maritime boundary in the Bay of Bengal. Four north-eastern states viz. Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram share boundary with Myanmar.

These geo-strategic realities encompass our broader interests in the Indian Ocean region. Both countries share a heritage of religious, linguistic and ethnic ties.

Further, Myanmar is the only ASEAN country adjoining India and, therefore, our gateway to South East Asia with which we are seeking greater economic integration through India’s ‘Look East’ and now ‘Act East’ policy. Business opportunities that emerge from a surging economy in Myanmar also provide new vistas for engagement.

Why is Myanmar important for India?

1) Geo-strategic Location

This is one of the most important factors in determining diplomatic ties with other countries.

Myanmar is located south of the states of Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh in Northeast India. The India-Myanmar border stretches over 1,600 kilometers.
With the expansionist policy of China and growing insurgency in North East states of India, it is very important for India that neighbors like Bangladesh and Myanmar cooperate with India on issues regarding border-infiltration, money laundering, human trafficking and penetrating drug and fake currency through porous land borders shared with them.

2) **India’s Look East Policy**

India’s Look East policy represents its efforts to cultivate extensive economic and strategic relations with the nations of Southeast Asia in order to bolster its standing as a regional power and a counterweight to the strategic influence of the People’s Republic of China.

Two highways involving Myanmar play a vital role in improving connectivity in the South East Asian region.

3) **India-Myanmar-Thailand Friendship Highway**

India and Myanmar have agreed to a 4-lane, 3200 km triangular highway connecting India, Myanmar and Thailand. The route will run from India’s northeastern states into Myanmar, where over 1,600 km of roads will be built or improved. This is expected to be completed by April 2021.

4) **Access to North-east**

The Kaladan Multi-modal Transit Transport Project will connect the eastern Indian seaport of Kolkata with Sittwe seaport in Myanmar by sea; it will then link Sittwe seaport to Lashio in Myanmar via Kaladan river boat route and then from Lashio on to Mizoram in India by road transport.

**Various Aspects of India – Myanmar Relationship**

**Defence and Security Cooperation**

1. It has strengthened over the years. Exchange of high-level visits, signing of MoU on border cooperation, training army, air force and naval staff are important indicators in this direction.

2. Myanmar side has provided assurances at the highest levels that it will cooperate with India in taking necessary action in preventing the use of Myanmar territory for anti-India activity.

**Commercial Cooperation**

1. A bilateral Trade Agreement was signed in 1970. Bilateral trade has been growing steadily to reach US$2178.44 million (2016-17), of which Indian exports amounted to US$1111.19 million and Indian’s imports to US$1067.25 million.

2. India is the fifth largest trading partner of Myanmar but trade remains below potential.
Activity

Courtesy: The Hindu cartoon

After more than half a century, Myanmar has finally got a democratically elected government, with a civilian at the helm. But Myanmar’s military retains a quarter of the seats in Parliament and the power to nominate the three most important ministers: Defence, Home Affairs, and Border Affairs.

As a class discuss whether this power-sharing arrangement in Myanmar is healthy for the democracy?

3. India’s exports to Myanmar include sugar ($424 million), pharmaceuticals ($184 million), etc. Border trade via Moreh and Zawkhatar reached to $87.89 million;

4. India is presently the tenth largest investor with an approved investment of US$ 740.64 million by 25 Indian companies (as of 30 Jun 2017).

5. Most India’s investments have been in oil & gas sector. 100% FDI is allowed in select sectors. Indian companies have evinced interest in investing in Myanmar and major contracts have been won by Indian companies.

6. Besides normal trade, both sides have also taken steps to bolster trade across the land border. Cooperation in the banking sector is crucial for investment and trade. United Bank of India signed banking agreements with banks of Myanmar (MFTB, MICB, MEB, and 9 private banks) to facilitate bilateral trade

7. Myanmar is an important partner in our energy relations with other countries in the region.

Development Cooperation

- India is committed to provide grant-in-aid amounting to almost Rs 4000 crore (of total commitment of approx. US$ 1726 million).
- Assistance in setting up institutions for higher learning and research

Culture relations

India and Myanmar share close cultural ties and a sense of deep kinship given India’s Buddhist heritage. Building on this shared heritage India is undertaking some key initiatives:

1. Restoration of the Ananda Temple in Bagan

2. GOI donation of a 16 foot replica of the Sarnath Buddha Statue which has been installed at the premises of Shwedagon pagoda in Yangon.

3. The ‘Samvad-II’ Interfaith dialogue was held on 6-7 August 2017, Yangon.

4. ICCR and Sitagu International Buddhist Academy organised an International Conference on Buddhist Cultural Heritage

5. India has responded to Myanmar’s interest in restoring and renovating two historic temples in Bodh Gaya built by Myanmar rulers King Mindon and King Baygyidaw. These temples and inscriptions will now be restored with the assistance of the Archaeological Survey of India as a bilateral friendship project.
Indian diaspora

1. The origin of the Indian community in Myanmar is traced to the mid-19th century with the advent of the British rule in Lower Burma in 1852.
2. The two cities Yangon and Mandalay had a dominating presence of Indians in civil services, education, trade and commerce during the British rule.

Bilateral Cooperation in Regional/Sub-regional context

ASEAN: As the only ASEAN country which shares a land border with India, Myanmar is a bridge between India and ASEAN.

BIMSTEC: Myanmar is a signatory to the BIMSTEC Free Trade Agreement. Myanmar is the lead country for the energy sector. Myanmar trades mostly with Thailand and India in the BIMSTEC region. Myanmar's major exports to India are agricultural products like beans, pulses and maize and forest products such as teak and hardwoods. Its imports from India include chemical products, pharmaceuticals, electrical appliances and transport equipment.

Mekong Ganga Cooperation: Myanmar is a member of the Mekong Ganga Cooperation (MGC) since its inception in November 2000. MGC is an initiative by six countries – India and five ASEAN countries namely, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam – for cooperation in the fields of tourism, education, culture, transport and communication. The chairmanship of MGC is assumed by member countries in alphabetical order.

SAARC: Myanmar was given the status of observer in SAARC in August 2008.

Conclusion

1. In India, we often say Myanmar is our “gateway” to the East. Against the rhetoric, the existing connectivity between the two neighbours remains much to be desired. With long land and maritime boundaries, the neighbours are yet to take full advantage of geography.
2. Historically, India has been a major player in Myanmar's socio-economic landscape till the 1960s. The advent of military dictatorship and its economic policies reduced India's interactions with Myanmar.
3. As the political transition in Myanmar picks up momentum, it provides an excellent opportunity to explore new avenues of cooperation.

10.9 India – Maldives Relations

The archipelago of Maldives consists of 1192 islands of which roughly 200 islands are inhabited with an estimated population of 430,000 and 80 islands with tourist resorts. The capital Male is the hot seat of Maldives' power and is also the most populated Island. Being a completely Sunni Muslim country with a liberal following, Islam is the only state religion and practising of other religions are strictly private affairs within the homes.
The first state level visit was in 1974 when Prime Minister Mr Ahmed Zaki of Maldives made an official visit to India.

India - Maldives formal relations began with the declaration of Maldivian independence in November 1965. India was the third country to recognise Maldives. After which there has been frequent visits by the leaders of both countries. Most of these visits have benefited Maldives economically.

This cordial relationship continued even during President Nasheed tenure. President Nasheed’s maiden international trip after coming to power was to India in 2008. During this visit, India promised a $100 million loan to improve the tourism industry in Maldives. Since then there have been frequent visits by officials and President Nasheed to New Delhi until 2012 when President Nasheed was overthrown in a bloodless coup.

**Background**

- India and Maldives share ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious and commercial links and enjoy cordial and multi-dimensional relations. India was among the first to recognise Maldives after its independence in 1965 and to establish diplomatic relations with the country.
- As per India’s “Neighborhood First Policy,” India “stands ready to fully support the Government of Maldives in its socio-economic development” and the Maldivian government has reiterated its

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**10 REASONS WHY MALDIVES IS IMPORTANT FOR INDIA**

1. Strategically located in the Indian Ocean, Maldives archipelago comprising 1200 coral islands lies next to key shipping lanes which ensure uninterrupted energy supplies to countries like China, Japan and India.

2. Since China started to send naval ships to Indian Ocean roughly 10 years ago – and right up to Gulf of Aden for anti-piracy operations – Maldives’ significance has steadily grown and now its at the heart of international geopolitics.

3. As the pre-eminent South Asian power and a ‘net security provider’ in the Indian Ocean region, India needs to cooperate with Maldives in security and defence sectors.

4. China’s massive economic presence in Maldives is a major concern for India. With the country now said to owe 70% of its external aid to China, India had to push back. The current political crisis might just have offered India the right opportunity.

5. A large section of population which supports the opposition parties like Nasheed’s MDP wants India to act against Yameen.

6. Maldives is also a member of SAARC. It is important for India to have Maldives on board to maintain its leadership in the region. Maldives was the only SAARC country which seemed reluctant to follow India’s call for boycott of SAARC summit in Pakistan after the Uri attack.

7. Under Yameen, radicalization grew rapidly and it was often said that the archipelago accounted for one of the highest numbers of foreign fighters in Syria in terms of per capita. India can ill-afford a neighbor which fails to check Islamic radicalization.

8. India and Maldives share ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious and commercial links. India was among the first to recognize Maldives after its independence in 1965 and later established its mission at Male in 1972.

9. There are 25,000 Indian nationals living in Maldives (second largest expatriate community), Indian tourists also account for close to 6% of tourists Maldives receives every year.

10. India is also preferred destination for Maldivians for education, medical treatment, recreation and business. According to MEA, more and more Maldivians are seeking long term visa for pursuing higher studies/medical treatment in India.
In 1988 a group of 80-200 Sri Lankan militants from the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), backed by Maldivian businessman Abdulla Luthufi, mounted a coup in the Maldives in November 1988. After infiltrating the country’s capital of Male, the militants spread out and seized key areas in the city in an attempt to overthrow the then President Abdul Gayoom. Gayoom, however, escaped, taking refuge in the Maldives National Security Service headquarters.

President Abdul Gayoom reached out to a number of nations, including India, Pakistan, the United States, Britain, Malaysia, Sri Lanka and other states. The US and Britain, after talks, decided they wouldn’t intervene directly, but said they would coordinate a response with India. Under the guidance of then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, India responded with an overwhelming speed and efficiency.

Indian Troops were in the Maldives within hours of receiving the message from President Gayoom. At 15:30 hours on 3 November 1988, India approved the dispatch of troops to the Maldives. Troops were deployed in one swift motion. Less than 16 hours since President Gayoom’s SOS call, Indian paratroopers were en route, leaving from the Agra Air Force Station on an Ilyushin Il-76 aircraft. After a journey covering over 2,500 kilometres, the aircraft of the 44 Squadron of the Indian Air Force landed at Hulhule Airport. Barely a kilometre from the besieged capital, the troops quickly began their advance into the capital.

While the PLOTE militants seized many key points across the city, the one area they had forgotten to keep an eye on was Hulhule Airport. With no one keeping watch over this point of entry, Indian troops landed, and quickly took control of the airport. They then made their way into the capital using commandeered boats and rescued President Gayoom, driving out the militants.

The mission was concluded with no casualties to the Indian side. Operation Cactus was testimony to the fact that India could play a role in ensuring security in Asia. India’s swift, decisive action was hailed by the international community, ranging from US President Ronald Reagan to Margaret Thatcher.

“India First” policy to work closely with the government of India on all issues.

**Maldives importance to India: Security**

- **Geostategic Location:** Maldives is located just 700 km from the strategic Lakshadweep island chain and 1,200 km from the Indian mainland, and the growing Chinese presence in the archipelago could have serious security implications.

- **Indian Ocean Region hegemony:** Chinese heavy presence in Maldives would have given China an opportunity
and a base to influence and control the Indian Ocean region. Also, the energy supplies coming from Gulf nations to India pass through this area.

- **Regional imbalance:** India enjoys unparalleled access and influence in many of the Indian Ocean island states, including the Maldives, Seychelles, and Mauritius which has been a problem for China. China-Maldives bonhomie can act as a counter to Indian influence in the region.

**Economic relations**

- **Indian expatriates:** There are about 25,000 Indian expatriates in Maldives who are engaged in a number of professional pursuits and their security is also of prime concern for India.
- **Blue economy:** Maldives plays an integral role in realising the potential of Indian Ocean blue economy as a contributor to the security and sustainable development of sea resources.
- **Tourism:** India and Maldives see regular tourist visits between the two and Indian tourists also account for close to 6% of tourists Maldives receives each year.
- **Health:** India is a preferred destination for Maldives citizens seeking health services, which boosts Indian healthcare sector.

**Political relations**

- **Political chaos:** Uncertainty in Maldives could prove a fertile breeding ground for extremism and religious fundamentalism, smuggling and drug trafficking. Islamic State (IS) and Lashkar-e-Taiba are also reported to have established bases in Maldives.

**SAARC factor**

- SAARC has a special importance for India because it includes all of India's neighbors but China. Of late, China has been creating inroads into SAARC countries which is reducing India's influence in the bloc, for example Pakistan's CPEC, China's Hambantota port etc. and Maldives could be China's next destination.

**Recent development in India-Maldives relations:** India and Maldives relations have seen many ups and downs caused by changing political situations in both countries and some external factors. During Maldivian Presidential elections in 2013 Abdulla Yameen defeated Mohamed Nasheed to become the President. During Yameen's term, Maldives relations with India deteriorated while its closeness with China increased, which is highlighted by:

- Cancellation of GMR project, 2012: Maldives annulled the $500 million contract with GMR Group to develop a modern International Airport near Male, which was given to a Chinese company.
- Cancellation of Indian PM's trip, 2015: Due to turbulent political situation in Maldives, Indian PM cancelled his trip to Maldives.
- China Maldives FTA, 2017: China and Maldives signed an FTA, which is China's second FTA with a South Asian country after Pakistan, while there is no FTA between India and Maldives.
- Joint patrolling with Pakistan, 2018: During Pakistan's Army Chief’s visit, Maldives announced joint patrolling with Pak Navy to guard Maldivian Exclusive Economic Zone, with an indirect reference to a perceived threat from India.

During all these negative developments in Maldives, India responded with patience and composure, trying to revive relations diplomatically. However, the election of Solih in 2018, as the new President...
of Maldives has caused a thaw in India-Maldives relations which can be gauged by:

- Despite opposition from Indian Ocean Rim Association, India convinced IORA Committee for Senior Officials in favour of Male, following which Maldives was inducted as the newest member of IORA recently.
- Maldives has asked India for a Dornier aircraft and the MEA has responded positively to its request.
- Maldives’ new government has decided to pull out of the free trade agreement (FTA) with China, realizing the one-sided nature of the FTA.

**Concerns between India and Maldives**

- **Chinese inroads**: Chinese infrastructure projects in Maldives directly compete with Indian infrastructure companies’ business prospects.
- **China Maldives FTA**: An FTA with China would have raised the issue of diverting Chinese products into India through Maldives. Maldivian government has not cleared its stand on future Chinese investments yet and may continue to engage deeply with China.
- **Low bilateral trade**: Bilateral trade between both, which stands at US $200 million annually, is quite low.

India’s relations with Maldives began to improve with the Presidential elections in 2018. Ibrahim Solih’s electoral victory has opened a new chapter in the India – Maldives relations. Prime Minister Modi attended the Solih’s swearing-in ceremony and affirmed India’s commitment to peace and friendship with Maldives. The President of the Republic of Maldives, H.E. Mr Ibrahim Mohamed Solih, State Visit to India from 16-18 December 2018, keeping India first policy is yet another opportunity for both counties to come together for a closer relationship. As a step towards furthering closer relations between both countries, India promised $1.4 billion financial assistance package for socio-economic development of the island nation.

**Way forward**: Recent change in the attitude of Maldivian government is an opportune moment for India to redraw bilateral relations between both by helping Maldives to resuscitate its economy. Some major area of confidence building are

- Investment cooperation with Maldives should be enhanced by establishing an advisory cell to guide all stake-holders i.e. Indian missions overseas and prospective Indian investors, to delineate touchy areas and risky investments, with full knowledge of the local conditions.
- ‘Free-purse’ policy of aid to Maldives is needed if India wants to offset Chinese big-ticket investments in Maldives.
- India must enhance anti-terrorism cooperation and intensify cooperation in the areas of training and capacity building of the Maldives National Defense Force and the Maldives Police Service.
- A regular bilateral security dialogue amongst the officials of both sides should be instituted to expand the scope of security cooperation. This should be supplemented by Track-II and Track-1.5 dialogues.
- While dealing with smaller neighbors like Maldives, India needs to become a lot more magnanimous, staying true to its own “Gujral Doctrine,” thus creating greater confidence.
- The SAARC and IORA can provide a platform to work on lingering concerns. Moreover, India, Maldives and Sri Lanka can explore ways to strengthen trilateral mechanisms to address these issues.
10.10 Recent Innovations in Foreign Policy

Gujral Doctrine of Reciprocity

The Gujral Doctrine is a set of five principles to guide the conduct of foreign relations with India’s immediate neighbours as spelt out by I.K. Gujral, first as India’s foreign minister and later as the Prime Minister. Among other factors, these five principles arise from the belief that India’s stature and strength cannot be divorced from the quality of its relations with its neighbours. It, thus, recognises the supreme importance of friendly, cordial relations with neighbours. These principles are:

- First, with neighbours like Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka, India does not ask for reciprocity, but gives and accommodates what it can in good faith and trust;
- Second, no South Asian country should allow its territory to be used against the interest of another country in the region;
- Third, no country should interfere in the internal affairs of another;
- Fourth, all South Asian countries must respect each other’s territorial integrity and sovereignty; and,
- Finally, they should settle all their disputes through peaceful bilateral negotiations.

According to Gujral, these five principles, scrupulously observed, will recast South Asia’s regional relationship, including the tormented relationship between India and Pakistan, in a friendly, cooperative mould.

The key differences between “Look East Policy” and “Act East Policy”

The focus of the “Look East Policy” was to increase economic integration with the South East Asian countries and the area was just confined to South East Asia only. On the other hand the focus of the “Act East Policy” is economic and security integration and focussed area increased to South East Asia plus East Asia.

The Objective of “Act East Policy” is to;

1. Promote economic cooperation, cultural ties and develop strategic relationship with countries in the Asia-Pacific region through continuous engagement at regional, bilateral and multilateral levels.
2. To increase the interaction of the North-Eastern Indian states with other neighbouring countries.
3. To find out the alternatives of the traditional business partners like; more focus on the Pacific countries in addition to the South East Asian countries.
“Look East Policy” of India

Look East Policy of India was launched by the former Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao in 1991. The main focus of this policy was to shift the country’s trading focus from the west and neighbours to the booming South East Asian countries. The NDA government in the centre upgraded this policy as the “Act East Policy” at the East Asia Summit held in Myanmar in November 2014.

What is Neighbourhood first policy?

- It is part of India’s foreign policy that actively focuses on improving ties with India’s immediate neighbours which is being termed as Neighbourhood first policy in the media.
- It was started well by inviting all heads of state/heads of government of South Asian countries during the inauguration of Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s first term and later held bilateral talks with all of them individually which was dubbed as a mini SAARC summit.
- Prime Minister made his first foreign visit to Bhutan in his first term.

Glossary

- MOU: Memorandum of understanding between two or more nations which further strengthen the policies economic cultural or other relations.
- NWFP: Federally administered province in India during British rule.
- Diplomacy: It is an Institution or concept which enthuse relations among nation.
- WTO: World Trade Organization is a trade organization to formulate economic and trade policies between the nations of the world.
- SAARC: South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation is a regional organization for strengthening cooperation among the countries in South Asia.
- Trust Deficit: it is the diplomatic factor concerned with the strained relations between Nations.
- NAM: Non-Aligned Movement is an organization established by third world countries to keep themselves neutral.
- SPDC: State Peace and Development Council is an official name of Military Government of Burma.
- Bretton Woods System: It established the rules for commercial and financial relations among the world.
- Super Power: Super power countries are economically and militarily advanced.
I. Choose the correct answer

1. Act East policy was initiated by
   a) Narendra Modi   b) Indira Gandhi
   c) Narasimha rao   d) Rajiv Gandhi

2. India Sent IPKF to
   a) Bangladesh       b) Maldives
   c) Srilanka         d) Mynnmar

3. Who is the architect of Modern India?
   a) M.N.Roy            b) B.R.Ambedkar
   c) Jawaharlal Nehru   d) Raja Ram Mohan Roy

4. Kacchativu is in
   a) Srilanka          b) Burma
   c) Bhutan            d) Maldives

5. Who was the King of Kashmir during Indian Independence?
   a) Gurmeet Singh      b) Amarindu Singh
   c) Karan Singh        d) Hari Singh

6. India worked for Rehabilitation of ________country.
   a) Afghanistan        b) Venezuela
   c) Cuba               d) China

7. Simla Agreement signed by_______.
   a) Indira Gandhi      b) Jawaharlal Nehru
   c) Lalbahadur Shashtri d) V.P Singh

8. Shimla Agreement was between
   a) India-Pakistan     b) India-America
   c) India-Russia      d) None

9. 9/11 attack happened in
   a) USA                b) Pakistan
   c) Spain              d) India

10. UN was established in the year
    a) 1945              b) 1946
    c) 1919              d) 1944
11. Consider the following:

1) The focus of the “Look East Policy” was to increase economic integration with the South East Asian countries and the area was just confined to South East Asia only.

2) On the other hand the focus of the “Act East Policy” is economic and security integration and focussed area increased to South East Asia plus East Asia.

The codes
a) 1 alone correct       b) 2 alone correct
 c) Both 1 & 2 are correct d) Neither 1 nor 2 is correct

12. Match the following:

1. New constitution of Nepal - a) 2014
2. Act East Policy - b) 1988
3. Operation Cactus - c) 2007
4. Samjhauta Express bombings - d) 2015

1) d a b c       2) b d a c
3) c b a d       4) a d b c

13. The following question consists of two statements, one labeled the Assertion (A) and the other labeled as the Reason (R).

**Assertion:** India has been accused of being a big brother by its a South Asian neighbours. This has also been a lot of ups and down in India's relationship with most of its neighbours

**Reason:** Indi's South Asian neighbours have been suspicious about India's foreign policy of objectives since 1970’s.

**Codes:**
A) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A
B) Both A and R are true but R is not a correct explanation of A
C) A is true, but R is false
D) A is false, but R is true

II. Answer the following questions very shortly

1. Explain about Siaghen issue.
2. What is Fearakka Garrege issue?
3. Write the significance of India-Afghanistan relations.

III. Answer the following questions shortly

1. Examine India-Bhutan relations in brief.
2. Write a summary on Operation Cactus.
3. Write about India's Neighbourhood first policy.
IV. Answer the following questions in detail

1. Elaborate the Kashmir imbroglio between India and Pakistan
2. What is the India-China border conflict?
3. What are the areas of cooperation between India and Nepal?
4. Explain about “Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)” policy of China.
5. Write a note on Indo-Bangladesh relations in the 21st century.
6. Write the role of India in curbing out the menaces of terrorism.
7. What are the defence and security; and cultural cooperation between India and Myanmar?

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Web links

- https://blog.forumias.com/article/india-pakistan-relations
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- https://blog.forumias.com/article/india-nepal-relation
Learning Objectives

- To understand International organizations
- To trace the origin of International Organizations
- To enable the student to understand the background of the origin of United Nations
- To enable the student to understand the role of international organizations such as the United Nations and its various branches
- To make the students understand the role of International financial Institutions
- To import knowledge on the role of International Human Rights Organizations in protection and promotion of human rights

11.1 Introduction

When we think of international organizations, it is often considered as a twentieth century phenomenon that began with the establishment of the League of Nations in 1919. However, in the late nineteenth century, in order to deal with specific issues, nations had already established international organizations. Among them were the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), established in 1865 (originally called the International Telegraph Union), and the Universal Postal Union which was established in 1874. Both of these systems are today part of the United Nations system. The International Peace Conference held in The Hague in 1899 elaborated the instruments for settling crises peacefully preventing wars and codifying rules of warfare. It also adopted the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of international disputes and established the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) which began its work in 1902. The PCA served as the first medium for settling international disputes between countries and is the predecessor of the United Nations International Court of Justice (ICJ). The outbreak of World War I in August 1914, and the destruction that followed, exposed the limitations of these mechanisms. It was also followed by the end of an international system called the Concert of Europe that had prevented the continent from the scourge of war since the Napoleonic adventures a century earlier. Between the years 1914-18, Europe witnessed the worst human loss in its history where around twenty million people lost their lives. Empires collapsed (the Ottoman, the Austro-Hungarian and temporarily the Russian) and new nations such as Czechoslovakia, Estonia, and
Finland were born, radical revolutions took place in Russia and Germany. In other words, a new world order emerged.

11.2. League of Nations

President Wilson’s Fourteen Points (1918)

1. Open diplomacy
2. Freedom of the Seas
3. Removal of economic barriers
4. Reduction of armaments
5. Adjustment of colonial claims
6. Conquered territories in Russia
7. Preservation of Belgian sovereignty
8. Restoration of French territory
9. Redrawing of Italian frontiers
10. Division of Austria-Hungary
11. Redrawing of Balkan boundaries
12. Limitations on Turkey
13. Establishment of an independent Poland

Amidst the carnage, President Woodrow Wilson in January 1918, outlined his idea of the League of Nations which received widespread support given the utter devastation caused by World War I. For many the idea of an international organization seemed to be the answer for settling disputes before they escalated into military conflicts. Although the United States failed to join the League of Nations, President Woodrow Wilson chaired the Versailles Peace Conference’s commission on the establishment of an international organization. Wilson declared in a joint session of the U.S. Congress that:

“It is a definite guaranty of peace. It is a definite guaranty by word against aggression. It is a definite guaranty against the things which have just come near bringing the whole structure of civilization into ruin. Its purposes do not for a moment lie vague. Its purposes are declared, and its powers are unmistakable. It is not in contemplation that this should be merely a league to secure the peace of the world. It is a league which can be used for cooperation in any international matter.”

The League after being housed temporarily in London, commenced operation in the year 1920 in Geneva, Switzerland. Initially it had some success when it settled disputes between Finland and Sweden over Aland Islands, between Germany and Poland over Upper Silesia and between Iraq and Turkey over the city of Mosul. The League with some success alleviated the refugee crisis in Russia and combatted the international opium trade. The League acted as an umbrella organization for agencies such as the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the Permanent Court of International Justice and it later became a model for the future United Nations (UN).

The League of Nations was dominated by the victors of World War I that included France and Great Britain along with Japan and Italy as the other two permanent members of the League Council. There were twenty eight founding members who were represented in the General Assembly who were mostly from Europe and Latin America. The League of Nations was one that was Eurocentric. Virtually all of Africa, Asia and the Middle East were controlled by European imperial
powers. The League also established the mandate system to prepare natives of different regions for self-government and independence. However, it was short sighted and the mandates exploded only after the League ceased to exist. The reasons for the League of Nations to fail were multiple. The absence of the United States was a significant factor in rendering the League ineffectual. Its importance was further minimized when Germany and the Soviet Union who were briefly members had undermined the significance of the organization. Germany joined in 1926 and exited after the Nazis came to power in 1933. In the year 1933 Soviet Union entered the League and was expelled following their attack on Finland in 1939 which also made the USSR the only nation to be expelled from the League.

Japan left the League in 1933 following criticism by the league of its occupation of Manchuria and Italy too was equally dismissive of its membership obligations after its occupation of Ethiopia. These acts of aggression were not adequately countered by the League and the global economic crisis of 1930s certainly curbed the enthusiasm of others and more particularly France and Britain who were not willing to fight distant wars that would not have an immediate effect on their national security. They thus turned to the policy of appeasement which also failed.

In 1938 at the Munich Conference, Britain and France agreed to the dismantling of Czechoslovakia by agreeing to the addition of Sudetenland to Hitler’s Reich. Finally, Germany attacked Poland after concluding pact with the Soviet Union in 1939 which dashed all hopes that were placed on the League of Nations. The League of Nations was not capable of applying sufficient pressure on the aggressor nations as it could only impose verbal or economic sanctions against them and these methods failed to intervene militarily.

The League of Nations did not have authority beyond its member nations and this made it possible for countries suffering from the pressure of economic sanctions to trade with non-members and the economic crisis of 1930s also contributed to such trade practices. Additionally, since the League did not have an army of its own, military intervention meant that member states (France and Britain) would have to supply necessary troops.

Critical Debate

Topic: Why was the League of Nations unable to ensure World peace?

Following points can be discussed in the debate:

a. Dominated by European people.
b. Fails to oppose racial discrimination
c. Britain, France, Italy and Japan dominated the League.

However, neither country was interested in engaging in potentially costly conflicts in Africa or Asia. The League expelled the Soviet Union in 1939, and it was known widely that the League had failed and did not become what President Woodrow Wilson had hoped as a ‘definite guarantee of Peace’. Nevertheless, the onset of the Second World War made it clear there was a definite need for an international organization that would...
safeguard the world from yet another world war in the future. It was also unanimously that agreed that that a repetition of the League of Nations could not be allowed.

**Activity**

**Think-Pair-Share**

Do you think the American decision not to join the League was a major setback to the organisation?

### 11.3 The United Nations

Although the League of Nations did not succeed in its objectives, it however, ignited the dream for a universal organization that would work to preserve peace in the world. With the end of the Second World War which witnessed around 72 million casualties, the idea of the United Nations was born. World leaders who had collaborated to bring the war to an end felt a strong need for a mechanism that would ensure lasting peace and prevent future wars. It was also felt that this was possible only through a global organization where all nations would work together.

The name ‘United Nations’ was coined by the then United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt and was first officially used in 1942 when representatives from twenty six nations signed the Declaration by United Nations to continue to fight together against the axis powers in order to obtain just peace. Thus unlike the League of Nations, it began as an alliance that came into being soon after the United States’ entry into the war following the attack on Pearl Harbour by Japan and Germany’s declaration of war against the United States in December 1941. In August 1944, delegates from China, Soviet Union, United Kingdom and the United States, met in Dumbarton Oaks to draw the basic blueprint for the new International Organization and by October the outline of the United Nations Charter was ready.

### Four main purposes of the United Nations

- Military security
- Economic and social progress
- Upholding of human rights
- International justice.

Following the surrender of Germany in the year 1945, representatives from fifty countries met in San Francisco on June 26, 1945 and signed the Charter. With the conclusion of the Pacific war in October 24, 1945, the United Nations officially came into existence. While making the UN Charter, the drafters faced the same issue that the League of Nations faced which was to lay the foundation of an international organisation that would guarantee peace.

The basic dilemma remained unchanged – how to balance national
souverainty and international idealism? How could one draft a Charter that would effectively deal with the fact that some countries were more equal than others? How could one make sure that one country could not simply walk out when it did not like the decisions of the UN, as Japan had done earlier in the 1930s. The simple solution that the drafters came up with was the veto power. Veto power was granted to the five founding members of the UN – China, France, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union who are also known as the Permanent Five (P-5). Although the founders of the UN were keenly aware of the failures of the League of nations, most of its ideals constituted the core element of the UN Charter. Most evidently, the UN Charter and the League of Nations Covenant had promotion of international security and the peaceful settlement of disputes as its key goals, however, the Charter included two more elements that were also given importance.

Although it was reflected briefly in article 23 of the League of Nations Covenant, the UN Charter included social and economic progress into its key goals. The emphasis laid on social and economic progress was rooted in the inter-war years. Many saw the global economic crisis of the 1920s to the 1930s as the root cause of political upheavals that led to the rise of ultra nationalism and acts of aggression that resulted in the Second World War. Thus the UN was created to be an active participant in world affairs such as

(i) Military security,
(ii) Economic and social progress
(iii) Upholding of human rights and
(iv) International justice.

Activity -Group Discussion

New Directions For The United Nations

These are testing times for everyone. People everywhere live in growing anxiety and fear. There is near – universal loss of trust in institutions and leaders.

Amid such uncertainty, our future depends on a United Nations that brings together the countries of the world not only to talk and debate, but also to agree and to act; that mobilizes civil society, business, philanthropists, and ordinary citizens to help the world governments solve current problems; and that delivers peace, development, human rights, global public good and hope to people around the world every day.

Courtesy: New Directions for the UN, article by Former Secretary General of the United Nations.

Topic for Group Discussion: How successful has the United Nations been?
11.3.1 Structure of the United Nations

In 1945, the six major organs of the UN were (i) the General Assembly, (ii) The Security Council, (iii) Economic and Social Council (iv) Trusteeship Council, (v) International Court of Justice and (vi) the Secretariat. The Trusteeship Council became obsolete following the completion of the decolonization process which it oversaw. However, these organs constitute the basic superstructure of the UN. All organs of the UN meet regularly and members vote to make decisions, issue declarations and discuss issues that are of prime importance. Yet the functions of the organs differ significantly vis-à-vis each other. While the General Assembly is the Parliament of the UN, the Security Council is its executive committee, the secretariat is the operational body or the bureaucracy that runs the UN.

11.3.2 The General Assembly

The General Assembly is the main deliberative organ of the UN which is comprised of Member States and each one has a vote no matter its influence or size. Discussions often include issues arising under the UN Charter, decisions on international peace and security, admitting new member states and the UN budget is decided by two-thirds majority. It is based on the principle of one nation one vote. Resolutions taken by the General Assembly are only recommendations to the member states, but since they represent the views of majority of the world, it carries with it a heavy moral weight and often leads countries to join international agreements called treaties, conventions, protocols, etc., that ultimately has an
impact on the world. The General Assembly's sessions begin in September every year and most resolutions are made between September and December. Requests for special sessions may be initiated by the Security Council or if a majority of its members make a request. At the beginning of each regular session, the General Assembly has a two-week general debate in which heads of State present their views on a wide range of issues such as terrorism, war, poverty, hunger and disease. The work of the General Assembly is carried out by six committees:

### Six Main Committees of the General Assembly

- First Committee (Disarmament and International Security)
- Second Committee (Economic and Financial)
- Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural)
- Fourth Committee (Special Political and Decolonization)
- Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary)
- Sixth Committee (Legal).

### List of United Nations Peacekeeping Operation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Continent</th>
<th>Name of Operation</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Conflict</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>United National Operations in the Congo (ONUC)</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of the Congo</td>
<td>Congo Crisis</td>
<td>1960-1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>United Nations India- Pakistan Observation Mission (UNIPOM)</td>
<td>India-Pakistan</td>
<td>Indo-Pakistan War of 1965</td>
<td>1965-1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)</td>
<td>Israel Syria Lebanon</td>
<td>Agreed withdrawal by Syrian and Israeli forces following the Yom Kippur War</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>America</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH)</td>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>Bosnia War</td>
<td>1995-2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)</td>
<td>Kosovo</td>
<td>Kosovo War</td>
<td>1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)</td>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>Sierra Leone Civil War</td>
<td>1999-2006</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
India’ Aspirations to Become a Permanent Member of UNSC:

Indian strategic interest in the Council seat has also been shaped by its history of interacting with the Security Council. In the early years of its independence during its armed conflict with Pakistan on Kashmir, India paid the price for being “idealistic” to take the Kashmir issue to the UN wherein it had to battle hard realpolitik of Cold war years leading to UN interventions over the Kashmir dispute. To prevent this negative outcome ever again, the Indian presence at the Security Council, it is hoped will ensure Indian interests are not sacrificed at the altar of great power politics. Most importantly, it will stall any possible intervention by China, a permanent member at the behest of its ally Pakistan.

Indian interests in the Security Council also flow from the larger, many foreign policy debates in India on whether it will be a status quo power that accepts liberal norms and positions itself as a “responsible stakeholder’ in the international system or a revisionist power that seeks to redefine the norms of international engagement. Many pundits agree that India would be moderately revisionist that seeks to adjust international norms and frameworks that suits its global vision, without seeking to overthrow the current international system.

India has always seen itself as a champion, a ‘moralistic force’ of the so called Third World, the developing states. Former Secretary General Kofi Annan has been quoted as saying that India has been one of the most significant votaries of shaping the UN agenda on behalf of the developing world. At his speech in New Delhi, Annan stated: “Indians have better understood than many other peoples that the goals of the ‘larger freedom’ that which include development, security and human rights are not alternatives. They have been single-mindedly pursuing larger freedom through pluralist democracy.”

Criticism of Veto Power in UNSC

The veto power has been criticized for its undemocratic nature. A single country can prevent a majority of the Security Council from taking any action. For example, the United States routinely casts lone vetoes of resolutions criticizing Israel. The permanent members also veto resolutions that criticize their own actions. In 2014, Russia vetoed a resolution condemning its annexation of Crimea. Amnesty International claimed that the five permanent members had used their veto to “promote their political self interest or geopolitical interest above the interest of protecting civilians.”

Some critics see the fact that veto power exclusive to the permanent five as being anachronistic, unjust, or counterproductive. Peter Nadin writes that “The veto is an anachronism. In the twenty-first century, the veto has come to be almost universally seen as a disproportionate power and an impediment to credible international action to crises.” The “enormous influence of the veto power” has been cited as a cause of the UN’s ineffectiveness in preventing and responding to genocide, violence, and human rights violations. Various countries outside the P5, such as the Non-Aligned Movement and African Union have proposed limitations on the veto power. Reform of the veto power is often included in proposals for reforming the Security Council.
11.3.3 The Security Council

Under the UN Charter the Security Council has the responsibility to maintain international peace and security. Unlike the General Assembly which has regular meetings, the Security Council does not have such meetings and can be convened at any time whenever there is a threat to international peace. Member States are obligated to carry out the decision of the Security Council which are legally binding. When a threat to peace is brought to the Council, it generally asks the conflicting parties to reach an agreement by peaceful means and if fighting breaks out, the council tries to secure a ceasefire through negotiations, economic sanctions or by authorizing the use of force which will be carried out by a willing member of the UN.

The Council would also decide on peacekeeping operations to build lasting peace. The Security Council has fifteen members which includes five permanent members (P-5). The other ten members are elected by the General Assembly on rotation basis for a period of two years. In order to pass a resolution in the Security Council nine out of fifteen votes is required. However, if any one of the P-5 Members votes 'No', often referred as Veto, the resolution does not pass. There are at present, proposals to include more permanent members into the Council and these proposals are under discussion by the Member States of the UN.

11.3.4 The Economic and Social Council

It has been argued that with the adoption of the “Uniting for Peace” resolution by the General Assembly, and given the interpretations of the Assembly’s powers that became customary international law as a result, that the Security Council “power of veto” problem could be surmounted. By adopting A/RES/377 A, on 3 November 1950, over two-thirds of UN Member states declared that, according to the UN Charter, the permanent members of the UNSC cannot and should not prevent the UNGA from taking any and all action necessary to restore international peace and security, in cases where the UNSC has failed to exercise its “primary responsibility” for maintaining peace. Such an interpretation sees the UNGA as being awarded “final responsibility”—rather than “secondary responsibility”—for matters of international peace and security, by the UN Charter. Various official and semi-official UN reports make explicit reference to the Uniting for Peace resolution as providing a mechanism for the UNGA to overrule any UNSC vetoes; thus rendering them little more than delays in UN action, should two-thirds of the Assembly subsequently agree that action is necessary.
The Economic and Social Council of the UN which has fifty-four members who are chosen for equal geographical representation and serve a three-year term is the central body of the UN for coordinating the economic and social work of the UN and the UN system. Over seventy percent of the UN System is devoted to promoting higher standards of living, alleviating poverty through full employment; economic and social progress; and development. It promotes, economic growth in developing countries, supports human rights, and fosters world cooperation to alleviate poverty and under-development. In order to address specific needs of the council, it has established a number of specialized agencies such as the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), The World Health Organization (WHO), the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), UN Development Programme (UNDP), UN Children’s Fund (UNICEF), and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

11.3.5 The Trusteeship Council

Under the UN Charter, the Trusteeship Council was assigned to monitor the administration of eleven Trust Territories – former colonies. At the end of the Second World War, this system was created for the advancement of the inhabitants of those dependant territories for their progressive development towards self-governance or independence.

Eleven Trust Territories and more than seventy colonial territories achieved independence with the help of the United Nations. In 1994, Palau became the last Trust Territory to become independent and subsequently the council decided to suspend operations and meet when occasion might require. China, France, United Kingdom, the Russian Federation and the United States who are permanent members of the UN Security Council comprise the Trusteeship Council. All Members of the Council have one vote and decisions are made by a simple majority. Since the process of decolonisation has been completed the Trusteeship Council is no longer relevant in present scenario.

11.3.6 The International Court of Justice

The UN’s main judicial organ is the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and is located in The Hague, Netherlands. The ICJ or World Court was established in 1945 and began it functions in 1946. It's predecessor was the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA). The Court settles disputes between nations and does not take up individual cases according to international law. Unless required by special treaty provisions, a country does not need to take part in a proceeding if it does not wish to. If any country accepts the jurisdiction of the court, then it must comply with its decisions.
Since 1946, the ICJ has examined over 150 cases and issued numerous judgements pertaining to economic rights, environmental protection, rights of passage, the non-use of force, non-interference in the internal affairs of states, diplomatic relations, hostage-taking, the right of asylum and nationality. The court is presided by fifteen judges elected for nine year terms, each belonging to a different nation. The judges are selected by both the General Assembly and the Security Council. The seat of the Court is at The Hague in Netherlands and its offices occupy the ‘Peace Palace’ which was constructed by the Carnegie Foundation which a non-profit organization to serve as the headquarters of the Permanent Court of International Justice under the League of Nations. The UN makes an annual contribution to the Foundation for the use of the building. UNSC refer cases to the ICJ.

Activity

Students are asked to find the most important cases referred to international court of justice.

11.3.7 The Secretariat

The UN Secretariat administers the programs and the policies laid out by the other principal organs of the UN. The Secretary General heads the Secretariat and is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendations of the Security Council. The Secretary General is appointed for a five-year term which is renewable. As the chief administrative officer of the UN the Secretary General directs the work of other staff in the organization who are known as international civil servants.

List of Secretary Generals

1. Trygve Lie (Norway), 1946-1952
2. Dag Hammarskjöld (Sweden), 1953-1961
3. U Thant (Burma, now Myanmar), 1961-1971
7. Kofi Annan (Ghana), 1997-2006
8. Ban Ki-moon (Republic of Korea), 2007-2016
9. Antonio Guterres (Portugal) 2017 – continuing

Unlike diplomats who represent a particular country, these international civil servants work for all 193 Member States and take orders from the Secretary General and not from governments. The Secretariat is headquartered at New York and has its offices at Geneva, Vienna, Nairobi, Addis Ababa, Beirut, Santiago and Bangkok. Comprising of over 16,000 staff drawn from member states, the Secretariat administers to the day-to-day work of the organization.

These duties are varied and range from peacekeeping operations, mediating international disputes, surveying social and economic trends to laying the groundwork for international agreements and organizing international conferences. The role of the Secretariat which is multi-faceted is under constant pressure from the dyad of nation-state imperatives and universal goals.

The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council matters that may in his opinion disturb
international peace and security. He can also use his good offices to prevent conflicts or promote peaceful settlements of disputes between nations. The Secretary General can also act upon his own discretion to deal with humanitarian or any other problem that might require special importance.

The UN family though is much larger, is encompassed by fifteen agencies and several programs and bodies. Some of these organizations were founded during the era of the League of Nations such as the International Labor Organization (ILO). Many more were created since 1945 to address and solve specific issues and problems since 1945 for which the UN was established. This has resulted in much complexity of the UN and in the following decades since the founding of the organization contribute to the escalation of tasks that the UN had been charged to undertake. As a result, new bodies were added on a regular basis while some were made to be temporary bodies such as the UNHCR, they have nevertheless become permanent organs. The UN also has a hybrid set of subsidiaries and partners and throughout its history it has been associated with almost three thousand non-governmental organizations.

Envisioned in 1945 in article 77 of the UN Charter, it states explicitly that the UN ‘may make suitable arrangements for consultation with nongovernmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence’. This made it possible for the UN to work with hundreds of NGOs to undertake humanitarian work in conflict zones, for example, the UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) between 1995-2002. In 2007, thirty-two NGOs issued an open letter to the Secretary General to pressurize Sudan’s government to permit a Joint African Union/United Nations Peacekeeping force to enter the conflict-ridden Darfur region. In the following sections, some of the important organs of the United Nations such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and international organizations such as Asian Development Bank, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch would be examined.

The ECOSOC under the UN mandate coordinates the economic and social work of the UN and the UN family of organizations. It therefore plays a key role in fostering international cooperation for development. While the Security Council was charged with weighty issues of military security, the ECOSOC was left to deal with questions of economic security. However, these were not to be taken lightly as many who were involved in the drafting of the UN Charter considered the great economic depression during the 1930s as the root cause for the second World War. The ECOSOC although a relatively powerless body of the UN structure, oversees a number of functional and regional commissions. The Commission on Human Rights monitors the observance of human rights across the world. Other bodies focus on social development, the status of women, environmental protection, crime prevention and narcotic drugs. However, the ECOSOC’s mission continues to remain amorphous. The true global economic power in fact lies with the so called three sisters (i) the World Bank (ii) The International Monetary Fund and (iii) the World Trade Organization.
11.4 The World Bank

The World Bank which is based in Washington, was originally known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). The World Bank or often referred to as the Bank Group was founded in 1945 and serves as the largest source of funding and knowledge for developing countries in the world. The term “world bank” was first used in reference to IBRD in an article in the Economist on July 22, 1944, in a report on the Bretton Woods Conference. The primary focus of the Bank is to work with the poorest people and the poorest countries through its five institutions to reduce poverty, increase economic growth and increase the quality of life by using its financial resources and its extensive experience. The World Bank is managed by its member countries who are either lenders, borrowers or donors.

Debate

Do you think the World Bank is politicised now? Is it partial? or Impartial?

Many developing countries in the world use the World Bank’s assistance ranging from loans and grants to technical assistance and policy advice. The Bank works with a wide range of actors that includes government agencies, civil society organizations, other aid agencies and the private sector. Although the fundamental mission of the World Bank is reducing poverty and improving the quality of life has not changed, in recent times it is adjusting its approaches and policies to the needs of developing countries in the new economic context. Challenges to development now requires institutions that are not only close to the people but are also capable of mobilizing key actors whether the government, private sector or the civil society to address global threats. In order to address these challenges, the Bank has sharpened its focus on strategic priorities, reforming its business model and improving its governance. These reforms include inclusiveness, innovation, efficiency, effectiveness and accountability and fall into five areas:

Reforming the Lending model: By modernizing its financial services and lending model, the Bank seeks to provide more tailored responses to the borrowers’ needs. Calling for closer attention, the approach seeks to establish substantial results and for stream lined processes, improved supervision and higher risk investment.

Increasing Voice and Participation: With an additional seat in the Board of Directors for Sub-Saharan Africa and an increase in voting power of developing countries, the Bank seeks to elevate the representation and influence of developing and transition countries that are in the Bank Group.

Promoting Accountability and Good Governance: Among its key concerns, the Bank has governance and anticorruption across sectors and countries. This is based on the mandate to reduce poverty – a capable and accountable state creates opportunities for all to develop.
Five Institutions of the World Bank

- The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
- The International Development Association
- International Finance Corporation
- The Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency
- The International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes

Increasing Transparency, Accountability and Access to Information: The Bank’s ability to access information policy provides opportunities for the Bank to share its knowledge and experience with a wide audience in order to enhance its quality of operations by providing more information about projects and programs than ever before.

Modernizing the Organization: To make it a better development partner, the Bank is undergoing a series of reforms. There are three main areas in which these reforms are taking place: (i) it is modernizing its lending and knowledge products and services to better serve its clients and to serve their efforts to reduce poverty better, (ii) improvements in sharing and access to knowledge and expertise both from within and outside is being undertaken and (iii) it is modernizing the processes and systems that underpin the Bank’s work.

Since the beginning of operations in 1946 with thirty-eight members, there has been a dramatic change in the number of members and the conditions in the world. As many nations became independent from colonial rule, they gradually joined the institution and subsequently the bank and the development needs of member states expanded. There are five institutions that constitute the World Bank: (i) the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, (ii) International Development Association (iii) International Finance Corporation, (iv) The Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency and (v) The International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD): The main objective of the IBRD is to reduce poverty in middle-income countries and credit worthy low income by promoting sustainable development through loans, guarantees and analytical and advisory services. It was established in 1945 and has 184 members. Its net income and allocable income for the fiscal year in June 2018 amounted to $698 billion.

The International Development Association: It supports country-led initiatives for poverty reduction in the poorest countries with interest-free credits and grants with money received from contributions made by members. It was established in the year 1960 and its total commitment amounted to $24 billion in the fiscal year June 2018.

The International Finance Corporation: It provides loans to the private sector to promote economic development in developing countries. It was established in 1956 with 176 members and its investments in the year 2018 amounted to $23.3 billion.

The Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency: This agency encourages private companies to invest in developing countries by providing guarantees against such risks
as breach of contract, conflict, war and currency inconvertibility. It was established in the year 1988 with 164 members with net business reaching a record high of $5.3 billion.

**The International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes:** It encourages foreign investment in developing countries by providing facilities for arbitration of investment disputes. It was established in 1966 with 140 members.

11.5 **The International Monetary Fund (IMF)**

The International Monetary fund or the Fund is the world's largest premier international financial institution. It was conceived at the Bretton Woods conference in 1944 as a global response to the great economic depression of the 1930s. The fundamental idea for setting up an international financial institution was to help avoid the 'beggar thy neighbour' policies that characterized that period.

It was established to provide short term and medium term finance to member countries facing balance of payments difficulties so that they could pursue policies of economic adjustment that did not rely on competitive devaluation and protectionist trade policies.

**The Mandate of the International Monetary Fund**

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an independent international organization with 185 member countries with the objective to promote economic stability and growth. The member countries are the shareholders in the cooperative and provide capital for the International Monetary Fund through quota subscription. The IMF in return provides its members with macroeconomic policy advice, financial aid in times of balance payments need and technical assistance and training to improve national economic management. The IMF is one of the several autonomous organizations of the UN with the designation of specialized agency and is also a permanent observer of the UN. Article 1 of the IMF mandate sets out the following objectives:

- To promote international monetary cooperation through a permanent institution which provides the machinery for consultation and collaboration on international monetary problems.
- To facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade, and to contribute thereby to the promotion and maintenance of high levels of employment and real income and to the development of the productive resources of all members as primary objectives of economic policy.
- To promote exchange stability, to maintain orderly exchange arrangements among members, and to avoid competitive exchange depreciation.
- To assist in the establishment of a multilateral system of payments in respect of current transactions between members and in the elimination of foreign exchange restrictions which hamper the growth of world trade.
To give confidence to members by making the general resources of the IMF temporarily available to them under adequate safeguards, thus providing them with opportunity to correct maladjustments in their balance of payments without resorting to measures destructive of national or international prosperity.

To shorten the duration and lessen the degree of disequilibrium in the international balances of payments of members.

The mandate of the IMF gives it a unique character as an international monetary institution having broad oversight responsibilities for the proper functioning and development of the international and monetary financial system.

Functions of the International Monetary Fund:

The IMF pursues a wide range of functions in accordance with its mandate. It is as follows:

Surveillance of Members’ Economic Policies: nations who are members agree to pursue economic policies that are consistent with the objectives of the IMF and the articles of agreement confer on the IMF the legal authority to oversee compliance with this obligation which makes the IMF the only organization that has the mandate to examine regularly the economic conditions of virtually all countries in the world.

Financing Temporary Balance of Payment Needs: in order to enable countries to make orderly corrective measures and avoid disorderly adjustment of the external imbalance, the IMF lends to its member countries to provide a temporary respite from balance of payments. In addition to providing direct funding to member countries, the IMF also plays a catalytic role in mobilizing external financing for countries’ balance of payment needs.

Combatting Poverty in Low Income Countries: The IMF provides low-income member countries with concessional loans to help these countries in their efforts to eradicate poverty. In this endeavour, the IMF works closely with the World Bank and other development partners. In addition, the IMF participates in two international initiatives to provide debt relief (i) Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) and (ii) Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI).

Mobilizing External Financing: The IMF’s endorsement of a countries policies serve as an important catalyst in mobilizing external funding from bilateral and multilateral lenders and donors. Policy assessments and recommendations of the IMF also provide important signals to investors and financial markets regarding a country’s economic future and the impact on investor and market confidence in the economy.

Strengthening the International Monetary System: Being the central institution in the international monetary system, the IMF serves as a forum for consultation and collaboration by members on international and monetary matters. It works with other multilateral institutions to devise international rules that would help prevent and promote an orderly resolution of international economic problems.

Increasing the Global Supply of International Reserves: If there is a global need to supplement existing reserves, the IMF has the authority to issue an
international asset called the Special Drawing Right (SDR). These SDRs belong to the net international reserves of members and can be exchanged for convertible currencies.

Building Capacity Through Technical Assistance and Training: The IMF with its expertise provides training and technical assistance for member countries to design economic policies and improve economic management capabilities. This helps in reduction of policy failures and resilience to shocks and facilitates program design and implementation. These activities are important particularly for developing countries where resources are scarce and institutions are often weak.

Dissemination of Information and Research: The IMF is a premier source for Economic analysis of its member countries' economic policies and statistical information. The IMF disseminates information through numerous reports, research studies and specialized statistical publications. It also conducts research in areas that are in accordance with its mandate and operations mainly to improve its economic analysis and its advice to member countries. These publications often appear in books, articles in journal, working papers, occasional papers and the internet.

However there prevails a general criticism that the MIF, at present, function as an institution to promote corporate interests, through commercialisation of the services, including education and health, and by subordinating peoples’ welfare and development to profiteering business interest, and the sovereign states are compelled to be subservient to international corporate business.

11.6 Asian Development Bank

Unlike the IMF which is largely self-financing, Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs) are highly dependent on shareholder contributions particularly in terms of financing their operations of their soft loan windows, that provide grants and low interest loans to very poor countries. MDBs belong to a complex set of public institutions that can be categorized as (i) global, (ii) regional and (iii) Sub-regional. Categorizations of all MDBs are done by taking into consideration their regional coverage. This facilitates the process of clearly understanding the similarities and differences among them by using common denominators rather than extensive individual assessments.

Most MDBs fall in the above mentioned three categories and directly target a particular continent such as the Asian Development Bank, the African Development Bank, Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank, New Development Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, Islamic Development Bank, European Investment Bank, etc. During the late 1930s and early 1940s, the concept of economic development began to emerge in the contemporary sense. The prominent British economist John Maynard Keynes addressed
economic and social needs that emerged in the post-war period. Harry Dexter White—an American economist was a key figure in envisioning the set of institutions that were to be created as envisioned by John Maynard Keynes. White, in the year 1942 paved the path towards the fundamentals of a development policy when he prepared a proposal for a United Nations Stabilization Fund and Bank for Reconstruction and Development of the United and Associated Nations, that would provide the basis for a post-war international monetary reform. The proposal called for the creation of two related institutions with the powers, resources and structure adequate to address major issues in the post-war period.

Activity

Try to understand the working of each of the above mention bank.

MDBs such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) are publicly financed institutions that are responsible for setting the development agenda of their member countries. Almost all countries in the world with the exception of Cuba and North Korea are members of MDBs. All countries with membership in MDBs contribute to the institution since they are affiliated to and avail loans from them. MDBs emphasize that largescale development projects such as hydroelectric dams, irrigation projects, transportation development, oil and gas projects have the potential to reduce poverty and increase economic activities that would be aimed at development. However, on the contrary, there are others who oppose such development projects since they have terrible consequences to the environment and their lives, negates the Banks’ claim. Many argue that the damage done through these projects not only affect their welfare, but have negative social, economic and environmental results that are irreversible.

The Asian proverb – ‘Fire cooks but it could also burn a house’, is overwhelmingly true if compared in terms of the loans provided for development projects by the ADB to its Developing Member Countries (DMCs) show so far that there are more charred houses that cooked food. The Asian Development Bank is a regional multilateral finance institution that is dedicated to the realization and reduction of poverty in Asia and the Pacific. The ADB was founded in 1966 and has 62 member countries and most of them belong to the region. The ADB has an equity capital of $44 billion and reserves of $7.9 billion. Since its beginning in 1966 to the year 2002 the Bank has approved loans to both the public and private sectors amounting to $98.831 billion and disburses $5 billion in loans and projects across the region and earns from it an annual return of $500 million.

The ADB’s Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) is the central component of its Long-Term Strategic Framework (LTSF 2001 - 2015). This fifteen-year agenda of the ADB subscribed to the United Nations Millennium Development Goals to achieve the target of halving the number of people living in poverty worldwide. According to the Bank's claim, its development agenda is to improve the welfare of the people living in Asia and the Pacific, more particularly about 900 million Asians who are living in poverty and earn less than a dollar a day. Among the priorities of the ADB are economic
growth, human development, gender and development, good governance, environmental protection, private sector development and regional co-operation. The ADB now operates through five geographically contiguous areas which addresses country and sector themes. The groupings are (i) East and central Asia, (ii) the Mekong, (iii) the pacific, (iv) south Asia and (v) southeast Asia. Each of the regional departments undertake country planning and programming of sub-regional and country-specific assistance. Similar to any other bank, the ADB receives resources from its shareholders. Japan and the United States have the largest shares among the 62 country members that amounts to 15.9 percent of shares.

**Shanghai Cooperation Organization**

**Key takeaways of the meet/Qingdao declaration**

- India refused to endorse the ambitious Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).
- India coined SECURE strategy for comprehensive security in the SCO region.

**Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)**

- It is an Eurasian political, economic, and security organization formed in 2001 and headquartered in Beijing.
- It owes its origin to its predecessor Shanghai Five (a multilateral forum founded by 5 countries China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in Shanghai in 1996).
- Its driving philosophy is known as the “Shanghai Spirit” which emphasizes harmony, working by consensus, respect for other cultures, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, and non-alignment.
- SCO comprises eight-member states, India, Kazakhstan, China, Kyrgyz Republic, Pakistan, Russian, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.
- 2018 year meet is India’s first participation in the summit as a full-time member. India, along with Pakistan, became full-time members during the Astana summit in Kazakhstan in June 2017.
- Besides it has 4 observer states and 6 dialogue partners.

**Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)**

**Asian Premium**

- It is the extra charge being collected by OPEC countries from Asian countries when selling oil.
- It has roots in the establishment of market oriented crude pricing in 1986.
- There are 3 important benchmarks in global market, representing the cost of oil produced in respective geographies.
- **Brent: Light sweet oil representative of European market**
- **West Texas Intermediate(WTI): US market**
- **Dubai/Oman: Middle East and Asian Market.**
- However, US and Europe had an advantage because their markets and prices were based on future trading and reflected every trend in the crude market. On the other hand, Asia represented by Dubai/Oman do not have any derivative trading, doesn’t have that edge.
- Hence, price charged from Asian countries remained $1-$2 dollar higher than that from Europe and the US. This price differential is termed as ‘Asian Premium’.
About OPEC

- It is an intergovernmental organisation whose stated objective is to “co-ordinate and unify petroleum policies among Member Countries, in order to secure fair and stable prices for petroleum producers; an efficient, economic and regular supply of petroleum to consuming nations; and a fair return on capital to those investing in the industry.”
- It is headquartered at Vienna, Austria.
- It was set up at the 1960 Baghdad Conference with Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela as founding members.
- It accounts for an estimated 44 percent of global oil production and 81.5 percent of the world’s “proven” oil reserves.

International Atomic Energy Agency

- It is the world’s central intergovernmental forum for scientific and technical cooperation in the nuclear field.
- It is an autonomous international organization within the United Nations system set up in July 1957 through its own international treaty, the IAEA Statute.
- The IAEA reports to both the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council.
- It works for the safe, secure and peaceful uses of nuclear science and technology.
- It is headquartered in Vienna, Austria. India is a member of IAEA.
- The objective of IAEA Safeguards is to deter the spread of nuclear weapons by the early detection of the misuse of nuclear material or technology.
- In 2009, an Agreement between the Government of India and the IAEA for the Application of Safeguards to Civilian Nuclear Facilities was signed. Then in 2014, India ratified an Additional Protocol (as part of its commitments under US-India nuclear deal) to its safeguards agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).
- The AP is an important tool of the IAEA, over and above the provisions of the safeguard agreement, to verify the exclusively peaceful nature of a country’s nuclear programme.

BIMSTEC

- BIMSTEC is a regional organization comprising seven Member States lying in the littoral and adjacent areas of the Bay of Bengal including Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Thailand.
- This sub-regional organization came into being on 6 June 1997 through the Bangkok Declaration.
- Its Secretariat has been established at Dhaka.

About South-South Cooperation (SSC)

- South South Cooperation (SSC) is defined as the exchange and sharing of developmental solutions among countries in the global south.
- The formation of SSC can be traced to the 1955 Bandung Conference.

IBSA

- It is an international tripartite grouping for promoting international cooperation of India, Brazil and South Africa.
- It was formally established by the Brasilia Declaration of 6 June 2003 by external
affairs ministers of India, Brazil and South Africa.

- It represents three important poles for galvanizing South-South cooperation and greater understanding between three important continents of the developing world.

**IBSA Mechanism for Development Cooperation - IBSA Fund for the Alleviation of Poverty and Hunger**

- It was set up with the objective of facilitating the execution of human development projects to advance the fight against poverty and hunger in developing countries.
- Each member country contributes $1 Million annually to this fund.
- The IBSA Fund is managed by the United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation (UNOSSC).

**North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 1949**

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was created in 1949 by the United States, Canada, and several Western European nations to provide collective security against the Soviet Union.

**Signing of the NATO Treaty**

NATO was the first peacetime military alliance the United States entered into outside of the Western Hemisphere. The nations of Western Europe wanted assurances that the United States would intervene automatically in the event of an attack. As a result of intensive negotiations the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in 1949. In this agreement, the United States, Canada, Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and the United Kingdom agreed to consider attack against one an attack against all, along with consultations about threats and defense matters. The collective defense arrangements in NATO served to place the whole of Western Europe under the American “nuclear umbrella.” Although formed in response to the exigencies of the developing Cold War, NATO has lasted beyond the end of that conflict, with membership even expanding to include some former Soviet states. It remains the largest peacetime military alliance in the world.

**About UN Global Counter-Terrorism Coordination Compact**

- It is an agreement between the UN chief, 36 organizational entities, the International Criminal Police Organisation (INTERPOL) and the World Customs Organisation, to better serve the needs of Member States when it comes to tackling international terrorism.

**Objective**

- To ensure that the United Nations system provides coordinated capacity-building support to Member States, at their request, in implementing the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy and other relevant resolutions.
- To foster close collaboration between the Security Council mandated bodies and the rest of the United Nations system.
- The UN Global Counter-Terrorism
Compact Coordination Committee will oversee and monitor the implementation of the Compact which will be chaired by UN Under-Secretary-General for counterterrorism.

- It will replace the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, which was established in 2005.

**International Treaties**

**Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty**

**What is CTBT?**

- It is a multilateral treaty banning all nuclear explosions for both military and civilian purposes.
- It was negotiated at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva and adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. It was opened for signature on 24 September 1996.
- The CTBT with its 183 signatories and 163 ratifications is one of the most widely supported arms-control treaties.
- It can only enter into force after it is ratified by eight countries with nuclear technology capacity, namely China, Egypt, India, Iran, Israel, North Korea, Pakistan and the United States.
- The Treaty establishes a CTBT Organization (CTBTO), located in Vienna, to ensure the implementation of its provisions, including provisions for international verification measures.

**India's stand on CTBT**

- India did not support the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1996 and still does not due to following reasons: CTBT does not address complete disarmament (supported by India), discriminatory in nature with permanent UNSC members.
- Another major concern was the Entry-Into Force (EIF) clause, which India considered a violation of its right to voluntarily withhold participation in an international treaty. The treaty initially made ratification by states that were to be a part of the CTBT's International Monitoring System (IMS) mandatory for the treaty's EIF. Because of this, India withdrew its participation from the IMS.

**Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) 1968**

- Its objective is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, to promote cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to further the goal of achieving nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament.
- India, Israel, North Korea, Pakistan and South Sudan are not parties to this treaty.

**11.7 International Non-Governmental Organizations**

International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) have been growing both in number and influence around the world. INGOs range widely in scope, size, membership and home location. Some examples of INGOs are Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF; also known as Doctors Without Borders). INGOs have been increasingly engaged in policy making and policy processes. Domestically INGOs have access to policy makers and work to influence policy through lobbying efforts and information campaigns. At the international scenario, INGOs often work with intergovernmental organizations and donor agencies and can have tremendous sway in certain policy domains. Recently
the work of INGOs have been linked with their efforts to changes in trade and investment patterns and decisions in terms of humanitarian intervention, economic sanctions and aid allocation.

Until the adoption of the UN Charter in 1945, the term non-governmental organization did not exist. In the year 1910, a group of 132 organizations came together to form the Union of International Organizations. In 1929 a group of organizations that regularly attended the League meetings and formed the Federation of Private and Semi-Official International Organizations established in Geneva. When the UN Charter was finalized, the San Francisco Conference agreed to make provision for both intergovernmental organizations and private organizations to have formal relations with the ECOSOC. In terms of according status for both types of organizations, members were unwilling to give same status to the two types of international organizations. Under Article 57, a new term Specialized Agencies was introduced to define inter-governmental organizations. Under Article 71, a new second term was introduced – non-governmental organizations.

The UN is an organisation of governments of the world while the non-governmental organization represents the people of all nations of the world.

**Activity**

Students are requested to find out World Bank Sponsored projects in India.

**Amnesty International**

Amnesty international is one of the largest international non-governmental organization that works for the rights of humans across the globe. Its work is a worldwide campaign movement that seeks to promote all human rights that are established in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and other international human rights instruments. It has more than 2.2 million people as members, signatories and supporters spread across 150 countries in the world. Amnesty International was formed in London in 1961.

**Article 71**

“The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned.”

**Must watch Documentary film**

Amistad is a 1997 American historical drama film directed by Steven Spielberg, based on the true story of the events in 1839 aboard the slave ship La Amistad, during which Mende tribesmen abducted for the slave trade managed to gain control of their captors’ ship off the coast of Cuba, and the international legal battle that followed their capture by the Washington, a U.S. revenue cutter. The case was ultimately resolved by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1841.
by its founder Peter Benson. In the year 1977, the Amnesty International was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its campaign against torture. Some of the important objectives of the Amnesty International are as follows:

- Protection of women
- Protection of children
- Ending torture and execution (barring illegal torture of people)
- Protection of prisoners of conscience (freedom of conscience, expression and the release of all prisoners of conscience)
- Protection of refugees
- Protection and overcoming the phenomenon of human rights violations that are related to his physical and psychological integrity
- Abolishing the death penalty, torture and other cruel treatment has held prisoners
- Fair (fair and fast) trials for political prisoners
- Overcoming the phenomenon of discrimination on any grounds: gender, race, religion, language, political opinion, national or social origin, and others
- Regulation of the global arms trade.

In addition to the above mentioned activities of the Amnesty International it also stands for the protections of people in zones of armed conflict, ending political killings, extra-judicial killings, disappearances, ensuring prison conditions in accordance with international human rights standards, and working against recruitment of child soldiers among others.

**Human Rights Watch**

The Human Rights Watch was founded in 1978 with the founding of its Europe and Central Asia Division then known as the Helsinki Watch. It is a non-profit non-governmental organization. Its staff consists of human rights professionals including country experts, lawyers, journalists and academics belonging to diverse backgrounds and nationalities. The Human Rights Watch is known for its accurate findings, impartial reporting, effective usage of media and targeted advocacy often in partnership with local human rights groups. Human Rights Watch publishes more than 100 reports on human rights practices in 90 countries across the world. The mission statement of the Human Rights watch states that “Human Rights Watch defends the rights of people worldwide. We scrupulously investigate abuses, expose the facts widely, and pressure those with power to respect rights and secure justice”.

**Achievements of Human Rights watch**

**Human Rights watch wins United Nations prize**

(New York)- Human Rights Watch has won the 2008 United Nations Prize for Human Rights, in recognition of the vital role played by the Human Rights movement in trying to end abuses over the past 60 years. The award given every five years, was bestowed in New York on December 10, 2008, the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Human Rights Watch is an independent, international organization that works as part of a vibrant movement to uphold human dignity and advance the cause of human rights for all”. It’s core values are that it is guided by principles of International human rights and humanitarian law and respect for the dignity of the human
individual. Human Rights Watch in order to maintain its independence claims that it does not accept government funds directly or indirectly or support from any private funder that could compromise its objectivity and independence. It also does not embrace any political cause and is non-partisan and strives to maintain neutrality in situations of armed conflict.

**United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC)**

- It is a specialized agency of United Nations to protect and promote human rights across the world set up in 2006.
- The Council consists of 47 members, elected yearly by the General Assembly through direct and secret ballot for three-year terms.
- Recently India was elected with the highest number of votes by the General Assembly to the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC).
- Members are selected via the basis of equitable geographic rotation using the United Nations regional grouping system.
- Members are barred from occupying a seat for more than two consecutive three-year terms.

Human Rights Watch is committed to maintaining high standards of accuracy and fairness that includes seeking out multiple perspectives to develop an in-depth analytical understanding of events. It recognizes the particular responsibility for victims and witnesses who share their experiences with them. The Human Rights Watch is actively focused on impact. The Human Rights Watch now has thematic divisions or programs on arms; business and human rights; children’s rights; disability rights; the environment and human rights; health and human rights; international justice; lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender rights; refugees; terrorism and counterterrorism; women’s rights; and emergencies.

**Activity**

Have a debate on role of Human Rights Watch in Protecting Human Rights across the world.

**Greenpeace**

*Greenpeace* is a non-governmental environmental organization with offices in over 39 countries and an international coordinating body in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Greenpeace was founded in 1971 by Irving Stowe and Dorothy Stowe, Canadian and US ex-pat environmental activists. Greenpeace states its goal is to “ensure the ability of the Earth to nurture life in all its diversity” and focuses its campaigning on worldwide issues such as climate change, deforestation, overfishing, commercial whaling, genetic engineering, and anti-nuclear issues. It uses direct action, lobbying, research, and ecotage to achieve its goals. The global organization does not accept funding from governments, corporations, or political parties, relying on three million individual supporters and foundation grants. Greenpeace has a general consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council and is a founding member of the INGO Accountability Charter, an international non-governmental organization that intends to foster accountability and transparency of non-governmental organizations. Greenpeace is known for its direct actions...
and has been described as the most visible environmental organization in the world.

**Conclusion**

International Organizations have become an increasingly common phenomenon in international life. The proliferation of international organizations and treaty arrangements among states represents the formal expression of the extent to which international politics is becoming more and more institutionalized. In addition to the burgeoned scholarship on international organizations, in the past decade, theories have been devoted to understanding why institutions exist, how they function, what are the effects they have on world politics have become increasingly refined and the empirical methods employed for analysis more sophisticated. These and other emerging forms of analysis would help frame a new research agenda for the study on international organizations. In the coming years students will need to pay close attention to the changing patterns of international organizations’ norms and practices and the broader ability of international organizations to keep step with the changes in the world and the challenges it would face.

**Glossary**

- **The International Telecommunication Union (ITU):** originally the International Telegraph Union, ITU was formed at the International Telegraph Convention, held in Paris on 17 May 1865.
- **The Universal Postal Union (UPU):** established by the Treaty of Bern of 1874, is a specialized agency of the United Nations (UN) that coordinates postal policies among member nations.
- **International Peace Conference originally The Paris Peace Conference:** also known as the Versailles Peace Conference, on 18 January 1919 of the victorious Allied Powers following the end of World War I to set the peace terms for the defeated Central Powers.
- **The International Court of Justice (ICJ):** sometimes called the World Court, is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations (UN).
- **The Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA):** is an intergovernmental organization located at The Hague in the Netherlands.
- **The League of Nations:** abbreviated as LN or LoN, was an intergovernmental organisation founded on 10 January 1920 as a result of the Paris Peace Conference that ended the First World War.
- **The United Nations (UN)** is an intergovernmental organization tasked with maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations.
- **The Concert of Europe** represented the European balance of power from 1815 to 1848.
- **The International Labour Organization (ILO)** was established as an agency of the League of Nations following World War I.
- **The International Monetary Fund (IMF),** also known as the Fund, is an international organization headquartered in Washington, D.C.
- **The World Bank (WB)** also known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), is an international financial institution that provides interest-free loans and grants to the governments of poorer countries for the purpose of pursuing capital projects.
The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) is a multilateral development bank that aims to support the building of infrastructure in the Asia-Pacific region.

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) is a regional development bank established on 19 December 1966, which is headquartered in the Ortigas Center located in the city of Mandaluyong, Metro Manila, Philippines.

Amnesty International (commonly known as Amnesty or AI) is an non-governmental organization focused on human rights.

Human Rights Watch (HRW) is an international non-governmental organization, founded in 1978, headquartered in New York City, that conducts research and advocacy on human rights.

The League Council the main constitutional organs of the League of Nations were the Assembly, the Council, and the Permanent Secretariat.

General Assembly (UNGA or GA) is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations (UN), the only one in which all member nations have equal representation.

Munich Conference. The Conference held in Munich on September 28-29, 1938, during which the leaders of Great Britain, France, and Italy agreed to allow Germany to annex certain areas of Czechoslovakia.

Trusteeship Council is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations, established to help ensure that trust territories were administered in the best interests of their inhabitants and of international peace and security.

International non-governmental organization (INGO) has the same mission non-governmental organization (NGO), but it is international in scope and has outposts around the world to deal with specific issues in many countries.

I. Choose the correct answer

1. What was the first postal organization originally called?
   (a) International Telegraph
   (b) International Telecommunication Union
   (c) Universal Postal Union
   (d) International Telecommunication Department

2. In the year 1902, the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes established the _______.
   (a) International Court of Justice
   (b) Permanent Court of Arbitration
   (c) International Criminal Court
   (d) Permanent Court of International Justice

3. Who among the following individuals outlined the idea of the League of nations?
   (a) Eleanor Roosevelt
   (b) Woodrow Wilson
   (c) Franklin D Roosevelt
   (d) Theodore Roosevelt

4. The 1938 Munich Conference agreed to the dismantling of ________.
   (a) Yugoslavia
   (b) Czechoslovakia
   (c) Austria
   (d) Poland
5. Who coined the name United Nations?
   (a) Eleanor Roosevelt  
   (b) Woodrow Wilson  
   (c) Franklin D Roosevelt  
   (d) Theodore Roosevelt

6. Veto powers in the United Nations were given to which of the following five counties
   (a) China, Britain, France, USA, Japan
   (b) China, France, Great Britain, USA, Russia
   (c) China, France, Britain, USA, Germany
   (d) China, France, Great Britain, USA, Soviet Union

7. Match the Following:
   1. General Assembly  
   2. Economic and Social Council  
   3. International Criminal Court  
   4. The Security Council
      a) Decolonization Process  
      b) The Main Deliberative organ of the United Nations  
      c) China, France, Great Britain, USA, Soviet Union  
      d) UNESCO
      1) b a d c  
      2) b d a c  
      3) c b a d  
      4) a d b c

8. Match the following:
   1. Kurt Waldheim  
   2. Kofi-Annan  
   3. Boutros Boutros-Ghali  
   4. Antonio Guterres
      a) Portugal  
      b) Republic of Korea  
      c) Myanmar  
      d) Norway
      1) a d b c  
      2) b d a c  
      3) c b a d  
      4) a d b c

9. Name two International Non-Governmental Organizations that work for the protection and promotion of human rights
   (a) Human Rights Watch  
   (b) Amnesty International  
   (c) The World Bank  
   (d) Asian Development Bank

II. Answer the following questions very shortly
   1. Define International Organizations.
   2. Define international non-governmental organizations.
   1. List out the General Secretaries of the United Nations since 1946
   2. List out a few specialized agencies of the ECOSOC.
   3. What are the six branches of the United Nations?

III. Answer the following questions shortly
   1. Write a short note on Trusteeship Council.
   2. What are the six main committees of the General Assembly?
   3. The Idea of international organizations was a definite guarantee for peace – briefly.
   4. What are the five institutions of the World Bank?
   5. What are Multilateral Development Banks?
IV. Answer the following questions in detail

1. What are international organizations? Describe their growth and role in world affairs.
2. Write an essay on the evolution of the League of Nations and discuss why it failed to fulfill its purpose.
4. Discuss in detail the role of the ECOSOC.
5. What are the contributions of the World Bank towards humanity?
7. Write and essay on the contributions of Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch in protecting and promoting human rights.

Reference Books


Web links

Unit 12
Environmental Concerns and Globalization

Learning Objectives

- To understand the need for protecting global environment
- To trace the origin, development, role and significance of various multilateral environmental mechanisms
- To assess India's stance on international environmentalism
- To introduce students to the concept of indigeneity, indigenous people and indigenous rights
- To explore the ever-growing realm of globalisation with special reference to India

"If conservation of natural resources goes wrong, nothing else will go right”
- M. S. Swaminathan

12.1 Protection of Global Environment

The protection of environment as a global requirement is a post-industrialization revelation. Major concerns like deforestation, industrial pollution, greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, depletion of ozone layer, global warming and the consequent rise sea levels etc. have been acknowledged to be matters that require immediate and serious interventions given the adverse impacts they cause. In 1982, the UN General Assembly, through its “World Charter for Nature”, underscored that the entire humanity is a part of nature, and life depends on nature. The idea of sustainable development that propels the contemporary debate of environmentalism focusses immensely on conservation of biodiversity in terms of prevention of environmental pollution, protection of wetlands, and promotion of ecological balance. Globally, the UN continues to be the lynchpin in global environmental governance, through its organs and various specialized agencies.

Top Ten Global Carbon Emitters

1. China  6. Japan
2. The US    7. Germany
3. The EU    8. Iran
4. India    9. Saudi Arabia
5. Russia  10. South Korea

Genesis of Institutional Protection of Environment

The topics of securitization and protection of environment is a natural offshoot of the complex relations that exist between the human life and ecology. Nature in its capacity as a life-supporting system has various implications across different spectra including ecology, peace, conflict,
human rights and security. Given the irreplaceable role played by nature in the sustenance of life, an institutional approach vis-à-vis environment was found necessary. Hence, environmental law emerged as the sole option which could transact proper business in the realm of ecological equilibrium. Although the institutional manifestations and legal frameworks as an expression of international interests in the protection of environment is a 20th century product, the very germination of the seeds of environmental thought from an institutional perspective dates back to 1872 since the formation of a non-governmental congress of private citizens for the protection of nature. It later led to the establishment of a consultative commission at Berne to deal with international protection of nature. However, the First World War made the commission's activities futile. But, after the World War II, the commission was rechristened as the first intergovernmental body, with legal recognition, for environmental protection.

**Activity**

Identify the most important non-state actors involved in environmental activism.

The Brunnen Conference for Protection of Nature in 1947, sponsored by the Swiss League, adopted a draft constitution for the International Union for the Protection of Nature. There has been further institutional evolution on environmental matters. As far as the UN is concerned, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) is the only organ which directly works on environmental policies. Besides, around eight of the specialized bodies within the UN ambit also directly engage with environmental concerns. With the constitution of UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1945, the post-war phase gained a boost on building consensus on environmental issues. The second overture in this track with the establishment of International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) in 1948 which lifted the global environmental narrative to a higher trajectory.

Since then, efforts were accelerated on lines of crafting a set of international laws regarding environmental protection. Environmental law, in its policy dimension, is a collection of agreements, treaties, conventions, declarations, principles, opinions of jurists, practices and pertaining to mutual rights and obligations among states. The success of environmental law as method relies upon the cooperation and coordination among states by means of international responsibility on ecological considerations at any policy arena given. The idea of international responsibility arose from the realization that the sphere of environmental interaction can never be approached in isolation or addressed only within the national boundaries. In a cartographic sense, environmental issues transcend state boundaries which in turn accords primacy for physical geography over political geography.

### 12.2 Multilateral Conferences on Environment

Environmental diplomacy has become an important subset of internationalism in the 1970s. Numerous efforts, formally and informally, have been afoot to protect the environment at the international level. Needless to say that the United Nations (UN) remains the main impetus and driver
of incorporating environmental concerns in this direction. In pursuit of this, the UN draws the credit for spearheading a series of conferences and reports on the cause of the environment. Some of the important among them are discussed as follows:

**Ramsar Convention, 1971**

The Convention on Wetlands, also called the Ramsar Convention, is an international treaty calling for “the conservation and wise use of all wetlands through local and national actions and international cooperation, as a contribution towards achieving sustainable development throughout the world”. It was adopted at Ramsar, Iran in 1971 and came into force in 1975. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is the depository of the Convention. The Secretariat of Ramsar Convention is functioning within the headquarters of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) in Gland, Switzerland. On 21 August 2015, the Contracting Parties approved the Four Ramsar Strategic Plan for 2016-2024. Besides, the World Wetlands Day is celebrated on 2nd February every year. The Montreux Record is “a register of wetland sites on the List of Wetlands of International Importance where changes in ecological character have occurred, are occurring, or are likely to occur as a result of technological developments, pollution or other human interference”. It is maintained as part of the Ramsar List. Under the three pillars of the Convention, the contracting parties commit to:

1) Work towards the wise use of all their wetlands;
2) Designate suitable wetlands for the list of Wetlands of International Importance (the “Ramsar List”) and ensure their effective management;
3) Cooperate internationally on trans-boundary wetlands, shared wetland systems and shared species.

**The World Heritage Convention, 1972**

The World Heritage Convention in 1972 sought to identify and protect the world’s natural and cultural heritage considered to be of Outstanding Universal Value. It defines the criteria for the selection of natural and cultural sites to be inscribed on the UNESCO’s World Heritage List. The enforcement of the Convention is carried out through the Operational Guidelines, which reflects the procedures for new inscriptions, site protection, danger-listings, and the provision of international assistance under the World Heritage Fund. Moreover, the Convention is administered by the World Heritage Committee supported by the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, which is the secretariat of the Convention based at Paris. The Committee is also assisted by the three technical advisory committees – IUCN, ICOMOS and ICCROM.

**Activity**

Explore how the application of Artificial Intelligence can help conserve environment better.

**UN Conference on the Human Environment (1972)**

The UN Conference on the Human Environment or the Stockholm Conference was the first major multilateral conference.
on environmental issues. It was held at Stockholm in Sweden from June 5-16, 1972. The conference, which was attended by delegations from 114 governments, was a breakthrough by scripting a new discourse on environmental politics by laying the foundation of a global environmental governance regime based on international cooperation. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), was also an institutional innovation of the Stockholm Conference.

**Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild flora and fauna (CITES), 1973**

As an output of the 1973 resolution of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the CITES, which took place at Washington, seeks to control or prevent international commercial trade in endangered species or products derived from them. It is not a direct attempt towards the protection of the endangered species but aims to reduce the economic incentive that triggers the poaching of endangered species and the destruction of their habitat. Hence, the Convention seeks to eliminate this illicit market by decimating the end-user demand. The CITES, also called the Washington Convention entered into force in 1975.

**Convention on Migratory Species, 1979**

The Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals, also known as the Convention on Migratory Species (CMS) or the Bonn Convention, which came into force 1983, seeks to “conserve terrestrial, marine and avian migratory species throughout their range”. It proposed strict protective measures for endangered migratory species. Besides, multilateral agreements for the conservation and management of migratory species along with cooperative research activities which constitute the mandate of the Convention. Appendix I of the Convention deals with the list of migratory species that are categorized as endangered which requires immediate international cooperation to mitigate the same. On the other hand, Appendix II is a composite of other species that require significant attention or benefit from international agreements under the Convention.

**Vienna Convention for the Protection of Ozone Layer, 1985**

The Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer is a multilateral environmental agreement, which kick-started global cooperation for the protection of Earth’s ozone layer. It was adopted on 22 March 1985. Subsequently, the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer was adopted on 16 September 1987 which came into effect in 1989. This international treaty looks into eliminating the use of ozone-depleting substances (ODS). The Ozone Secretariat located at Nairobi, Kenya is the Secretariat for both the Vienna Convention and Montreal Protocol.
World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987

The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), also known as the Brundtland Commission after its chairperson Gro Harlem Brundtland, helped chalk out the strategies for environmental conservation and sustainable development. Its final report titled Our Common Future, published in 1987 underscores the interdependence of environmental protection with other factors like economic development and energy production and have become the lynchpin of the international environmental law until now. The idea of sustainable development received the first-ever official definition under this initiative.


The Basel Convention which came into force in 1992, was a response to NIMBY (Not in My Back Yard) syndrome, that grappled the industrialized world in the 1980s with regard to the heightening concerns about the hazardous wastes and the public resistance to it resulting in an upsurge of disposal costs. It created a market for hazardous wastes particularly in the environmentally-less-conscious Least Developed Countries (LDCs) which offered cheap disposal alternatives. The Convention sought to reduce the trans-boundary movement of hazardous wastes by taking necessary steps to minimize the creation of such wastes along with measures to prohibit the shipment of such substances from the developed world to the LDCs.


The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, which also earned fame as the Earth Summit, was held on during 3-14 June 1992 at Rio de Janeiro. The Summit which is credited to be the biggest international conference in the history of international relations, focussed on myriad issues ranging from patterns of production to alternative sources of energy, public transportation and the growing need for environmental awareness. Agenda 21, the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, the Statement of Forest Principles, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, and the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity are the documental results of the two-week summit. The Rio process also triggered the constitution of a couple of follow-up
mechanisms such as the Commission on Sustainable Development, Inter-Agency Committee on Sustainable Development, and the High-level Advisory Board on Sustainable Development. The conference was also regarded as the ‘Parliament of the World’.

An audience and critical favorite, “An Inconvenient Truth” makes the compelling case that global warming is real, man-made, and its effects will be cataclysmic if we don’t act now. Gore presents a wide array of facts and information in a thoughtful and compelling way: often humorous, frequently emotional, and always fascinating. In the end, An Inconvenient Truth accomplishes what all great films should: it leaves the viewer shaken, involved and inspired.

**UN Convention to Combat Desertification, 1994**

As the only legally binding international agreement connecting environment and development on lines of sustainable land management, the 1994 UN Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD) aims to address a range of most vulnerable ecosystems, particularly the arid, semi-arid, and dry sub-humid areas, known as the drylands. The newly adopted UNCCD 2018-2030 Strategic Framework, through its Land Degradation Neutrality (LDN) measures, is a bid to restore the productivity of the degraded lands along with improving the livelihood of people in these regions. The Secretariat of the Convention, established in 1999, functions at Bonn in Germany. Since 2001, the Conference of Parties (COP), which is the supreme decision-making apparatus, meets biennially and have had 13 sessions till date. The Ankara and Changwon Initiatives are the latest the agenda launched by the UNCCD.

**Activity**

Read about the most important environmental movements at the national and state levels.

**General Assembly Special Session on the Environment, 1997**

In a bid to review the progress of the post-Earth Summit environmental regime, the UN General Assembly (UNGA) convened a Special Session on Implementation of Agenda 21 during June 23-27, 1997. The session sought to scrutinise the trajectory of the success of Agenda 21 and attempted to evolve a new narrative on the environmental conservation by intensifying the commitment of member states. The special session, which is also known as “Earth Summit + 5”, adopted “Programme for the Further Implementation of Agenda 21, including Statement of Commitment”.

**Activity**

Have a discussion on why is international agreements an necessary for the reduction of greenhouse gases.

**Kyoto Protocol, 1997**

The Kyoto Protocol, adopted on 11th December 1997, is an international environmental treaty that enhances the scope of the UNFCCC (1992) that imposed legal commitment on the ratified State Parties to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. It came into force on 16th February 2005. Considering the historical responsibility of the developed

world for the high levels of GHG footprint, the treaty places a stringent mandate on them under the principle of “common but differentiated responsibilities”. The COP 7 held at Marrakesh in Morocco in 2007 adopted the detailed framework for the protocol. It is usually referred to as the “Marrakesh Records”. After the first commitment which began in 2008, the protocol was amended on 8 December 2012 at Doha, Qatar.

The Doha Amendment to the Kyoto Protocol endorsed a second commitment to the Annex I countries starting from 1 January 2013 to 31 December 2020. Along with a series of changes on certain articles, the protocol now requires the State Parties to report a revised list of GHG for the period second commitment. Unlike the first commitment target of reducing emissions to an average of five per cent below 1990 levels, a minimum eight per cent reduction against the same year benchmark is expected under the second commitment. The three market-based mechanisms identified by the Kyoto Protocol to meet the targets are International Emissions Trading, Clean Development Mechanism and Joint Implementation, which help support green investment and provide cost-effective means to realize the emission targets.

World Summit on Sustainable Development, 2002

The UN-backed World Summit on Sustainable Development took place at Johannesburg, South Africa during August 26 – September 6, 2002. The Convention which was informally referred to as Earth Summit 2002 went on to resuscitate the spirit of its prequel by tabling new challenges and concerns that affect the environmental realm. This renewed environmentalism in the new format offered a sustainability-driven roadmap in addressing the problems of the millennium. The Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development, the documental by-product of the summit, reemphasized the basic tenets of the multilateral initiatives in the past with more force. It postulated the necessity of a time-bound structure of actions expected from the member states over an array of agreements including Agenda 21. Moreover, the Convention succumbed to severe castigations from various quarters over its inability to bring any new arrangement of its own.

UN Conference on Sustainable Development, 2012

The UN Conference on Sustainable Development, also known as Rio+20, was held at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil on 20-22 June 2012. With its uncompromising stand on rolling out an affirmative sustainable development plan, the member states focussed on evolving a process for the development of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that combines with Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Moreover, the adoption of ground-breaking guidelines for green economy policies was another result of the Rio+20. The conference also sought to constitute an inter-governmental process under the General Assembly to frame a strategy concerning finance vis-à-vis sustainable development. An agreement to establish a high-level political forum for sustainable development was also achieved. The report of the conference was themed “The Future We Want”.
UN Sustainable Development Summit, 2015

As a high-level plenary meeting of the UNGA, the UN Sustainable Development Summit, which spanned over 25-27 September 2015 at the UN Headquarters in New York, adopted the post-2015 agenda titled “Transforming our World: 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development”. It is a composite of a Declaration, 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and 169 targets. The SDGs came into effect in 2016 and will guide the discourse on sustainable development until 2030.

The Sustainable Development Goals adopted are as follows

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goal 1</th>
<th>End poverty in all its forms everywhere</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goal 2</td>
<td>End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal 3</td>
<td>Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal 4</td>
<td>Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal 5</td>
<td>Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goal 6</td>
<td>Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal 7</td>
<td>Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal 8</td>
<td>Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal 9</td>
<td>Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal 10</td>
<td>Reduce inequality within and among countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal 11</td>
<td>Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal 12</td>
<td>Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal 13</td>
<td>Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal 14</td>
<td>Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal 15</td>
<td>Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal 16</td>
<td>Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal 17</td>
<td>Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Activity

Make a copy of diagrams complete it by naming eight types of Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)

Discuss - Why is it important for future generations that development should be sustainable?

Paris Agreement, 2016

The Paris Agreement (L’accord de Paris in French) is a multilateral agreement within the precincts of the UNFCCC. It provides an enhanced framework for the mitigation of greenhouse gases emission, adaptation and finance starting in the year 2020. It was opened for signature on 22 April 2016 and came into force on 4 November 2016. As an instrument to combat climate change, the Paris Accord aims to keep global temperatures “well below” 2.0 C (3.6 F) above pre-industrial times and “endeavour to limit” them even more to, 1.5 C. It also helped reach a consensus on limiting the human-driven greenhouse gases emission to the levels naturally absorbable by trees, soil and oceans, between 2050 and 2100. Apart from the mandatory periodical review every five years to assess the contributions of the State Parties, the treaty also ensures that the developed countries shall help LDCs in adapting with the climate change through “climate finance” to enable them to switch over to renewable energy. Until now, 184 out of the 197 State Parties have ratified the treaty.

Activity

US President Donald Trump has announced withdrawal from Paris deal. In the context the students are requested to discuss the world response regarding post Kyoto to reduce globe warming.

India’s Commitment to Paris Deal

- In anticipation of this moment, countries publicly outlined what post-2020 climate actions they intended to take under the new international agreement, known as their Intended Nationally Determined contributions.
- In its INDC, India has pledged to improve the emissions intensity of its GDP by 33 to 35 per cent by 2030 below 2005 levels. It has also pledged to increase the share of non-fossil fuels-based electricity to 40 per cent by 2030. It has agreed to enhance its forest cover which will absorb 2.5 to 3 billion tonnes of carbon dioxide (CO₂, the main gas responsible for global warming) by 2030 INDCs.
- India has also reiterated its need for international finance and technology support to meet its climate goals. In this regard, it has said it would require at least US $ 2.5 trillion (at 2014-15 prices) to meet its climate change actions between now and 2030.
12.3 India’s Stand on Environmental Issues

India’s engagement in global environmental governance has been remarkable. From the 1972 Stockholm Conference to the COP21 in 2015, New Delhi possesses impressive credentials in terms of the diplomatic and administrative capital invested. The then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi’s speech at the Stockholm Conference evoked a new sense of politico-environmental consciousness which held the developed countries, i.e. North, responsible for escalating the ecological threat indicators. The ideological undercurrents of the Indian environmental policies, particularly the climate change, can be traced back to the preparations for the Rio Earth Summit 1992 wherein an important report titled “Global Warming in an Unequal World” of the Centre for Science and Environment (CSE) which attacked the West for its ginormous contribution to the global carbon footprint as “carbon colonialism”. India has invariably rejected GHG reduction commitments from the developing countries as inequitable provided that the “South” has played a little role in triggering the so-called “climate issues” of the present day magnitude.

Domestically, measures are taken at the constitutional and statutory levels to address environmental concerns. Some of the important legal documents dealing with environment in the country are: Environment Protection Act (1986), Wildlife Protection Act (1972), Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act (1981), Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act (1974), Indian Forest Act (1927) and so forth. The Ministry of Environment, Forest and Climate Change is the nodal agency responsible for environmental policy formulation and implementation in the country. The judiciary also plays an unparalleling role through the instrument of judicial activism on environmental matters.

National Green Tribunal

National Green Tribunal, established in 2010, deals with the expeditious disposal of cases of environmental importance

India and International Cooperation on Environment

New Delhi is a member of many of the multilateral environmental conventions, treaties and institutions. The Indian government underscores the historical responsibility of the west in the environmental degradation and projects its low per capita emissions. Climate change, as exemplified in the national policy narrative, acquires the position of being a development issue, basing “inter-generational equity” (which stands for greater environmental protection) that requires the current generation to treat development as a matter of urgency so that the upcoming generations receive an Earth invulnerable to climate change.

As a party to the Paris Accord, India subscribes to the non-negotiable nature of
the agreement. Besides, the Government of India reemphasises “equity” and Common but Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities (CBDR-RC). New Delhi’s commitment to decarbonisation embraces a strategy to reduce its reliance on coal and to evolve a renewable energy-driven economy. India’s role in global agenda of environmentalism reached a new high with the establishment of the International Solar Alliance, an idea proposed by the Indian government, in 2016.

Cochin International Airport

Cochin International Airport (CIAL), Kerala, is the world’s first fully solar-powered airport.

Despite pushing a stern rhetoric, India’s environmental profile is one of the worst in the world. According to a report launched by Global Carbon Project in 2018, India is the 4th largest emitter of carbon which accounts for 7% of the

**International Solar Alliance**

- The International Solar Alliance (ISA) is an alliance of more than 122 countries initiated by India, most of them being sunshine countries, which lie either completely or partly between the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn, now extended to all members of UN.
- The Paris Declaration establishes ISA as an alliance dedicated to the promotion of solar energy among its member countries.
- Objectives: The ISA’s major objectives include global deployment of over 1,000GW of solar generation capacity and mobilisation of investment of over US$ 1000 billion into solar energy by 2030.
- What it does? As an action-oriented organisation, the ISA brings together countries with rich solar potential to aggregate global demand, thereby reducing prices through bulk purchase, facilitating the deployment of existing solar technologies at scale, and promoting collaborative solar R&D and capacity building.
- When it entered into force? When the ISA Framework Agreement entered into force on December 6th, 2017, ISA formally became a de-jure treaty based International Intergovernmental Organization, headquartered at Gurugram, India.

**Nagoya Protocol**

The Nagoya Protocol on Access to Genetic Resources and the Fair and Equitable Sharing of Benefits Arising from their Utilization to the Convention on Biological Diversity, also known as the Nagoya Protocol on Access and Benefit Sharing (ABS) is a 2010 supplementary agreement to the 1992 Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD).

Its aim is the implementation of one of the three objectives of the CBD the fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising out of the utilization of genetic resources, thereby contributing to the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity.
global emissions in the year 2017. Another report titled Environmental Performance Index (EPI) for the year 2018 ranks India 177 among 180 countries. The low ranking is deemed to be a result of poor performance in the environmental health policy and deaths due to air pollution.

12.4 Indigenous People and their Rights

Definition

In a popular sense, the very meaning of cultural diversity is often represented by indigenous peoples. Approximately 350 million indigenous peoples belonging to 5000 different cultures are residing over 20 percent of the Earth's territory. Of all the challenges concerning the realm of indigenous people and their rights, the most arduous has been the inability to reach a consensus on who are indigenous peoples. Hence, the dilemma centres on the fundamental question vis-à-vis the factors that converge in building what indigeneity means. Even the UN Working Group on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples could not arrive at a formal definition that explains the true identity of theirs. The primary dilemma that made this process a rigmarole was the inconclusiveness on working out a set of absolute parameters that assign indigeneity to a group.

Self-Identification

There is no international agreement on the definition of indigenous peoples. Indigenous communities decide their case of indigeneity. It is called “Self-Identification”.

Is it the smallness in the population that matters? Or is it the proximity to one's own land, and the corresponding longevity, and a conventional non-
industrial lifestyle that make up the indigenous identity? An element of uniformity was achieved on defining certain groups such as the First Nation/Native American of North America, the residents of the Amazon jungles, Inuit from the far North and the indigenous groups based in Papua New Guinea. Out of the multiple attempts in search of a universally recognized definition, the one by Julian Berger, a UN official, stands important. According to him, “the notion of belonging to a separate culture with all its various elements – language, religion, social, political systems, moral values, scientific and philosophical knowledge, beliefs, legends, laws, economic systems, technology, art, clothing, music, dance, architecture, and so on – is central to indigenous people’s own definition”. He further states, indigenous peoples:

1) are the descendants of the original habitants of a territory which has been overcome by conquest;
2) are nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples, such as shifting cultivators, herders and hunters and gatherers, and practice a labour-intensive form of agriculture which produces little surplus and has low energy needs;
3) do not have centralized political institutions and organize at the level of the community and make decisions on a consensus basis;
4) have all the characteristics of a national minority: they share a common language, religion, culture, and other identifying characteristics and a relationship to a particular territory but are subjugated by a dominant culture and society;
5) have a different world view, consisting of a custodial and non-materialist attitude to land and natural resources, and want to pursue a separate development to that proffered by the dominant society;
6) consist of individuals who subjectively consider themselves to be indigenous, and are accepted by the group as such.

The contemporary understanding is that the indigenous peoples, in general, are marked by deficits in authority and political power, and the corresponding absence of inclusion. Their existence is also characterized by subordination to an immigrant or ethnic group-dominant state. It is important to note that their indigeneity is not a product of the lack of power. Rather, the powerlessness emanates from their indigeneity. These groups, with their inherent and inviolable constancy to the conventional way of life-based on the endemic values and traditions, kept them aloof from the evolution that helped advance the social, political and economic establishments. In turn, the indigenous peoples were looked upon as a threat to this “march of progress” and the changing order of life. It is also important to know that the indigenous populations are not essentially “socially-static” or status-quoists. The global tendency to accuse them as conservative is a result of their
slow pace of response to the assimilation and adaptation against the increasing complexity of the macro-social systems.

World Indigenous People Day

International Day of the World’s Indigenous People is celebrated on 9th August every year.

Albeit there is not any demographic cut-off, it has been observed that their numerical composition is largely limited with their presence felt in the form of small societies. The indigenous identity bears a spatial configuration given the multi-generational proximity maintained with the land and resources. Hence, the alienation from the same often brings critical manifestations as it constitutes a concern of collective identity and interests from a traditional perspective. An element of mobility also finds its way in what forges one of the most significant undercurrents of indigeneity. The pursuit of “seasonal resources” drives them to relocate frequently in the ancestral territories throughout the year. On the flipside, they also see to it that a major settlement is sustained where their unbroken cultural and social activities are based.

The western or industrial ideas of wealth have seldom found any level of acceptance among these groups. Moreover, some of the old definitions focus on their animosity with the concept of a surplus economy, which appears in their patterns of living. Unlike such inaccurate generalization, there are anecdotal shreds of evidence to prove that there have been communities within the bandwidth of indigeneity who were financially well-off and economically stable. Hence, it is implausible to rule out the traces of elitism at their endemic confines. Besides, any form of detachment, if at all, from their conventional affiliations cannot tantamount to the dilution of the indigeneity. Many of the indigenous communities are undergoing the processes of decolonization and indigenousization. As historical societies, their collective conscience based on past experiences of oppression and exploitation has often induced them to engagements in a spectrum of affairs ranging from agitations against colonialism and environmental degradation to various social imbalances. Furthermore, the declining number of indigenous populace has rung alarm bells across the world, which invokes heated polemics on the same.

Let’s have a look at some of the most important indigenous societies in the world:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Community</th>
<th>Place of Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haida</td>
<td>West Coast of Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inuit/Eskimo</td>
<td>Canada/Arctic/Alaska/Greenland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yanomami</td>
<td>Amazon Basin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackfoot</td>
<td>Canada/United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohawk</td>
<td>Canada/United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innu</td>
<td>Labrador/Quebec, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chittagong Hill Tribes</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sami</td>
<td>Scandinavia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bushmen</td>
<td>Southern Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aka</td>
<td>Central Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okiek</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedda</td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarawas</td>
<td>Andaman Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agta</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Building an Indian conceptual case of indigeneity receives both theoretical and empirical setbacks. Officially, the Government of India hardly recognizes any community in the country as indigenous. However, experts are of the view that there are three assumptions that help construct an Indian approach towards the puzzle of indigenous identity. They are: a) Indigenous are those groups of people who have lived in a region or country to which they belong before colonization or conquest by people from outside that region or country. b) They have become marginalized as a result of colonization or conquest of that region or country. c) Such groups are governed more by means of their own social, economic and cultural institutions rather than the laws which are applicable to the society or country as a whole. Besides, the concept of indigeneity in India is a product of the prevailing “tribal consciousness”. The idea of tribal identity has more often than not guided the national debates on what constitutes indigenous populace in India.

The indigenous groups in India have been referred under multiple titles. Adivasis (original inhabitants), Aborigines, Adim Jati (ancient tribes) or Vanavasi (forest dwellers). Under the constitution, they are recognized as “Scheduled Tribes” and their territories as “Scheduled Areas”. In spite of the absence of a formal definition by the Government of India, a loose definition in terms of reaching a legal consensus was constructed by bringing a set of features like “‘primitive' traits, distinctive culture, geographical isolation, shyness of contact with the community at large and backwardness”. Groups with a demographic base of millions such as Gonds and Bhils to the Great Andamanese, who are of around just dozens in strength, come under this category. Furthermore, Sharad Kulkarni, in his work “India: Indigenous communities in the sub-continent” (1988), says:

“The indigenous tribal peoples of India have lost most of their tranquil habitats; they have also lost some of their confidence and identity. Forces of oppression and exploitation have encroached upon tribal life and have reduced many of them to sub-human conditions. The laws meant for their protection have remained largely ineffective. However, efforts made some impact in raising their standard of living. Social activists have contributed to mobilizing them for the protection of their rights. The picture is rather gloomy and unclear but there are rays of hope on the horizon”.

### Activity

Identify the indigenous peoples based in the state of Tamil Nadu.

It is noteworthy that the Indian stance of indigeneity also coincides with the global strides of anticolonial imperatives supported by the canons of subaltern inputs. In addition, the concept of indigeneity in India more or less overlaps with what can be called “tribal consciousness”. Globally,
the indigenous groups are subjected to a great deal of challenges. By virtue of their identity, they are often mistreated as second-class citizens by the so-called “mainstream” citizens. The major challenges faced by the indigenous peoples are as follows:

**Threats and Issues faced by Indigenous People**

- Discrimination and structural violence
- Eviction from homeland resulting in the denial of land rights
- Technology-driven forced resettlement
- Exploitation of intellectual property such as traditional arts, stories etc.
- Physical removal from native territories
- Lack of access to traditional resources
- Destructive development and forced displacement
- Question of Autonomy and Self-Determination
- Neglect by civil society
- Only a few countries recognize indigenous peoples as legitimate groups
- Minimal political participation

**Rights of the Indigenous People**

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) was adopted on 13 September 2007 by the UN General Assembly. As the most comprehensive international instrument on the indigenous peoples’ rights, it seeks to ensure a “universal framework of minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the indigenous peoples of the world”. The Declaration contains 46 articles which is the outcome of a drafting process which began in 1985 by the Working Group on Indigenous Populations. In its essence, the UNDRIP is a manual for the governments of the world on how to revere the human rights of the indigenous communities. It also serves in helping the enforcement of other mechanisms, affecting indigenous groups, like the Convention on the Rights of the Child, ILO Convention 169, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

**Human Rights, Self-Determination and Nationality**

| Articles 1 – 6 | Right to all human rights  
|               | Right to freedom and equality and right against exploitation  
|               | Right to self-determination  
|               | Right to autonomy or self-government  
|               | Right to maintain their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural identity  
|               | Right to nationality |
### Life, Liberty, Culture and Security

**Articles 7 – 10**
- Right to life, liberty and security
- Right against forced assimilation or destruction of culture
- Right to belong to an indigenous community or a nation
- Right against forced removal or relocation

### Culture, Religion and Language

**Articles 11-13**
- Right to culture
- Right to spiritual and religious traditions and customs
- Right to know and use language, histories and oral traditions

### Education, Media and Employment

**Articles 14-17**
- Right to establish educational systems and access to culturally sensitive education
- Right to accurate reflection of indigenous cultures in education
- Right to create media in their own language and access to non-indigenous media
- Right to employment

### Participation and Development

**Articles 18-24**
- Right to participation in decision making
- Right of free, prior and informed consent for laws and policies
- Right to their own political, economic and social system, subsistence and development
- Right to economic and social well-being
- Right against violence and discrimination of indigenous elders, women, youth, children and persons with disabilities
- Right to set priorities and strategies for development
- Right to health

### Land and Resources

**Articles 25-32**
- Right to spiritual relationship with traditional land and resources
- Right to own, use, develop and control traditional land and resources
- Right to indigenous laws and traditions on land and resources
- Right to get back or to be compensated against the land acquisitions without their free, prior and informed consent
- Right against militarization on indigenous land without their free, prior and informed consent
- Right to cultural and intellectual property
- Right to decide on land and resource development
### Self-Government and Indigenous Laws

**Articles 33-37**
- Right to identity, membership and citizenship
- Right to distinctive institutional structures and customs
- Right to individual responsibilities
- Right to maintain and develop contacts, relations and cooperation
- Right to recognition, observance and enforcement of treaties and agreements

### Implementation

**Articles 38-42**
- Right to be consulted by the states in taking measures to achieve the ends of the Declaration
- Right to financial and technical assistance from States for the enjoyment of the rights contained in the Declaration
- Right to just and fair procedures for the conflicts and disputes with States or other parties
- The responsibility on the UN system and other intergovernmental agencies to contribute towards realization of the provisions of the Declaration.
- The responsibility of the UN, its bodies, including to Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, to promote respect for and full application of the provisions of the Declaration.

### Nature of Guarantee

**Articles 43-44**
- The rights as enshrined are considered the minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the indigenous people.
- Equal guarantee of all rights to male and female indigenous individuals.

### 12.5 How Right to Development is Relevant to the Contemporary Development Context?

Trade, investment, finance, aid, debt, technology, innovation and global governance, all have consequences for the achievement of the right to development, as do the global challenges mentioned above. The right to development demands that these difficult and diverse issues be addressed comprehensively and coherently with the ultimate policy objective of securing freedom from fear and freedom from want for everyone. This ultimate objective of development is broadly reflected in diverse and evolving policy arenas.

For example, the Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization states that “relations in the field of trade and economic endeavour should be conducted with a view to raising standards of living, [and] ensuring full employment, while allowing for the optimal use of the
world’s resources in accordance with the objective of sustainable development”. Similarly, the General Assembly in its annual resolutions on the right to development affirms human rights and improved human wellbeing as guiding considerations for multilateral trade negotiations and calls for mainstreaming the right to development and strengthening the global partnership for development within international trade institutions among other things. The right to development provides a framework for the consideration of extraterritorial obligations and the obligations of States in their collective capacities, including as members of international organizations like the World Trade Organization and multilateral development banks, and as actors in global trade, investment and finance.

As trade negotiations have proliferated and the human rights impact of trade and investment agreements is better understood, it has become increasingly clear that States must step up their efforts to integrate human rights, including the right to development, in new trade and investment in order to fulfil their human rights commitments. Likewise, the obligations outlined in the Declaration require that aid or official development assistance, as well as international lending, should be adequate, effective and transparent, administered through participatory and accountable processes, and targeted towards the countries, people and groups most in need, including within those States where the ability to mobilize domestic resources is weakest.

The Declaration’s mandate for international cooperation and equitable distribution also requires that technology and scientific innovation that can play a role in the fulfilment of human rights should be equitably shared in a manner that takes into account the needs of the most vulnerable. In practice, this requires a system of intellectual property protection that encourages innovation while ensuring that life-saving technologies are not withheld from the poor, vulnerable, marginalized and excluded. As the world faces new and constantly evolving challenges, the Declaration, with its emphasis on realizing all human rights for all individuals and peoples, international cooperation, equity and equality, continues to illuminate a way forward.

Significance of the right to development in the context of the 2030 Agenda, the Sustainable Development Goals and related processes

The right to development will continue to inform the 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda of the Third International Conference on Financing for Development. Importantly, there are explicit references to the right to development in both the 2030 Agenda and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda, in which States “commit to respecting all human rights, including the right to development”.

In order to realize the vision of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda for a world in which the benefits of development are equitably shared by all, States will need to ensure that right-to-development principles guide the implementation of their commitments. The preamble to the 2030 Agenda describes it as “a plan of action for people, planet and prosperity” in which “all countries and all stakeholders, acting in collaborative partnership, … are resolved to free the human race from the tyranny of poverty and want and to heal and secure our planet” while leaving no one behind.

The key principles contained in the Declaration on the Right to Development, including participation, non-discrimination, self-determination, individual and collective responsibility, international cooperation, and equity, are reaffirmed throughout the 2030 Agenda. The Sustainable Development Goals, which are incorporated in it, have been adopted by Member States without a vote and outline development objectives that are rooted in human rights commitments, including the right to development. These Goals, by taking a rights-based approach and calling for equitable development, improve upon the Millennium Development Goals and present new opportunities for development that benefits everyone.

In order to help realize these Goals, the 2030 Agenda directly integrates the Addis Ababa Action Agenda and its commitment to respect all human rights, including the right to development. The Addis Ababa Action Agenda calls for increased accountability for development financing commitments, including accountability for businesses pledges to provide a social protection floor for everyone, establishes a new technology facilitation mechanism and includes for the first time a follow-up and review mechanism for financing development. The implementation of the Addis Ababa Action Agenda requires an international system of financing for development that is just, equitable, cooperative, transparent and accountable, that integrates human rights commitments, and that makes the human person the central subject of development.

In this regard, measures to ensure the participation and empowerment of marginalized and excluded groups will be critical, including during the planned reviews of financing for development commitments and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Existing human rights mechanisms, such as the universal periodic review, the treaty bodies, the special procedures of the Human Rights Council, National human rights institutions, and regional and national human rights bodies, can contribute to follow-up and review to ensure that a right-to-development framework is being applied to development efforts. Effective follow-up and review furthermore require monitoring and measuring progress in the implementation of human rights, including the right to development, using relevant indicators.

Climate change, which has been integrated into the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and as a stand-alone goal in Sustainable Development Goal 13, also has significant human rights
implications. It threatens the full and effective enjoyment of a range of human rights, including the right to development, by people throughout the world, and its impact falls most heavily on the poorest and most marginalized individuals, groups, communities and countries that have contributed the least to greenhouse gas emissions.

The Declaration on the Right to Development requires that States cooperate to eliminate obstacles to development (climate change has shown itself to be a principal example) and do so with a view to eradicating social injustices. Recognizing that some States have contributed more to climate change than others and also that some States have more capacity to contribute to adaptation and mitigation efforts than others, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change requires States to take action on climate change “on the basis of equity and in accordance with their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities” (article 3 (1)). In their efforts to adapt to or mitigate climate change, States must seek to give the principle of equity and their commitment to international cooperation, which are both central to the right to development, meaningful operational force.

12.6 Globalization: Concept, Causes and Consequences

Meaning

Globalization postulates a structure of interaction among countries leading to an integrated world economy. This interaction is manifested in a variety of expressions ranging from social to political and cultural to economic and technological by means of improvising the means of communication, infrastructure and transportation. International trade and cross-border investments are acknowledged to be the vital factors in creating an integrated world economy. The idea of integration requires further examination given the inherent complexity. Theoretically, it consists of two subsets namely negative integration and positive integration. The former talks of the policy of free trade, which talks of removing trade barriers or protective barriers such as tariffs and quotas whereas the latter focusses on standardizing international economic laws and policies.

At any given layer of the term globalization in its truest sense refers to an emanating system of an international network on economic and social lines. One of the earliest applications of the term ‘globalization’ can be traced back to a 1930 publication titled ‘Towards New Education’ which sought to imply an overview of the human experience in education. In 1897, another term “corporate giants”, coined by Charles Russell Tazel, found its place in the economic literature that meant the big trusts and large enterprises. These two terms began to be used interchangeably between 1960 and 1980 by scholars within the realm of economics and other social sciences.

World Bank defines globalization as “the growing integration of economies and societies around the world”. The transformation of the term ‘globalization’ to a conceptual framework triggered a new array of thinking providing new interpretations and discourses on the
global economic narrative. With the end of the Cold War, the concept made its way to be representing a world that is progressively interdependent in its economic and informational dimension. Acting as a paradigm of spatial-temporal processes of change, globalization unpacks a template of fundamental metamorphosis which rescripts the international economic patterns.

According to World Health Organization (WHO), “Globalization, or the increased interconnectedness and interdependence of people and countries, is generally understood to include two interrelated elements: the opening of borders to increasingly fast flows of goods, services, finance, people and ideas across international borders; and the changes in institutional and policy regimes at the international and national levels that facilitate or promote such flows. It is recognized that globalization has both positive and negative impacts development”. It is clear that WHO provides a holistic approach in defining the notion of globalization by embracing socio-economic and politico-technological paradigms.

Globalization as a key element in the theory and practice of business posits a construct of connectivity across various spectra. The International Monetary Fund’s (IMF) identification of the four basic tenets of globalization in 2002 subsided the ambiguities concerning the term to a large extent. They are as follows: trade and transactions, capital movements and investment, migration and movement of people and the spreading of knowledge.

### Vectors of Globalization

Globalization as a process exhibits an array of patterns at various levels.

### Economic Dimension

Basing free trade in its axis, there is no room for dubiety that this is the highest manifestation of globalization. It is evident that the process of economic globalization has in the recent past has been dominated by a group of developed countries like the US, Japan, China etc. Multinational corporations (MNCs) such as Google, Microsoft, Apple, McDonalds etc. and international organizations like IMF and World Bank are at the forefront as the global market determinants. According to Bottery, economic globalization can be aptly expressed as the convergence of three different factors. They are as follows: 1) Increasing movement of capital around the world through information and technology. 2) The prevalence of supranational bodies such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), the World Bank, and the IMF. 3) Increased influence of Transnational Companies (TNCs).

### Activity

Make a copy of diagram. Complete it by adding two or three examples under each area.

**Inter dependence and Globalisation**

- Global Warming
- Transnational Corporations
- Mobile phones 5G
- Technology
- Environmental
- Economic
- Technological
- Social Cultural
- Political
- Music, Sport
- BRICS, G-20, UNO
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Socio-spatial Links</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Forms of Political Organization</th>
<th>Level of Technology (Production Principles and Production Revolution)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local Links</td>
<td>Up to the second half of the 4th Millennium BCE (~3500 BC)</td>
<td>Pre-state (simple and medium complexity) political forms, the first complex polities</td>
<td>Hunter-gatherer production principle, beginning of the agrarian production principle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Links</td>
<td>Second half of the 4th Millennium BCE – the first half the 1st Millennium BCE (~3500 – 490 BCE)</td>
<td>Early states and their analogues; the first empires</td>
<td>The second phase of the agrarian revolution; agrarian production principle reaches its maturity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcontinental Links</td>
<td>From the second half of the 1st millennium BCE - late 15th century CE (~490 BCE – 1492 CE)</td>
<td>Rise of empires and first developed states</td>
<td>Final phase of the agrarian production principle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceanic (Intercontinental Links)</td>
<td>From the late 15th century to early 19th century (~1492 – 1821)</td>
<td>Rise of developed states, first mature states</td>
<td>The first phase of the industrial production principle and industrial revolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Links</td>
<td>From the early 19th century - the 1960s and 1970s</td>
<td>Mature states and early forms of supranational entities</td>
<td>The second phase of the industrial revolution and the final phase of the industrial production principle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planetary Links</td>
<td>From the last third of the 20th century to the mid-21st century</td>
<td>Formation of supranational entities, washing out of state sovereignty, search for new types of political unions and entities, planetary governance forms</td>
<td>The start and development of scientific-information revolution whose second phase is forecasted for the 2030s and 2040s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2. The correlation between spatial links, political organization and level of technology*
Cultural Dimension

Globalization acts as an agent of transmission of ideas and cultures across the world. It is more often used in synonymous with the term “modernity”. Mostly, the patterns of this process was geared toward creating a “homogenous” standards of practices, and inculcation of ideas and values, short of a single world culture. Arguably, the inception of this vector could be traced back to the nascence of global trade. Every commodity is an expression of one’s culture. For instance, the Indian fashion industry embraced the “denim” clothing since the advent of western textile MNCs into the domestic market. Moreover, thanks to the growing domains of communication, particularly in the form of social media platforms such Facebook, Twitter and so forth, which bring peoples hailing from different regions and cultural affiliations together, making this exchange a cakewalk. These new synthetic and virtual interaction which replaced the physical interaction across various quarters, help rewrite the new order of global subcultures. Globalization, in this sense, unlike some critics claim, is not amounting to westernization or Americanization. In cultural terms, it represents a template of mutual reciprocity. Hence, it’s not just about how non-western societies adapt the cultural aspects of the west, but also the cases wherein the western system imbibe foreign values, both tangibly and intangibly.

Political Dimension

With the end of the Second World War in 1945, the hitherto-dominated control of the state apparatuses over the welfare of citizens were slowly eroding. The period, since then, was characterized by the emergence of non-state actors like Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) and supranational organizations as important players in the domain of human affairs. The trends went one to experience the rising membership of nation-states in multilateral bodies such as the UN, European Union (EU) and so forth. Furthermore, the dissemination of liberal-democratic ideas, collapse of communist systems like USSR, and galloping number regional organizations also add up to the political undercurrents of globalization. Ideologically, globalization fosters a cosmopolitan character over nationalistic sentiments. Though a single world government may be impractical, in realist terms, a considerable amount of cooperation has been able to be achieved among the comity of nations. Critics opine that with the increasing role of non-state actors, the state systems are facing the erosion of sovereignty as they are losing the hitherto-enjoyed control over economic activities.

Merits of Globalisation

a) The world has become more interdependent economically, socially, culturally, and politically.
b) The concept of free trade ensure job growth; increases competition; movement of labour; economic prosperity; minimal interference of state in economic activities.
c) It seeks to bring economic balance to poor regions by injecting technology and foreign capital.
d) It helps alleviate poverty and promotes economic prosperity.
e) It promotes inter-cultural communication and cosmopolitanism.
Demerits of Globalization
a) The most important accusation ever raised against globalisation is that the “rich becomes richer and poor becomes poorer”.
b) Risks of the theft of intellectual property are high.
c) Inequitable distribution of resources.
d) States become subservient to corporate interests.

In the book ‘The Race to the Top: The Real Story of Globalization’, Thomas Larsson argues that globalization “is the process of the shrinking of the world, the shortening of distances, and the closeness of things. It allows the increased interaction of any person on one part of the world to someone found on the other side of the world, in order to benefit”.

The UNDP reports that “during the most recent period of rapid growth in global trade and investment, 1960 to 1998, inequality worsened both internationally and within countries. The richest 20 percent of the world’s population consume 86 percent of the world’s resources while the poorest 80 percent consume just 14 percent”.

12.7 India and Globalization

The general idea of globalization in India is related to the integration of the national economy with the world economy. Hence, it underscores the opening up of the domestic economy to foreign direct investment (FDI) which requisites a conducive environment for foreign firms to invest in various fields of economic activities. This calls for the removal of restraints and barriers for allowing the entry of multinational corporations (MNCs) into the domestic market.

**Activity**

Identify the top ten MNCs functioning in India.

India’s present ascendancy in the economic trajectories is a consequence of the New Economic Policy (NEP) which initiated a massive scheme of fiscal reforms following the 1991 financial crisis. It liberated the country from the shackles of the socialist model and reconfigured the domestic economic structure which helped improve the poor standards of living. The balance of payments crisis gave an impetus for a new economic discourse in the country which in turn led to policy development that embraced an export-friendly ecosystem along with the inflow of foreign capital. The crisis was a result of the soaring currency reserves which reached up to a mark of almost billion which took inflation to an upsurge at an annual rate of 17 per cent. Furthermore, the fiscal deficit was surging and an unstable economy reigned in.

The NEP, popularly known as the Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation (LPG), that came up in July 1991, sought to transform the national economy to a globally competent and fast growing economy. Industry, trade and finance constituted the major sectors which underwent a dramatic change. The economic compulsions both at home and abroad necessitated a reorientation that would fasten the country with the global market on a rapid pace. As initiated in the 1990s, the most important measures taken up as part of the LPG can be summarised as follows:
The three industries reserved for the public sector are:
1. Arms and ammunition and allied items of defence equipment, defence aircraft and warships.
2. Atomic energy.
3. Railway transport

List of industries which mandatorily require licensing are as follows:
- Distillation and brewing of alcoholic drinks.
- Cigars and Cigarettes of tobacco and manufactured tobacco substitutes.
- Electronic Aerospace and Defence equipment: all types.
- Industrial explosives including detonating fuses, safety fuses, gun powder, nitrocellulose and matches.
- Hazardous chemicals.
- Drugs and Pharmaceuticals

a) **Devaluation:** The foremost attempt towards globalisation was devaluing the national currency by 18-19 against major currencies in the foreign exchange market. The measure sought to help survive the balance of payment crisis.

b) **Disinvestment:** In a bid to boost privatisation, the government began selling the shares of the public sector undertakings (PSUs) to private players.

c) **Elimination of license raj:** Doing away with industrial licensing constituted another strategy to boost the spirit of a liberal market. As a result, most of the industrial initiatives were exempted from license from the government.

d) **Foreign Direct Investment (FDI):** This opened the vistas of foreign capital flow, by allowing overseas companies to invest directly into the Indian market. In 2018, the Government of India allowed 100% FDI in some sectors like single-brand retail and construction.

e) **Abolition of MRTP Act:** In pursuance of liberalisation, the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices (MRTP) Act (1969), which regulates monopolistic, restrictive and unfair trade practices, was abolished by the Government of India. It was replaced the Competition Act in 2002, which introduced a new focus of promoting competition instead of anti-monopoly measures.

**Activity**

1. Students are requested get some insight on the presence status of Globalization, concerns of world and India with regard to Globalization.

2. Students are requested understand the importance of World Trade Organisation (WTO) in the context of Globalisation.

3. Analysis the world Trade scenario in context of World Trade War (WTW). How relevant is World Trade Organisation in this scenario?

**Glossary**

- **Abatement:** Reducing the degree or intensity of, or eliminating, pollution.
- **Air Quality:** A measure of the level of pollution in the air.
- **Biodiversity:** A short form of the phrase ‘biological diversity’, which means the variety of life on this planet and how it interacts within habitats and ecosystems. Biodiversity covers all plants, animals and micro-organisms on land and in water.
Biomass: All the living material in a given area; often refers to vegetation.

Carbon Credit: A unit of carbon dioxide bought to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

Ecosystem: The interacting system of a biological community and its nonliving environmental surroundings.

Environment: The sum of all external conditions affecting the life, development, and survival of an organism.

Environmental Impact Statement: A statement about the expected effects on the environment of a proposed project or development such as a new road or waste water treatment plant, including how any severe effects on the environment will be addressed.

Greenhouse Effect: The warming of the Earth's atmosphere caused by a build-up of carbon dioxide or other trace gases; many scientists believe that this build up allows light from the sun's rays to heat the Earth but prevents a counterbalancing loss of heat.

Radioactive: A material is said to be radioactive if it emits radiation.

Reforestation: The process of planting trees in forest lands to replace those that have been cut down.

Sustainable Development: Development using land or energy sources in a way that meets the needs of people today without reducing the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

Thermal Pollution: Discharge of heated water from industrial processes that can affect the life processes of aquatic organisms.

Zero Emissions: An engine, motor or other energy source that does not produce any gas or release any harmful gases directly into the environment.

I. Choose the correct answer

1. Where is the Secretariat of the World Heritage Convention situated?
   (a) New Delhi   (b) Paris   (c) Berlin   (d) Washington

2. Where was the UN Conference on Human Environment (1972) held?
   (a) Paris   (b) Athens   (c) Stockholm   (d) Moscow

3. Who among the following was the Chairman of WCED, 1987?
   (a) Gro Harlem Brundtland   (b) Ban Ki Moon   (c) Shashi Tharoor   (d) Vandana Shiva

4. Which of the following is the manual for governments of the world on the rights of indigenous communities?
   (a) UNGRIP   (b) UNDRIP   (c) UNTRIP   (d) UNCRIP
5. By which law the MRTP Act (1969) was replaced?
   (a) Cooperation Ac  (b) Competition Act
   (c) Coordination Act (d) None of the Above

6. The report themed “The Future We Want” deals with______.
   (a) Rio+18  (b) Rio+19
   (c) Rio+20  (d) Rio+21

7. The Montreal Protocol deals with______.
   (a) Ozone Layer  (b) Ocean Health
   (c) Forests (d) Desert

8. The UNEP stands for______.
   (a) United Nations Environment Programme
   (b) United Nations Ecology Programme
   (c) United Nations Efficiency Programme
   (d) United Nations Environmental Programme

9. Which among the following SDGs seeks to ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns?
   (a) Goal 11  (b) Goal 12
   (c) Goal 13  (d) Goal 14

10. The Jarawa tribes are found at______.  
    (a) Assam  (b) Lakshadweep
     (c) Sri Lanka (d) Andaman Islands

11. Which of the following conventions was regarded as the “Parliament of the World? 
    (a) UNCED (1992) (b) UNCCD (1994)
   (c) UNCSD (2012)  (d) CMS (1983)

II. Answer the following questions very shortly
1. What is Indigeneity?
2. What is Globalisation?
3. What is Kyoto Protocol?
4. Define Environmentalism.
5. What is Environmental Law?
6. Define Environmental Activism.

III. Answer the following questions shortly
2. Briefly discuss the factors that led to inception of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation (LPB) in India.
3. Give an account on Scheduled Tribes in India.
4. Briefly discuss the significance of Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) in India.
5. Give a brief account of the Ramsar Convention.

IV. Answer the following questions in detail
1. Trace the evolution of Environmental Movements in India.
2. Critically analyse the Environmental Protection Act, 1986.
3. Examine the challenges faced by Indigenous communities.
4. Discuss the organization, powers and functions of the Indian Ministry of Environment, Forest and Climate Change.
5. Discuss the organization, powers and functions of the National Green Tribunal of India.

Reference Books

Web links
- Department of Economic and Social Affairs, UN. https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us.html
- International Monetary Fund. https://www.imf.org/
ICT Corner

World Rescue

Through this activity you will learn more about World Rescue

Procedure:


Step - 2  Click on continue to start the game.

Step - 3  Follow the instructions given.

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*Pictures are indicatives only.
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PREAMBLE

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens:

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;
LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;
EQUALITY of status and of opportunity;
and to promote among them all
FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.
Political Science – XII
List of Authors and Reviewer

Domain Expert
Prof. Ramu Manivannan, HOD, Dept. of Political and Public Administration, University of Madras, Chennai.

Reviewer
Prof. A. Karunanandam, HOD (Retd), Dept. of History, Vivekananda College, Chennai.

Authors
Dr. Hariharan, Associate Professor, Dept of Political Science, MCC, Chennai,
Dr. S. Sudha, Associate Professor, Dept of Political Science, MCC, Chennai,
Dr. S. Balamurugan, Asst Professor, Dept of Political Science, Periyar Govt. Arts College, Cuddalore.
Dr. K. Kottairajan, Asst Professor, Dept of Political Science, Periyar Govt. Arts College, Cuddalore.
Dr. Haans Freddy, Asst Professor, Dept of Political Science, MCC, Chennai.
Adarsh Vijay, Asst Professor, Dept of Political Science, MCC, Chennai.
Dr. Meera Rajeev Kumar, Asst Professor, Dept of Public Administration, MCC, Chennai.
Dr. Ashik J Bonofer, Asst Professor, Dept of Political Science, MCC, Chennai.

Content Reader
V. Deepanvisveswari, IAS Trainee, Pallavaram, Chennai.

Activities Designer
Dr. P. Arunachalam, Director, Palaniappa Matric HR Sec. School, Avinashi, Tirupur.

ICT Co-ordinator
A. Ajay, SGT PUMS, Nanthimangalam, Kumaratchi Block, Cuddalore.

Academic Co-ordinator
R. Malarkodi, Assistant Professor, SCERT, Chennai.

QR Code Management Team
R. Jaganathan,
Pums, Ganesapuram- Polur
M. Murugesan, B.T. Asst,
Pums, Pethavelankottagam, Muttupettai, Thiruvarur.
S. Albert Valavan Babu, B.T. Asst,
GHS, Perumal Kovil, Paramakudi, Ramanathapuram

Art and Design Team
Illustration
Pramoth, Velmurugan
Students
Government College of Fine Arts, Chennai

Layout
V2 Innovations, Chennai.

In-House QC
M. Yesu Rathinam
B. Yogesh
C. Prasanth
Selva Kumar

Wrapper design
Kathir Arumugam

Co-ordination
Ramesh Munisamy

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