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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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Mains Harvest

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OFFICERS IAS ACADEMY
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MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

Dear Aspirant,

This book is dedicated to YOU, the untiring civil service aspirant who has the drive and commitment to persevere towards clearing this exam which is considered as one of the toughest exams in the world.

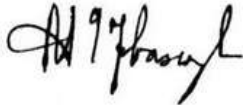
We congratulate you on choosing this book for “**International Relations**”. Our attempt here is to simplify important concepts without losing the key points. Hence, we hope you will find this book useful in your civil services journey.

About this book

This book is a distillation of the expertise of the faculty at Officers IAS academy, explained in simple and easy to understand language. What you get to study in this book has been painstakingly collated by our faculty through their years of teaching and mentoring thousands of aspirants.

A strong zeal from you to clear this exam combined with our coaching and textbook will, I am sure help you scale great heights.

I wish you the very best in the most important endeavour of your life.



R. A. Israel Jebasingh

(IAS, 2004 Batch All India Rank 59)

Director of Officers IAS Academy

HOW TO USE THIS BOOK?

Hello Aspirant!

There is a subtle difference between putting in effort and putting in the right and focussed effort. That difference could determine whether you get into the civil services or not! This statement becomes highly relevant during the UPSC Main Examination stage.

Aspirants know that every mark scored or missed in the Main examination determines their presence as well as their place in the All-India Rank list. Unlike the Preliminary examination, Main exams are fairly predictable. But with Mains, completing the examination on time becomes the biggest challenge.

Even with persistent efforts, aspirants generally tend to struggle in completing the Mains Syllabus. And even when the syllabus is covered, there is a struggle in recollecting appropriate points during the examination.

Such challenges are faced by all UPSC Mains Candidates. This is because of the sheer mindboggling number of topics, dimensions, and links with current affairs that aspirants have to sift through in their mind before writing an answer – something that is indeed a herculean task.

We in the R&D team of the Officers IAS Academy, have been pondering over this challenge, and have found a solution.

Our R&D team spent a year meticulously combing through the *past 47 years'* Mains General Studies question papers, to identify all possible topics and dimensions ever covered for each subject in an UPSC Main examination. Our researchers, then set out to prepare a series of books for each of the 'Main exam subjects' (pertaining to GS1, GS2, & GS3) where all relevant content is covered in a scientific and precise manner. Aspirants can confidently use these books to 'complete' the UPSC Main Exam syllabus effectively and efficiently.

Please note, we do not advocate the use of these 'Mains Harvest' books as 'Standard' sources. However, instead of reading endless number of books for the UPSC preparation, aspirants can focus on the standard books (NCERTs) for foundational knowledge and then devote the rest of their time in studying the Officers IAS Academy's Mains Harvest books.

For you, dear aspirants, we have practically 'harvested' the 'essence' of the UPSC main examination to produce the 'Mains Harvest' book series. Use them well!

Thanking and wishing you all the very best in your preparations,

R&D Team,

Officers IAS Academy, Chennai.

Contents

Nuclear Policy -----	1
1) India's Nuclear Doctrine.....	1
2) Non Proliferation Treaty.....	1
3) Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.....	2
4) Missile Technology Control Regime.....	4
5) Nuclear agreements of India with other countries.....	4
6) Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action.....	5
7) Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF).....	6
Questions.....	8
India and Neighbours -----	9
1) India- Nepal Relations.....	9
2) India- Bangladesh Relations.....	11
3) India - Bhutan.....	12
4) India Pakistan.....	14
5) India- Sri Lanka.....	16
6) India- China Relations.....	18
7) India - Afghanistan.....	20
8) India- Myanmar.....	22
Multilateral Organizations / Groupings -----	24
1) South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).....	24
2) Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multisectoral, Technical and Economic Cooperation.....	26
3) Association for South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).....	28
4) East Asia Summit.....	29
5) Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).....	30
6) United Nations.....	32
7) United Nation Education, Science and Cultural Organization.....	35
8) United Nation Human Rights Council.....	36
9) International Court of Justice.....	37
10) International Criminal Court.....	39
11) International Labour Organisation.....	41
12) United Nation High Commission for Refugees.....	42

13) United Nations Industrial Development Organizations	42
14) UN Credential Committee	44
15) World Food Programme	44
16) North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).....	45
17) United Nation Framework Convention on Climate Change.....	48
18) Interpol	49
19) IBSA	50
20) BRICS.....	52
21) Quadrilateral Security Dialogue	53
22) AUKUS.....	54
23) G-77	55
24) Group of 7 (G7)	56
25) G20	58
26) Indian Ocean Rim Association	59
27) Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS)	61
28) World Health Organisation.....	63
29) Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development	64
30) Financial Action Task Force	65
31) International Atomic Energy Agency	67
32) Non Alignment Movement.....	68
33) IMO Polar Code	71
34) Organisation for Turkic state.....	71
35) UNCLOS.....	72
36) Senkaku Island Disputes.....	72
37) International Maritime Organization	73
Questions.....	73
World Economic Organisations/Agencies-----	75
1) Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights	75
2) World Bank	76
3) International Monetary Fund	77
4) World Trade Organization.....	79
5) Agreement on Agriculture	80
6) New Development Bank	84

7) Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank	84
8) Asian Development Bank.....	85
Questions.....	87
India and Major powers -----	88
1) India- United States of America	88
2) India Russia relations.....	89
3) India-EU	92
4) India- Japan	94
5) India- Australia.....	95
6) India- France Relation.....	97
7) India-Germany	99
Important Geostrategic location and associated issues -----	102
1) South China Sea.....	102
2) Indian Ocean region.....	104
3) Middle East.....	107
4) Horn of Africa	109
5) Central Asia	111
India's relation with certain regions -----	112
1) India and South Asia	112
2) India- South East Asia (ASEAN).....	113
3) India- Africa	116
4) India - Latin America	119
5) India- Middle East.....	121
6) India- Central Asia	124
Indian Diaspora and their contributions -----	126
Question.....	129
Miscellaneous -----	130
1) Act East Policy	130
2) Outer Space Treaty	131
3) South-South Cooperation	132
4) Universal Declaration of Human Rights	133
5) China- Threat to USA.....	134
6) Balance of Power.....	135

7) Rotterdam Convention on Prior Informed Consent	137
8) International Water War	138
9) Role of India in emerging world order	139
10) Reason for backwardness of resource rich Africa and South Asia	140
Questions.....	141

Nuclear Policy

1) India's Nuclear Doctrine

- The cabinet committee on security launched India's nuclear policy in **January 2003**, after the **1998 nuclear tests**.
- India's nuclear doctrine is based on '**No First Use (NFU)**' of nuclear weapons, and it is to be used only as retaliation against nuclear attack on Indian territory.
- The doctrine holds that nuclear weapons are primarily for deterrence, but a massive retaliation in case of failure of deterrence.

Major Features of India's nuclear doctrine

- **No first use** of nuclear weapons
- **Credible minimum deterrence**
- **Massive retaliation** in case of nuclear attack on india
- **Not to be used against non nuclear state**
- To be used if **biological or chemical weapons** are used against India
- **Civilian control** of nuclear weapons
- India will develop **nuclear triad** to gain survivable second strike capacity

Advantages of No first use doctrine

- Holds **credibility of India** as **responsible global nuclear power**.
- NFU thus reflects **India's traditional abhorrence** of nuclear weapons
- **Less expensive** : NFU also reduces the difficulties and expenses associated with a complicated command-and-control system and costly tactical weapon mix.
- **Prevents conflicts and arms race** : First Use Doctrine could bring unwanted international pressure, spur an arms race, and prevent confidence building between the two sides.
- No First Use strengthens **India's prospect of NSG membership**.
- First Use policy may **destabilise the security environment** in South Asia

Need to revise the no first use doctrine

- **Deterrence not working** against Pakistan and China : as evident from the Kargil war, and border attacks in Doklam and Galwan Valley.
- Critics argue against no first use as **survivability of first strike and crisis management** is not currently within India's forte.
- Puts the population in **massive risk of nuclear attack** as there is no logic to accept large scale destruction in first strike.

Way Forward

- It has been emphasised that India should focus more on **crisis management, survivability, building nuclear triad, addressing the loopholes, developing infrastructure** rather than changing to first use.

2) Non Proliferation Treaty

- The **Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons**, commonly known as the **Non-Proliferation Treaty** or NPT, is an **international treaty** whose objective is to **prevent the spread of nuclear weapons** and weapons technology, to promote cooperation in the **peaceful uses of nuclear energy**, and to further the goal of achieving **nuclear disarmament**

- It is a keystone of global nuclear disarmament structure and has almost universal membership.
- Opened for signature in **1968**, the Treaty **entered into force in 1970**
- On 11 May 1995, the Treaty was extended indefinitely.
- A total of **191 States** have joined the Treaty, including the five nuclear-weapon States.
- More countries have ratified the NPT than any other arms limitation and disarmament agreement, a testament to the Treaty's significance.
- India has **not signed the Treaty** due to its discriminatory nature.

Three pillars of NPT

- **Nuclear non proliferation** : Only the P5 countries of US, Russia, UK, China and France are allowed to possess nuclear weapons.
- **Civil nuclear cooperation** : Non nuclear states to get technologies from the P5 for peaceful use of nuclear energy for civilian purpose. **IAEA (Indian Atomic Energy Agency)** to be the watchdog of this provision
- **Nuclear disarmament** : Nuclear weapon states to take effective steps for disarmament of nuclear weapons by possessing states. It is provided under **Article 6** of the treaty. However, no timeframe is mentioned for the same.

India's objection to NPT

- **Nuclear states** or P5 are **not disarming themselves** and only focus on non proliferation by non nuclear states.
- **No focus on vertical proliferation** ie increasing the stockpiling by nuclear weapon states. The focus is only on horizontal proliferation i.e. preventing proliferation from one country to another.
- **No time bound framework for disarmament.** Article 6 is not implemented properly and is considered the weakest pillar in the treaty.
- **Inherently discriminatory** as it divides the world into **nuclear haves and have nots** and increases the bargaining power of nuclear haves.

Other criticisms of NPT

- The provision for **peaceful use of nuclear energy** is supporting the nuclear industries in nuclear states like US, China
- Nuclear energy is **dual use technology**. Any country can acquire nuclear power for peaceful purposes and convert it into nuclear weapons.
Example- North Korea acquired nuclear technology in pretext of peaceful use but developed nuclear weapons after coming out of NPT.
- **Weakness of IAEA** to act as watchdog due to absence of resource, expertise and cooperation from member states.

Success of NPT

- Established a **Nuclear Taboo** against nuclear weapons.
Example - The US didn't use nuclear weapons even while losing the war in Vietnam.
- Reduced Nuclear Proliferation to few countries like India, Pakistan and North Korea.
- Slowed down the process of countries acquiring nuclear weapons.

3) Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

- The Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty is an **international treaty** with the objective of **checking the proliferation of nuclear weapons**.

- It **prevents any further testing of nuclear weapons** which is required for qualitative improvement.
- The treaty was the result of negotiation by the **conference on disarmament**
- It was opened for **signature in 1996** and at present it consists of **182 signatories**.
- The Treaty will **enter into force** after all **44 States** listed in **Annex 2** to the Treaty **will ratify it**.
- Some prominent nuclear states like **India, Pakistan and North Korea** have **not signed** the treaty.

Why it is called **Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty**

- We already have a **Partial Test Ban Treaty**, which bans the testing of nuclear weapons in water and atmosphere.
- At present underground testing is permitted
- **CTBT prevents underground testing** and thus is comprehensive.

Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organization

- It is an **international organisation** established by the States Signatories to the Treaty on **19 November 1996** and has its **headquarters in Vienna, Austria**.
- The objective of the organisation is to achieve the **object and purpose of the Treaty**, to ensure the **implementation of its provisions**, including those for **international verification** of compliance with the Treaty, and to provide a **forum for consultation and cooperation** among Member States.

India's contention against the treaty

India is **not a signatory** to the treaty due to following contentions

- The treaty is not comprehensive as it **permits computer simulated testing**.
- It is **not time bound** as no specific time frame is mentioned.
- India has put a self-imposed **moratorium** against further testing **since 1998**, which is the objective of the treaty.
- Many other countries are reluctant to eliminate their nuclear weaponry, like China, USA and Russia.
- India faced **uncertain dangers from Pakistan and China**, which had **conducted nuclear tests** even while the CTBT was being negotiated.
- accepting the CTBT would **hinder India's strategic nuclear program development** and the option to test must be kept open

Arguments- in favour of India signing the treaty

- India **itself has computer-simulated capability**
- It will greatly **strengthen India's case for being admitted to the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG)** and other international groupings.
- Enhance credibility of India and its **soft power**.
- Put **pressure on other countries** to sign.
- Unlike the Non Proliferation Treaty, this treaty has a **non-discriminatory nature**, where everyone has the **same obligation** never to conduct a nuclear explosion.
- At a time when India is increasingly accepted as an emerging global power and as a **responsible member of the nuclear community**, a voluntary decision to sign the CTBT would enhance our stature further

Alternative option with India

- Like USA, India can sign the treaty but should **only ratify under India's Condition**.

4) Missile Technology Control Regime

- **The Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) is an informal political understanding among states that seek to limit the proliferation of missiles and missile technology.**
- The regime was formed in **1987** by the **G-7 industrialized countries** (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the UK, and the United States).
- There are currently **35 countries that are members** (Partners) of the MTCR
- **India is one of its members.**
- The MTCR was initiated by like-minded countries to **address the increasing proliferation of nuclear weapons** by addressing the most destabilizing delivery system for such weapons.
- It controls the export of the technologies and materials involved in ballistic missile systems and unmanned aerial vehicles particularly capable of carrying nuclear warheads of above **500 kg payload for more than 300 km.**
- The focus was extended to the proliferation of missiles for the delivery of all types of **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**, i.e., **nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.**
- The MTCR is **not a treaty and does not impose any legally binding obligations** on Partners (members).
- It is an **informal political understanding** among states that seek to limit the proliferation of missiles and missile technology
- These efforts of non-proliferation of ballistic missile systems had further been strengthened by **"The International Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation"**, also known as the **Hague Code of Conduct (HCOC)**

5) Nuclear agreements of India with other countries

- India conducted its **first Nuclear test -Pokhran-I (Smiling Buddha)**, in **1974.**
- The nuclear powers were convinced that the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) alone would not halt the spread of nuclear weapons. Consequently, **NSG was formed in 1974.**
- The current guidelines of NSG state that a **non-NPT state cannot become a member of NSG** which keeps India out of the group.
- In **1998** India conducted the **second nuclear Test (Operation Shakti).**
- Consequently, **new sanctions were imposed on India by Western Countries**, especially the US.
- Later, Due to **India's commitment as a responsible nuclear power and self imposed moratorium on testing**, the NSG participating governments agreed to grant India a **"clean waiver"** from its existing rules, which forbid nuclear trade with a country which has not signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). This made **India eligible to receive advanced nuclear technologies**
- India has emerged as the **de facto nuclear power** subsequent to the **waiver of the NSG.**
- India's status as a responsible nuclear power is predicated upon the **civil relationships in the nuclear domain** that it has established with major powers.
- This is **despite not being a signatory to the Non-Proliferation Treaty** and operating outside the ambit of the Nuclear Suppliers Group..
- Since **2005**, when India signed a nuclear agreement with the **United States (US)**, the country has made nuclear cooperation with other countries a significant aspect of its diplomatic initiatives.
- At present, India has civil nuclear agreements with **14 countries** that vary in letter and spirit.

India-US

- India's nuclear isolation ended with its signing of a **civil nuclear agreement with the US in 2005**.
- The agreement facilitated a **much deeper engagement** between India and the US, while **amending the domestic US legal regime** to enable closer cooperation between India and the US on civil nuclear energy issues.
- The 2005 agreement also called for **change in the global civil nuclear energy framework**, including the **International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)** and the **NSG**.
- For its part, India committed to **increasing transparency, separating its civilian and military nuclear facilities**, and **placing the civilian facilities under the purview of the IAEA safeguards**.
- Further, India committed itself to **continue its unilateral moratorium** on nuclear testing and strengthen the measures in **restricting the transfer of nuclear technologies** to states and actors who do not possess them.

India- France

- India and France signed an agreement in **September 2008**.
- France became the **first country to sign a civil nuclear agreement** with India **following the India-specific NSG waiver**.
- According to the agreement, France will **construct six European Pressurised Reactors (EPR nuclear reactors)** in an expedited manner.
- The deal focused on **emerging fields in the nuclear arena**, for instance, agronomy, biology and earth sciences.
- The deal also created the **opportunity for India to be a part of the ITER** (International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor – an international nuclear fusion research and engineering megaproject), with the aid of both France and the US.
- India and France also signed an **“industrial way forward” agreement** which covers many issues including costs, safety concerns and liabilities.

India- Russia

- On **5 December 2008**, the two countries signed an agreement for the construction of **four additional units at Kudankulam** and on developing new sites.
- Both India and Russia also agreed to consider cooperation on the **peaceful uses of nuclear energy with third countries**, such as **Bangladesh**.
- In 2010, The partnership has diversified even within the nuclear cooperation to not just in the energy sector, but in other areas such as **nuclear medicine and processed food**.

India- Japan

- The **India-Japan Agreement for Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy** was signed in **November 2016** and **entered into force in July 2017**.
- A contested aspect is the **'Nullification clause'**, which automatically **suspends cooperation between the parties in the case of India conducting nuclear tests**.

6) Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action

JCPOA or Iran nuclear Deal

- Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action is an agreement between P5 members of the United Nations (USA, Russia, UK, China and France) along with Germany and European Union in 2015 to remove

the sanctions on Iran. In exchange, Iran guaranteed to significantly cut the key components of nuclear weapons, like enriched uranium and heavy water.

- The deal also allows the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to inspect the nuclear sites in Iran to ensure that it does not develop nuclear weapons in secret.

Significance

- Prevents nuclear weapon proliferation by preventing Iran from developing nuclear weapons.
- Potential to reduce the prospects for conflict between Iran and its regional rivals, including Israel and Saudi Arabia.
- Billions of dollar worth of sanction relief to Iran

Issues with the deal

- **Inconsistency in policy of the USA** : Former president Donald Trump withdrew the United States from it in 2018. In 2021, President Joe Biden said the United States would return to the deal if Iran came back into compliance. However, it remains unclear if the parties can come to an agreement.
- **Resumption of nuclear activities by Iran** : Iran has crossed an unprecedented 60% threshold, getting closer to the 90 percent needed to make a nuclear bomb.
- **The jeopardy of the treaty** has resulted in security concerns in the region, especially for neighbouring countries like Saudi Arabia.

India's interest in the deal

- **India's Energy Security** : After the U.S. ended waivers that allowed the import of crude from Iran without sanctions, India stopped buying oil from Iran in FY19. In the immediate years before the ban, Iran was India's third biggest source of crude oil.
- **Chabahar port** : While Chabahar port can help bypass Pakistan in connecting with Iran, Afghanistan and boost the trade with the region. It also helps counter the presence of China in Gwadar port, Pakistan.
- **International North South Transport Corridor**- It is an ambitious project which aims to boost connectivity with Central Asian countries.

7) Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF)

About the Treaty

- On **December 8th, 1987** U.S. President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev signed the **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty**.
- It is a landmark agreement that ushered in an era of **nuclear arms control** between the **USA and USSR**, world's two biggest nuclear powers.

History

- In the **1970s**, the USSR and USA developed and began deploying a **new mid-range nuclear missile** that **accelerated the arms race** and threatened global peace.
- After years of on-again, off-again negotiations, the INF Treaty was signed on December 8th 1987

Mandate

- The treaty requires the US and Soviets to **eliminate all ground-launched missiles with a range of 500 to 5,500 kilometres**.
- The INF Treaty **defined intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs)** and **ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCMs)** as those having **ranges of 1,000 to 5,500 km** (620 to 3,400 miles) and shorter-range ballistic missiles (SRBMs) as those having ranges from 500 to 1,000 km.

Withdrawal

- For years, the United States has accused Russia of violating the INF treaty by developing and testing an illegal nuclear missile.
- Russia denied the accusations and has accused the United States of deploying a missile defence launch system that can support banned nuclear cruise missiles.
- In 2018, U.S. President Donald Trump announced at a rally that the U.S. would withdraw from the deal on the basis that Russia has been violating the treaty for years.
- Shortly thereafter, Russian President Vladimir Putin also announced that Russia will be officially suspending its treaty obligations as well.
- **On Aug. 2, 2019, the United States formally withdrew from the INF Treaty.**

Significance of the Treaty

- The treaty was the **first of its kind**. It was the **first treaty to eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons** and marked the first time the two superpowers agreed to reduce their nuclear arsenals.
- In total, **2, 692 missiles were eliminated.**
- The treaty proved diplomatic discussions can result in smaller arsenals and **steps closer to nuclear disarmament.**
- In addition, **two protocols** to the treaty established unprecedented procedures for observers from both nations to **verify firsthand the other nation's destruction of its missiles.**
- Also destroyed were missile launchers and various kinds of support equipment and structures.
- Teams of observers from both countries were given access to certain operating bases, support facilities, and elimination facilities in order to verify the withdrawal and destruction of the missile systems.
- In order to ensure the permanent elimination of intermediate-range missiles, each country was given the **right for 13 years to conduct periodic inspections** of operating bases and support facilities and to monitor one production plant at which weapons of the INF category might be produced
- The landmark agreement launched a **two-decade-long process of major nuclear weapons reductions** by the United States and Russia.
- It led to a series of **strategic arms reduction treaties** and the **historic decrease in nuclear stockpiles globally** from a peak of **seventy thousand in 1986** to just **under fifteen thousand today.**
- The treaty led directly to another landmark treaty, the **1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START)**, which cut the Russian and American nuclear arsenals by one-third.

Impact of Treaty collapse

- Since the treaty's signing, the United States and Russia each **reduced their nuclear stockpiles by 80 percent.** Those **historic achievements are now at risk.**
- A new round of nuclear weapons competition is already well underway, driven by the fast-paced **technology revolution, rising U.S.-Russia tensions, China's military modernization and Russia- Ukraine war.**
- Non-proliferation efforts are wavering, as **North Korea expands its nuclear capabilities, the Iran nuclear agreement unravels, Russia threatens the use of nuclear weapons against Ukraine** and other nuclear powers remain outside control regimes.

Questions

- Elaborate on India's Nuclear Doctrine. (2007)
- Explain the no first use policy of india in the context of nuclear weapons (2002)
- Twenty five years of the nuclear non proliferation treaty will come to an end in 1995. Some important members want it to be renewed, as it is, for another 25 or 50 years. What are the basic provisions and how will its renewal adversely affect India's interest ? (1992)
- Write about nuclear non proliferation treaty (2006)
- On what grounds that India did not sign the CTBT?
- What are the prospects of CTBT?
- Outline the salient features of India's nuclear policy and explain reasons for India's refusal to join the CTBT
- Account for India's opposition to CTBT.
- Subsequent to the NSG waiver in 2008, what are the agreements on nuclear energy that India has signed with different countries?
- In what ways would the ongoing US-Iran Nuclear Pact controversy affect the national interest of India? How should India respond to the situation ? (2018)
- Discuss the significance of the INF treaty between Russia and USA.

India and Neighbours

1) India- Nepal Relations

- As close neighbours, India and Nepal share a unique relationship of friendship and cooperation characterised by open borders and deep-rooted people to people contacts of kinship and culture.
- The India Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950 forms the bedrock of the special relations that exist between India and Nepal.

Areas of Convergence

Economic

- India remains **Nepal's dominant trade partner**, steadily accounting for approximately **60-65% of all trade with Nepal**.
- As Nepal is a landlocked country, it is **dependent on India for access to sea**.
- Indian firms are the **biggest investors in Nepal**, accounting for about **40% of total approved foreign direct investments**.
- There are about **150 operating Indian ventures in Nepal**. They are engaged in manufacturing, services (banking, insurance, dry port, education and telecom), power sector and tourism industries.

Political

- Both countries share **Open Borders** under **The Treaty of peace and friendship, 1950**.
- Both countries are also members of **SAARC and BIMSTEC**.

Social

- The two countries have close **bonds through marriages and familial ties**, popularly known as **Roti-Beti ka Rishta**.

Water Resources

- There are about **250 small and large rivers** flowing from **Nepal to India** and constitute an important part of the Ganges river basin.
- A **three-tier bilateral mechanism** was established in **2008** to discuss all issues relating to cooperation in water resources and hydropower between the two countries.

Cultural

- India and Nepal share rich **Hinduism and Buddhist cultural heritage**.
- Both the governments have also tried to build on this shared cultural heritage.
- India and Nepal have also signed **sister-city agreements** for twinning of **Janakpur-Ajodhya, Kathmandu-Varanasi, Lumbini-Bodhgaya**
- India is also supporting 2 heritage projects, namely, **Pashupatinath riverfront development** and **Bhandarkhal Garden Restoration** in Patan Durbar

Defence cooperation

- Indian and Nepalese military undertake annual joint military exercise '**surya kiran**'.
- India also provides equipment and **training to Nepalese army to assist in its modernisation**.

Disaster Management

- Both countries are working through **BIMSTEC for collective disaster response**.
- India's assistance during the **2015 Earthquake** is also well appreciated by Nepal.

Regional integration

- Both countries are working with **BBIN** (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal), **BIMSTEC**, **SAARC** to improve regional connectivity and regional integration.

Connectivity

- As Nepal is a landlocked country, it is **dependent on India for access to sea**.
- Both countries have signed MoU to provide **rail connectivity** such as **Jaynagar-Kurtha** railway link and are also working to develop **inland waterways** in Nepal to connect Nepal with the Indian ocean.

Areas of Divergence

Territorial Disputes

- India and Nepal have border disputes over **Kalapani, Limpiyadhura, Lipulekh trijunction** between India-Nepal and China.
- In May 2020 India's defence minister virtually inaugurated a new **80 km long road** in the Himalayas, connecting to the border with China, at the Lipulekh pass.
- The Nepal government protested this and introduced a **constitutional amendment** which made changes to the Nepali map to include that **Kalapani, Limpiyadhura and Lipulekh of Uttarakhand as part of its sovereign territory**
- **Kalapani** is a valley that is administered by India as a part of the **Pithoragarh district of Uttarakhand**.
- **The Treaty of Sugauli** signed by the Kingdom of Nepal and British India (after Anglo-Nepalese War) in 1816 located the **Kali River as Nepal's western boundary with India**
- Nepal however views that Kali river originates from a stream at Limpiyadhura, north-west of Lipulekh. Thus Kalapani, and Limpiyadhura, and Lipulekh, fall to the east of the river and are part of Nepal's Dharchula district

Issues with Peace and Friendship Treaty

- **The Peace and Friendship Treaty, 1950** which is the backbone of bilateral relations is being opposed by Nepal which views it as **an imposition of India**.
- There have been talks to update the treaty since the 1990s.

Open Borders

- The border between India and Nepal is **open and porous** and hence results in internal security challenges in India such as **Insurgency, entry of fake currencies and illegal immigration**

Interference in Internal matters

- Nepal views **India's interference in the internal matter of Nepal** as a **big brother attitude of India** and as a challenge to its sovereignty.

Rising Chinese influence

- Strengthening **China-Nepal ties** has resulted in Nepal using the Chinese banner against India which is **diminishing the status of Nepal as a buffer state**
- China views Nepal as an **important partner in its Belt and Road initiative** which is against India's interest.

Way Forward

- Both countries must **resolve the border issue by amicable agreement** as India did with Bangladesh through Land Boundary Agreement in 2015

- India must draft an **independent Nepal policy**, rather than viewing it from the spectrum of India's China policy.
- **Due respect** must be given to the **sovereignty of Nepal** to address the anti Indianness prevailing in Nepal.
- Reviving the **Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950** as well as **the Sugauli Treaty** to reflect the current reality.

2) India- Bangladesh Relations

Area of Convergence

1. Geostrategic significance

- **Connectivity and security to the North-East** as the region is landlocked and has better connectivity through Bangladesh. Connectivity through Bangladesh is also important for the **security of the Siliguri corridor** also known as **chicken's neck**.
- **Act East policy:** Bangladesh is India's bridge to southeast Asia and an important partner in BBIN and BIMSTEC initiatives.
- **Maritime security:** As it is strategically located in Bay of Bengal, it is essential for securing important sea lines of communications.
- **To counter Terrorism and Radicalisation.**

2. Trade Relations

- Bangladesh is **India's largest trading partner in South Asia.**

3. Border Cooperation

- Both countries have signed **Land Boundary Agreement in 2015** to demarcate the boundary which is one of the most successful boundary agreement of India

4. Military Cooperation

- The armed forces from both sides regularly conduct **joint drills** like **exercise sampriti and Milan.**
- India has extended a **\$500 million line of credit** to Bangladesh for defence imports from India.

5. Energy Cooperation

- India exports electricity to Bangladesh and **India-Russia** are jointly developing the **Ruppur Atomic Power Plant in Bangladesh.**

6. Connectivity

- Under the **transit agreement** between **India and Bangladesh** signed in **2010**, Bangladesh provides **transit facilities to India** on **three modes of transport** which are **inland water, rail, and coastal shipping.**
- **Motor Vehicle Agreement** which has already been piloted, will **add a fourth mode to the existing facilities.**
- **India-Bangladesh inland waterway route** connecting **Tripura with the National Waterways of India through Bangladesh.** A trial run of an inland waterways protocol route was completed with a cargo vessel leaving for **Sonamura port in Tripura from Munshiganj in Bangladesh.**

7. Blue Economy

- India and Bangladesh are cooperating in the exploration of hydrocarbons, marine resources, deep-sea fishing, preservation of marine ecology and disaster management.

8. Rohingya issue

- In 2018 India sent relief materials for 300,000 Rohingyas under '**Operation Insaniyat**' to support Bangladesh in its humanitarian efforts.
- In the recently concluded virtual summit, India appreciated the efforts of Bangladesh in providing humanitarian assistance to the Rohingya refugees.

Areas of Divergence

1. China Factor

- In recent years the **Chinese investment into Bangladesh has grown exponentially**. The main concern which is raised about these investments is that of Bangladesh falling into the **same debt trap like Sri Lanka**.
- Further, Bangladesh is **overwhelmingly dependent on China for military hardware**

2. Rising radicalisation in Bangladesh

- It can have a spillover effect in Eastern states of India.

3. Boundary

- Porous boundary has given rise to smuggling, human, drugs and arms trafficking.

4. River Disputes

- India and Bangladesh **share 54 rivers**.
- Both countries have major disputes over the **Teesta river**. With the India-Bangladesh water sharing deal stuck, it has begun to discuss a Chinese loan to manage the river.

5. Domestic Politics

- Bangladesh has raised concerns over the **Citizenship Amendment Act** and **National Register of Citizens**. Foreign Minister of Bangladesh has gone on to say that the new law would weaken India's "historic position" as a "tolerant and secular nation."

Way Forward

- **Removing red tape** to expedite infrastructure development. Bangladesh and India can expedite the process by directly sending the bill from the line ministry to India's EXIM Bank.
- Use **new inland water ports** for promoting **regional connectivity**. Water transport provides a sustainable alternative to other models of transport.
- **Greater regional connectivity**: The **coastal shipping agreement** between India and Bangladesh can also lead to a **greater BIMSTEC coastal shipping agreement** which can increase trade between the member countries. Further, the road and rail transit routes, both existing and proposed, can also be a part of the **Trans-Asian highway and railway projects**.

3) India - Bhutan

Areas of Convergence

Geographical Significance

- Bhutan shares a **border with four Indian States**: Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, West Bengal and Sikkim.
- **Security of Bhutan's present borders**, especially its western border, is very important for India.

Political Significance

- A **politically stable Bhutan** is important to India. An unstable and restive Bhutan can provide a **safe haven to anti-India activities** and **anti-India militant groups**.

Multilateral Partnerships

- Both countries share **multilateral organizations** like,
- **SAARC**(South Asian Association For Regional Cooperation).
- **BIMSTEC**(The Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation).
- **BBIN** (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal)

Economic

- **Trade:** India is Bhutan's **largest export market**, the **biggest source of its imports**.
- **Investment:** Transition of Bhutan into a middle income country presents India an opportunity to invest in Bhutan.
- **Financial Aid :**India has been **financing its Five Year plans** and has also provided **4500 crore aid for its Current Five Year Plan**.
- **Hydropower:** India has been developing infrastructure **Border road and hydropower projects** in Bhutan. e.g. **Mangdechhu Hydroelectric Plant**.
- **Free Trade Regime and Duty Free Transit** have boosted trade relations, having India as the largest trading partner of Bhutan.

Geographic and Strategic Importance

- **Buffer State:** Bhutan shares a strategic position in the Indian subcontinent. It acts as a buffer state between **India and China**. The **chumbi valley** is situated at the trijunction of Bhutan India and China and it is just 500km from the **chicken neck corridor of India**.
- The **Doklam Plateau** of Bhutan gives strategic military advantage against China near Chumby valley.
- **Data sharing:** Many Indian rivers are coming from Bhutan hence data sharing related to flood forecast forms importance.

Internal security

- In the past both countries have cooperated well in dealing with **United Liberation Front Of Assam(ULFA)** and **National Democratic Front Of Bodoland(NDFB)** based in Bhutan.
- Provisions in the revised **Friendship Treaty of 2007** have further strengthened the cooperation on this front.

Flood Management

- A **Joint Group Of Experts on Flood Management** has been formed to discuss the reasons behind frequent floods and erosion of foothills adjoining India.
- It would also share the **data of water level** and data required for flood forecasts.

Cultural

- Both the countries share unique cultural ties. **Impact of Hinduism and Buddhism** is clearly visible in their way of life.This has ensured healthy **people to people ties** and **cultural synergy**.

Areas of Divergence

External debt

- India is **Bhutan's largest trade partner** having a **favourable balance of payment** which has created problems for Bhutan. Its **external debt has become more than 100% of its GDP**.

Delays in hydropower projects

- Indian companies have led to Bhutan's rising national debt. Both countries have agreed to jointly develop 10000 MWs of hydropower generating capacity in Bhutan. India is **failing to develop projects in expected time**.

Electricity Tariff

- Hydropower forms a major source for Bhutan hence they are asking to **increase electricity tariff**.
- **India's power surplus status** and **enhancing renewable energies** like wind and solar power pose a **challenge for Bhutan to ensure its hydropower sector in profit**.

Indian Intervention

- Government's decision to **cut cooking gas subsidy just before the 2013 elections** in Bhutan indicating India's interference.
- The Sovereignty issues raised because of episodes like **Project Dantak** have raised local concerns regarding preserving their autonomy.
- It has created **negative perception** regarding **India's intrusion in domestic affairs**.

BBIN

- Bhutan **did not join the BBIN Motor Vehicle Agreement** considering its adverse impact on the environment and climate.

Chinese Concern

- Chinese attempts to establish diplomatic ties with Bhutan and extending its BRI project to Bhutan has become cause for concern for India.

Way Forward

- India must address the delivery deficit by timely delivery of its projects in Bhutan to gain its trust
- India must respect the sovereignty of Bhutan by avoiding any interference in its internal matters
- Both countries must look forward to diversifying the areas of cooperation. The setting up of ISRO's ground station in Bhutan is of huge significance in this regard.

4) India Pakistan

Areas of Convergence

Past Peace Process

- In the face of high-level tensions between **1999-2003**, former **Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee** of India initiated an unprecedented peace process from **2003-2008**, leading to a nearly **decade-long cease-fire**, increases in bilateral trade and the establishment of Kashmir-related confidence-building measures.

India's neighbourhood first policy

- It desires normal relations with Pakistan in an environment which is free of terror and violence.

Transport and communication

- **Cross LoC travel** was started in **2005** and **trade across J&K was initiated in 2009**
- India and Pakistan signed a **visa agreement in 2012** leading to liberalization of bilateral visa regimes between the two countries

Indus Water Treaty

- The **Indus Waters Treaty, 1960** is a water- distribution treaty between India and Pakistan, brokered by the **World Bank**, to use the water available in the Indus River and its tributaries.
- As per the treaty three 'western rivers' (Indus, Jhelum and Chenab) went to Pakistan and the three eastern rivers' (Sutlej, Ravi and Beas) were portioned to India.
- It is described as one bright spot in a very depressing world picture that we see so often.

People to people relations

- A crucial medium for people-to-people interaction between the two countries has been the **Pakistan-India Peoples Forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPFPD)**. The PIPFPD was formed with a view to reduce hostility by increasing interactions between citizens of the two countries.
- A significant initiative was the **'Peace Bus'** organized by the **Women's Initiative for Peace in South Asia (WIPSA)**. It involved Indian activists travelling from New Delhi to Lahore in March 2000 and subsequently Pakistani activists travelling from Lahore to New Delhi in May 2000.
- Another facilitator of people-to-people interactions was the **South Asia Free Media Association (SAFMA)** which was formulated to promote interactions amongst journalists in South Asia, especially between journalists from India and Pakistan.

Kartarpur corridor

- In 2019, an agreement was reached between India and Pakistan to facilitate the pilgrimage to Gurdwar Darbar Sahib in Kartarpur, Pakistan.
- It provided visa free travel for Indian pilgrims to the holy **Gurdwara in Kartarpur, Pakistan**.

Areas of divergence

Thousand cuts

- **General Zia's 'thousand cuts, zero option war'** against India, in the form of **cross border terrorism**.

Pakistan's use of terror as a tool

- Pakistan's strategy of **'bleeding India by thousand cuts'** has been implemented by exploiting **religious sentiments** and whipping up passions on communal and sectarian lines.
- Before launching its **proxy war in Kashmir in 1989**, it exploited the tribal areas in Northeast India, and exploited discontented youth in Punjab to fight for the creation of **Khalistan**, a new Sikh nation state.

Pakistan government supporting the Taliban rule.

- While India always supported the democratic government in Afghanistan and was against the Taliban takeover of Afghanistan, Pakistan was highly supportive to the Taliban rule in Afghanistan.
- Afghanistan thus remained a ground for proxy war between India and Pakistan

China Pakistan Economic Corridor

- CPEC which is a part of the **Belt and Road initiative of China** is a cause of concern for India as it **violates its territorial sovereignty**.

Gilgit Baltistan issue

- Gilgit-Baltistan is a region that India considers as part of undivided Jammu and Kashmir but under current **administration by Pakistan**.
- The region has been a regular feature of India-Pakistan conflicts involving Kashmir

Jammu and Kashmir

- Pakistan released a **new political map in August 2020**, that claimed all of Jammu and Kashmir as Pakistan territories, on the eve of the **first anniversary of revocation of Article 370**.
- India has objected to the new map of Pakistan and held that it has neither legal validity nor international credibility.

Azad Pattan Hydel Project

- Pakistan and China signed an agreement for the **700 MW Azad Pattan hydel power project**, worth \$1.5 billion, on the Jhelum river in **Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK)**.

- India has protested the construction of dams and other infrastructure in PoK and Gilgit Baltistan, which are territories claimed by India as part of Jammu & Kashmir.

Pulwama attack

- 2019 the Pulwama suicide bombing carried out by a Pakistani terrorist group Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) killing over 40 CRPF personnel was the starting point of the steep slide in relations

Way Forward

- Leaders on both sides of the border need to develop a national consensus in support of the **peace process** and bring all stakeholders including the core constituencies, media and opposition parties on board.
- As in the past, the **United States and United Kingdom** can also play an important role in defusing tensions.
- It is imperative to show **flexibility and adopt a problem-solving approach**.
- Only through **regular dialogue** do new ideas emerge. Negotiations should not thrust anything unacceptable on any party
- **Building trust** is of paramount importance. The only way it can develop is through **engagement at all levels** including between the political leadership, public officials, businesses, media and civil society.

5) India- Sri Lanka

Areas of Convergence

Traditional partners

- The relationship between India and Sri Lanka is more than **2,500 years old**.
- Both countries have a legacy of intellectual, cultural, religious and linguistic interaction.

Neighbourhood First policy

- Sri Lanka occupies a central place in India's "Neighborhood First policy."
- India and Sri Lanka strive to achieve close and cordial relations in all spheres of mutual interest.

Geostrategic and Geo economic importance

- Sri Lanka is located on the **critical sea route in Indian ocean** and is considered as a **stationed ship in the Indian Ocean**.
- The minerals of the world are largely in Africa and they have to come to the other side by passing through the Indian Ocean, similarly, energy is in the Middle east, it needs to pass through the Indian ocean which makes Sri Lanka strategically very important.

Developmental Assistance

- India has been contributing **Developmental assistance to Sri Lanka** ever since the civil war for its reconstruction and development
- India was one of the first responders to aid Sri Lanka post the economic crisis.
- India extended **\$4 billion to keep the country's accounts afloat**. India has also vocally supported **Colombo's demands for an International Monetary Fund bailout package** and restructuring of its debt.

Multilateral Cooperation

- Both India and Sri Lanka are members of multilateral groupings like **SAARC and BIMSTEC**

Trade Relations

- Trade between the two countries grew particularly rapidly after the **India-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement** which came into force in **March 2000**..

Military Cooperation

- India and Sri Lanka conduct joint Military exercise called '**Mitra Shakti**' and Naval exercise **SLINEX**.

Indian Community in Sri Lanka

- 1.6 billion Indian Origin Tamils** are living in Sri Lanka according to government census 2011.

Cultural Relations

- The **Cultural Cooperation Agreement** signed by the two Governments in 1977, provides for Cultural Exchange Programmes between the two countries.
- The **Indian Cultural Centre in Colombo** actively promotes awareness of Indian culture in Sri Lanka

Areas of Divergence

Issue of Tamil minorities in Sri Lanka

- Sri Lankans continue to be suspicious about **India's motives vis-a-vis the Tamil cause**.
- On the other hand, India advocates for protection of human rights and civic rights of Tamil minorities in Sri Lanka
- Sri Lanka has since then played the '**China card**' against India to ward off pressures to accommodate the Tamils in a political solution based on the full implementation of the **13th Amendment Act**.

Slow Bureaucratic Process

- India's slow bureaucratic processes that **delay approvals incite suspicions** of India's commitment to Sri Lanka.
- The Indian government took **five months to approve a loan moratorium sought by Colombo** while Beijing approved an additional US \$500 million loan from its development bank in no time

Reducing Trade

- Due to the **Sri Lanka China free trade agreement**, **Sri Lanka's trade with India has been reduced** as it finds it is beneficial to substitute goods of Indian origin with goods of Chinese origin.

Increased influence of China and Pakistan

- In geopolitical terms, China and, to a much lesser extent, Pakistan established a diplomatic presence in Sri Lanka in 2000's.
- Pakistan supplied pilots and arms during the final phase of the Eelam War (2006-09)
- China supplied arms on a larger scale, while India exercised restraint due to its earlier bad experience of fighting the LTTE.

China's projects affecting India's security

- A Chinese company has won a contract to set up a **hybrid solar power project**. Projects on three Sri Lankan islands off the **northern Jaffna peninsula 45 km from Rameswaram** in Tamil Nadu. It has raised serious security issues for India.

Way Forward

- Rather than being perpetually on the defensive about China's growing footprint in India's neighbourhood, India should play to its strengths. India **can work with other members to match the Chinese economic power**.

- India must **avoid monumental errors** committed in the past in its Sri Lanka policy and **rebuild the special relationship with Sri Lanka** by reclaiming the shared spiritual heritage.
- India must **strengthen interdependence by deepening economic and military cooperation** with Sri-Lanka and **'Walk the talk on its infrastructure and other projects**
- Early conclusion of **Economic and Technology Cooperation Agreement (ETCA)**,
- Negotiations for which appear deadlocked.

6) India- China Relations

Historic Background

- On **1 April 1950, India** became the **first non-socialist bloc country to establish diplomatic relations** with the People's Republic of China.
- The **border conflict in 1962** was a setback to ties.
- Prime Minister **Rajiv Gandhi's landmark visit in 1988** marked the beginning of improvement in bilateral relations.
- In **1993**, the signing of an **Agreement on the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility along the Line of Actual Control** on the India China Border areas during Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's visit reflected the growing stability in bilateral ties.
- India China bilateral relations have expanded and become **diversified in the past decade**.
- During the visit of **President Xi Jinping to India in September 2014**, the two sides forged a **Closer Developmental Partnership** that forms the core of our bilateral relationship.
- **Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited China in May 2015**. During the visit, Prime Minister Modi and Premier Li Keqiang also addressed the **opening session of the First State/Provincial Leaders' forum in Beijing**.
- **2018** witnessed an upward swing in the momentum of ties. In April 2018 Prime Minister Modi and President Xi held the **first Informal Summit in Wuhan** to exchange views on overarching issues of bilateral and global importance and elaborated upon their respective visions and priorities for national development. The dialogue helped in forging a common understanding of the future direction of India-China relations built upon mutual respect for each other's developmental aspirations and prudent management of differences with mutual sensitivity.
- **2020 witnessed sudden plunge in relationship** when clashes and differences emerged at many instances with instances of **Galwan valley**, China's road construction at Tibet and border confrontation at himalayas led to deep setback.

Areas of Convergence

International Cooperation Organizations

- Both are members of **Shanghai Cooperation Organization, East Asia Summit, RIC** (Russia India China grouping), **BRICS and G-20**

Trade

- China is among the **top 2 trade partners of India** and **largest in Asia**.

New Economic Order reform

- Both support **World Bank and IMF reforms**.
- They are active supporter of **New International Economic Order for global South**
- Support **WTO Reform** and strengthening **rules based multilateral trading order**

Climate Change

- Both support the principle of **Common but Differentiated Responsibilities**.



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