

India's #1 Self-Study Notes

crack  
IAS.com

📞 **92170 70707**  
crackiasquery@gmail.com



[www.crackIAS.com](http://www.crackIAS.com)

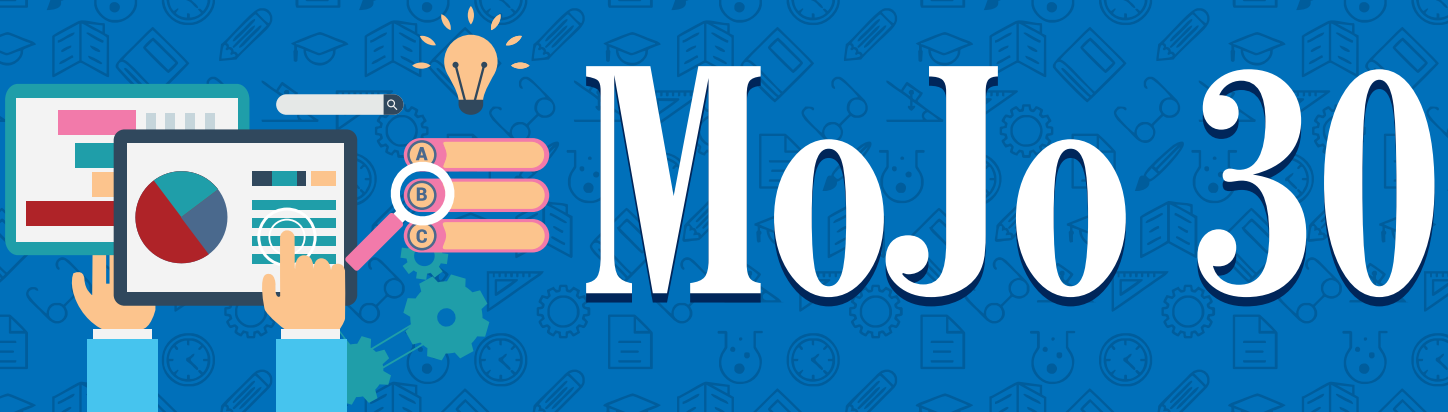
Introduces the most scientific & easiest way of preparing

**CURRENT AFFAIRS**

**Topic Wise NEWS**

← SOURCES →

**PIB » The Hindu » Live Mint » HT » TOI » RBI ET » Indian Express  
PRS Blog » IDSA » Government of India & UNO Official Sites  
NASA & Nature into these subject separately.**



**Topic Wise News for  
GS (Pre-cum-Mains)  
every Month**

Download your copy from [crackIAS.com](http://crackIAS.com)

Monthly Archive on **topic** wise news for **GS Pre & Mains**

# Index

Battle for Hong Kong .....	2
A phantom called the Line of Actual Control .....	3
G7 outdated, says Trump, invites India, Russia and others to September meeting .....	6
India, China bring in heavy equipment and weaponry to their rear bases near eastern Ladakh .....	8
India, China and fortifying the Africa outreach .....	10
Shoring up Indo-Pacific .....	13
It's time to play hardball with China over its misadventures .....	15
Wolf Warrior Diplomacy .....	17
Move over G7, it's time for a new and improved G11 .....	19
Seven to eleven: The Hindu Editorial on India and G-7 .....	21
The Delhi-DC-Beijing triangle - editorials - Hindustan Times .....	23
India-Australia meet strengthens ties .....	25
The de-escalation road map for India and China .....	27
A chill in U.S.-China relations .....	29
Skyrocketing tensions: The Hindu Editorial on U.S.-China ties .....	32
Eastern Ladakh standoff: Indian and Chinese armies hold Lt-General-level talks .....	34
In Persian Gulf littoral, cooperative security is key .....	36
Raja Mandala: It's not about America .....	40
Resume dialogue with Nepal now .....	42
Pincer provocations? .....	46
'China disregarding historic commitments on Naku La' .....	49
An unravelling of the Group of Seven .....	51
As Nepal paints itself into a corner on Kalapani issue, India must tread carefully .....	55
A case for quiet diplomacy .....	58
Back from the brink: The Hindu Editorial on India-China border row .....	61
Black lives and the experiment called America .....	63
India-China: the line of actual contest .....	67
India slams Nepal for adopting a new map .....	70
Forgotten in the fog of war, the last firing on the India-China border .....	72
No longer special: The Hindu Editorial on India-Nepal ties .....	74
'There will be no conflict if Indian Army doesn't enter our actual line of control' .....	76
'India, China nuclear arsenals grow' .....	78
How the South China Sea situation plays out will be critical for India's security .....	80
In pandemic crisis, bridging the gulf with West Asia .....	83
Remaining non-aligned is good advice .....	87
India says Chinese troops tried to change status quo .....	91
An inflection point .....	93
Nepal ties and the Benaras to Bengaluru spectrum .....	94
India, China agree to ensure peace .....	98
India elected non-permanent member of UN Security Council .....	100

## BATTLE FOR HONG KONG

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: Effect of policies and politics of developed & developing countries on India's interests

As Hong Kong gets caught in the Cold War between [China](#) and America, India will have to pay close attention to the economic and strategic consequences of the current churn. The application of the principle of “one country, two systems” for Hong Kong when Britain restored it to China in 1997, after nearly 150 years of colonial control, seemed like a stroke of genius. Designed to satisfy the needs of the people of Hong Kong, Beijing and the Anglo-American powers, the special status of Hong Kong was to last until 2047. Half a century looked long enough for Hong Kong’s painless integration into China. But the compact has been under stress for many years.

China’s growing emphasis on the principle of “one country” has met resistance from Hong Kong’s young activists, who underline the idea of “two systems”. China’s recent focus on extending its national security laws to Hong Kong has sharpened the inherent contradictions in the Anglo-Chinese compact and triggered large-scale protests against Beijing’s effort to tighten its grip over the city. Unable to push them through the Hong Kong legislature, Beijing has now taken direct charge. Last week, China’s National People’s Congress authorised a standing committee to draft a national security law for Hong Kong. The law is expected to be approved by September and adopted in Hong Kong. If Beijing’s patience with the Hong Kong protests has worn thin, Washington has announced plans to revoke the special privileges that Hong Kong enjoys, as a distinct and autonomous Chinese region, under US law.

While the details of the Chinese law and the US response will unfold in the days ahead, an important era in Hong Kong’s history is coming to an end. India has been an intimate part of Hong Kong’s founding and its rise as a critical player in Asia’s economic transformation. If Indian soldiers and traders were involved in securing and developing the city in the 19th and early 20th centuries, Indian migrants and entrepreneurs in the 21st century are adding to the city’s dynamic business environment. Like the rest of the world, India, too, has benefited from Hong Kong’s special status. Hong Kong today is one of the top trading partners of India and hosts a sizeable Indian community of nearly 40,000. Until now, India has carefully avoided being sucked into Hong Kong’s politics — both internal and international. It is time for Delhi to take a fresh look at its multiple interests in Hong Kong and how they might be affected by the triangular dynamic between China, US and the city’s young protestors.

***The Indian Express is now on Telegram. Click [here to join our channel \(@indianexpress\)](#) and stay updated with the latest headlines***

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

# A PHANTOM CALLED THE LINE OF ACTUAL CONTROL

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

At the heart of India's and China's continued inability to make meaningful progress on the [boundary issue](#) are four agreements — signed in [September 1993](#), [November 1996](#), [April 2005](#) and [October 2013](#) — between the two countries. Ironically, India and China keep referring to these agreements as the bedrock of the vision of progress on the boundary question. Unfortunately, these are deeply flawed agreements and make the quest for settlement of the boundary question at best a strategic illusion and at worst a cynical diplomatic parlour trick. Here's how.

According to the [1993 agreement](#) (on the maintenance of peace and tranquility along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in the India-China border areas), “pending an ultimate solution”, “the two sides shall strictly respect and observe the LAC between the two sides... No activities of either side shall overstep the LAC”.

Also read | [India-China border row will be resolved through diplomacy, says Rajnath Singh](#)

Further, both the 1993 and the [1996 agreement](#) (on confidence-building measures in the military field along the LAC) say they “will reduce or limit their respective military forces within mutually agreed geographical zones along the LAC.” This was to apply to major categories of armaments and cover various other aspects as well, including air intrusions “within ten kilometres along the LAC”.

The specification of this phantom LAC as the starting point and the central focus has made several key stipulations and articles of the four agreements effectively inoperable for more than a quarter of a century. In fact, many of the articles have no bearing on the ground reality. Article XII of the 1996 agreement, for instance, says, “This agreement is subject to ratification and shall enter into force on the date of exchange of instruments of ratification.” It is not clear if and when that happened.

Astonishingly, nowhere in the 1993 agreement is there the provision to recognise the existing lines of deployment of the respective armies, as they were in 1993. The agreement does not reflect any attempt to have each side recognise the other's line of deployment of troops at the time it was signed. That would have been the logical starting point. If both armies are to respect the LAC, where is the line? The ambiguity over the LAC has brought a prolonged sense of unease and uncertainty and thus exponentially contributed to the military build-up in those areas. The absence of a definition of this line allows ever new and surreptitious advances on the ground.

[Editorial](#) | [Awful silence: On India-China standoff](#)

Had the wordsmiths of the 1993 agreement begun the exercise with the phrase “pending an ultimate solution, each side shall strictly respect and observe the line of existing control/deployment” instead of the “LAC”, it would have been more possible to keep the peace. In such a case there would have been two existing lines of control on the map — one for the physical deployment of the Chinese troops and the other for the physical deployment of the Indian troops. This would have rendered the areas between the two lines no man's land, and would have ensured that the two armies were frozen in their positions.

In effect, in the eastern sector, where the Chinese have not accepted the loosely defined

McMahon line which follows the principle of watershed, and the western sector, which is witnessing another episodic stand-off, the LAC is two hypothetical lines. The first is what Indian troops consider the extent to which they can dominate through patrols, which is well beyond the point where they are actually deployed and present. The second is what the Chinese think they effectively control, which is well south of the line they were positioned at in 1993.

Now consider para 4 in Article II of the [2013 agreement \(on border defence cooperation\)](#). It enjoins the parties to “work with the other side in combating natural disasters or *infectious diseases* (emphasis mine) that may affect or spread to the other side”. Given this serious intent, how do we read the latest round of fisticuffs and intense physical scrimmage between Chinese and Indian soldiers that left at least 70 Indian soldiers injured and hospitalised in Ladakh? It could have exposed some of the Indian soldiers to a local Chinese mutation of COVID-19. Forget physical distancing, were they even wearing masks?

Also read | [China says situation at India border ‘overall stable and controllable’](#)

It is in this theatre of the militarily absurd that we should look at the outcome of the attempted exchange of maps in the western sector where this round of confrontation continues between India and China. This came after the exchange of maps in the middle sector where divergences were the least, i.e., the existing line and the Chinese and Indian idea of the LAC were more or less the same (in 2002). Kanwal Sibal, who was the Foreign Secretary then, and Wang Yi, the head of the Chinese delegation, met in New Delhi in 2003 for this purpose. It had been agreed that both sides would exchange maps to an agreed scale on each side’s perceptions of the location of the LAC in the western sector. The idea was to superimpose the maps to see where the perceptions converged and, crucially, where they diverged. Due to the contentious nature of the sector, it would provide a starting point, not the end point, to discuss how to reconcile divergences presumed to be significant, given Chinese military behaviour on the ground there.

Each side handed over its map to the other. Mr. Wang took the map, gave it a long, hard look, and wordlessly returned it. He provided no reason for his action. The meeting effectively ended there. Had he been instructed not to accept any map the Indian side provided? Or did he make a spur-of-the-moment decision that this exchange was not in China’s interests? In hindsight, it is obvious that Mr. Wang didn’t think the map was in Chinese interests, because if he had, the Chinese would have with them, officially, New Delhi’s claim with regard to the LAC in the western sector where they wanted the most territory. That meant that their hands would have been tied because New Delhi could subsequently say that the Chinese were intruding into India’s LAC.

Also read | [What explains the India-China border flare-up?](#)

By disregarding the map, China is not bound in any way by New Delhi’s perception of the LAC, and therefore does not have to limit liberty of action. This was evident then and is especially evident now. Because the nature of the terrain, deployment, and infrastructure and connectivity asymmetries in the border areas continue to be so starkly in China’s favour that it is clear that the Chinese are in no hurry to settle the boundary question. They see that the cost to India in keeping this question open suits them more than settling the issue.

*sudarshan.v@thehindu.co.in*

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Please enter a valid email address.

To reassure Indian Muslims, the PM needs to state that the govt. will not conduct an exercise like NRC

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

## G7 OUTDATED, SAYS TRUMP, INVITES INDIA, RUSSIA AND OTHERS TO SEPTEMBER MEETING

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: G8

NEW DELHI: US President Donald Trump on Saturday said the G7 group was "very outdated" and has postponed a scheduled summit to September to include India, Russia, South Korea and Australia in the meeting.

"I don't feel that as a G7 it properly represents what's going on in the world. It's a very outdated group of countries," Trump said, according to a transcript made available by the US embassy in New Delhi.

The G7, comprising France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the US, the UK, and Canada, were scheduled to meet in June. Russia was added to the group in the mid 1990s and was a member of the so called G8 till 2014 when it was ejected for the annexation of Crimea.

The September summit is expected to focus on how to deal with China.

Alyssa Farah, director of strategic communications, White House, said, "this is bringing together our traditional allies to talk about how to deal with the future of China," the transcript added.

"We want Australia, we want India, we want South Korea," Trump said. "And what do we have? That's a nice group of countries right there," Trump was separately quoted as saying by the New York Times.

Trump at one point "described the theoretical gathering as the 'G10 or G11' which would mean making those countries members — something he cannot do on his own. He said he had had conversations with the leaders of those countries," the New York Times report added.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel has reportedly refused to attend the meet given the invitation extended to Russia.

This will be the second time in a row that India will be at the so called "high table" of a group previously seen as representing the world's most industrialised countries. India was part of the extended G7 meeting held in France last year.

It is unsure how the group will come together on dealing with China given the internal dynamics — many of the G7 countries are opposed to Russia rejoining the group. Secondly Russia is seen as an ally of China and has been critical of the US in recent times.

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaper Livemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com



## INDIA, CHINA BRING IN HEAVY EQUIPMENT AND WEAPONRY TO THEIR REAR BASES NEAR EASTERN LADAKH

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

**NEW DELHI** : Indian and Chinese armies were moving in heavy equipment and weaponry including artillery guns and combat vehicles to their rear bases close to the disputed areas in eastern Ladakh as the two militaries remained engaged in a bitter standoff along the troubled border for over 25 days, military sources said Sunday.

The enhancement of combat capability by the two armies in the region came even as both the countries continued their efforts to resolve the dispute through talks at military and diplomatic levels.

The Chinese Army has been gradually ramping up its strategic reserves in its rear bases near the the Line of Actual Control in eastern Ladakh by rushing in artillery guns, infantry combat vehicles and heavy military equipment, the sources said.

The Indian Army has also been moving in additional troops as well equipment and weapons like artillery guns to aggressively match up to the Chinese build-up, they said, adding that India will not relent till status quo is restored in Pangong Tso, Galwan Valley and a number of other areas.

The Indian Air Force has been keeping a strict aerial surveillance in the disputed region.

A sizeable number of Chinese Army personnel entered into the Indian side of the de-facto border earlier this month and have been camping in Pangong Tso and Galwan Valley since then. The Indian Army fiercely objected to the transgressions by the Chinese troops and demanded their immediate withdrawal for restoration of peace and tranquility in the area.

The Chinese Army has ramped up their presence in Demchok and Daulat Beg Oldie too -- the two sensitive areas with a history of skirmishes involving the two sides.

The Chinese army is learnt to have deployed around 2,500 troops in Pangong Tso and Galwan Valley besides gradually enhancing temporary infrastructure and weaponry. However, there is no official figure about the numbers.

Sources said satellite images have captured significant ramping up of defence infrastructure by China on its side of the de-facto border including construction activities at a military airbase around 180 kms from the Pangong Tso area.

The assessment by the Indian Army is that the build up is aimed at putting pressure on India.

"We are well aware of the Chinese ploy. The Indian Army is firm on its stand that we are not going to accept anything less than restoration of status quo in the area," said a senior military official.

Defence Minister Rajnath Singh on Saturday said bilateral talks were on at military and diplomatic levels with China to resolve the row.

The trigger for the face-off was China's stiff opposition to India laying a key road in the Finger area around the Pangong Tso Lake besides construction of another road connecting the Darbuk-Shayok-Daulat Beg Oldie road in Galwan Valley.

The sources said China was also laying a road in the Finger area which is not acceptable to India.

The sources said military reinforcements including troops, vehicles and artillery guns were sent to eastern Ladakh by the Indian Army to shore up its presence in the areas where Chinese soldiers were resorting to aggressive posturing.

The situation in eastern Ladakh deteriorated after around 250 Chinese and Indian soldiers were engaged in a violent face-off on the evening of May 5 which spilled over to the next day before the two sides agreed to "disengage".

However, the standoff continued.

The incident in Pangong Tso was followed by a similar incident in north Sikkim on May 9.

The troops of India and China were engaged in a 73-day stand-off in Doklam tri-junction in 2017 which even triggered fears of a war between the two nuclear-armed neighbours.

The India-China border dispute covers the 3,488-km-long LAC. China claims Arunachal Pradesh as part of southern Tibet while India contests it.

Both sides have been asserting that pending the final resolution of the boundary issue, it is necessary to maintain peace and tranquility in the border areas.

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaper Livemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

# INDIA, CHINA AND FORTIFYING THE AFRICA OUTREACH

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: Africa, African Union (AU) and India

The COVID-19 pandemic has been a great leveller across the world. But its effects stand to be devastating particularly in Africa, where economic and public health conditions are extremely vulnerable. Although African countries moved quickly to curb the initial spread, they are still woefully ill-equipped to cope with a public health emergency of such magnitude due to shortages of masks, ventilators, and even basic necessities such as soap and water. Such conditions have meant that Africa's cycle of chronic external aid dependence continues. Africa needs medical protective equipment and gear to support its front line public health workers. As Asia's two largest economies and long-standing partners of Africa, India and China have increased their outreach to Africa through medical assistance. Their efforts are directed to fill a part of the growing African need at a time when not many others have stepped in to help.

China, being Africa's largest trading partner, was quick to signal its intent to help Africa cope with the pandemic. It despatched medical protective equipment, testing kits, ventilators, and medical masks to several African countries. The primary motive of such donations has been to raise Beijing's profile as a leading provider of humanitarian assistance and "public goods" in the global public health sector. China's billionaire philanthropy was also in full display when tech founder Jack Ma donated three rounds of anti-coronavirus supplies. These consignments were transported mostly by Ethiopian aircraft. Chinese embassies across Africa have taken the lead by coordinating both public and private donations to local stakeholders and have also embarked on a donation blitz of cash even as the sub-optimal quality of China's medical supplies and its deputing of medical experts have been a major cause for concern.

Beijing's 'donation diplomacy' in Africa aims to achieve three immediate objectives: shift the focus away from talking about the origins of the virus in Wuhan, build goodwill overseas, and establish an image makeover. For the most part, it succeeded in achieving these ends until China faced widespread backlash over the ill-treatment of African nationals in Guangzhou city. The issue quickly grew into a full-blown political crisis for Beijing. But for the most part, China has been successful in controlling the Guangzhou narrative due to the depth of its political influence in Africa. It is no secret that China relies heavily on diplomatic support and cooperation from African countries on key issues in multilateral fora. For example, Beijing used African support for securing a win for Chinese candidates as the head of Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and in the World Health Organization (WHO). On Africa's part, the problem lies in the deep disjuncture and credibility gap between Africa's governing class, the people, the media and civil society. Even when criticisms have been levelled against Chinese indiscretions, it has hardly ever surfaced at the elite level. Overall, China's donation diplomacy towards Africa during COVID-19 has received mixed reactions, but Beijing's advantage lies in its economic heft and political influence in Africa.

For India, the pandemic presents an opportunity to demonstrate its willingness and capacity to shoulder more responsibility. The fact that even with limited resources, India can fight the virus at home while reaching out to developing countries in need is testament to India's status as a responsible and reliable global stakeholder. Nowhere has India's developmental outreach been more evident than in Africa with the continent occupying a central place in Indian government's foreign and economic policy in the last six years. Africa has been the focus of India's development assistance and also diplomatic outreach, as evident in plans to open 18 new embassies. These efforts have been supplemented by an improved record of Indian project

implementation in Africa.

India's role as 'the pharmacy of the world', as the supplier of low-cost, generic medicines is widely acknowledged. Pharmaceutical products along with refined petroleum products account for 40% of India's total exports to African markets. India is sending consignments of essential medicines, including hydroxychloroquine (HCQ) and paracetamol, to 25 African countries in addition to doctors and paramedics at a total cost of around 600 million (\$7.9 million) on a commercial and grant basis. The initial beneficiaries were the African Indian Ocean island nations of Mauritius, the Seychelles, Comoros, and Madagascar under India's 'Mission Sagar'. While transportation and logistics remain a concern, most of the consignments have already reached various African states.

A timely initiative has been the e-ITEC COVID-19 management strategies training webinars exclusively aimed at training health-care professionals from Africa and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) nations and sharing of best practices by Indian health experts. Nigeria, Kenya, Mauritius, and Namibia have been beneficiaries. Across Africa, there is a keen interest to understand the developments and best practices in India because the two share similar socioeconomic and developmental challenges. There is also growing interest in research and development in drugs and vaccines. A few African countries such as Mauritius are pushing for health-care partnerships in traditional medicines and Ayurveda for boosting immunity. The Indian community, especially in East African countries, has also been playing a crucial role in helping spread awareness. Prominent Indian businessmen and companies in Nigeria and Kenya have donated money to the respective national emergency response funds. Country-specific chapters of gurdwaras and temples have fed thousands of families by setting up community kitchens, helplines for seniors and distributing disinfectants and sanitisers.

Both India and China, through their respective health and donation diplomacy, are vying to carve a space and position for themselves as reliable partners of Africa in its time of need. Burnishing their credentials as humanitarian champions is the name of the game. But there are significant differences in the approaches. For China, three aspects are critical: money, political influence and elite level wealth creation; strong state-to-state relations as opposed to people-to-people ties; and hard-infrastructure projects and resource extraction. India's approach on the other hand is one that focuses on building local capacities and an equal partnership with Africans and not merely with African elites concerned. As these two powers rise in Africa, their two distinct models will come under even greater scrutiny. And both New Delhi and Beijing might find that they need to adapt to the rising aspirations of the African continent.

Harsh V. Pant is Director, Studies at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) and Professor of International Relations at King's College London. Abhishek Mishra is a Junior Fellow at ORF, New Delhi

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Please enter a valid email address.

To reassure Indian Muslims, the PM needs to state that the govt. will not conduct an exercise like NRC

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

## SHORING UP INDO-PACIFIC

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India's Foreign Policy evolution and changes

At a time when the focus of the international community is on public health and the economic response to the [coronavirus pandemic](#) — and rightly so — one should also continue reflecting on the concept of the Indo-Pacific and see how it can best serve regional stability at a time of heightened tensions. It appears that our national security depends not only on traditional security policies but also on our ability to foster multilateralism as well as the blue economy and environmental protection. These convictions will continue to guide France's policy in the Indo-Pacific, in close coordination with India.

Traditional security policies, including the exchange of information and military cooperation against traditional and non-traditional threats, have in no way lost their relevance in a [COVID-19](#) world. The current crisis has, in fact, revealed the assertion of power politics. This is likely to have a negative impact on territorial disputes and international law, as the recent tensions in the South [China](#) Sea have shown. Moreover, the tensions between the [United States](#) and China have been revived, accentuating regional faultlines and urging countries to take sides. This would go against the objective of a multipolar Asia in a multipolar world. In this tumultuous context, France and India, as two nations that cherish their strategic autonomy, are committed to deepening their partnership. And they have actually upgraded their naval interoperability through the organisation, earlier this year, of the first-ever joint patrol off Reunion Island and the Mozambique Channel.

That being said, our policies in the Indo-Pacific must be enriched by a multilateral dimension and an emphasis on the blue economy and environmental protection.

Multilateralism, including in its regional dimension, regionalism, is all the more necessary since the Indo-Pacific is characterised by limited political integration, and more intensely competing ideological narratives in the wake of the public health crisis. In these circumstances, multilateralism is a tool that can help countries defuse tensions and build common understandings of shared challenges. It is, moreover, an unequalled mechanism to promote international norms and principles and to facilitate their implementation by increasing the cost of unilateral policies. It represents a multiplying — not undermining — factor of national policies.

That is why joining and supporting regional organisations and mechanisms is a pillar of France's Indo-Pacific strategy. France is a candidate for full-fledged membership of the IORA, it supports the centrality of the [ASEAN](#), and is committed to seizing the opportunities offered by other multilateral frameworks, such as the Asia-Europe Meeting, or the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium, which France is chairing for a two-year term. Besides this, France welcomes the admission of India as an observer in the Indian Ocean Commission, decided in March 2020 by the five-member sub-regional grouping, and sees it as an opportunity to increase regional cooperation.

The blue economy and environmental protection should also be at the centre of our Indo-Pacific strategies. This was one of the key messages of President Emmanuel Macron at the "Choose La Réunion Summit" on October 23, 2019, which was attended by India's Minister of State for External Affairs V Muraleedharan, and Indian business representatives. This conviction is derived from our diagnosis that inequalities within societies, marginalisation of some coastal populations, and vulnerability to climate change may well be aggravated in the Indo-Pacific by short- and long-term factors, ranging from the COVID-19 crisis, uncooperative appropriation of natural resources, as well as climate change, which creates environmental insecurity. These

factors have the potential to damage the social fabric of the people.

Against this risk, protecting biodiversity and promoting a sustainable marine economy involves developing new economic sectors, facilitating local job creation, preventing the predation of certain projects when necessary, and upgrading their resilience to climate change. This would, for example, involve developing sustainable fishing industries that benefit the local people and abide by the law. These are true components of a long-term agenda for the Indo-Pacific and, to quote Minister of External Affairs S Jaishankar, they demonstrate that we act “for something and not against somebody”. France is committed to working in this field in synergy with India’s Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative, including through further cooperation in the blue economy, building on its economic, scientific and academic assets in Reunion Island.

As an illustration of this approach, the French Development Agency (AFD) signed a Memorandum of Understanding, in March with the Indian Ocean Rim Association for “Strengthening the Capacities of IORA in Promoting the Blue Economy and Fisheries Management”. The partnership will support the implementation of the IORA Action Plan with an allocation of one million euros over three years, offer expertise and training to decision-makers, as well as capacity building for the IORA Secretariat.

In conclusion, far from questioning the relevance of the Indo-Pacific concept, the current crisis urges us rather to develop its multilateral dimension and focus on blue economy and environmental protection. Only on this condition can we ensure both national security and shared stability in our region.

***The writer is France’s ambassador to India***

***The Indian Express is now on Telegram. Click [here to join our channel \(@indianexpress\)](#) and stay updated with the latest headlines***

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

# IT'S TIME TO PLAY HARDBALL WITH CHINA OVER ITS MISADVENTURES

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

Policy and public actions that squeeze its business interests might beget better behaviour of Beijing

Social media has been abuzz with righteous anger over China's bid to destabilize our borders (ie, the Line of Actual Control). This time, it is not a minor incursion in one area. It is along many segments of our northern borders. The Bully of Asia needs to be stood up to and made to pay for it. Not doing anything is not an option.

Many public personalities, from Sonam Wangchuk (the inspiration behind the lead character in 3 Idiots) to actors like Arshad Warsi (of Munnabhai fame) to yoga guru Baba Ramdev have called for a boycott of Chinese apps and products. These calls are directionally right, but need strategic calibration.

China has taken the benefits of trade for granted even while pursuing its aggressive border incursions at regular intervals to keep us off-balance. Sometimes it uses its influence with Pakistan to unsettle us. Since a full-blown war does not make sense for us (or for China), our actions should be aimed at unsettling China on trade. Beijing believes that we cannot afford to do without Chinese products. This is true in the short run, but not in the medium term. Elementary economics tells us that every product ultimately has a substitute or alternative source of supply.

An easy counter-attack would be to orchestrate a boycott of Chinese apps and brands (but not inputs), which can be done with social media propaganda and the support of organizations outside government (the Swadeshi Jagran Manch, other NGOs, etc). The government could help by blocking access to certain apps that fall afoul of Indian norms. China cannot complain, for it is the world's biggest blocker of foreign apps and websites.

It is when we come to products that we need better calibration. Any sudden boycott will damage us more than China in the short run, as thousands of small and medium businesses survive by importing, repacking and reselling Chinese products, from Ganesha idols to agarbattis to active pharmaceutical ingredients to everyday gadgets.

Getting back at China would mean developing a multi-year strategic plan to make it pay even while maintaining a façade of friendliness. For starters, we should ask all our domestic units to reduce their dependence on China for sub-assemblies and inputs to a range of 25-30% of final product value. The rest can be sourced from other countries, or produced locally. Chinese companies already producing wares in India could be told that their import value must be less than 20% over three years, failing which duties will be raised.

To reiterate, our game plan should focus on (1) posing an immediate threat to Chinese companies where the loss to us is minimal; (2) excluding Chinese companies from benefiting from our market with the use of non-tariff barriers; (3) preparing a plan to reduce our China dependence; and (4) getting Chinese companies out of strategic areas in our economy (till Beijing relents).

In category 1 would be a private campaign to uninstall many Chinese apps, from TikTok to



PUBG. Where needed, the government can block specific apps based on privacy and data concerns.

In category 2, India needs to designate sectors that are technologically and strategically important to us. Telecom is an obvious example. China can be excluded by clearly enunciating a policy whereby companies from countries with which India has unresolved military issues cannot be given Indian business for security reasons. This would bar Huawei from our 5G rollout.

In category 3, we should ask most of our import-dependent sectors—from pharma companies to toy makers to mobile phone companies—to start working on an import substitution plan without compromising efficiency. Chinese companies already in India can be asked to do the same. Our policies should give favourable treatment to Indian companies to catch up on the economies of technology and scale, so that Indian consumers do not have to pay an exorbitant price for inefficiencies. In three years, it should be possible to curtail Chinese imports, where we currently run a trade deficit of over \$50 billion annually. Our goal should be to avoid running a trade deficit that is more than 50% of our exports to China.

In category 4, we have already taken the first step by making Chinese acquisitions of Indian companies subject to government clearance. Chinese investments are concentrated in the tech and startup sectors, but the total investment is under \$10 billion. We should ensure that ownership of critical tech firms does not pass on to Chinese companies, and if they want to exit, the government should enable Indian companies—or even billionaires from friendly countries—to buy them out. We should, however, not object to the Chinese taking minority stakes in our firms.

The problem with China is that it is a non-transparent and authoritarian country with a desire to become the world's hegemon. It is no different politically from a North Korea, even though it is more prosperous and also an emerging superpower.

For India, the immediate aim should be simple: We must make China pay for its transgressions. Instead, we gift it more than \$50 billion annually in trade surpluses—money it could use to destabilize India. We are paying China to harm us. How daft is that?

*R. Jagannathan is editorial director, 'Swarajya' magazine*

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

## WOLF WARRIOR DIPLOMACY

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

“Yi pai hu yan,” sneered the Chinese foreign minister when US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said the regime in [China](#) was comparable to that of the Soviet Union — “a communist, tyrannical regime”, but the Chinese people “are a great people”. The Chinese phrase is generally derogatory and can be interpreted mildly to mean “a bunch of nonsense”.

Making a distinction between the people and the regime in China is a favourite pastime for many in the US. Mike Pottinger, the US Deputy National Security Advisor, addressed the Miller Centre of the University of Virginia recently. Speaking in fluent Mandarin, Pottinger recalled the student protests at the Tiananmen Square a hundred years ago on May 4, 1919, that had led to the Chinese leadership refusing to sign the Treaty of Versailles. “Weren’t they a broadside against the Confucian power structure that enforced conformity over free thought? Wasn’t the goal to achieve citizen-centric government in China, and not replace one regime-centric model with another one? The world will wait for the Chinese people to furnish the answers,” he told the students, ostensibly suggesting that the spirit of the May Fourth Movement would return in China.

One should not be surprised when Chinese leaders sneer at such suggestions. Those suggestions betray a general lack of understanding about China. Francis Fukuyama, in an article in Foreign Policy, traces the authoritarian history of China in the last two millennia and aptly concludes that the so-called revolution, if any, will come not from the bottom, meaning the people, but from the top — the ruling oligarchy.

China is a great civilisation. Yet, under the Chinese Communist Party (CPC), it is a nation driven more by history. China could be understood only by understanding [Mao Zedong](#)’s Long Revolution from 1911 to 1949. British historian Eric Hobsbawm had described 20th century as a “short century” spanning from the start of the World War I in 1914 to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The Chinese scholars further shorten it by describing it as the “Short century of the Long Revolution”. And the message of that revolution is the domination of the state.

Revolutions came to China, but from the top. The Cultural Revolution was imposed on hapless Chinese people by Mao and his Gang of Four. Top leaders including Deng Xiaoping were sent away to the countryside, so was a young Xi Jinping. Later revolutions were led by these two Cultural Revolution veterans. However, the two drew opposite inspirations from it.

Deng came to power in 1979 and became a major reformer. His “four modernisations” led China to become a “socialist state with market economy”. He laid the foundations for the modern-day economic power of China. It may be worthwhile to recall that when Deng began his reforms, China’s GDP was at \$191 billion while India’s was \$186 billion. Four decades later, China is five times bigger. It was a revolution engineered at the top.

But the same Deng showed utmost cruelty towards the student protesters at the Tiananmen Square in 1989. June 4 was the day when the PLA, under Deng’s orders, had ruthlessly crushed the student protests for a more open political system. A less known fact is that behind this brutal repression was a brewing leadership struggle within the CPC. Deng had called for political reforms for the effective implementation of his economic reforms. Two central committee leaders, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, who were made the general secretaries of the CPC successively, were at the forefront of drafting the political reform programme. But when student protests broke out first in 1987 and then the famous Tiananmen Square protests in 1989, the

two leaders were purged by Deng. Hu died in 1989 and Zhao was put under house arrest after being removed as the general secretary in 1989.

Popular revolutions are not tolerated in CPC-led China. But top-down revolutions do happen. The latest revolution to export Chinese influence far into the world began with the rise of Xi Jinping in 2013. His rise as the supreme leader was followed by the insertion of “Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics in a New Era” into the CPC constitution. Its main thrust is twofold: Making China a nation with pioneering global influence and building a world-class military force.

The greatest challenge to Xi’s thought came in 2020 in the form of the [pandemic](#). Internal discord seems to have been suppressed. But external pressures, especially from the US, continue. Faced with such situations in the past, China had reacted in a way that Sun Tzu would describe as “the highest form of warfare is to attack the strategy itself; the next, to attack the alliances”. When the Sino-Soviet relations deteriorated after 1956, leading to Mao calling Nikita Khrushchev a revisionist, China had used war with India, a perceived Soviet ally, in 1962 to convey to the Soviets its military superiority.

Besieged with multiple problems — Hong Kong, Taiwan and the US externally and economic and pandemic challenge internally — Xi seems to be returning to Mao’s Red Book. In the famous Chinese movie Wolf Warrior II, the protagonist, Leng Feng, a retired Chinese army commando, is seen rescuing people from a civil-war torn African country under the heel of an American mercenary. In the final scene, the fictional hero holds the Chinese flag aloft, while the awestruck enemy backs off seeing the flag. Wolf Warrior diplomacy is a phrase popular in China nowadays. Aggression is the panacea for both domestic and international challenges, Xi appears to think.

This historical China is what we confront on the borders and in diplomatic circles. India has matured its border management and diplomatic manoeuvres over the last few years. “Proactive diplomacy together with strong ground posturing” is its new mantra. From Doklam in 2017 to Galwan Valley and [Pangong](#) Tso in 2020, India has been consistent. A mature China, that does not resort to 1962 tactics, this time replacing Khrushchev with Trump, nor is bent upon provoking nationalist sentiments back home to ward off leadership challenges, would help roll back the situation.

*The writer is national general secretary, [BJP](#), and director, India Foundation*

***The Indian Express is now on Telegram. Click [here to join our channel \(@indianexpress\)](#) and stay updated with the latest headlines***

**END**

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](#)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

# MOVE OVER G7, IT'S TIME FOR A NEW AND IMPROVED G11

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: G8

US President Donald Trump is keen to expand G7 to include India, Russia, South Korea and Australia. Mint explores the reasons behind Trump's moves and whether India should play ball

US President Donald Trump is keen to expand G7 to include India, Russia, South Korea and Australia. He has invited PM Narendra Modi to attend the G7 meeting in the US later this year. Mint explores the reasons behind Trump's moves and whether India should play ball.

## What prompted US to call for an expansion?

The G7, formed in 1975-76, comprises the US, Canada, the UK, France, Germany, Japan, and Italy. Not all of these countries are among the most advanced now. India is both a military and economic giant but isn't part of the G7. So, its expansion, just like that of the United Nations Security Council, is called for. However, there is more than that to Trump's moves. China has emerged as the new nemesis for the US and many other countries, particularly after the coronavirus outbreak in Wuhan. Having India and others in the G7 is Trump's way of countering the rising influence of China on the world stage.

## What could be the other reasons?

The US goes to polls in November to elect its next president and Trump faces a tough fight against the Democratic candidate Joe Biden. The US and China have been fighting a trade war for quite a long time. Both have imposed tariffs on imports of a long list of goods from the other. Mentioning 'Wuhan virus' to provoke China and upping the rhetoric against it, along with inviting four other countries to G7, help Trump sell the promise of 'Make America Great Again' well to his audience. Trump hasn't had the best of relations with few members of G7. Expanding the group helps him accommodate friendly countries.

## Does the Indian diaspora in the US matter?

It does. The Democratic Party is pro-immigration that goes well with Indians based there. However, the party has also been critical of India's record on minority rights, which doesn't go well with most Indians. The Republican Party, particularly under Trump, is anti-immigration but the President has often acknowledged Indians' contribution to the US.

## Why has Trump chosen the four countries?

If there's any country in Asia that comes anywhere close to China in population, economic and military numbers, it is India. South Korea is a tech and economic superpower and US is committed to defending it against any enemy. Australia is a natural ally for the US in the South Pacific, a region where China has been expanding its influence. That leaves Russia, a force to reckon with any day, given its military superiority. Trump has also usually got along with Putin, its unpredictable leader. Russia also shares a large border with China.

## Should India play along as US takes on China?

India has had a complex relationship with China. China's past record—it fought a war with India

in 1962— makes it difficult for India to trust it. China and India are in a standoff in Ladakh. India and the US are natural allies. One is the world's largest democracy and the other the oldest. There is an urgent need for democracies and rules-based regimes that believe in fair trade and respect for intellectual property rights to come together. It may be time for India to play hardball with China.

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS

# SEVEN TO ELEVEN: THE HINDU EDITORIAL ON INDIA AND G-7

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: G8

Dismissing the current configuration of the “Group of Seven” or G-7 of the world’s most developed nations as “outdated”, U.S. President Donald Trump announced over the weekend that he [would like to expand it to a G-11](#), by adding India, Russia, South Korea and Australia. He [followed that up with invitations](#) to their leaders, including Prime Minister Modi, to attend the G-7 summit in the U.S. later this year. The news was welcomed by Mr. Modi, who commended Mr. Trump for his “creative and far-sighted” decision to expand the format of the grouping to keep up with the new realities of the “post-COVID world”. Australia and South Korea have also welcomed the invitation, while Russia, that [lost its membership of the grouping in 2014](#) over its annexation of Crimea, said President Putin would attend “if treated as an equal”. Notable by its absence in the proposed grouping is China, which had earlier, along with India, Brazil, Mexico and South Africa, been invited regularly to G-8 summits as an outreach by the developed world to the five emerging economies (called the G-8+5). U.S.-China tensions, particularly over [coronavirus](#) issues, clearly played a part in Mr. Trump’s decision to leave Chinese President Xi Jinping off his summit guest list. A White House spokesperson even explained that the G-11 would be a way for the U.S. to bring together its “traditional allies to talk about how to deal with the future of China”. Predictably, Beijing has lashed out at the G-11 idea, as one that would be “doomed to fail”.

The proposed G-11 grouping would recognise India’s place amongst the world’s richest nations, and acknowledge its global voice. However, the government must weigh the benefits proposed along with some of the factors that are still unclear. As host, Mr. Trump can invite any country as a G-7 special invitee, but changing its composition will require the approval of the other members. Already, there are some concerns over Russia, which could derail the entire G-11 plan, making any concrete decision by New Delhi on the issue premature. It is unclear when the summit will actually be held, given the November polls in the U.S., although Mr. Trump has indicated that he could hold it close to the UN General Assembly session in September. Despite its border tensions with Beijing, India must also consider its objectives in attending a grouping that appears aimed at fuelling a new Cold War between the U.S. and China. Finally, an evaluation of the G-7’s effectiveness as a multilateral forum thus far is needed, given deep member differences on issues including climate change, security contributions, Iran, etc. In France, last year, the grouping was unable to issue a joint communiqué due to these differences — a first in its 45-year-old history.

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Please enter a valid email address.

From the abrogation of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir, to the landmark Ayodhya verdict, 2019 proved to be an eventful year.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

# THE DELHI-DC-BEIJING TRIANGLE - EDITORIALS - HINDUSTAN TIMES

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: G8

Jun 04, 2020-Thursday

-°C

Humidity

-

Wind

-

**Metro cities** - [Delhi](#), [Mumbai](#), [Chennai](#), [Kolkata](#)

**Other cities** - [Noida](#), [Gurgaon](#), [Bengaluru](#), [Hyderabad](#), [Bhopal](#), [Chandigarh](#), [Dehradun](#), [Indore](#), [Jaipur](#), [Lucknow](#), [Patna](#), [Ranchi](#)

Powered by  OpenWeatherMap

Prime Minister Narendra Modi and United States (US) President Donald Trump took the opportunity of the latter inviting India to the planned Group of Seven plus summit to discuss the situation at the India-China border on Tuesday. The conversation raises a question of how New Delhi should use geopolitical cards when playing yet another round of shotgun poker with Beijing. Of their own volition, US officials have been vocal in calling out China during this crisis, conflating Beijing's border intrusions with its strangulation of the South China Sea and Hong Kong. This may please Indians, but an overt US role in a bilateral dispute may not necessarily make things easier for India.

New Delhi should not define strategic autonomy to be the external relations of a hermit. Statecraft is about increasing options, not reducing them. Dealing with China, a country cognizant of its much greater heft, means all possible diplomatic, economic and military means need to be brought to bear. One measure of a nation's strength is how many friends it has, and being able to say one of them is the US still counts for a lot. Beijing sees Washington as its only peer; so, bringing the US into a dispute can be useful. In a number of past cases, whether border negotiations in the 1980s or forcing China to stop stapling visas for Indian Kashmiris, India has used its proximity to the US to its advantage. In the instance of the Doklam stand-off, it worked better to keep the US at a distance.

At the same time, an India which handles such crises on its own builds capacity within its institutions and polity. Resilience based on domestic strengths, independent of the international environment, is the best means to deter troublesome neighbours. Also, disputes over a dozen kilometres of barren land are small enough; entangling them in superpower rivalry will not make resolution easier. India's interests now range from the local to the global, and, so, a part of its skillset must be to judge when to use a scalpel and when, a broadsword. An emerging power must recognise which external crises can be handled at what level. At present, Galwan Valley is best handled at the bilateral level with the US' support being used only as background noise. There are other long-term issues regarding China, in areas such as technology standards and maritime security, which can be taken up at venues like the supersized G-7 summit.



END

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](http://crackIAS.com)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

# INDIA-AUSTRALIA MEET STRENGTHENS TIES

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - Australia

Working together: Prime Minister Narendra Modi speaking to Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison on Thursday. AP

India and Australia raised their relationship to a “Comprehensive Strategic Partnership” after a ‘virtual’ summit between Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison, who concluded nine agreements including a Mutual Logistics Support Agreement (MLSA) and issued a joint declaration on a “Shared Vision for Maritime Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific.”

The two countries also agreed to increase the frequency of meetings between the two Prime Ministers, and took the “2+2” format of bilateral meetings to the level of Foreign and Defence Ministers, who will meet to “discuss strategic issues” at least every two years. The two leaders, who are expected to meet in person at the extended G-7 summit to be held in the United States later this year, spoke for more than an hour over a video link, a first for a bilateral summit for India.

“Both India and Australia share a vision of a free, open, inclusive and rules-based Indo-Pacific region to support the freedom of navigation, overflight and peaceful and cooperative use of the seas by adherence of all nations to international law including the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) and peaceful resolution of disputes rather than through unilateral or coercive actions,” said the statement issued in New Delhi and Canberra.

## ‘No talks on China’

The summit came amidst tensions between India and China over the stand-off at the Line of Actual Control, and Australia-China tensions over trade issues and differences over handling of the COVID-19 pandemic. However, Ministry of External Affairs officials said there had been “no discussion” on China, and the two leaders had not discussed including Australia for “Malabar” or quadrilateral maritime exercises that would include India, Australia, U.S. and Japan, something that China has opposed in the past.

“Both sides agreed to continue to deepen and broaden defence cooperation by enhancing the scope and complexity of their military exercises and engagement activities to develop new ways to address shared security challenges,” the joint statement added, referring to the MLSA which will allow both militaries the reciprocal use of bases, humanitarian and disaster relief cooperation, port exercises, and passage exercises. Other agreements announced included a framework arrangement on cyber technology, an MoU on mining and processing critical and strategic minerals including Australian rare earth metals used for electronics, governance, vocational training and water management.

Mr. Modi said the Comprehensive Strategic Partnership (CSP) took on new meaning at the time of the global pandemic. “The world needs a coordinated and collaborative approach to come out of the economic and social side effects of this pandemic. Our government has decided to view this crisis as an opportunity,” he told Mr. Morrison.

Mr. Morrison said the CSP would raise the level of “trust” required to improve the “trade and investment flows” between India and Australia.

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

Crack

# THE DE-ESCALATION ROAD MAP FOR INDIA AND CHINA

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

It has been a month since the India-China face-off began with an incident at the Pangong Tso Lake in Ladakh along the LAC. Mint takes a look at steps taken to ease the tension

It has been a month since the India-China face-off began with an incident at the Pangong Tso Lake in Ladakh along the Line of Actual Control (LAC). Another incident took place days later along the LAC in north Sikkim. Mint takes a look at steps taken to ease the tension.

## What is the problem at the border?

Troops of both countries have been face-to-face at the [Pangong Tso Lake](#) since 5 May and in the Galwan Valley and Demchok in Ladakh. The trigger for the face-off seems to be China's opposition to India building a road around the Pangong Tso Lake and a link road connecting Darbuk, Shyok, and Daulat Beg Oldi in Galwan Valley, close to the LAC. India has been building border infrastructure in recent years, but is still behind China, which has motorable roads right up to the LAC. This time Chinese troops have intruded in larger numbers and have done so in areas such as Galwan Valley, where there was no dispute earlier.

## What has been done to ease tensions?

India and China have had at least three meetings at the level of major generals and many at the level of brigadiers since the face-off began. Earlier, small patrols from both sides used to come face-to-face and, with senior officers of the Indian Army and the [People's Liberation Army](#) (PLA) of China intervening, disengagement was quick. This time, the Chinese have stayed put with a rise in troop numbers last month, diverting personnel from a military exercise in Tibet to the LAC. India rushed reinforcements, supported by heavy vehicles and equipment, to mirror the Chinese deployment.

## Where do talks for disengagement take place?

India and China have five established locations for Border Personnel Meetings, including Daulat Beg Oldi and Chushul in Ladakh, Bum La and Kibithu in Arunachal Pradesh, and Nathu La in Sikkim. Ceremonial meetings are also held on occasions such as India's Independence Day on 15 August or People's Liberation Army Day on 1 August.

## What has been done at the diplomatic level?

India and China have been working at the level of senior diplomats to sort out the impasse. India's ambassador to China Vikram Misri has been having talks with officials in the Chinese foreign ministry, while China's ambassador to India, Sun Weidong, has had meetings in New Delhi. Both countries are also working through the Working Mechanism for Consultation and Coordination on India-China Border Affairs set up in January 2012 to de-escalate tensions between the neighbours.

## What is expected on Saturday?

A pullback of troops and heavy vehicles by China and continuous talks to ease tension could be

taken as a step towards resolution. Lieutenant General Harinder Singh, who commands the Leh-based 14 Corps, is expected to lead the talks with his Chinese counterpart. A proposal to disengage and a pullback to positions prior to 5 May will be the main issues on the agenda. There will be no negotiation on Galwan Valley, which India considers its territory. It is also unlikely to agree to stop infrastructure upgrade.

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS!

## A CHILL IN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: Effect of policies and politics of developed & developing countries on India's interests

A slew of recent announcements on China by U.S. President Donald Trump is a clear indication that the competition between the U.S. and China is likely to sharpen in the post-COVID world. On May 29, the Trump administration said it would revoke Hong Kong's special trade status under U.S. law. The administration also passed an order limiting the entry of certain Chinese graduate students and researchers who may have ties to the People's Liberation Army. The U.S. President has also ordered financial regulators to closely examine Chinese firms listed in U.S. stock markets, and warned those that do not comply with U.S. laws could be delisted.

Americans have had a strange fascination for China ever since the early 1900s when Protestant missionaries decided that it was God's work to bring salvation to the Chinese. Books like *The Good Earth* by Pearl S. Buck and *Red Star Over China* by Edgar Snow in the 1930s romanticised the country. Even after the Chinese communists seized power, the Americans hoped to cohabit with Mao Zedong in a world under U.S. hegemony. The Chinese allowed them to believe this and extracted their price. U.S. President Richard Nixon gave China the international acceptability it craved in return for being admitted to Mao's presence in 1972; President Jimmy Carter terminated diplomatic relations with Taiwan in order to normalise relations with China in 1978; President George H.W. Bush washed away the sins of Tiananmen in 1989 for ephemeral geopolitical gain; and Bill Clinton, who as a presidential candidate had criticised Bush for indulging the Chinese, proceeded as President to usher the country into the World Trade Organization at the expense of American business. All American administrations since the 1960s have been complicit in China's rise in the unrealised hope that it will become a 'responsible stakeholder' under Pax Americana.

Editorial | [Skyrocketing tensions: On U.S.-China ties](#)

The Chinese are hard-nosed and unsentimental about the U.S. They have always pursued America with a selfish purpose, albeit couched in high principle. They have spoken words that the Americans wanted to hear — anti-Soviet rhetoric during the Cold War and market principles thereafter — to disguise their real purpose of thwarting U.S. hegemony. Ever since Cold Warrior John Foster Dulles spoke in 1958 of weaning China and other “satellites” away from the Soviets through regime change, known as “peaceful evolution”, every Chinese leader from Chairman Mao to President Xi Jinping has been clear-eyed that the U.S. represents an existential threat to the continued supremacy of the communist regime. Mao put it best, when he told high-ranking leaders in November 1959, that the “U.S. is attempting to carry out its aggression and expansion with a much more deceptive tactic... In other words, it wants to keep its order and change our system.” (Memoirs, Chinese leader Bo Yibo). The collapse of the Soviet Union only reinforced this view and strengthened China's resolve to resist by creating its own parallel universe. China is building an alternate trading system (the Belt and Road Initiative); a multilateral banking system under its control (Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, New Development Bank); its own global positioning system (BeiDou); digital payment platforms (WeChat Pay and Alipay); a world-class digital network (Huawei 5G); cutting-edge technological processes in sunrise industries; and a modern military force. It is doing this under the noses of the Americans and some of it with the financial and technological resources of the West.

Voices of caution have been few and far between, among them political scientist John Mearsheimer, who wrote in 2005 that the rise of China would not be peaceful at all, but the world chose to believe General Secretary of the Communist Party of China Hu Jintao's assurances

about “peaceful rise”. When satellite evidence showed that China was building military installations in the South China Sea, China’s Southeast Asian neighbours and the U.S. preferred to believe assurances to the contrary given by Mr. Xi on the lawns of the White House in 2015.

It is only under Mr. Trump that the Americans are finally acknowledging the uneasy fact that the Chinese are not graven in their image. He has called China out on trade practices. He has called China out on 5G. It was Mr. Trump’s 2017 National Security Strategy document that, perhaps for the first time, clubbed China along with Russia as a challenge to American power, influence and interests. His recent China-specific restrictions on trade and legal migration are, possibly, only the beginning of a serious re-adjustment.

Also read | [U.S. to bar Chinese flights from June 16](#)

A full-spectrum debate on China is now raging across the U.S. Former White House Chief of Staff Steve Bannon declared that the U.S. is already at war with China. Others like diplomat Richard Haass and former president of the World Bank, Robert Zoellick, warn that a new Cold War will be a mistake. Scholar Julian Gewirtz, in his brilliant essay, ‘The Chinese Reassessment of Interdependence’, talks about a similar process under way in Beijing. Both sides are acutely aware how closely their economies are tied together: from farm to factory, the U.S. is heavily dependent on supply chains in China and the Chinese have been unable to break free of the dollar. If Mr. Trump’s wish is to disentangle China’s supply chains, Mr. Xi is equally determined to escape from the U.S. ‘chokehold’ on technology. To what extent the de-coupling is possible is yet to be determined, but one thing is inevitable, India will become part of the collateral damage.

Will Hong Kong become a game-changer in the post-COVID world? China’s decision to enact the new national security law for Hong Kong has been condemned in unison by the U.S. and its Western allies as an assault on human freedoms. Why is this significant? The points of divergence, even dispute, between them have so far been in the material realm. With Hong Kong, the U.S.-China rivalry may, possibly, be entering the ideological domain. For some time now there are reports about Chinese interference in the internal affairs of democracies. Countries in the West have tackled this individually, always mindful of not jeopardising their trade with China. Hong Kong may be different. It is not only a bastion for Western capitalism in the East, but more importantly the torch-bearer of Western democratic ideals. Think of it as a sort of Statue of Liberty; it holds aloft the torch of freedom and democracy for all those who pass through Hong Kong en route to China. This is an assault on beliefs, so to speak.

Analysis | [Are the U.S. and China entering a new Cold War?](#)

This comes on the back of not unreasonable demands that China should come clean on its errors of omission in the early days of COVID-19, when greater transparency and quicker action might have prevented, or at least mitigated, the pandemic. In the months ahead, more information may become public, from sources inside China itself, about the shortcomings of the regime, that will further fuel a debate on the superiority of the Chinese Model as an alternative to democracy. Will this form the ideological underpinning for the birth of a new Cold War? That will depend on who wins in Washington in November; on whether profit will again trump politics in Europe; and on how skilfully the Wolf Warriors of China can manipulate global public opinion. The lines are beginning to be drawn between the Americans on the one side and China on the other. A binary choice is likely to test to the limit India’s capacity to maintain strategic and decisional autonomy.

*Vijay Gokhale is a former Foreign Secretary of India and a former Ambassador to China*

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Please enter a valid email address.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com



## SKYROCKETING TENSIONS: THE HINDU EDITORIAL ON U.S.-CHINA TIES

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: Effect of policies and politics of developed & developing countries on India's interests

The U.S. government's decision to [bar passenger planes from China](#) from June 16 is but another instance of rising tensions between the two countries. A trade war which President Donald Trump launched in 2018 is yet to be resolved fully. In recent months, Mr. Trump and other officials in the administration had attacked China over its handling of the [COVID-19 pandemic](#). The U.S. has also decided to end Hong Kong's special trade status in protest against Beijing's move to introduce a new national security law for the Special Administrative Region. Repeated targeting of China by Washington and Beijing's retaliatory moves make it look like the world's largest and second largest economies have entered into a new cold war. Administration officials say the decision on flights is in response to China's refusal to allow U.S. airlines to resume flights to the country. China had introduced restrictions on international flights in March, in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, and most of those curbs are still in place. Disputes such as this could be resolved through talks and cooperation. China has already sent signals of de-escalation, allowing foreign airlines to resume flights on a limited scale starting June 8. Whether or not Mr. Trump has a rethink, the larger problem is the U.S.'s overall approach towards China, which has taken an increasingly hostile turn in the last four years.

From trade and technology to the pandemic and Hong Kong, the battle lines have been drawn — China, which the Pentagon called “a revisionist power” in 2018, is the main rival of Washington, a position which the Soviet Union held during the Cold War. Ties between China and the U.S. are still not as bad as they were between the Soviet Union and the U.S. Beijing and Washington are still economically and financially entangled. The world is not divided into two ideological blocs, as it had been during the Cold War. The possibility of a military confrontation is very low. But the era of cooperation, peaceful trade and pragmatism that had defined U.S.-China partnership since President Richard Nixon's reset in the 1970s seems to have made way for an aggressive leadership contest and deepening mutual mistrust. And with Mr. Trump desperately looking for an enemy to blame for the misfortunes that fell on America in an election year that has been battered by the pandemic and the deepest economic downturn since the Great Depression, tensions with China are expected to skyrocket in the coming months. Washington wanted an enemy and it found it in China. Unless the leaders of both countries change their course and rebuild the lost mutual confidence, a new kind of cold war would be forced upon the world.

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Please enter a valid email address.

From the abrogation of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir, to the landmark Ayodhya verdict, 2019 proved to be an eventful year.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

## EASTERN LADAKH STANDOFF: INDIAN AND CHINESE ARMIES HOLD LT-GENERAL-LEVEL TALKS

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

The Indian delegation was led by Lt General Harinder Singh, the general officer commanding of Leh-based 14 Corps

Indian and Chinese armies on Saturday held Lieutenant General-level talks in their first major attempt to resolve the month-long border standoff in eastern Ladakh, official sources said.

The Indian delegation was led by Lt General Harinder Singh, the general officer commanding of Leh-based 14 Corps, while the Chinese side was headed by the Commander of the Tibet Military District, government sources said.

The talks were held at the Border Personnel Meeting Point in Maldo on the Chinese side of the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in Eastern Ladakh.

Without specifically mentioning the talks, an Indian Army spokesperson said: "Indian and Chinese officials continue to remain engaged through the established military and diplomatic channels to address the current situation in the India-China border areas."

Saturday's meeting took place after 12 rounds of talks between local commanders of the two armies and three rounds of discussions at the level of major general-rank officials could not produce any tangible outcome, the sources said.

The high-level military dialogue took place a day after the two countries held diplomatic talks during which both sides agreed to handle their "differences" through peaceful discussions while respecting each other's sensitivities and concerns.

Earlier, sources had said the Indian delegation at the military talks will press for restoration of status quo ante in Galwan Valley, Pangong Tso and Gogra in eastern Ladakh, oppose huge build up of Chinese troops in the region and ask China not to resist development of infrastructure by India on its side of the de-facto border.

After the standoff began early last month, Indian military leadership decided that Indian troops will adopt a firm approach in dealing with the aggressive posturing by the Chinese troops in all disputed areas of Pangong Tso, Galwan Valley, Demchok and Daulat Beg Oldie.

The Chinese army is learnt to have deployed around 2,500 troops in Pangong Tso and Galwan Valley besides gradually enhancing temporary infrastructure and weaponry.

The sources said satellite images have captured significant ramping up of defence infrastructure by China on its side of the LAC, the de-facto border, including upgrading a military airbase around 180 km from the Pangong Tso area.

The Chinese Army has been gradually ramping up its strategic reserves in its rear bases near the the LAC by rushing in artillery guns, infantry combat vehicles and heavy military equipment, they said.

China has also enhanced its presence in certain areas along the LAC in Northern Sikkim and

Uttarakhand following which India has also been increasing its presence by sending additional troops, they said.

The trigger for the face-off was China's stiff opposition to India laying a key road in the Finger area around the Pangong Tso Lake besides construction of another road connecting the Darbuk-Shayok-Daulat Beg Oldie road in Galwan Valley.

The road in the Finger area in Pangong Tso is considered crucial for India to carry out patrol. India has already decided not to stall any border infrastructure projects in eastern Ladakh in view of Chinese protests.

The situation in eastern Ladakh deteriorated after around 250 Chinese and Indian soldiers were engaged in a violent face-off on May 5 and 6. The incident in Pangong Tso was followed by a similar incident in north Sikkim on May 9.

*This story has been published from a wire agency feed without modifications to the text. Only the headline has been changed.*

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

Crack

# IN PERSIAN GULF LITTORAL, COOPERATIVE SECURITY IS KEY

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: GCC

The United Nations defines this body of water as the Persian Gulf. The lands around it are shared by eight countries (Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates), all members of the UN. There is a commonality of interest among them in being major producers of crude oil and natural gas, and thereby contributing critically to the global economy and to their own prosperity. This has added to their geopolitical significance. At the same time, turbulence has often characterised their *inter se* political relations.

For eight decades prior to 1970, this body of water was a closely guarded British lake, administered in good measure by imperial civil servants from India. When that era ended, regional players sought to assert themselves. Imperatives of rivalry and cooperation became evident and, as a United States State Department report put it in 1973, 'The upshot of all these cross currents is that the logic of Saudi-Iranian cooperation is being undercut by psychological, nationalistic, and prestige factors, which are likely to persist for a long time.' The Nixon and the Carter Doctrines were the logical outcome to ensure American hegemony. An early effort for collective security, attempted in a conference in Muscat in 1975, was thwarted by Baathist Iraq. The Iranian Revolution put an end to the Twin Pillar approach and disturbed the strategic balance. The Iraq-Iran War enhanced U.S. interests and role. Many moons and much bloodshed later, it was left to the Security Council through Resolution 598 (1987) to explore 'measures to enhance the security and stability in the region'.

Also read | [In a sign of thaw, Qatari PM attends Gulf summit](#)

Any framework for stability and security thus needs to answer a set of questions: security for whom, by whom, against whom, for what purpose? Is the requirement in local, regional or global terms? Does it require an extra-regional agency? Given the historical context, one recalls a Saudi scholar's remark in the 1990s that 'Gulf regional security was an external issue long before it was an issue among the Gulf States themselves.'

The essential ingredients of such a framework would thus be to ensure: conditions of peace and stability in individual littoral states; freedom to all states of the Gulf littoral to exploit their hydrocarbon and other natural resources and export them; freedom of commercial shipping in international waters of the Persian Gulf; freedom of access to, and outlet from, Gulf waters through the Strait of Hormuz; prevention of conflict that may impinge on the freedom of trade and shipping and: prevention of emergence of conditions that may impinge on any of these considerations. Could such a framework be self-sustaining or require external guarantees for its operational success? If the latter, what should its parameters be?

The past two decades have revalidated William Fulbright's observation that statesmen often confuse great power with total power and great responsibility with total responsibility. The war in Iraq and its aftermath testify to it. The U.S. effort to 'contain' the Iranian revolutionary forces, supplemented by the effort of the Arab states of the littoral (except Iraq) through the instrumentality of the Gulf Cooperation Council, or GCC (May 1981), to coordinate, cooperate and integrate to 'serve the sublime objectives of the Arab Nation' initially met with success in some functional fields and a lack of it in its wider objectives.

Also read | ['West hurts own values in Gulf crisis'](#)

In the meantime, geopolitical factors and conflicts elsewhere in the West Asian region — Yemen, Syria, Libya — aggravated global and regional relationships and hampered a *modus vivendi* in U.S.-Iran relations that was to be premised on the multilateral agreement on Iran's nuclear programme agreed to by western powers and the Obama Administration but disowned by U.S. President Donald Trump whose strident policies have taken the region to the brink of an armed conflict.

Perceptions of declining U.S. commitment to sub-regional security have been articulated in recent months amid hints of changing priorities. This is reported to have caused disquiet in some, perhaps all, members of the GCC, the hub of whose security concern remains pivoted on an Iranian threat (political and ideological rather than territorial) and an American insurance to deter it based on a convergence of interests in which oil, trade, arms purchases, etc have a role along with wider U.S. regional and global determinants.

It is evident that a common GCC threat perception has not evolved over time and has been hampered by the emergence of conflicting tactical and strategic interests and subjective considerations. The current divisions within the organisation are therefore here to stay. These have been aggravated by the global economic crisis, the immediate and longer term impact of COVID-19 on regional economies, the problems in the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and the decline in oil prices.

Also read | [Iran proposes new regional forum for Gulf](#)

One credible assessment done recently suggests that in the emerging shape of the region, 'Saudi Arabia is a fading power, UAE, Qatar and Iran are emerging as the new regional leaders and Oman and Iraq will have to struggle to retain their sovereign identities. The GCC is effectively ended, and OPEC is becoming irrelevant as oil policy moves to a tripartite global condominium. None of this will necessarily happen overnight and external intervention could interfere in unexpected ways ... But it is fair to say that the Persian Gulf as we have known for at least three generations is in the midst of a fundamental transformation.'

With the Arab League entombed and the GCC on life-support system, the Arab states of this sub-region are left to individual devices to explore working arrangements with Iraq and Iran. The imperatives for these are different but movement on both is discernible. With Iran in particular and notwithstanding the animosities of the past, pragmatic approaches of recent months seem to bear fruit. Oman has always kept its lines of communication with Iran open; Kuwait and Qatar had done likewise but in a quieter vein, and now the UAE has initiated pragmatic arrangements. These could set the stage for a wider dialogue. Both Iran and the GCC states would benefit from a formal commitment to an arrangement incorporating the six points listed above; so would every outside nation that has trading and economic interests in the Gulf. This could be sanctified by a global convention.

Record shows that the alternative of exclusive security arrangements promotes armament drives, enhances insecurity and aggravates regional tensions. It unavoidably opens the door for Great Power interference.

How does India perceive these developments and how do they impact our strategic interests and concerns? Locating the Persian Gulf littoral with reference to India is an exercise in geography and history. The distance from Mumbai to Basra is 1,526 nautical miles and Bander Abbas and Dubai are in a radius of 1,000 nautical miles. The bilateral relationship, economic and political, with the GCC has blossomed in recent years. The governments are India-friendly and Indian-friendly and appreciate the benefits of a wide-ranging relationship. This is well reflected in the bilateral trade of around \$121 billion and remittances of \$49 billion from a

workforce of over nine million. GCC suppliers account for around 34% of our crude imports and national oil companies in Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi are partners in a \$44 billion investment in the giant Ratnagiri oil refinery. In addition, Saudi Aramco is reported to take a 20% stake in Reliance oil-to-chemicals business. The current adverse impact of the pandemic on our economic relations with the GCC countries has now become a matter of concern.

Also read | [A double whammy for India-Gulf economic ties](#)

The relationship with Iran, complex at all times and more so recently on account of overt American pressure, has economic potential and geopolitical relevance on account of its actual or alleged role in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Iran also neighbours Turkey and some countries of Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea region. Its size, politico-technological potential and economic resources, cannot be wished away, regionally and globally, but can be harnessed for wider good.

India has eschewed involvement in local or regional disputes. Indian interests do not entail power projection; they necessitate in their totality, peace and regional stability, freedom of navigation and access to the region's markets in terms of trade, technology and manpower resources. Indian interests would be best served if this stability is ensured through cooperative security since the alternative — of competitive security options — cannot ensure durable peace.

*Hamid Ansari is the former Vice-President of India, 2007-2017*

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested

interest and political propaganda.

Please enter a valid email address.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com



## RAJA MANDALA: IT'S NOT ABOUT AMERICA

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

Why has [China](#) precipitated a fresh military crisis with India in eastern Ladakh? Among the many explanations making the rounds in Delhi, there is always the easy and attractive one — it's all about America. Delhi has incurred Beijing's wrath by moving closer to Washington, goes the argument. India's renewed enthusiasm for the US-led Quad, it is said, is encouraging China to teach a lesson to Delhi.

How does this theory hold up in relation to other countries having problems with China? Let us turn to the South China Sea, where China is on a bold and ambitious drive to expand its control over the disputed waters. Let us start with gathering tensions over the territorial dispute between Beijing and Jakarta.

To talk of a territorial dispute between two countries so far apart from each other seems strange. But distance is no guarantee of an escape from territorial problems with Beijing, at least in the South China Sea. To be sure, Jakarta says it has no territorial dispute with Beijing in the South China Sea. But there is a problem nevertheless.

You may not want to court trouble, but trouble has a way of knocking at your door, especially when it involves a great power. Remember the Aesop's fable about the wolf that accused the lamb of muddying its waters. The lamb's protests that it was only drinking downstream did not, of course, stop the wolf from eating it up.

Over the last year and more, Jakarta is coping with a Chinese challenge in its waters off its Natuna Islands. The Natuna are nearly 1,500 km from the Chinese mainland. Yes, you read that right — 1,500 km. The Natuna themselves lie outside Beijing's nine-dash line that claims nearly 80 per cent of the South China Sea. The dispute is over the exclusive economic zone that the islands confer on Indonesia.

China says it has historic rights to these waters and has been dispatching its fishing fleet into these waters. Jakarta has tried many things — persistent diplomatic objection including a letter to the UN Secretary General last week, a presidential visit to the Islands to underline Jakarta's sovereignty, and an occasional sinking of the Chinese fishing boats. All this has had little impact on Beijing.

The spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry summed it up unambiguously when matters came to a head earlier this year: "Whether the Indonesian side accepts it or not, nothing will change the objective fact that China has rights and interests over the relevant waters."

Indonesia has consciously taken a moderate tone on the territorial disputes between its fellow [ASEAN](#) member states, including Vietnam and the Philippines on the one hand, and China on the other. Jakarta has promoted a peaceful resolution of the disputes in the South China Sea. Maybe China sees a problem with Jakarta-Washington relations.

Jakarta did not support the US approach to the Indo-Pacific and went to great lengths to develop a concept of its own and get it endorsed by the ASEAN. Indonesia is not a member of the much-maligned Quad. Its foreign policy is wedded to non-alignment. And as the host of the historic Bandung Conference in 1955, Indonesia is a founding member and champion of Non-aligned Movement.

The story of the Philippines — one of the oldest military allies of the US in Asia — nicely complements the non-aligned Indonesia's troubles with China. When he came to power in 2016, President Rodrigo Duterte decided to distance the Philippines from the US and embraced China with the hope of finding a reasonable settlement to the substantive maritime territorial dispute with Beijing.

In February this year, Manila announced the decision to terminate the agreement that lets American troops operate in the Philippines. But last week, the Philippines "suspended" the decision to terminate military cooperation with the US. The reason: The PLA's relentless military pressure on the South China Sea islands claimed by Manila and including them in a new Chinese administrative district.

Neither Jakarta that is scrupulously non-aligned nor Manila that was ready to break its alliance with the US has been spared from Beijing's current muscular approach to China's territorial disputes.

While intellectuals can argue about the sources of Chinese conduct, peasants with their common sense can point to answers lying in plain sight. One is that China has long-standing claims, right or wrong, on the territories of its neighbours. The other is the dramatic shift in the regional power balance in favour of China. Unlike in the past, China now has the military power to make good its claims and alter the territorial status quo, if only in bits and pieces. This is what China is doing in the South China Sea. And the situation may not be any different in Ladakh.

As a north Indian peasant might sum up, "*jiski lathi, uski bhains*" (He with the big stick gets to own the buffalo). If you want a highfalutin way of saying the same thing, turn to the Greek sage, Thucydides: "The strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must."

The real challenge for Delhi in managing its expansive territorial dispute with Beijing, then, is to redress the growing power imbalance with China. The rest is detail.

***The writer is Director, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore and contributing editor on international affairs for [The Indian Express](#)***

***The Indian Express is now on Telegram. Click [here to join our channel \(@indianexpress\)](#) and stay updated with the latest headlines***

**END**

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](#)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

## RESUME DIALOGUE WITH NEPAL NOW

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - Nepal

“India should not shy away from a dialogue even during the COVID-19 crisis.” Students protest against the Indian government in Kathmandu, Nepal. AP

The time of a pandemic is not the time to have a hostile neighbourhood. At this moment, India should ideally lead in creating momentum for deeper regional and sub-regional cooperation in South Asia. Ironically, the recent developments with Nepal have been the opposite of that. India and Nepal have reached a new low in bilateral relations when both countries are facing a humanitarian crisis.

Also read: [For a reset in India-Nepal relations](#)

On May 8, the Defence Minister of India tweeted: “Delighted to inaugurate the Link Road to Mansarovar Yatra today. The BRO achieved road connectivity from Dharchula to Lipulekh (China Border) known as Kailash-Mansarovar Yatra Route. Also flagged off a convoy of vehicles from Pithoragarh to Gunji through video conferencing.” The announcement and its timing surprised even the keen observers of India-Nepal relations. No one thought that a road project in this territory would get inaugurated so urgently and through video conferencing. The announcement immediately put the Nepal government, the people and political players there on high alert. The Oli government’s sharp reaction was unexpected — the road was being built for years, so for it to pretend that it was unaware of this development and therefore surprised at its inauguration defies logic.

Also read: [Why are India and Nepal fighting over Kalapani?](#)

In a statement, the Nepalese Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed regret at India’s move. It said, “As per the Sugauli Treaty (1816), all the territories east of Kali (Mahakali) River, including Limpiyadhura, Kalapani and Lipu Lekh, belong to Nepal. This was reiterated by the Government of Nepal several times in the past and most recently through a diplomatic note addressed to the Government of India dated 20 November 2019 in response to the new political map issued by the latter.” It cautioned the Indian government against carrying out “any activity inside the territory of Nepal”. It stated that “Nepal had expressed its disagreement in 2015 through separate diplomatic notes addressed to the governments of both India and China when the two sides agreed to include Lipu Lekh Pass as a bilateral trade route without Nepal’s consent in the Joint Statement issued on 15 May 2015 during the official visit of the Prime Minister of India to China.” Nepal said it believed in resolving the pending boundary issues through diplomatic means. It said that Kathmandu had proposed twice the dates for holding the Foreign Secretary-level meeting between the two countries.

There was a long-awaited response to this from the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA). Without giving any specific date, the MEA assured Nepal that talks would begin after the lockdown was lifted. The delay is not understandable. Why can’t discussions take place over video conferencing? India’s response to Nepal’s note said: “The recently inaugurated road section in Pithoragarh district in the State of Uttarakhand lies completely within the territory of India. The road follows the pre-existing route used by the pilgrims of the Kailash-Mansarovar Yatra. India and Nepal have established mechanism to deal with all boundary matters. The boundary delineation exercise with Nepal is ongoing. India is committed to resolving outstanding boundary issues through diplomatic dialogue and in the spirit of our close and friendly bilateral relations with Nepal.” Nepal’s Foreign Minister Pradeep Kumar Gyawali asked why talks on this important

matter could not take place under lockdown when the 'inauguration' of the road could take place during the COVID-19 crisis. We also believe that it should take place without wasting even a day.

Also read: [Amendment for new map to be taken up by Nepal parliament on Tuesday](#)

The strain in ties also reflects the tensions in Nepal's politics. Prime Minister K.P. Sharma Oli stepped out of diplomatic nicety when he indulged in reactionary nationalism and termed the "Indian virus" as more damaging than the "Chinese virus". He also questioned India's faith in 'Satyameva Jayate'.

On India's part, the problem lies in overlooking the past realities of Lipulekh region. The Army Chief's statement that "there is reason to believe" that Nepal's recent objection was "at the behest of someone else", hinting at China's possible role, was eminently avoidable. This too drew sharp reactions from Nepal.

India and Nepal enjoy a unique relationship that goes beyond diplomacy and the governments of the day. Both countries are interdependent through shared social, cultural, economic and other civilisational links. Here, the ties are not between the governments alone. Over three million Nepalese live in India and lakhs of Indians live in Nepal. The Gurkha Rifles, known for the best in warfare, are incomplete without the Nepalese. They fight to keep India secure, so where is the scope for conflict? The people of Nepal fought for India's independence. B.P. Koirala and many more Nepalese made enormous sacrifices during the freedom struggle. Both countries have open borders and unique ties. This reminds us that both countries have shared interests while respecting each others' sovereignty. There is no place for a 'big brother' attitude. The regimes in New Delhi and Kathmandu have to exercise caution and restraint. The boundary controversy on Lipulekh, Kalapani and Limpiyadhura should be seen in retrospection. It must be admitted that Nepal's kings had neglected this territory for decades. The area attained prominence only with Nepal's tryst with parliamentary democracy beginning in 1990. The consistent neglect for the area is evident in the fact that the last official record of any government work that happened there was in 1953. A census was conducted in this area by the royal regime of Nepal and the land records from there were archived at the Darchula district office.

Article 8 of the India-Nepal Friendship Treaty, 1950 says, "So far as matters dealt with herein are concerned, this Treaty cancels all previous Treaties, agreements and engagements entered into on behalf of India between the British Government and the Government of Nepal", though the treaty does not define the India-Nepal boundary. On the issue of defining the boundary, the Treaty of Sugauli (1816) and the 1960 agreement between India and Nepal on the four Terai districts prevail. The Sugauli Treaty outlines the east of Mahakali River as Nepal's territory, and the west of it as India's territory. The dispute today is with regard to the origin of the Kali River. Nepal claims that the origin is in the higher reaches of this hilly territory which would establish its claim on Kalapani and Lipulekh. The Boundary Committee constituted in the year 2000 failed to resolve the issue. There is a need to renew it to end the cartographic tussle between the two countries.

It is time to repose faith in constructive dialogue with empathy to resolve any matter that disturbs the calm between the two countries. In good and bad times, India and Nepal have to live together. Diplomatic dialogue should be resumed at the earliest possible. Embassies on both sides should be allowed to function freely. Nothing of the sort that happened in 2015 should be repeated now. India should not shy away from a dialogue even during the COVID-19 crisis. The MEA's latest statement should materialise in action and restore trust and confidence through constructive dialogue.

Yashwant Sinha is former Minister of Finance and Minister of External Affairs; Atul K. Thakur is a policy professional and columnist

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Please enter a valid email address.

To reassure Indian Muslims, the PM needs to state that the govt. will not conduct an exercise like NRC

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

CrackIAS.com

## PINCER PROVOCATIONS?

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - Pakistan

In this August 27, 2019 photo, a pashmina goat is put out to pasture near Durbuk village between Chang La mountain pass and Tangste in Ladakh. | Photo Credit: [AFP](#)

Although the latest news on the Ladakh front suggests that Chinese and Indian forces have begun to disengage in select areas, this does not detract from the reality that in the past few weeks Beijing and Islamabad are making coordinated efforts to challenge India's presence in the Kashmir-Ladakh region. There is stepped-up activity on Pakistan's part to infiltrate terrorists into the Valley. China has undertaken provocative measures on the Ladakh front to assert control over disputed areas around the Line of Actual Control (LAC).

In Pakistan's case the intensification in its terrorist activities is related in part to the dilution of Article 370 that it perceives as undercutting its claims on Kashmir with finality. China seems to have calculated that the division of Ladakh from Jammu and Kashmir, that delinks Ladakh from the Kashmir problem, allows India a freer hand in contesting China's claims in the region. Increasing road-building activity on India's part close to the LAC augments this perception.

LAC row | [India, China agree to ease standoff](#)

In addition to bordering on China's most restive provinces of Xinjiang and Tibet, Ladakh is contiguous to Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK), Gilgit and Baltistan, where the Chinese have invested hugely under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project. When completed, the CPEC will connect Xinjiang with Gwadar port in Balochistan. External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar's remark last year that India expects to have "physical jurisdiction over (POK) one day" has alarmed Beijing which sees any such Indian move as threatening the CPEC project.

These factors demonstrate the overlapping interests that Beijing and Islamabad have regarding India in this region. Both would like India to be so preoccupied with taking defensive measures in Kashmir and Ladakh as to have little time and energy left to attempt to alter the status quo in POK or in Aksai Chin.

However, there are major differences in Pakistani and Chinese objectives regarding India that are related to their divergent perceptions of their disputes and their different force equations with India. For China, Ladakh is primarily a territorial dispute with strategic ramifications. China also believes it is superior to the Indian militarily and, therefore, can afford to push India around within limits as it has been attempting to do in the recent confrontation. For Pakistan, its territorial claim on Kashmir is based on an immutable ideological conviction that it is the unfinished business of partition and as a Muslim-majority state is destined to become a part of Pakistan. Islamabad also realises that it is the weaker power in conventional terms and therefore has to use unconventional means, primarily terrorist infiltration, to achieve its objective of changing the status quo in Kashmir. China is a satiated power in Ladakh having occupied Aksai Chin and wants to keep up the pressure on New Delhi to prevent the latter from trying to change the situation on the ground.

LAC row | [Not an inch ceded to China, says Union Minister](#)

It is true that China is agitated about the recent vociferous revival of India's claims on PoK but its primary concern with regard to Kashmir is to prevent any Indian move from threatening the CPEC project. It does not challenge the status quo in Kashmir. Pakistan, on the other hand, is

committed to changing the status quo in Kashmir at all cost. It has been trying to do so since Partition not only through clandestine infiltration but also by engaging in conventional warfare. Therefore, while it is possible to negotiate the territorial dispute with China on a give-and-take basis this is not possible in the case of Pakistan which considers Kashmir a zero-sum game. India should, therefore, distinguish the different objectives on the part of Beijing and Islamabad and tailor its responses accordingly without conflating the two threats to its security. Lumping the two threats together because of a tactical overlap between them makes it difficult to choose policy options rationally.

*Mohammed Ayoub is University Distinguished Professor Emeritus of International Relations, Michigan State University*

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Please enter a valid email address.

To reassure Indian Muslims, the PM needs to state that the govt. will not conduct an exercise like NRC

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)



Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

# 'CHINA DISREGARDING HISTORIC COMMITMENTS ON NAKU LA'

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

On guard: A file photo of Army personnel patrolling the LAC.

The skirmishes and the stand-off between Indian and Chinese troops at Naku La in Sikkim last month, in an area of the Line of Actual Control (LAC) that is considered settled, may be Beijing's way of attempting a new claim, said defence sources, highlighting the historic Sikkim-Tibet Convention of 1890 as proof of India's ownership of the territory.

Referring to a major scuffle that took place at Naku La on May 9, the sources said it was unusual for Chinese troops to open up a part of the LAC that has not been in contention before.

According to the Convention, the boundary in the area is based on the watershed principles.

Its Article 1 states, "The boundary of Sikkim and Tibet shall be the crest of the mountain range separating the waters flowing into the Sikkim Teesta and its affluents from waters flowing into the Tibetan Mochu and northwards into other rivers of Tibet. ...follows the above mentioned water-parting to the point where it meets Nipal Territory."

The Gazetteer of Sikkim in 1894, while describing the physical features of Sikkim, also mentions the boundary that runs along Naku la - Chorten Nyima La.

The sources said the geographic alignment of the features were so prominent that it could easily be identified and recognised. Even analysing the available Google images of the pass, the location of Naku La could be discerned by anyone as the watershed parting line in the area was very prominent. "There exists no ambiguity with respect to the location of the pass, since geographic realities cannot be altered," the sources said.

"The clearly orchestrated actions on an otherwise dormant area masks a hidden agenda, which is far removed from Naku La," the sources noted referring to the Chinese push at several points along the LAC and also the ongoing Chinese aggression in the South China Sea and Taiwan Straits.

Diplomatic experts point out that China may also be opening up a front in Sikkim due to the ambiguous official position of the boundary.

## **Undemarcated boundary**

Although meetings between former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao in 2003 and maps exchanged subsequently indicated that India recognised the Tibetan Autonomous Region as a part of China, and Beijing recognised Sikkim as a State of the Indian Union, the boundary at Sikkim while undisputed, remains undemarcated on the ground.

In 2017, after the Doklam stand-off near the India-Bhutan-China trijunction, then Foreign Secretary S. Jaishankar informed the Parliamentary Standing Committee that "there are still steps to be covered before the boundary is finalised."

He said India accepted the 1890 treaty as "the basis for alignment", but the treaty had only been

“partially implemented on the ground”. “Certainly the segments India is talking about, the Batang La segment, etc. was not there and there is nothing to show that that was actually delineated or demarcated or agreed upon.”

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](#)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

## AN UNRAVELLING OF THE GROUP OF SEVEN

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: G8

The next G7 summit, tentatively scheduled in Washington DC in mid-June, has been postponed by the host, U.S. President Donald Trump. His decision followed German Chancellor [Angela Merkel's decision to stay away](#) from the meeting, ostensibly because of restrictions on travel imposed by COVID-19. She may not have wanted to go just for a photo opportunity. The recent meetings of G7 have had desultory results.

While postponing the summit “to at least September”, Mr. Trump declared that in any case, the G7 “is a very outdated group of countries” and no longer properly represented “what’s going on in the world”. He asked, rhetorically, why not a G10 or G11 instead, with the inclusion of India, South Korea, Australia and possibly Russia?

Editorial | [Seven to eleven: On India and G7](#)

Elaborating this logic, the White House Director of Strategic Communications said the U.S. President wanted to include other countries, including the Five Eyes countries (an intelligence alliance comprising Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States), and to talk about the future of China. A Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs official immediately reacted, labelling it as “seeking a clique targeting China”.

China’s objection to an expanded G7 is no reason for India to stay away from it, if invited to join. India has attended several G7 summits earlier too, as a special invitee for its outreach sessions. India’s Prime Minister was guest invited to Biarritz, France to the G7 summit last year, along with other heads of government (Australia, Burkina Faso, Chile, Egypt, Rwanda, Senegal, Spain, and South Africa).

The G7 emerged as a restricted club of the rich democracies in the early 1970s. The quadrupling of oil prices just after the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, when members of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) imposed an embargo against Canada, Japan, the Netherlands, and the United States, shocked their economies.

Although the French were spared the embargo, the chill winds of the OPEC action reverberated around the world. French President Valéry Giscard d’Estaing invited the Finance Ministers of five of the most developed members of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, the United States, Germany, Japan, Italy, and the United Kingdom, for an informal discussion on global issues. This transformed into a G7 Summit of the heads of government from the following year, with the inclusion of Canada (1976), and the European Commission/Community (later Union) attending as a non-enumerated member, a year later.

Also read | [Donald Trump invites Narendra Modi for G7 summit in U.S.](#)

On the initiative of U.S. President Bill Clinton and British Prime Minister Tony Blair, the G7 became the G8, with the Russian Federation joining the club in 1998. This ended with [Russia's expulsion](#) following the annexation of Crimea in 2014.

When constituted, the G7 countries accounted for close to two-thirds of global GDP. According to the 2017 report of the accountancy firm, PwC, “The World in 2050”, they now account for less than a third of global GDP on a purchasing power parity (PPP) basis, and less than half on market exchange rates (MER) basis.

The seven largest emerging economies (E7, or “Emerging 7”), comprising Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Russia and Turkey, account for over a third of global GDP on purchasing power parity (PPP) terms, and over a quarter on MER basis. India’s economy is already the third largest in the world in PPP terms, even if way behind that of the U.S. and China.

Also read | [U.S. joins G7 artificial intelligence group to counter China](#)

By 2050, the PwC Report predicts, six of the seven of the world’s best performing economies will be China, India, the United States, Indonesia, Brazil, and Russia. Two other E7 countries, Mexico and Turkey, also improve their position. It projects that India’s GDP will increase to \$17 trillion in 2030 and \$42 trillion in 2050 in PPP terms, in second place after China, just ahead of the United States. This is predicated on India overcoming the challenge of COVID-19, sustaining its reform process and ensuring adequate investments in infrastructure, institutions, governance, education and health.

The success or otherwise of multilateral institutions are judged by the standard of whether or not they have successfully addressed the core global or regional challenges of the time. The G7 failed to head off the economic downturn of 2007-08, which led to the rise of the G20. In the short span of its existence, the G20 has provided a degree of confidence, by promoting open markets, and stimulus, preventing a collapse of the global financial system.

The G7 has not covered itself with glory with respect to contemporary issues, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, climate change, the challenge of the Daesh, and the crisis of state collapse in West Asia.

It had announced its members would phase out all fossil fuels and subsidies, but has not so far announced any plan of action to do so. The G7 countries account for 59% of historic global CO2 emissions (“from 1850 to 2010”), and their coal fired plants emit “twice more CO2 than those of the entire African continent”.

Also read | [G7 calls for end to fossil fuel use by 2100](#)

Three of the G7 countries, France, Germany, and the U.K., were among the top 10 countries contributing volunteers to the Daesh, which had between 22,000-30,000 foreign fighters just two years ago. West Asia is in a greater state of turmoil than at any point of time since the fall of the Ottoman Empire, leading to a migrants crisis that persuaded many countries in Europe to renege on their western liberal values, making the Mediterranean Sea a death trap for people fleeing against fear of persecution and threat to their lives.

The world is in a state of disorder. The global economy has stalled and [COVID-19](#) will inevitably create widespread distress. Nations need dexterity and resilience to cope with the current flux, as also a revival of multilateralism, for they have been seeking national solutions for problems that are unresolvable internally. Existing international institutions have proven themselves unequal to these tasks. A new mechanism might help in attenuating them.

It would be ideal to include in it the seven future leading economies, plus Germany, Japan, the U.K., France, Mexico, Turkey, South Korea, and Australia. If Mr. Trump loses his re-election bid, this might have to wait for a few years. The 2005 ad hoc experiment by Prime Minister Tony Blair in bringing together the G7 and the BRICS countries was a one-off.

Also read | [For BRICS, challenges and opportunities](#)

A new international mechanism will have value only if it focuses on key global issues. India

would be vitally interested in three: international trade, climate change, and the COVID-19 crisis. A related aspect is how to push for observing international law and preventing the retreat from liberal values on which public goods are predicated. Global public health and the revival of growth and trade in a sustainable way (that also reduces the inequalities among and within nations) would pose a huge challenge.

Second order priorities for India would be cross-cutting issues such as counter-terrorism and counter-proliferation. An immediate concern is to ensure effective implementation of the 1975 Biological Weapons Convention and the prevention of any possible cheating by its state parties by the possible creation of new microorganisms or viruses by using recombinant technologies.

On regional issues, establishing a *modus vivendi* with Iran would be important to ensure that it does not acquire nuclear weapons and is able to contribute to peace and stability in Afghanistan, the Gulf and West Asia. The end state in Afghanistan would also be of interest to India, as also the reduction of tensions in the Korean Peninsula and the South China Sea.

*Jayant Prasad, a former diplomat, served as Director General of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses*

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Please enter a valid email address.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

## AS NEPAL PAINTS ITSELF INTO A CORNER ON KALAPANI ISSUE, INDIA MUST TREAD CAREFULLY

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - Nepal

On June 10, Nepal's House of Representatives unanimously approved the tabling of an amendment to the country's constitution which will now formally depict nearly 400 sq km of Indian territory extending west from the Lipulekh Pass, and including it, as part of Nepal's sovereign territory. While it remains to be passed by the Upper House and signed by the president, the die has been cast. In doing so, Nepal has etched its territorial claim in stone which would make any concession by this or any future government of Nepal virtually unthinkable.

After the vote, Nepal's Foreign Minister Pradeep Kumar Gyawali declared: "We are for starting dialogue soon. The problem will be resolved through diplomacy." Short of expecting India to accept the fait accompli determined unilaterally by Nepal, what will diplomacy achieve? India should be prepared to engage in a dialogue on this and other outstanding border issues, but Nepal's brinkmanship has made it much more difficult to explore a mutually acceptable solution. Gyawali said that the dialogue will be carried out "on the basis of historical facts". Perhaps that offers an opening although I doubt that any "facts" contrary to what have been adduced by the Nepali side will be countenanced. But let us review the "historical facts".

One, Nepal bases its claim to the additional territory now included in its official map on the Anglo-Nepal Treaty of Sugauli of 1816, which determined the Kali river as the western boundary between British India and Nepal. An East India Company map has been produced from the archives to show that the British considered the tributary of the Kali River, the Limpiyadhura, as its main channel. But a map drawn up in 1879 after surveys had been carried out shows the boundary along a ridge just west of the Tinker Pass. As per this and later official British maps and what India claims, Kali River originates from a natural spring at Kalapani, where it is joined by a rivulet flowing down from Lipulekh Pass. This was not challenged then nor at any time subsequently until after 1990. In fact, Nepali maps have all along reflected the same alignment. Some Nepali journalists and scholars now argue that the monarchy, first under King Mahendra and later under King Birendra, was reluctant to raise this issue with India for fear of Indian reaction. This is laughable as both the monarchs thrived on a diet of anti-Indian nationalism.

### Opinion | [Delhi must focus on India's relations with Nepal](#)

Two, India had, in the early 1950s, set up, with the consent of Nepal, a string of military-cum-police posts along the Nepal-[China](#) border after the Chinese occupied Tibet. There were either 17 or 18 posts altogether and they remained in place until 1969. In that year, Kirti Nidhi Bisht, the Nepali Prime Minister, on the instructions of King Mahendra, asked [Indira Gandhi](#) to withdraw all these posts from Nepali territory. This was done but the Indian post at Kalapani was not in the Nepali list. When this is pointed out, the answer is that Mahendra was being sensitive to India's security concerns vis-a-vis China and hence allowed an act of generosity to let India hold on to Kalapani and access to Lipulekh Pass.

Again, is this really believable? In 1969, China was in the thick of the Cultural Revolution. There was limited activity on the India-China border. The central sector where Kalapani lies and north of it, the pass itself, was the least disputed sector. Why would India plead for Mahendra's generosity? When I was India's ambassador in Nepal, Kirti Nidhi Bisht told me that one of the proudest moments in his life was when he "stood down" Indira Gandhi and compelled her to withdraw each and every military post from Nepal's territory. He did not mention then that the



Indian posts at Kalapani and at Lipulekh Pass continued to be on Nepali territory. To be fair, he did so later before his death in 2017.

Three, China and Nepal reached a border agreement in 1961. Article 1 in the agreement describes the western extremity of the China-Nepal border and this conforms to the alignment claimed by India. The Chinese-Nepalese border starts from the point where the watershed between the Kali River and the Tinker River meets the watershed between the tributaries of the Mapchu(Karnali) River on the one hand and the Tinker River on the other, thence it runs south-eastward along the watershed.

One should note the word “starts” which is important in view of what follows. In subsequent demarcation, Pillar No 1, which marks this starting point at the western extremity, is located at Tinker Pass, well east of Lipulekh Pass. This cannot be refuted as this is in the formal documents. Buddhi Narayan Shrestha, who has been responsible for putting out justification for the new claims against India, is unable to deny it either. But he now says that the trijunction at this end has not been determined and that notionally it would be pillar number zero on the boundary! This is the first time one has heard of the concept of a “number zero border pillar”! This is ex post facto justification and the dishonesty behind it is glaring. A Nepali diplomat has repeated this same specious argument,

**Opinion | [India-Nepal ties must be dominated by opportunities of future, not frustrations of past](#)**

“Given the situation in 1961, Nepal and China fixed pillar No 1 at Tinker Pass with the understanding that pillar number zero (trijunction of Nepal, India and China) would be fixed later.” He has not adduced any evidence that this indeed was the “understanding” reached with China in 1961.

Four, India and China concluded an agreement in 1954 for trade and transit between India and Tibet and among the six border passes listed for the purpose, Lipulekh was included. There was no protest from the Nepali side. The first time that Nepal protested formally was in 2015 when India and China signed an MoU for conducting border trade between the two countries through Lipulekh Pass.

If facts are to be the basis for an eventual solution one hopes that they would not be used selectively. India-Nepal relations are far too important to be derailed by this unfortunate display of cynical brinkmanship by Nepal’s short-sighted leaders. India will need to tread carefully. While it should stand its ground on the territorial issue, it should be willing to look at ways in which Nepali sentiments could be assuaged. One could convey to Nepal that it may have privileged access to the Kalapani area for trade or pilgrimage. Nepali citizens may be permitted to use any infrastructure created in this or other border areas for easier access from one part of Nepal to another.

**Editorial | [War of maps and words points to deterioration of India-Nepal relationship. Delhi needs to reach out, mend ties](#)**

Most importantly, the [Narendra Modi](#) government needs to shed its fond expectation that Nepal’s affinity with India because of its Hindu heritage is sufficient to consolidate political relations with that country. Neither is that shared heritage sufficient to prevent Nepal’s penchant to wave the China card in India’s face whenever it seeks to advance its own interests. And putting all eggs in the Oli basket, and in the bargain alienating other important political constituencies over the recent past, has proved to be costly.

*This article first appeared in the print edition on June 12, 2020 under the title 'Drawing the line'. The writer is a former foreign secretary and is senior fellow CPR. He was India's ambassador to Nepal 2002-04.*

**The Indian Express is now on Telegram. Click [here to join our channel \(@indianexpress\)](#) and stay updated with the latest headlines**

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

## A CASE FOR QUIET DIPLOMACY

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

On June 9, sources in the Indian Army said Indian and Chinese troops began a [partial disengagement](#) from some of the standoff points along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in eastern Ladakh, which has seen tensions since early May. That was the first official confirmation that there were ongoing multiple stand-offs along the LAC.

The government has come under fire from the Opposition for its silence on the month-long stand-offs. “The Chinese have walked in and taken our territory in Ladakh,” Congress leader [Rahul Gandhi tweeted](#) on June 10. “Meanwhile, the PM is absolutely silent and has vanished from the scene.”

Editorial | [Back from the brink: On India-China border row](#)

The picture that emerged on June 9 indicated we are at the beginning of the process to resolve the situation, and not at the end. Both sides have agreed on a broad plan to defuse four of the five points of discord. The situation at the fifth, Pangong Lake (in photo), remains uncertain, as also in Galwan valley and north Sikkim. At Pangong Tso, the Chinese have entrenched their positions with tents and remain on India’s side of the LAC. There is a major point of difference which will not be easy to resolve.

The pattern of resolution of past stand-offs underlines the key role played by quiet diplomacy in unlocking complicated stand-off situations. Both the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) and National Democratic Alliance (NDA) governments have followed an approach that has coupled quiet diplomacy with a strong military posture, while at the same time allowing the adversary a way out. This has been the broad strategy in dealing with challenges from China across the LAC. And this strategy has generally worked.

Consider 2013, when Chinese troops pitched tents on India’s side of the LAC on the Depsang plains, similar to Pangong Tso. The UPA government was under fire, both for being weak on China and for its reticence. Former National Security Adviser Shivshankar Menon recently explained how the stand-off was resolved. While the government was being publicly attacked for doing nothing, it had privately conveyed to China that if the stand-off didn’t end, an upcoming visit by Premier Li Keqiang would be off. If that demand had been made public at the time, China would have only dug in its heels, even if the government may have won the headlines of the day. “The key to arriving at a successful outcome,” Mr. Menon wrote in *Choices: Inside the Making of India’s Foreign Policy*, “was keeping public rhetoric calm and steady, displaying strength, and giving the adversary a way out, which was our preferred solution.”

Podcast | [Border tensions and internal political developments in China](#)

The NDA government adopted a similar strategy during the 2014 stand-off at Chumar, which coincided with President Xi Jinping’s visit to India. Prime Minister Narendra Modi then was criticised by the Opposition for sitting on a swing with Mr. Xi in Gujarat while Chinese troops had crossed the LAC. Mr. Xi’s visit went ahead, while India quietly but forcefully stopped the Chinese road-building and deployed 2,500 soldiers, outnumbering the People’s Liberation Army (PLA). The PLA withdrew, and as then Northern Army Commander Lt. Gen. D.S. Hooda (retd) explained recently, both sides disengaged and followed a moratorium into patrolling into contested areas, which was observed for many months thereafter.

If the government had publicly announced in 2014 it was following a moratorium on patrolling up to India's LAC to ease tensions, there would have likely been an uproar, just as there was in 2013 after Depsang. Then, Mr. Modi, who was the Gujarat Chief Minister, slammed the government, asking at the time: "What are the reasons we have pulled back from our own land?" Ultimately, in both cases, the objective was achieved. China, faced with firm resistance, was prevented from changing the status quo.

Also read | [China's internal pressures are driving Xi Jinping's tough stance on border, says veteran Beijing watcher Jayadeva Ranade](#)

In 2017, the government came under particularly intense fire because it stayed studiously silent through a 72-day stand-off at Doklam, amid a barrage of threats from Beijing. Indian troops crossed over into Bhutan to stop a Chinese road construction on territory India sees as Bhutanese but China claims. By extending the road, India argued, China was unilaterally altering the India-Bhutan-China trijunction. Beijing demanded an unconditional withdrawal. When both finally disengaged, neither divulged the terms. It would later emerge that the deal struck involved India withdrawing first. China then stopped construction, and the status quo at the face-off site was restored.

Politics over border stand-offs is not new. One only needs to go back to the intense public debates in the early 1960s. The Opposition and the media are certainly right to hold the government to account. Indeed, neither the Opposition nor the media would be doing its job if they weren't. As Mr. Modi's comments from 2014 remind us, this is par for the course. And if questions weren't being asked last month, perhaps we may still be in the dark.

Also read | [Changing balance across LAC trigger for standoff, says China expert Taylor Fravel](#)

The tensions on the LAC are neither the first nor likely to be the last. With every incident, they are, however, getting increasingly politicised in an environment where there is a 24/7 demand on social media for information — and unprecedented capacity for disinformation. Rather than wish away this reality — and adopt a stand that it is above questioning — the government needs to come to terms with it. First, it needs to keep the Opposition informed, which it is clear it hasn't. Second, it needs to proactively engage with the media, even if that may be through low-key engagement as was the case on June 9, that does not escalate into a public war of words. The media cannot be muzzled. India, after all, is not China. So it is in the government's own interests to ensure what's reported is well-informed, and not speculative or exaggerated.

At the same time, expectations of having a public debate about the intricacies of every border stand-off — or for the Prime Minister to weigh in even while negotiations are ongoing — need to be tempered. This will only risk inflaming tensions, and reduce the wiggle room for both sides to find an off-ramp. The broader objective shouldn't get lost in political debates. That objective is to ensure India's security interests remain protected — and that the status quo on India's borders isn't changed by force. Past incidents have shown that quiet diplomacy, coupled with strong military resolve that deters any Chinese misadventures, has been more effective than public sabre-rattling, even if we may be inhabiting a media environment that misconstrues loudness as strength, and silence as weakness.

*ananth.krishnan@thehindu.co.in*

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Please enter a valid email address.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

## BACK FROM THE BRINK: THE HINDU EDITORIAL ON INDIA-CHINA BORDER ROW

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

An agreement reached between India and China on June 6 for a [partial disengagement of troops](#) from some of the points of stand-off along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) is a step in the right direction. It is, however, just the first step. Both sides face what is likely to be a long road ahead to [restore the status quo ante](#) prior to [China's multiple incursions](#) that began one month ago. On June 9, Indian Army sources [presented a measured appraisal](#) of what had been agreed to at the Corps Commander-level talks, as well as of the challenges that remain. Both sides identified five locations of conflict in the western sector in Ladakh — a separate ongoing stand-off in Naku La in Sikkim was not on the agenda. The five spots include Patrolling Points 14, 15 and 17, Chushul, and the north bank of Pangong Lake. A broad plan has been agreed to hold a series of talks at lower ranks of Colonel, Brigadier, and Major General at four of those points in the coming week to take forward the disengagement process. There, however, appear to be serious differences on Pangong Lake, which may require another round of higher level talks at the Corps Commander level. Chinese troops have dug in at the Finger 4 area on the lake's northern bank, and still remain present on India's side of the LAC, which runs at Finger 8. The Fingers 1 to 8, running from west to east, refer to mountain spurs on the north bank. By erecting tents, China has unilaterally changed the status quo.

India has made clear it will accept nothing less than restoring the status quo ante, and will not dilute its build-up in the area until and unless China draws down the artillery, bombers, rocket forces, air defence radars and jammers that it has amassed behind the frontlines on its side of the LAC. The demands made at ground-level talks suggest China's moves may, in part, be motivated by its insecurities at India's recent improvements in infrastructure on the Indian side of the LAC, which have helped reduce the enormous asymmetry that China has enjoyed, and now wants to preserve. India has correctly made clear it will not stop construction activity on its side of the LAC, which it is entirely entitled to. One important takeaway from the June 6 talks that could have a long-lasting impact is a proposal that the Corps Commanders have formal meetings once or twice a year for better interaction between the two armies at a higher level. If there is one thing that the recent tensions have made clear, it is the urgent need for better communication to address the strategic mistrust that prevails on both sides of the LAC. China's actions over the past month, have, unfortunately, only deepened it. Ill-advised posturing at the top political levels of the Indian leadership with threats last year to reclaim Aksai Chin didn't help either. Both sides must now look ahead at what can be done, with lessons from the mistakes of the recent past.

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Please enter a valid email address.

From the abrogation of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir, to the landmark Ayodhya verdict, 2019 proved to be an eventful year.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

# BLACK LIVES AND THE EXPERIMENT CALLED AMERICA

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: Effect of policies and politics of developed & developing countries on India's interests

In response to the protests and racial unrest that have spread across the United States and around the world in the wake of the May 25 video-recorded [murder of George Floyd](#), a 46-year-old African-American father of five, by white Minneapolis police officer, [Derek Chauvin, who kneeled on Floyd's neck for 8 minutes and 46 seconds](#) until he stopped breathing, the words of Dr. Martin Luther King have been cited frequently, as they often are in times of racial tension in America.

“Riots are the language of the unheard,” are Dr. King’s words that are incessantly invoked by pundits trying to illuminate why peaceful marches and protests by day, devolve into volatile scenes of vandalism, arson, and looting by night. There is another quote from Dr. King given in a speech to the American Psychological Association, at its annual meeting in Washington DC in 1967, seven months prior to his assassination, that is equally, if not more relevant for this current moment. In that speech Dr. King stated, “White America needs to understand that it is poisoned to its soul by racism and the understanding needs to be carefully documented and consequently more difficult to reject.” And in a challenge to his audience he added, “...Negroes want the social scientist to address the white community and ‘tell it like it is’. White America has an appalling lack of knowledge concerning the reality of Negro life.”

## [Black Lives Matter | A hashtag that turned into a rights movement](#)

With America just re-emerging from a nationwide three-month, COVID-19 imposed house arrest, with no sports and little on television to serve as a distraction, the nation was held, both captive audience and unwitting witnesses, to arguably the most egregious, depraved, and inhuman police use-of-deadly-force ever visually recorded in American policing history.

This video, carefully documented by 17-year-old Darnella Frazier using her cellphone, of Floyd’s murder exposed white America to the reality of, in essence, the state-sanctioned racial violence that blacks and people of colour in the United States have decried since its founding. Floyd’s death is the third unarmed black citizen who has died at the hands of white police in a four-month period.

There was the case of 25-year-old Ahmaud Arbery, an African-American, who was chased and shot by a former law enforcement officer and his son and another white male, as Arbery jogged near his New Brunswick, Georgia neighbourhood. The other case was of Breonna Taylor, a 26-year-old African-American emergency medical technician living in St. Louis, Missouri, shot eight times while lying in her bed by undercover narcotics detectives. They were attempting to execute a “no-knock search warrant” on a suspect who was already in police custody, and entered the wrong residence. These recent killings are but the latest in America’s long brutal history of the taking and brutalisation of black bodies, from slavery, through Jim Crow, the Civil Rights/Black Power Movements, to the War on Drugs and the present era of mass incarceration.

The 349-year period, from 1619 when the first Africans were brought to American shores, to 1968, the year blacks in principle gained their full citizenship rights with passage of the Fair Housing Act which culminated in the enactment of the modern Civil Rights legislation (i.e., 1964 Civil Rights Act and 1965 Voting Rights Act). This represents 87% of Blacks’ 401-year



experience (from 1619 to 2020) in what is now the United States, which was defined by crushing racial oppression. Thus, it has only been in the last 56 years, within this writer's lifetime, that African-Americans have ostensibly been afforded the rights and freedoms that accrue from American citizenship. Yet, the brutal murder of blacks in America continues, unabated.

Also read | [When American protesters say 'defund the police', what does it mean?](#)

However, this moment feels conspicuously different than those that followed in the wake of the deaths of other unarmed blacks killed by white police or self-appointed vigilantes invoking spurious claims of self-defence under the increasingly permissive provisions of "Stand-Your-Ground-Laws", now found in a majority of American States. It feels different because unlike all of the protests and riots that have ensued after the deaths of other unarmed blacks in the past, even those of the late 1960s, where all of the protesters were primarily black, this time was different. The protesters, including peaceful demonstrators, agitators, and looters, who took to the streets of Minneapolis, a city that is 64% white and 19% black, in the aftermath of George Floyd's death were a multiracial amalgam of people from all backgrounds.

The demonstrators this time reflect a diversity that more closely mirrors that of America. And as the protests and demonstrations spread to cities and towns, big and small across America, the images that emerged were the same. White protesters carrying "Black Lives Matter" signs in white middle class suburbs and small rural towns, as demonstrations continue across the country and now around the world, clearly indicate this time is different.

Also read | [Trump's response to George Floyd protests has language associated with racial segregationists: U.N. experts](#)

And yet, the demands while at their core, are the same that they have been for generations of black folks, they too are different. At their core, the demands are for society to value a black life as much as that of a white life, or any other, in every regard. Thus, the simplicity and elegance of the phrase, "Black Lives Matter," which captures the true essence of the now 401-year, blood-stained, struggle for freedom and racial equality and justice in America. But these protests also differ in that, they have not only transcended racial lines but they also have traversed borders and oceans as protests have spread to Canada, the United Kingdom, South Africa, New Zealand, China, the Philippines and many others, in solidarity with the 'Black Lives Matter' Movement, demanding an end to police brutality and systemic racism both in America and abroad.

Why have white Americans reacted differently to this video of a defenceless black person brutalised and killed by the police, unlike those of 12-year-old Tamir Rice (2014), Eric Garner (2014), or Philando Castile (2016) and countless others before? Perhaps, as with the social scientists Dr. King challenged in his speech, who would employ the scientific method in their research, this video provided a sufficient sample size of evidence to convince a sceptical white mainstream that the hypothesis that the black subjects in this experiment in democracy called America, are in fact the victims of treatment by the police and the criminal justice system that is the polar opposite of their experiences with law enforcement and the criminal justice apparatus in this country.

Also read | [The anatomy of anti-black racism](#)

Just as COVID-19 has exposed the glaring racial inequities that make blacks disproportionately vulnerable to the deadly disease, so has George Floyd's murder exposed to the world the centuries-old, state-sanctioned and extra-legal, racial violence and injustices that blacks have been subjected to in America. Yet, the deadly encounters that African-Americans have with the

police — the most ubiquitous agent of the state and that in which the average citizen is most likely to have direct contact in their daily lives, at least for people of colour — is only the tip of the proverbial iceberg.

These interactions between blacks and the police are emblematic of the deep, structural, racial inequalities that permeate every aspect of American society. And while it affects black, brown, indigenous, and Asian people of various intersectional social identities, in America it is most evident in the marginalised status of the black male.

Data | [How badly are African-Americans affected by police brutality in the U.S.?](#)

I submit that it is the historical, economic deprivation, incarceration, and social stigmatisation of the black male as the symbolic assailant in the American psyche that prevented a vast segment of white America from acknowledging the stark reality of black life in America. And now that not only white America but also the world has awoken to this reality, it is incumbent upon society to reject the null hypothesis that the cataclysmic criminal justice and socioeconomic outcomes affecting blacks, and by extent people of colour, is the result of their own personal failings. For if we do not, as is possible with any experiment, the one called America will ultimately fail.

*Ronnie A. Dunn is Chief Diversity Officer and Associate Professor of Urban Studies, Cleveland State University, Ohio*

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Please enter a valid email address.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

# INDIA-CHINA: THE LINE OF ACTUAL CONTEST

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

The ongoing military standoffs with China at multiple points along the India-China border has turned the spotlight to the single most important element that has helped keep the peace across the Himalayas: the Line of Actual Control (LAC). Yet, what exactly the LAC is remains a source of much confusion.

One possible reason for the confusion is that in the public imagination, it is sometimes spoken of in the same breath with that other contested three-letter abbreviation that is often in the news: the Line of Control (LoC) that separates India and Pakistan. They are different in one crucial way. With Pakistan, India has an international boundary, which has been agreed upon, and the LoC, which has been delineated on a map by both sides. In contrast, the alignment of the LAC has never been agreed upon, and it has neither been delineated nor demarcated. There is no official map in the public domain that depicts the LAC. It can best be thought of as an idea, reflecting the territories that are, at present, under the control of each side, pending a resolution of the boundary dispute. In a strange irony, if the LAC is far less clear than the LoC, it has remained much more peaceful, with not a shot fired since 1975 at Tulong La.

Where does the LAC run? For the most part, in the western sector, it broadly corresponds with the border as China sees it. There are differences in several points here, including at the very start of the LAC, which India reportedly pegs northwest of the Karakoram Pass, but China further south. In the eastern sector, it broadly corresponds with the border as India sees it, along the McMahon Line that separates Arunachal Pradesh from Tibet. In the middle sector and Sikkim, the LAC is broadly aligned with the borders as India and China see it, with minor differences here.

Following the Tulong La incident, Delhi's China Study Group set patrolling limits that India would stick to, in order to assert its LAC alignment — limits that are still being followed today. The problem is India and China do not agree on the alignment of the LAC everywhere. Differences in perception, particularly in 13 spots in the western, middle and eastern sectors of the border, often lead to what are called "face offs", when patrols encounter each other in these grey zones that lie in between the different alignments. Some of these areas are Chumar, Demchok and the north bank of the Pangong lake in the western sector, Barahoti in the middle sector, and Sumdorong Chu in the east. Both sides agreed to protocols in 2005 and 2013 that describe the rules of engagement to handle such situations, but as the current stand-off at Pangong Tso reminds us, they haven't always been followed. At Pangong Tso, India's LAC runs at Finger 8, and China's at Finger 4. The "fingers" from 1 to 8 refer to mountain spurs that run from west to east on the lake's northern bank. Currently, Chinese troops have erected tents in the Finger 4 area and are preventing India from reaching its LAC at Finger 8, leading to a stand-off.

## Genesis

In a November 7, 1959 letter to Jawaharlal Nehru, then Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai suggested the armed forces of both sides withdraw 20 km, as he put it, "from the so-called McMahon Line in the east, and from the line up to which each side exercises actual control in the west". Yet where exactly each side believed it exercised control was a matter of debate, complicated by the fact that China's alignments kept changing. The "LAC" it referred to in 1960 and 1962 wasn't the same as 1959. When India and China signed the landmark Border Peace and Tranquility Agreement (BPTA) in **1993**, the first legal agreement that recognised the LAC, they avoided this problem by referring to the LAC at the time, and not the LAC of 1959, 1960 or 1962, all of which

had different meanings.

It isn't widely known that many of the ideas in the BPTA had, in part, a Russian genesis. Following Rajiv Gandhi's 1988 visit to China, both sides were optimistic of pushing ahead on talks on the boundary. In this time, they were exploring regimes to maintain peace and tranquillity, and looked at, among others, the ongoing China-Russia boundary negotiations. "It was not that we came to some Nirvana moment," recalls Nirupama Rao, a former Foreign Secretary and Ambassador to China who had, in 1991, engaged with the Russians on this question as the then Joint Secretary (East Asia) in the Ministry of External Affairs. "For instance, the concept of mutual and equal security, which we included in the agreement, was a Russian term. This was a borrowed idea, like Eve being born from the rib of Adam."

No other basis besides the LAC suggested itself, writes former National Security Adviser Shivshankar Menon in his book *Choices*. "The status quo was the LAC, irrespective of what had been said about it in the past. The reference to the LAC would be unqualified, making it clear that it was the LAC at the time the agreement was signed that would be respected, and not some notional idea of where it was in 1959 or 1962." As Mr. Menon writes, this unqualified reference to the LAC created "the unintended side effect of further incentivising the forward creep to the line by both militaries", a consequence that both sides are currently dealing with at multiple points on the LAC.

### **Clarification**

Both the 1993 BPTA agreement and the subsequent agreement on confidence-building measures in 1996 acknowledged that both sides would ultimately clarify the LAC. That process has, however, stalled since 2002, when China walked away from exchanging maps in the western sector. During a 2015 visit to China, Prime Minister Narendra Modi made a pitch to revive the process, saying in a speech in Tsinghua University that "a shadow of uncertainty always hangs over the sensitive because neither side knows where the LAC is in these areas," he said. China rebuffed his request.

Ms. Rao, the former Foreign Secretary, said that it wasn't a surprise, and China had, in several territorial disputes, intentionally left its claims ambiguous. "The Chinese are masters at it. They don't stick to positions, and their actions on the ground constantly defy things they have done in the past. The Chinese line has kept shifting. There is always scope for redrawing, and we have never had the chance to look at their maps."

The current stand-offs, Ms. Rao said, have underlined the challenge India faces on its borders.

"If a problem has lasted so long, and there is no settlement in sight, we may need another generation or two to settle it. The only answer for us is to be prepared, continue to build our roads and improve our infrastructure, keep ourselves ready to deal with these contingencies, and play the game in a way that safeguards our interests." The contest across the line isn't going anywhere.

### ***In Focus***

***In the western sector, the LAC broadly corresponds with the border as China sees it***

***In the east, it broadly corresponds with the border as India sees it, along the McMahon Line***

***In the middle, it is broadly aligned with the borders as both countries see it***

***The LAC can best be thought of as an idea, reflecting the territories that are, at present, under the control of each side, pending a resolution of the boundary dispute***

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](#)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

Crack

## INDIA SLAMS NEPAL FOR ADOPTING A NEW MAP

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - Nepal

Indian foreign ministry spokesman Anurag Srivastava said that that the move was also 'violative of our current understanding to hold talks on outstanding boundary issues'

India on Saturday slammed Nepal for adopting a new map that shows three areas that are part of Indian territory, saying Kathmandu's action was not based on historical facts and was therefore untenable.

Indian foreign ministry spokesman Anurag Srivastava said that that the move was also "violative of our current understanding to hold talks on outstanding boundary issues."

The comments came just over an hour after Nepal's Lower House of Parliament passed a constitution amendment bill in a special session on Saturday to update the country's map, which includes stretches of land that India also claims as part of Uttarakhand state.

The move by Nepal has exacerbated strains between India and the Himalayan country.

"We have noted that the House of Representatives of Nepal has passed a constitution amendment bill for changing the map of Nepal to include parts of Indian territory. We have already made our position clear on this matter," Srivastava said.

"This artificial enlargement of claims is not based on historical fact or evidence and is not tenable. It is also violative of our current understanding to hold talks on outstanding boundary issues," he said.

Nepal's House of Representatives opened the discussion on the amendment bill, which was put for voting after the deliberations were over on Saturday. The bill was passed with the overwhelming vote of 258 members present in the house of 275, news reports said. There were no votes cast against the bill. Now that it has been passed, it will be sent to the Upper house, the National Assembly, where it is set to undergo a similar process.

Last month, Nepal's ruling party had cleared the map, drawing a strong reaction from India, which described the move as "unilateral" and not based on historical facts. The map shows three areas that India claims as part of its territory as lying within Nepal's borders. These are Lipulekh, Limpiyadhura and Kalapani.

In a bid to reach out to Kathmandu ahead of the vote, New Delhi had on Thursday underlined its close cultural, developmental and political ties with the country. But Nepal nevertheless went ahead with Saturday's special session of Parliament to endorse the new map.

Nepal's move comes at a time when India and China are engaged in a standoff over their border.

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com



# FORGOTTEN IN THE FOG OF WAR, THE LAST FIRING ON THE INDIA-CHINA BORDER

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

Last shot: Soldiers keeping watch on the India-China border at Bum La, a few dozen kilometres from Tulung La. APAnupam Nath

The 1967 clash between India and China is often remembered as the last shot fired on the India-China border.

That clash in Sikkim, where India got the better of China just five years after defeat in the 1962 war, saw more than 80 Indian soldiers killed while estimates say 400 Chinese soldiers may have been killed.

## 1967 clashes

If it is true that 1967 marked the last major fighting that saw casualties on both sides, it was not, however, the last incident of a shot being fired on the contested boundary.

That would happen eight years later, when a patrol of Assam Rifles jawans was ambushed by the Chinese at Tulung La in Arunachal Pradesh. Four were killed.

“We often remember 1967, but to say that was the last firing, and that what happened eight years later was some sort of accident does not square with the facts,” said Nirupama Rao, a former Foreign Secretary and Ambassador to China. “It was an ambush, plain and simple, and four of ours lost their lives.”

The Indian government maintained that the Chinese had crossed the Line of Actual Control (LAC) and ambushed the patrol on October 20, 1975. The Chinese denied this and blamed India for the incident.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Beijing accused the patrol of crossing the LAC and firing at a Chinese post. The Ministry handed a protest note on October 22 to the Charge d’Affaires of the Indian Embassy in Beijing describing China’s actions as “a self defence response”, according to a November 3 report in the French newspaper *Le Monde*, that was shared with *The Hindu* by Saurabh Vashist, a researcher on India-China relations. The report said India recovered their bodies a week later on October 28.

## U.S. cable

A U.S. State Department cable from 1975 noted India’s view that the “Chinese ambush was sprung 500 metres south of Tulung La” and took place on Indian territory.

It quoted a senior Indian military intelligence officer as saying on November 5 the border there was very clear, marked by a distinctive shale cliff.

He said China had moved up a company to the pass and detached a platoon which erected stone walls on India’s side of the pass, and from there fired several hundred rounds at the patrol. Four of the patrol had gone into a leading position, while two others, who escaped, had stayed behind. The officer said the patrol was routine and had been in the area several times before.

The cable noted that Tulung La was among the more remote passes in the region, a few dozen kilometres from Bum La and Tawang. It noted China had used the pass during the 1962 war as a channel to send its troops down to Bomdi La, to defeat the Indian resistance there to their offensive.

“Although the Chinese appear to be following their policy of enforcing the status quo with respect to the LAC pending negotiations,” the cable concluded, “they apparently still lay claim to Arunachal Pradesh down to the foothills”.

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com



# NO LONGER SPECIAL: THE HINDU EDITORIAL ON INDIA-NEPAL TIES

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - Nepal

After months of brinkmanship, India and Nepal have brought their relations to the edge of a precipice. The Oli government's decision to pass the constitutional amendment [ratifying a change in its maps](#) that include Lipulekh, [Kalapani](#) and Limpiyadhura, territories that India controls, marks a decidedly new phase in ties. While the issue is an old one, it resurfaced in 2019 when [New Delhi published new political maps](#) to reflect the changes following the decision on August 5 to reorganise the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and [Nepal objected](#) to the depiction of disputed territory. In 2000 and 2014, India and Nepal agreed to hold talks about Kalapani and Susta, without much success. Matters snowballed when India's [Defence Minister inaugurated a surfaced road](#) over the territory; when Nepal protested, Indian Army Chief, [General Naravane, suggested](#) it was at the "behest" of China. At the base of the rift is the lack of diplomatic manoeuvring to allow a step back from the brink. While New Delhi contends that it was willing to discuss matters "at a mutually convenient date", Kathmandu says the MEA has rejected two dates suggested by the Nepal MoFA, and has routinely dismissed requests from the Nepal Ambassador for a meet with the Foreign Secretary. That the MEA said Kalapani talks could wait until both countries had dealt with the coronavirus pandemic first, further enraged the Oli government, which has pointed out India's participation by videoconference in bilateral and multilateral meetings. Meanwhile, Mr. Oli's purposeful manner in pursuing the amendment at exactly the same time as the India-China border stand-off bolsters the belief among some in New Delhi that he is speaking with confidence borne from Beijing's backing.

Regardless of the truth of those accusations, or who is more responsible for the downslide in ties, the speed with which the constitutional amendment was passed has left little space for diplomacy now. That the vote was unanimous should also inform New Delhi of the futility of casting Mr. Oli alone as the 'villain' of the piece. It is necessary the two nations resolve their issues through dialogue lest they face more serious consequences. The Modi government has in the past not flinched from taking tough measures, including the 2015 blockade that severely affected India's land-locked neighbour. The Oli government, which seeks to build its legacy by overturning what it calls "unequal" agreements made by the monarchy, could also cause a security nightmare for India if it opens up other parts of their long boundary, and reverses old commitments on open and unsecured border posts. Both sides moved quickly this week to manage the fallout of border firing by Nepali police on a group of Indians that left one dead. The same alacrity is needed to manage the fallout of Saturday's amendment vote, on the once celebrated "special" relationship between the two countries.

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Please enter a valid email address.

From the abrogation of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir, to the landmark Ayodhya verdict, 2019 proved to be an eventful year.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS

## 'THERE WILL BE NO CONFLICT IF INDIAN ARMY DOESN'T ENTER OUR ACTUAL LINE OF CONTROL'

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

PM Jawaharlal Nehru with Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai in 1954. The Hindu Archives

The Chinese have literally stuck to their guns since the 1962 border conflict when it comes to approaching a border settlement with India and reaching a common position on who sits where along the Line of Actual Control (LAC).

A slice of history from the archives reveals that Beijing would be unyielding if India tried to disturb the post-1962 status quo, something that could shine a light on current border incidents with China.

In December 1963, a year after the November 1962 border conflict with India, Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai told Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser that there would be “no conflict between the two sides if the Indian army does not again enter our actual line of control.”

At pains to explain Chinese actions to President Nasser, Mr. Zhou said about the post-war situation: “What is the outlook for the Sino-Indian border conflict? Frankly speaking, all is well for now. Since our side has taken the initiative of a ceasefire and such mitigation measures as initiating a withdrawal of 20 kilometres along the entire front line, there will be no conflict between the two sides if the Indian army does not again enter our actual line of control.”

### Chinese assessment

Given the recent impasse along the LAC and fisticuffs between Indian and Chinese soldiers, Mr. Zhou's dictum holds good — all would be well as long as the Indian side did not assert itself.

A record of the Zhou-Nasser conversation, available on the Wilson Center Digital Archive, showed the Chinese assessment of New Delhi's position: “India's attitude is: for the eastern border, we must accept the McMahon line; for the western border, India wants it where it has never been, an area where Chinese have been living for several hundred years and made their own.” Mr. Zhou claimed that he visited India three times — in 1954, 1956 and 1957 — but the Indian side never put forth any proposals.

In July 1962, Foreign Minister Marshal Chen Yi and Defence Minister Krishna Menon met in Geneva in a “situation where both sides were prepared to settle through discussion in maintaining the border status quo [both the eastern and western border were more to India's advantage at that time than at present] and hold talks without conditions to resolve the issue”.

### No agreement

“At the time we assumed that the Indian side could accept a negotiated agreement reached with us on the basis of maintaining the border status quo. But unexpectedly, Menon wanted our side first to demarcate several areas to give to him, commit them in advance, and then hold talks again. Because of this, the two sides did not come to an agreement,” Mr. Zhou told Mr. Nasser.

The Chinese side seems stuck on this even today — they have not agreed to share maps on their perception on the eastern and western sectors of LAC first at the Joint Working Group

(JWG) mechanism at foreign secretary-level agreed upon during Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's path-breaking visit to Beijing in December 1988. Maps in the less contentious middle sector were shared at a JWG meeting in 2001.

In a major step-up, the two countries agreed to set up a dedicated mechanism at the level of Special Representatives (SRs) to resolve the border dispute during Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's China trip in June 2003. This superseded the JWG.

Though the SR mechanism led to a "guiding principles" agreement in 2005, the two countries are still to exchange maps on where each side is in the eastern and western sectors. "Advance demarcation" still appears to be a problem for the Chinese side, although the contours of a possible settlement referred to by Mr. Zhou is no longer Beijing's official position.

### **A pressing issue**

Over the years, India and China have agreed on a number of mechanisms to enhance confidence at the military level, but their inability to agree to a border settlement have led to consistent problems – troops coming into conflict with each other – and continues to be a pressing issue.

Mercifully, there have been no fatalities on either side for the past 45 years – since the two countries restored full diplomatic relations in 1976.

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

## 'INDIA, CHINA NUCLEAR ARSENALS GROW'

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

War games: Nuclear-capable Agni missiles being fired during an IAF exercise in 2016. Vijay Soneji

All nations that have nuclear weapons continue to modernise their nuclear arsenals, while India and China increased their nuclear warheads in the last one year, according to a latest report by Swedish think tank Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

"China is in the middle of a significant modernisation of its nuclear arsenal. It is developing a so-called nuclear triad for the first time, made up of new land and sea-based missiles and nuclear-capable aircraft. India and Pakistan are slowly increasing the size and diversity of their nuclear forces..." according to the findings of SIPRI Yearbook 2020, released on Monday.

The report said China's nuclear arsenal had gone up from 290 warheads in 2019 to 320 in 2020, while India's went up from 130-140 in 2019 to 150 in 2020.

Pakistan's arsenal was estimated to be between 150-160 in 2019 and has reached 160 in 2020. Both China and Pakistan continue to have larger nuclear arsenals than India.

The nuclear arsenals of the nuclear-armed states other than the United States and Russia were considerably smaller but all these states were either developing or deploying new weapon systems or had announced their intention to do so, it noted.

### Low transparency

Together the nine nuclear-armed states — the U.S., Russia, the United Kingdom, France, China, India, Pakistan, Israel and North Korea — possessed an estimated 13,400 nuclear weapons at the start of 2020, which marked a decrease from an estimated 13,865 nuclear weapons at the beginning of 2019.

The decrease in the overall numbers was largely due to the dismantlement of old nuclear weapons by Russia and the U.S., which together possess over 90% of the global nuclear weapons.

The availability of reliable information on the status of the nuclear arsenals and capabilities of the nuclear-armed states varied considerably, the report noted. "The governments of India and Pakistan make statements about some of their missile tests but provide little information about the status or size of their arsenals," it said.

The U.S. had disclosed important information about its stockpile and nuclear capabilities, but in 2019, the administration ended the practice of publicly disclosing the size of its stockpile, the report stated.

The U.S. and Russia have reduced their nuclear arsenals under the 2010 New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START) but it will lapse in February 2021 unless both parties agree to prolong it.

However, discussions to extend the New START or negotiate a new treaty made no progress with the U.S.'s insistence that China must join any future nuclear arms reduction talks, which

China has categorically ruled out.

“The deadlock over the New START and the collapse of the 1987 Soviet–U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles (INF Treaty) in 2019 suggest that the era of bilateral nuclear arms control agreements between Russia and the U.S. might be coming to an end,” the report cited Shannon Kile, Director of SIPRI’s nuclear disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation programme, as saying.

Russia and the U.S. have already announced extensive plans to replace and modernise their nuclear warheads and delivery systems. “Both countries have also given new or expanded roles to nuclear weapons in their military plans and doctrines, which marks a significant reversal of the post-Cold War trend towards the gradual marginalisation of nuclear weapons,” the report observed.

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com



## HOW THE SOUTH CHINA SEA SITUATION PLAYS OUT WILL BE CRITICAL FOR INDIA'S SECURITY

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

The Singapore Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong's perceptive essay in the latest issue of Foreign Affairs cogently spells out the dilemma that confronts Singapore, and indeed the rest of us in the Indo-Pacific, as the two most consequential powers of the world, the [United States](#), which PM Lee calls the "resident power", and [China](#), which he says is "the reality on the doorstep", are engaged in a fundamental transformation of their relationship. Almost nobody any longer thinks that China will conform to the US worldview, or that China's rise from hereon will be unchallenged.

The Indo-Pacific has prospered under American hegemony for the previous 40 years not just because of their huge investments — \$328.8 billion in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations ([ASEAN](#)) alone and a further \$107 billion in China — but also because of the security blanket that it provides. China might have replaced the US as the primary engine of growth in the last decade, but it has come with a cost — the assertion of Chinese power.

Difficult as it might be to admit, the truth is that the benign American military presence has afforded countries the opportunity to pursue economic prosperity without substantial increases in their own defence expenditures or having to look over their shoulders. No group of nations has benefitted more from the presence of the US than the ASEAN.

Chinese military postures, on the other hand, give cause for concern ever since they unilaterally put forward the Nine-Dash Line in 2009 to declare the South China Sea as territorial waters. Their territorial claim itself is tenuous, neither treaty-based nor legally sound. They act in ways that are neither benign nor helpful for long-term peace and stability. In the first half of 2020 alone, Chinese naval or militia forces have rammed a Vietnamese fishing boat, "buzzed" a Philippines naval vessel and harassed a Malaysian oil drilling operation, all within their respective EEZs. Since 2015, they have built a runway and underground storage facilities on the Subi Reef and Thitu Island as well as radar sites and missile shelters on Fiery Cross Reef and Mischief Reef. They conducted ballistic missile tests in the South China Sea in June 2019 and continue to enhance naval patrols to enforce area denial for others.

### Opinion | [China now has the military power to alter territorial status quo](#)

PM Lee is absolutely correct in that going forward, the US and China face fundamental choices. But then, so do the rest of us living in the Indo-Pacific. America's role in the preservation of the region's peace and security should not be taken for granted. As COVID imposes crushing costs on all economies, the US may also be weighing its options. Finding justification for Chinese actions in the South China Sea, even as countries in the region help themselves to Chinese economic opportunities while sheltering under the US security blanket, is also fraught with risk. Accommodation may have worked thus far but regional prosperity has come at a mounting cost in geo-strategic terms. The South China Sea is effectively militarised. In the post-COVID age, enjoying the best of both worlds may no longer be an option.

Yet nobody should expect that ASEAN will suddenly reverse course when faced with possibly heightened Sino-US competition. China is a major power that will continue to receive the respect of ASEAN and, for that matter, many others in the Indo-Pacific, especially in a post-COVID world where they are struggling to revive their economies. ASEAN overtook the European Union to

become China's largest trading partner in the first quarter of 2020, and China is the third-largest investor (\$150 billion) in ASEAN. The South East Asians are skilled at finding the wiggle room to accommodate competing hegemony while advancing their interests. This does not, however, mean that they are not concerned over Chinese behaviour in the South China Sea. They need others to help them in managing the situation.

A robust US military presence is one guarantee. A stronger validation by the littoral states of the South China Sea helps the US Administration in justifying their presence to the American taxpayer. Others who have stakes in the region also need to collectively encourage an increasingly powerful China to pursue strategic interests in a legitimate way, and on the basis of respect for international law, in the South China Sea. The real choice is not between China and America — it is between keeping the global commons open for all or surrendering the right to choose one's partners for the foreseeable future.

### **Opinion | [All major economies will be drawn into US-China contestations over international trade](#)**

How the South China Sea situation plays out will be critical for our security and well-being. In the first place, the South China Sea is not China's sea but a global common. Second, it has been an important sea-lane of communication since the very beginning, and passage has been unimpeded over the centuries. Third, Indians have sailed these waters for well over 1,500 years — there is ample historical and archaeological proof of a continuous Indian trading presence from Kedah in Malaysia to Quanzhou in China. Fourth, nearly \$200 billion of our trade passes through the South China Sea and thousands of our citizens study, work and invest in ASEAN, China, Japan and the Republic of Korea. Fifth, we have stakes in the peace and security of this region in common with others who reside there, and freedom of navigation, as well as other normal activities with friendly countries, are essential for our economic well-being. In short, the South China Sea is our business. We have historical rights established by practice and tradition to traverse the South China Sea without impediment. We have mutually contributed to each other's prosperity for two thousand years. We continue to do so. The proposition that nations that have plied these waters in the centuries past for trade and other peaceful purposes are somehow outsiders who should not be permitted to engage in legitimate activity in the South China Sea, or have a voice without China's say, should be firmly resisted.

In return, we too have to be responsive to ASEAN's expectations. While strategic partnerships and high-level engagements are important, ASEAN expects longer-lasting buy-ins by India in their future. They have taken the initiative time and again to involve India in Indo-Pacific affairs. It is not as if our current level of trade or investment with ASEAN makes a compelling argument for them to automatically involve us. They have deliberately taken a longer-term view. A restructuring of global trade is unlikely to happen any time soon in the post-COVID context. Regional arrangements will become even more important for our economic recovery and rejuvenation. If we intend to heed the clarion call of "Think Global Act Local", India has to be part of the global supply chains in the world's leading growth region for the next half-century. It is worth paying heed to the words from Singapore's prime minister, who writes that something significant is lost in an [RCEP](#) without India, and urges us to recognise that the value of such agreements goes beyond the economic gains they generate. Singapore is playing the long game. Are we willing to do so, even if it imposes some costs in the short-term?

***This article first appeared in the print edition on June 16 under the title "Why South China Sea Matters". The writer was India's Ambassador to China and Foreign Secretary***

***The Indian Express is now on Telegram. Click [here to join our channel \(@indianexpress\)](#) and stay updated with the latest headlines***

END

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](http://crackIAS.com)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

## IN PANDEMIC CRISIS, BRIDGING THE GULF WITH WEST ASIA

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - Middle East

As the world continues to collaborate in dealing with the [COVID-19 pandemic](#) which has shattered lives, economies and, arguably, even political and global institutions, the post-pandemic architecture may look drastically different from what we have been used to.

For India and its foreign policy, the West Asia/Gulf region holds a significant court for strategic, economic and even domestic political agendas, ranging from migration to energy security. The pandemic has initiated a reverse migration of Indian blue-collar workers as projects in oil-rich States stall, and infrastructure development halts amidst a [contracting global economy](#) that some say may be worse than the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Also read: [The economic fallout of COVID-19](#)

India's Minister of External Affairs S. Jaishankar has said that India would repatriate more than 100,000 of its citizens between May 17 and June 13 from 60 countries, a majority of whom are expected to be from the West Asia region. Between June 10 and June 16, there were around 20 flights scheduled to bring Indian citizens back between India and Saudi Arabia alone. In neighbouring United Arab Emirates (UAE), more than 3.4 million Indians work. Overall, an estimated figure of close to nine million Indians work in West Asia, responsible for sending back more than 56% of India's annual infusion of \$80 billion in remittances. The UAE alone is responsible for \$19 billion in remittances, being the third largest trade partner of India after the United States and China.

Also read: [Coronavirus | IMF projects 1.9% growth for India in 2020](#)

Much of the impressive numbers above are now under stress, perhaps for the first time since the first Gulf War in 1991. The oil price crash, triggered by expectations of oversupply following a dispute on output caps between Saudi Arabia and Russia, exacerbated by the crash in demand due to COVID-19, will carry massive costs to the West Asian economies, and, by association, to foreign workers employed there. According to a Dubai Chamber of Commerce & Industry survey, more than 70% of businesses classified as small and medium-sized enterprises in Dubai, many owned by Indian nationals, may not survive over the months to come as labour critical industries such as tourism, conventions, hospitality and airlines bear the immediate brunt. To put it in perspective, according to a 2019 U.S.-U.A.E. Business Council report, the UAE's hospitality sector itself contributes 4.6% of the country's GDP, making nearly 600,000 jobs that are mostly fulfilled by foreign workers. Some reports suggest that up to 30% of these jobs could be lost.

In Saudi Arabia, consumer spending for April 2020, compared to the same time last year, was reportedly down by 34.6%. However, beyond the immediate effects, the oil price crash is expected to have a significant blow on the reform plans initiated by Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, specifically mega-projects such as the envisioned \$500 billion futuristic mega-city of Neom planned on the coast of the Red Sea, and other more structural efforts to open up the Saudi economy and move the country's financial ecosystem away from its overt dependence on petro dollars.

India gets around 60% of its hydrocarbon requirements from West Asia. On an annualised basis,

India saves up to \$1.35 billion for each \$1 drop in oil prices. With Brent still hovering under \$40, the softening oil prices have helped cushion the impact of the national lockdown on the balance of payments. India has also taken advantage of the low prices to build up its strategic reserves and is looking at offshore storage options.

The major sovereign wealth funds and other financial institutions in West Asia have been hit hard by COVID-19 as well. Some have seen their real estate and retail portfolios shrink dramatically over the last three months. India is well-placed to attract a significant amount of capital from West Asia and reports of investment by UAE's Mubadala and Saudi Arabia's Public Investment Fund (PIF) are a case in point. The economic reforms announced by the Finance Minister in the week of May 13 bring much needed clarity to industrial and agricultural policy. A strong, positive message to West Asian investors from New Delhi is now the need of the hour.

As a starting point, working with the government of Maharashtra to expedite land acquisition for the \$50 billion mega-refinery project could be an important first step. Saudi Aramco and the Abu Dhabi National Oil Company have committed to investing \$25 billion in the project. Fast-track resolution of endless litigation that has bedevilled the sale of a major stake of Mumbai airport by GVK to a consortium that includes the UAE sovereign fund, Abu Dhabi Investment Authority (ADIA) will also send out a positive signal to the markets. Some of the UAE's largest companies such as Etisalat, Emaar and Etihad have previously had a tough time with their investments in India. By creating a few immediate success stories, India has the opportunity to transform the landscape and attract the kind of long-term capital that the economy needs. The government has announced that it has set up an empowered group headed by Cabinet Secretary Rajiv Gauba to take necessary steps to attract FDI into India. Hopefully, this mechanism can take up West Asia on priority.

If the economic prophecies come true till a certain degree, India will also share the brunt with West Asia, and both are well placed to help each other in this regard. Arguably, more than the loss of trade revenue and remittances, the return of semi-skilled and skilled workers alike into an economy already struggling with jobs may become a point of worry. To mitigate the same, the government has tried to soften the blow by launching the Skilled Workers Arrival Database for Employment Support (SWADES) which attempts to capture the skills profile of returning workers and house them in a central portal that can be accessed by Indian and foreign companies. However, much more needs to be done with regard to reverse-migration and the economics attached to it, as globally, bilateral and multilateral trade-diplomacy is set to witness a tectonic shift towards the unknown.

Navdeep Suri is Distinguished Fellow and Director of the Centre for New Economic Diplomacy, Observer Research Foundation (ORF) and former Indian Ambassador to the UAE and Egypt and High Commissioner to Australia. Kabir Taneja is Fellow, Strategic Studies Programme, ORF

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Dear subscriber,

Thank you!

Your support for our journalism is invaluable. It's a support for truth and fairness in journalism. It has helped us keep apace with events and happenings.

The Hindu has always stood for journalism that is in the public interest. At this difficult time, it becomes even more important that we have access to information that has a bearing on our health and well-being, our lives, and livelihoods. As a subscriber, you are not only a beneficiary of our work but also its enabler.

We also reiterate here the promise that our team of reporters, copy editors, fact-checkers, designers, and photographers will deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Suresh Nambath

Please enter a valid email address.

To reassure Indian Muslims, the PM needs to state that the govt. will not conduct an exercise like NRC

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

END

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](http://crackIAS.com)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

## REMAINING NON-ALIGNED IS GOOD ADVICE

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

For weeks, the India-China stand-off dominated newspaper headlines, warning about the possibility of a [major conflict along the Line of Actual Control \(LAC\) in the Ladakh and Sikkim sectors](#). With both India and China agreeing to step back marginally from positions adopted at the beginning of May, and “reaching an agreement”, the newspapers and most other believe that tensions have abated. The reality is, however, very different.

Also read: [India, China military commanders hold talks at Galwan area](#)

Confirmed facts about incursions during May are that Chinese forces came in sizeable numbers and crossed the undemarcated [LAC at quite a few points in the Ladakh and Sikkim sectors](#). These were in the vicinity of Pangong Tso (Lake), the Galwan Valley, the Hot Springs-Gogra area (all in Ladakh), and at Naku La in the Sikkim sector. Talks at the level of military commanders, from lieutenant generals to brigadiers and lower formations, have produced, to repeat the official jargon, a “partial disengagement”. Both sides have also agreed, according to the same set of officials, to handle the situation “in line with the agreement” that had been reached.

Also read: [India, China expanded nuclear stockpile in last one year: report](#)

The blandness of the statements conceals many a truth. This time, it would appear, the Chinese are here to stay in places such as the Galwan Valley. It is also unclear, as of now, whether the Chinese would withdraw from Pangong Tso, any time soon. Restoration of the status quo ante which existed in mid-April is thus nowhere on the horizon. Another bone of contention also seems unlikely to be resolved for quite some time, viz., China’s insistence that India stop road construction in the border area on the ground that it is taking place in Chinese territory, which India contests, insisting that it is taking place within Indian territory.

Public attention has been deflected from China’s sizeable military presence along the LAC, (comprising armoured vehicles, artillery units and infantry combat vehicles in far larger numbers than at any time in recent years), and the partial disengagement may provide many in India an opportunity to claim that China “blinked” while India showed “steely resolve”. This is not, however, the time for political grandstanding. There is a great deal at stake.

India needs to undertake a detailed analysis of recent events to find proper answers to many vexed questions. To merely affirm that India’s decision to strengthen its border infrastructure was the main trigger for the recent show of strength by China, would be simplistic. Both India and China have been strengthening their border infrastructure in recent years, and while the strengthening of the Darbuk-Shyok-Daulat Beg Oldi road may have angered the Chinese, to ascribe China’s recent show of strength to this would be misplaced.

Also read: [“There will be no conflict if Indian army does not enter our actual line of control”](#)

Admittedly, Chinese President Xi Jinping disdains Deng Xiaoping’s aphorism, “to keep your head low and bide your time”, but Mr. Xi is not known to act irresponsibly. A demonstration of military strength, merely because India was improving its border infrastructure, would fall into this category. Nor does this action fit in with western assertions that such steps demonstrate China’s newly assertive post-pandemic foreign policy.



There have to be far weightier reasons for China's actions, and India needs to do a deep dive to discern whether there is a method behind China's actions, *viz.*, as for instance, the existence of certain geopolitical factors, an increase in bilateral tensions between India and China, economic pressures, apart from China's internal dynamics. China's action clearly belies the code of conduct drawn up at the Wuhan (China) and Mamallapuram (Tamil Nadu) summits by the leaders of India and China, and the recent incursions do convey the imprimatur of the top Chinese leadership.

If we were to examine geopolitical factors, it is no secret that while India professes to be non-aligned, it is increasingly perceived as having shifted towards the American orbit of influence. India's United States tilt is perhaps most pronounced in the domain of U.S.-China relations. Quite a few instances could be highlighted to confirm the perception that India tends to side with the U.S. and against China whenever there is a conflict of interest between the two. An evident degree of geopolitical convergence also exists between the U.S. and India in the Indo-Pacific, again directed against China. India is today a member of the Quad (the U.S., Japan, Australia and India) which has a definite anti-China connotation. U.S. President Donald Trump's latest ploy of redesigning the G-7, including in it countries such as India (India has conveyed its acceptance), but excluding China, provides China yet another instance of India and China being in opposite camps. A recent editorial in China's *Global Times* confirms how seriously China views the growing proximity between Delhi and Washington.

Also read: [Forgotten in fog of war, the last firing on the India-China border](#)

Coming next to bilateral relations, and notwithstanding the public bonhomie at the level of Mr. Xi and Prime Minister Narendra Modi, relations between the two countries have been steadily deteriorating. India is almost the last holdout in Asia against China's Belt Road Initiative (BRI). India also loses no opportunity to declaim against the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). China further views India's assertions regarding Gilgit-Baltistan, as an implicit attack on the CPEC, China's flagship programme. More recently, India was one of the earliest countries to put curbs and restrictions on Chinese foreign direct investment. Adding to this, is the rising crescendo of anti-China propaganda within India. The *Global Times* has implied in one of its editorial pieces recently, that China's friendly policy towards India should be reciprocated, and that India "should not be fooled by Washington". On the eve of the recent high-level border talks between top military leaders, China again made an elliptical reference to the need for India to maintain equidistance between the U.S. and China.

Such sentiments do impact border matters. Almost all [India-China border agreements](#) are premised on the presumed neutrality of both countries. As the Special Representative for Border Talks with China (2005 to 2010), this sentiment was an ever present reality during all border discussions. The document, "Agreement between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Political Parameters and Guiding Principles for the Settlement of the India-China Boundary Question" (2005), one of the very few documents relating to the China-India border, reflects this reality.

One should also not ignore the impact of internal pressures that have been generated within China — in part due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and in part due to other factors. Mr. Xi has, no doubt, accumulated more power than any other Chinese Communist leader since Mao, but there are reports of growing opposition within party ranks to some of his policies, including the BRI.

As the full impact of the most serious health crisis that China has faced since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 becomes evident, and alongside this the Chinese economic miracle is also beginning to lose steam, the current Chinese leadership is faced with an unique crisis. The coupling of political and economic tensions have greatly aggravated pressures on Mr.

Xi, and the situation could become still more fragile, given the rising tide of anti-China sentiment the world over. How the present crop of Chinese leaders led by Mr. Xi would react to this situation, remains to be seen.

These are dangerous times, more so for countries in China's vicinity, and specially India. India is being increasingly projected as an alternative model to China, and being co-opted into a wider anti-China alliance which China clearly perceives as provocation. We cannot ignore or forget the circumstances that led to the unfortunate India-China war of 1962. Faced with the disaster of the Great Leap Forward, and increasing isolation globally (with even Soviet leaders like Nikita Khrushchev trading barbs), Mao chose to strike at India rather than confront Russia or the West.

A single misstep could lead to a wider conflagration, which both sides must avoid. This is not the time for India to be seen as the front end of a belligerent coalition of forces seeking to put China in its place — even the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or NATO, now seems to be joining the anti-China bandwagon under prodding from the U.S. India has consistently followed a different policy in the past, and it is advisable that it remains truly non-aligned and not become part of any coalition that would not be in India's long-term interest.

M.K. Narayanan is a former National Security Adviser and a former Governor of West Bengal

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Dear subscriber,

Thank you!

Your support for our journalism is invaluable. It's a support for truth and fairness in journalism. It has helped us keep apace with events and happenings.

The Hindu has always stood for journalism that is in the public interest. At this difficult time, it becomes even more important that we have access to information that has a bearing on our health and well-being, our lives, and livelihoods. As a subscriber, you are not only a beneficiary of our work but also its enabler.

We also reiterate here the promise that our team of reporters, copy editors, fact-checkers, designers, and photographers will deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Suresh Nambath

Please enter a valid email address.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

Crack

# INDIA SAYS CHINESE TROOPS TRIED TO CHANGE STATUS QUO

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

Accusing the Chinese troops of “attempting to unilaterally change the *status quo*” in the Galwan valley, the Ministry of External Affairs said the casualties “could have been avoided” had agreements made by military commanders over the past week been followed by the Chinese side.

In a statement on Tuesday night, MEA spokesperson Anurag Srivastava said the violence that claimed Indian soldiers’ lives in the Galwan valley, including that of a Commanding Officer of Colonel rank, had come despite a series of ground-level discussions on de-escalation of the month-long standoff between the two armies.

According to the statement, the talks on June 6, had been “productive” and meetings had been held “to implement the consensus reached at a higher level” on de-escalation and de-induction of troops.

## Five points

At least five points in Ladakh including the Galwan Valley patrolling points, Hostsprings area and Pangong Tso (lake) have been identified as flashpoints, and India’s demands had included a return to *status quo ante*, and the retreat of Chinese troops occupying Indian patrol areas, along with tents, vehicles and equipment. “While it was our expectation that this would unfold smoothly, the Chinese side departed from the consensus to respect the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in the Galwan Valley,” the MEA said. “On the late evening and night of 15th June 2020 a violent face-off happened as a result of an attempt by the Chinese side to unilaterally change the *status quo* there. Both sides suffered casualties that could have been avoided had the agreement at the higher level been scrupulously followed by the Chinese side,” it added. The MEW also said that all Indian activities were on its side of the LAC, and it expected “the same of China.” While talks were held at the area of the Galwan valley clash to defuse tensions on Tuesday, it is unclear if further diplomatic talks are planned in the aftermath of the violent incident, where the casualty figures are expected to rise. While External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar is due to attend a meeting of Foreign Ministers of Russia, India and China (RIC grouping) on Monday, MEA officials would not confirm if the meeting will go ahead.

Speaking about talks, the MEA said India remains “firmly convinced of the need for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in the border areas and the resolution of differences through dialogue.” “At the same time, we are also strongly committed to ensuring India’s sovereignty and territorial integrity,” the Ministry added.

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS

## AN INFLECTION POINT

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

The brutal killing of 20 Indian soldiers by the Chinese Army in the deadliest escalation of violence between India and [China](#) on the LAC in nearly four and half decades puts a heavy question mark on an already fraught process. It has the potential to vitiate and undermine the disengagement agreed upon only a few days ago between senior military officers on both sides and harden the standoff between the two countries. The provocation is grave — this is not the toll taken by an act of terror by a non-state actor, but a clash between two armies. Yet India must keep a clear and determined head. It needs to respond with calm deliberation and steely resolve. It must be fully prepared to escalate but it must not embark on such a course without a full assessment of what transpired on the ground, or without hearing out what the Chinese leadership has to say — and being mindful of what lies ahead.

When two armies are fully mobilised and standing eyeball to eyeball, there is always the possibility of an accident that triggers an escalation that neither side wants. Monday night's clashes came after both sides had publicly stated that the situation was under control and that disengagement had begun in the Galwan area. The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has accused the Indian Army of violating the consensus that the two sides arrived at, and New Delhi has accused Beijing of doing the same. Clearly, much is being lost in translation even as Chinese adventurism breaches the understanding underlined in several meetings between Prime Minister [Narendra Modi](#) and Chinese President Xi Jinping. New Delhi should activate all political lines of communication with Beijing, including the ones between the special representatives to the border negotiations and the foreign ministers, to make this point and take it forward.

Many in Delhi have been lulled into complacency by previous diplomatic successes in defusing military crises in Depsang (2013), Chumar (2014) and Doklam (2017). But Delhi can't ignore the profound change in Beijing's worldview and the new sense in Beijing that it can afford to take on all comers. Nor can Delhi turn a blind eye to President Xi Jinping's political swagger, China's growing assertiveness in the territorial disputes with its neighbours, its simmering Cold War with the [United States](#), and the PLA's aggressive postures on the ground. In other words, India's political illusions about China are becoming increasingly unsustainable and Delhi has arrived at an inflection point in its policies toward Beijing. China, on its part, would be unwise to underestimate India's political resolve, its capacity to come together amid a national crisis and the international coalition in its favour. If Beijing refuses to restore the status quo ante on the frontiers, it will push India irrevocably towards a comprehensive and long-term political, diplomatic and military strategy of responding purposefully.

***The Indian Express is now on Telegram. Click [here to join our channel \(@indianexpress\)](#) and stay updated with the latest headlines***

**END**

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](#)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

# NEPAL TIES AND THE BENARAS TO BENGALURU SPECTRUM

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - Nepal

Benaras was a keystone of India-Nepal ties for centuries. B.P. Koirala, the doyen of democratic politics in Nepal, was a resident of the city; so too was Pushpalal Shrestha, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Nepal. Many in bureaucracy and politics had studied at Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, and Nepal's intellectual software was largely coded there. Till the 1980s, an easy and affordable way to reach Kathmandu was to fly from Benaras.

Also read: [Nepal move on map is unilateral, makes talks difficult now, say sources](#)

Then the flights stopped as takers became insufficient. Today, one of the most profitable sectors for Nepal Airlines is Kathmandu-Bengaluru. Here, a burgeoning colony of Nepali programmers work for storied Indian tech companies, creating software for the world.

The changed equation symbolises both a changing India and a changing Nepal.

The obvious change in Nepal is that it is now a democratic republic after nearly 250 years of being a monarchy. The Nepali Congress and Maoist leader, Prachanda, claim democracy (1990) and the abolition of monarchy (2008) as their legacies.

More pervasive is the societal change from Nepal's exposure to globalisation. Geography, too, stands to change, with the Chinese now having the potential to bore through the Himalayas and exhibiting their presence in Kathmandu in economics and politics.

The constant in Nepal is a nationalism which is really a mask for anti-India sentiment. Politicians use it for personal gain, and it is deeply ingrained in the bureaucracy, academia and the media.

Today, Prime Minister K.P. Sharma Oli is cementing his legacy as a nationalist by extending Nepal's map into Indian territory. The cartographic aggression and the embedding of the new map in the country's national emblem and Constitution are untenable and should have been avoided under all circumstances.

But this is not the first time Nepal has thumbed its nose at India, even at the cost of its people's well-being. In 2015, the Nepali Congress government adopted the new Constitution, ignoring India's concerns.

This instinct to cut off the nose to spite the face is visible in the lack of progress on the game-changing 5,000 MW Pancheshwar hydroelectric project. Nepal's viable hydro-electricity potential is 40,000 MW; the country generates only 1,000 MW and must import 600 MW from India.

Identity politics with India is also visible within the country where Nepali citizens from the Terai (Madhesis) feel discriminated as being "Indian".

To Nepal, their attitudes reflect the angst of a small state. To India, Nepal appears incorrigible.

After democracy was restored in 1990, passports were more liberally issued, and Nepalis began looking for work opportunities globally, beyond just India. West Asia and South-East Asia specifically became major destinations for labour migration.

Security uncertainties with the Maoist insurgency at home also propelled the trend of migration. Students and skilled personnel began moving to Europe, the United States, Australia, Thailand and even to Japan and South Korea.

As of 2019, nearly a fifth of Nepal's population, from all parts of the country, were reportedly overseas. At an estimated \$8 billion, global remittances account for nearly 30% of Nepal's nominal GDP, making it one of the most remittance-dependent countries in the world.

Leftist ideology and the prominent presence of international non-governmental organisations — ostensibly there to resolve conflict and alleviate poverty — have added to Nepal's exposure to the world.

Underreported is the presence of Christian missionaries who entered Nepal during and in the aftermath of the Maoist insurgency. "Faith Houses", as churches are euphemistically called in Nepal, can be found in villages and towns across the country, including the Terai, and represent not only European and American organisations but Korean too.

Moreover, posters advertising education opportunities in Australia, the United States, Canada and South-East Asia adorn Nepal.

Nepal's 2011 Census shows that over 80% of its 28 million-strong population were Hindus, and since 1962, it had formally been a Hindu kingdom. The new Constitution in 2015 makes Nepal a secular country.

The proliferation of communication technology has also spread a certain cosmopolitanism but without the accompanying metropolitanism.

Kathmandu has continued its long-standing efforts to spread Nepal's options beyond India. Multilateral development banks are by far the biggest lenders and players in the country's development efforts. And in fact, one of Nepal's largest aid donors is the European Union.

India and China are not the only players for big projects either. A long-delayed project to pipe water into Kathmandu was with an Italian company, major investments in the telecom sector are coming from Malaysia, and the largest international carrier in Nepal is Qatar Airways.

The outward movement of students, along with with the growth of institutions of higher learning at home, has meant that most young people in Nepal, including emerging contemporary leaders in politics, business or academics, have not studied in India. This lack of common collegiate roots removes a natural bond of previous generations that had provided for better understanding and even empathy.

Today, while most Nepalis understand Hindi, because of the popularity of Bollywood, articulation is quite another matter.

But despite Nepal's efforts to diversify its options globally, its linkages with India remain robust. Nepal's trade with India has grown in absolute terms and continues to account for more than two-thirds of Nepal's external trade of around \$12 billion annually. This clearly reflects the advantages of geography, both physical and societal.

India continues to be the largest aggregate investor in Nepal. The massive under-construction Arun-III 900 MW hydro-electric project is slated to singly produce as much power, when completed in five years, as Nepal produces today. Moreover, the peg with the Indian Rupee provides unique stability to the Nepali Rupee.



Nepal's per-capita income is just above \$1,000. While the huge remittance economy has brought a semblance of well-being, the country has a long way to go in reaching prosperity.

The relationship with India, with open borders and Nepalis being allowed to live and work freely, provides Nepal a unique advantage and an economic cushion. The latter is particularly important today with COVID-19-caused global contraction positioned to pop the remittance bubble. Neither the Chinese nor any others are likely to write blank cheques.

India for its part should also focus on developing its border areas with Nepal, with better roads and amenities of interest (such as shopping malls) to the burgeoning Nepali middle class. This would have economic plusses for both sides and keep ties strong at the people's level. It would also be an image makeover.

Given the cultural and ethnic commonalities, it befuddles and draws anger in India when things go wrong in ties with Nepal. Those responsible for bringing things to such an impasse must be held to account, but it is important that we update the prism through which we view our relationship with our Himalayan neighbour. We must not forget the past nor turn away from it but, instead, must be mindful of the realities of a changing India and a changing Nepal. Benaras will always be a keystone, but contemporary reality makes it imperative to look at Bengaluru.

Manjeev S. Puri is a former Ambassador of India to Nepal. The views expressed are personal

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Dear subscriber,

Thank you!

Your support for our journalism is invaluable. It's a support for truth and fairness in journalism. It has helped us keep pace with events and happenings.

The Hindu has always stood for journalism that is in the public interest. At this difficult time, it becomes even more important that we have access to information that has a bearing on our health and well-being, our lives, and livelihoods. As a subscriber, you are not only a beneficiary of our work but also its enabler.

We also reiterate here the promise that our team of reporters, copy editors, fact-checkers, designers, and photographers will deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Suresh Nambath

Please enter a valid email address.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

Crack

## INDIA, CHINA AGREE TO ENSURE PEACE

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

Monday's clash was reported to have been triggered by a dispute over the disengagement process that had been agreed to on June 6.

The Indian Minister said Chinese forces continued building activities in the Indian side of the LAC in violation of the agreement reached at the Corps Commander talks on June 6, and attacked Indian soldiers in a planned manner. He told Mr. Wang the Chinese forces went back on a commitment despite continuing dialogue throughout last week.

"The Chinese side sought to erect a structure in the Galwan Valley on our side of the LAC," he said. "While this became a source of dispute, the Chinese side took pre-meditated and planned action that was directly responsible for the resulting violence and casualties."

In Beijing, the Chinese Foreign Minister accused India of "deliberately provoking" the clash and "openly breaking the consensus" of June 6.

"Once the situation in the Galwan Valley had calmed down, the Indian front-line troops crossed the LAC again, and deliberately provoked and violently attacked the officers and soldiers who negotiated on the spot, leading to fierce physical clashes, resulting in casualties. This dangerous act of the Indian Army seriously violated the agreement reached between the two countries on the border issue and seriously violated the basic norms of international relations," he said.

The MFA said he conveyed China's "strong protest" and "demanded that the Indian side conduct a thorough investigation, severely punish those responsible for the incident, strictly control the frontline troops, and immediately stop all provocative actions to ensure that such incidents cannot occur again."

He also called on both sides to "strengthen the communication and coordination on the proper handling of the border situation through the existing channels such as the meeting mechanism between the special representatives of the Sino-Indian border and the meeting mechanism of the border defence force, so as to jointly maintain peace and tranquillity in the border area".

On Wednesday, China's Foreign Ministry spokesperson Zhao Lijian declined to provide details of Chinese casualties from Monday's clash, although reports have confirmed that there were casualties on both sides.

Asked about China's casualties, Mr. Zhao said, "I have stated that the Chinese and Indian border troops are now jointly dealing with relevant matters on the ground. I have nothing to add at the moment." Asked about the likelihood of further escalation, he said, "From the Chinese side, we do not wish to see more clashes."

China was unlikely to confirm the number of dead and injured, said M. Taylor Fravel, an expert on the Chinese military at MIT. "I can think of no armed conflict involving China where it has released casualty figures publicly at the time of the conflict," he said. "Usually, they are published years or decades later," he noted on Twitter, pointing out that casualties from the 1962 were only revealed for the first time in an internal history published in 1994.

On Wednesday, both the *People's Daily*, the Communist Party's official mouthpiece, and the *PLA Daily*, the Army's official paper, made no mention of the clash, although it marked the first

combat casualties for the PLA possibly since a 1989 clash with Vietnam.

The clash was, however, discussed widely on Chinese social media. On the Twitter equivalent Sina Weibo, the China-India border clash topic had 1.05 billion views and 1,10,000 comments as of Wednesday evening.

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

# INDIA ELECTED NON-PERMANENT MEMBER OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: UNO and its various Agencies

**UNITED NATIONS** : India was elected as non-permanent member of the powerful UN Security Council for a two-year term on Wednesday, winning 184 votes in the 193-member General Assembly.

Along with India, Ireland, Mexico and Norway also won the Security Council elections held Wednesday.

There were 192 Member States present for voting and the 2/3 required majority was 128. India garnered 184 votes. Canada lost the elections.

"Member States elect India to the non-permanent seat of the Security Council for the term 2021-22 with overwhelming support. India gets 184 out of the 192 valid votes polled," India's Permanent Mission to the UN tweeted.

India will sit in the most powerful UN organ, for two years beginning on January 1, along with the five permanent members China, France, Russia, UK and the US as well as non-permanent members Estonia, Niger, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Tunisia and Vietnam.

Member States elect India to the non-permanent seat of the Security Council for the term 2021-22 with overwhelming support.

India gets 184 out of the 192 valid votes polled. [pic.twitter.com/Vd43CN41cY](https://pic.twitter.com/Vd43CN41cY)

The two-year terms of Belgium, Dominican Republic, Germany, Indonesia and South Africa are ending this year.

To be elected to the Council, candidate countries need a two-thirds majority of ballots of Member States that are present and voting in the Assembly.

India was a candidate for a non-permanent seat from the Asia-Pacific category for the 2021-22 term. Its victory was a given since it was the sole candidate vying for the lone seat from the grouping.

New Delhi's candidature was unanimously endorsed by the 55-member Asia-Pacific grouping, including China and Pakistan, in June last year.

Previously, India has been elected as a non-permanent member of the Council for the years 1950-1951, 1967-1968, 1972-1973, 1977-1978, 1984-1985, 1991-1992 and most recently in 2011-2012.

The UN General Assembly on Wednesday conducted elections for President of the 75th session of the Assembly, five non-permanent members of the Security Council and members of the Economic and Social Council under special voting arrangements put in place here due to COVID-19 related restrictions.

Turkish diplomat and politician Volkan Bozkir was elected as President of the 75th session of the

UN General Assembly. He was the endorsed candidate from among the Western European and other States.

The elections began at 9am Wednesday and unlike previous years, when the sprawling General Assembly hall would be packed with UN envoys, diplomats and staff during the ballot, this year presence in the UNGA hall was sparse due to COVID-19 related restrictions.

UN diplomats, staff and other personnel arrived at the General Assembly hall wearing masks and immediately left the venue after casting their ballots.

In adherence to social distancing guidelines due to the coronavirus pandemic, the 193 UN Member States were allotted different time slots to cast their votes in the General Assembly Hall for the crucial elections.

Eight time slots were allocated to Member States to cast their ballots starting at 9 AM, in adherence to social distancing guidelines. The voting continued well in the afternoon, with an additional 30 minute time slot for voters who were unable to visit the GA hall during the specific time slot communicated to them. The time slot for India to cast its ballot was 11:30 am-12noon.

President of the UN General Assembly Tijjani Muhammad-Bande oversaw the proceedings in the General Assembly Hall and the tellers also observed the whole process.

For the two vacant seats from among the African and Asia-Pacific States, Djibouti, India and Kenya were the three candidates. For the one vacant seat from among the Latin American and Caribbean States, one endorsed candidate was Mexico. For the two vacant seats from among the Western European and other States, Canada, Ireland and Norway were the three candidates.

The 15-member Security Council has five permanent members - the US, the UK, France, Russia and China - and 10 non-permanent.

Each year the General Assembly elects five non-permanent members for a two-year term. The 10 non-permanent seats are distributed on a regional basis as follows: five for African and Asian States; one for Eastern European States; two for the Latin American and Caribbean States; and two for Western European and other States. To be elected to the Council, candidate countries need a two-thirds majority of ballots of Member States that are present and voting in the Assembly.

India's Permanent Representative to the UN Ambassador T S Tirumurti had said that India's presence in the Security Council will help bring to the world its ethos of 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam'.

"India's journey with the United Nations is quite a remarkable one. As a founding member of the United Nations, India's contribution to implementing the goals of the United Nations Charter and to the evolution of UN specialised agencies and programmes has been substantial. In many ways, quite extraordinary," Tirumurti had said in a video message ahead of the elections.

"I'm confident that at a time when we are poised to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the United Nations and later the 75th anniversary of India's independence in 2022, India's presence in the Security Council will help bring to the world our ethos that the world is one family - Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam," he had said.

India has been at the forefront of the years-long efforts to reform the Security Council, saying it

rightly deserves a place as a permanent member of the Council, which in its current form does not represent the geo-political realities of the 21st Century.

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

## MISSING: NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

As per my assessment, it has been nearly seven weeks since the latest national security crisis began with multiple Chinese intrusions across the LAC at Galwan River, Hot Springs, [Pangong Tso](#) in Eastern Ladakh and Naku La in North Sikkim. The MEA has made three perfunctory statements about the diplomatic and military engagements to defuse the situation. No formal statement has been made on the military situation at the sites of the intrusions or along the rest of the LAC. However, on June 13, the Chief of Army Staff while talking to the press said, “We are disengaging in a phased manner, we have started from the north from the Galwan river valley where a lot of disengagement has happened.”

The media has reported verbatim what has been fed by “reliable government/military sources”. The intrusions have come to light due to the efforts of a handful of defence analysts and journalists who still have a conscience and leaks by “soldier journalists”, driven by bravado.

Over the last seven years — Depsang 2013, Chumar 2014, Doklam 2017 and now Eastern Ladakh 2020 — we have followed a familiar pattern to resolve national security crises due to the undemarcated LAC and the ever-shifting Chinese claim lines. The Chinese actions catch us by surprise, both at the strategic and the tactical level; we react post-haste with a much higher force level; the exact place and the extent of intrusion is never formally acknowledged; the outcomes of the military and diplomatic engagements and concessions meted out are not put out in public domain; and, disengagement happens. Then, we repeat the entire process when the next crisis occurs.

The jury is still out on the final outcome of the crisis. The primary concern of the government in such a crisis that portends possible loss of territory is its fallout on domestic politics. More so, when national security and territorial integrity are the core ideological values of the party in power. Denial and obfuscation by peddling the logic of “differing perceptions” is the escape route which virtually endorses [China](#)’s stand — that the PLA is operating in its own area and it is India that is interfering with its patrols

Instead of calling China the initiator and aggressor of the crisis, we create ambiguity in the minds of the public and the international community. This approach also misleads the nation about our military capabilities. The reality is that the asymmetry with respect to military capability is in favour of China. We negotiate from a position of weakness, and hence concessions given are a cause of bigger worry.

The logical approach to national security must begin with a strategic review to establish what the present and future security challenges, both internal and external are, to evolve a comprehensive national security strategy. This must be formalised and put under parliamentary scrutiny. Unclassified aspects must be in the public domain so that in any crisis, it is generally known as to how the government will act.

The national security strategy is the starting point for all security planning because it formally spells out the vision to tackle the threats faced. and leads to the acquiring of much-needed capabilities. No Indian government has, so far, spelt out a clear national security strategy: The capabilities are more tailored to fight the last war and not future wars. The Defence Planning Committee has had the mandate to formalise a national security strategy since 2018, but little seems to have been done.



The national security strategy spells out the capabilities required in terms of force levels, technology and structures. The military works out the details, and after approving them, the government allocates the financial resources. Also, from the national security strategy flows the joint military strategy.

What we have is a functional approach, wherein we have created a military more suited to fight the wars of the last century, and with incremental changes, we are desperately trying to adapt it to fight high technology-driven short-duration wars of the 21st-century. Moreover, in the absence of political guidance in the national security strategy, the military is always looking over its shoulders during a crisis.

Now, we are faced with an enemy at our gates, who, in the last three decades, has followed the logical approach towards national security and transformed its military, and is prepared to use the same to pursue its policy. It has started the current border incidents to assert its hegemony over India, and enforce a status quo with respect to border infrastructure on its own terms.

The violence on the LAC is an ominous warning for the government to review its approach towards handling the current crisis. This crisis has to be managed without losing any territory, and more importantly, without losing our prestige. As a first step, we must delink national security from domestic politics. The onus for this is on the government.

The government must take the Opposition, Parliament, the media and the public into confidence, and apply the security principle of need-to-know. They must explain the reality on the ground so that the nation can present a united front. Our military has the capability to stalemate the PLA which is defeat for China.

***The writer, a retired lieutenant general, was GOC-in-C of Northern Command***

***The Indian Express is now on Telegram. Click [here to join our channel \(@indianexpress\)](#) and stay updated with the latest headlines***

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

## NEW DELHI WEIGHS SHIFT IN GEOPOLITICAL STRATEGY

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

**NEW DELHI** : The rising geopolitical tensions with China could see New Delhi move closer to groupings such as the so-called "Quad" with the US, Australia and Japan, said analysts. India may also join the US, among others, in the Freedom of Navigation exercise in the disputed territories of the [South China Sea](#).

The biggest casualty of the "violent face-off" between Indian and Chinese troops along the [Line of Actual Control](#) (LAC), which resulted in the death of at least 20 Indian soldiers, will however be bilateral ties, said Srikanth Kondapalli, professor of Chinese Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University.

While India and China will continue to interact at multilateral fora, including at the Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa, or [Brics](#), forum, "ties will be more circumspect at the bilateral level," said Kondapalli.

Besides the "Quad" grouping, it may also embrace the concept of Indo-Pacific—from the east coast of Africa to the west coast of the US—with more ease, despite China's objections.

Other measures India could contemplate are taking positions to the detriment of China at international fora like the recent World Health Assembly meet, for example, where India joined 120 countries that called for an evaluation of how covid-19 that surfaced in China in December became the global pandemic that it did.

"In the past, India has abstained from taking a position on Xinjiang," Kondapalli said. The reference was to the region where the mainly Muslim Uighur population live where Beijing is accused of human rights violations.

To raise the diplomatic costs for China, "India could take a position on Taiwan" besides Xinjiang, said former foreign secretary Kanwal Sibal.

China regards Taiwan as a renegade province and a part of China. India does not recognize Taiwan and does not have diplomatic ties with Taipei but has opened a trade office there with a counterpart office in New Delhi.

Upgrading ties with Taiwan or supporting Taipei at international fora would be one way of signalling to China, Sibal said.

At the military level, while India has to deal with China at the LAC, New Delhi could flex its naval muscle in the [Indian Ocean](#)—a key waterway through which Chinese commercial ships pass. Any choking or blockading of Chinese commercial vessels could cost Beijing dearly, said Kondapalli, pointing to the possible impact such a situation could have on Chinese stock markets. "The Indian Navy is in a strong position in the Indian Ocean region," he said.

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

## DISORDER AT THE BORDER: THE HINDU EDITORIAL ON INDIA-CHINA FACE-OFF IN LADAKH

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

With the [deaths of at least 20 Indian soldiers](#), and [reports of Chinese soldier casualties](#) in clashes at the Galwan valley in Ladakh, India and China have entered uncharted territory on the Line of Actual Control, the [first combat deaths since 1975](#), and the first such in the Galwan Valley since the 1962 war. The brutality of the clashes, with severe injuries and deaths incurred despite the fact that no shots were fired, is all also unheard of thus far. The deaths occurred when the two [armies had agreed to “disengage”](#) and “de-escalate” the month-long stand-off, which makes the clashes particularly shocking. China has now claimed sovereignty over the entire Galwan Valley, indicating that it is unlikely to pull back from this crucial and hitherto non-contentious area, unless it is forced to. In his talks with External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar, [Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi](#) appeared to countenance this new position, and even called on India to “punish those responsible” for crossing the LAC, prompting India to accuse China of attempting to “alter” the LAC with this “premeditated and planned action” by its forces. Meanwhile, reports that Chinese troops continue to be well entrenched in the Fingers area (Finger 4-8) or the ridges around Pangong Tso (lake) that India has always patrolled, and remain inside the LAC at Nakula Pass are worrying indicators of a hardening Chinese position. While Prime Minister Modi’s strong statement on Wednesday of a “befitting reply” and of the sacrifices of the soldiers that “would not go in vain”, is a much needed expression of the national sentiment, simply extracting revenge does not appear to be the answer to the altered situation across the LAC.

In order to prepare its response appropriately, the first step the government must take is to apprise the nation of exactly what has occurred since late April along the LAC, including incidents in Ladakh and Sikkim. Monday’s clashes have put an end to claims that Chinese troops have not entered Indian territory (they have), that troops have disengaged, and that the situation was being de-escalated. The government must conduct a full investigation of the Galwan clash and put out clearer details of the lives lost. A true tribute to those soldiers will not only include ensuring accountability from Beijing but also enforcing a full troops withdrawal from all the areas occupied in the last few weeks. Both the MEA and the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs have reaffirmed their commitment to dialogue as a means of restoring peace. Both sides must also acknowledge that the situation is precarious, and that the recent days in particular have undone decades of painstakingly negotiated confidence-building mechanisms. Without a full restoration of the *status quo ante*, reparations for the casualties, as well as some honest commitment to abide fully by any agreement, talks with Beijing at this point might not mean more than empty words.

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper, crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep pace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Dear subscriber,

Thank you!

Your support for our journalism is invaluable. It's a support for truth and fairness in journalism. It has helped us keep pace with events and happenings.

The Hindu has always stood for journalism that is in the public interest. At this difficult time, it becomes even more important that we have access to information that has a bearing on our health and well-being, our lives, and livelihoods. As a subscriber, you are not only a beneficiary of our work but also its enabler.

We also reiterate here the promise that our team of reporters, copy editors, fact-checkers, designers, and photographers will deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Suresh Nambath

Please enter a valid email address.

From the abrogation of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir, to the landmark Ayodhya verdict, 2019 proved to be an eventful year.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

END

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](http://crackIAS.com)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

# MULTILATERALISM POST COVID-19

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: UNO and its various Agencies

Getty images/istockphoto | Photo Credit: [Getty images/istockphoto](https://www.gettyimages.com/)

Change is often touted as being the only constant. However, in the hard-nosed world of multilateral diplomacy, seasoned practitioners often say that only babies with wet nappies delightfully accept change. The rest, they say, usually display differing degrees of tepid enthusiasm for any type of change.

Even at the best of times, when there was great power cooperation rather than great power rivalry like now, multilateralism has belied the ability to update swiftly. For example, Resolution 50/52 adopted unanimously during the 50th session, “to initiate the procedure set out in Article 108 of the Charter of the United Nations to amend the Charter, with prospective effect, by the deletion of the ‘enemy State’ clauses from Articles 53, 77 and 107 at its earliest appropriate future session” awaits action, nearly 25 years later.

Also read | [Resuscitating multilateralism with India's help](#)

The COVID-19 outbreak has placed all international institutions under a magnifying glass. By any measure, most have performed below par. Such is the caution espoused that multilateralism today seems to have reverted to its version 0.1. The General Assembly now passes resolutions through no objection procedure. The Security Council has been found wanting in no small measure. The 75th session’s ‘leaders week’ runs the risk of being reduced to a video playback session.

It is true that functioning of multilateral institutions, like much else, requires reform. They need to adapt to new realities, just as their headquarters staff have quickly adopted the new normal of ‘work from home’. However, the pursuit of change by threatening to leave multilateral institutions is a phenomenon we witnessed only during the period of the League of Nations. One state followed another in bidding goodbye, until the League’s final demise.

The post Second World War multilateral institutions have survived such departures. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Paris and the Human Rights Council in Geneva have survived the departure of the U.S. The United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) in Vienna continues despite the withdrawal of the U.S. and many others. The World Health Organization (WHO), notwithstanding its visible shortcomings, will survive U.S. threats. The reasons are simple. Multilateral organisations serve desperately felt global needs of the vast membership. The pandemic has reinforced the desire for greater global cooperation amongst most states.

Also read | [A revival of multilateralism, steered by India](#)

So, as the current multilateral order is unlikely to capsize, will it fall prey to the ‘wolf warriors’ of China posing as the new defenders of the established order? It is true that Chinese nationals head four multilateral organisations. It is also true that Chinese nationals have failed in campaigns to head UNESCO and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO).

Despite contributing nearly 10% of the UN’s budget, Chinese nationals are not exactly overrepresented in terms of staff positions, unlike many other countries whose personnel occupy more than half of the percentage of their financial contribution. Take the Chinese language

interpreters out and there is a further decline. If the head count of senior staff from UN regular and peacekeeping budgets is taken together, that percentage falls dramatically, although China contributes 14% of the peacekeeping budget. Of course, Chinese announcements of voluntary contributions made at international organisations need to be taken with a pinch of salt. They usually encompass all contributions — bilateral, plurilateral and multilateral — on a specific theme. By those indices, many contribute much more.

Interview | [‘On plurilateralism, multilateralism and New Delhi’](#)

China has certainly risen up the multilateral pantheon and is able to better promote its interests. It has warded off attacks against it in multilateral fora, at times with the aid of the heads of these organisations. However, it is yet to display an ability to set the multilateral agenda and dominate the discourse on an array of issues, in the manner that the U.S. once indispensably did. China’s flagship venture, the Belt and Road Initiative, remains only on the fringes of multilateral fora. Neither in monetary terms nor in substantive inputs are there portents of a ‘Chinese takeover’.

Amidst this, multilateral bodies are populated by a plethora of small and middle states quietly working to restore equilibrium, when the balance tends to shift. Capture of the existing multilateral order by a new hegemon is antithetical to the ethos of multilateralism. Multilateralism thrives on the notion of the Lilliputians tying up Gulliver — old or new.

Also read | [A multilateral alternative, by Asia](#)

The choices for the evolving multilateral order are not binary, as portrayed sometimes. Between collapse and capture there are other pathways. Multilateral architecture places premium on structures over functions, processes over substance. It slows down change of any sort. The same processes that have stalled change in the past will militate against a takeover in the future.

Does that mean that multilateralism will meander meaninglessly? Meander it perhaps will; meaninglessly perhaps not. The ‘pluri-laterals’ and the emerging ‘mini-laterals’ each have their place in terms of international agenda setting, but global norm-setting requires an inclusivity that they lack.

Being able to shape the discourse at an incipient stage is a good perch to be on. Issue-specific ‘coalitions of the willing’ are catalysts. As a growing power, India needs to avail of such avenues. However, by themselves, these will not do justice to the depth and variety of India’s interests and our stakes in global cooperation. Also, they are not holistic solutions in ensuring global acceptance of norms.

Also read | [In the ruins of unilateralism](#)

Responses of states during the COVID-19 crisis point to more emphasis on sovereign decision making than before. The imprimatur for acting on behalf of the global community is not going to be available easily. On myriad issues, from sustainable development to the environment, from climate change to pandemics and cyberspace to outer space, the demands for ‘nothing about us without us’ are likely to increase. Since stakeholders perceive that their stakes have risen, they will call for enhanced engagement. Convening such stakeholders in pursuit of global goals is the essence of multilateralism.

Neither permitting the capsizing of the multilateral order nor allowing it to be captured is in our interest. Since we visualise the world as *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*, support for multilateralism will have to remain a primary pursuit. Unlike in other realms where quantum leaps are common, in multilateral diplomacy, incrementalism pays dividends. To unseat a permanent member from



the International Court of Justice took us seven decades. To get Masood Azhar designated as a terrorist took us a decade. We need to patiently promote reforms while building partnerships to avail opportunities which may arise for more fundamental change. We need to bide our time without hiding our intent.

*Syed Akbaruddin has served as India's Permanent Representative at the U.N.*

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Dear subscriber,

Thank you!

Your support for our journalism is invaluable. It's a support for truth and fairness in journalism. It has helped us keep apace with events and happenings.

The Hindu has always stood for journalism that is in the public interest. At this difficult time, it becomes even more important that we have access to information that has a bearing on our health and well-being, our lives, and livelihoods. As a subscriber, you are not only a beneficiary of our work but also its enabler.

We also reiterate here the promise that our team of reporters, copy editors, fact-checkers, designers, and photographers will deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest

and political propaganda.

Suresh Nambath

Please enter a valid email address.

To reassure Indian Muslims, the PM needs to state that the govt. will not conduct an exercise like NRC

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS

# HISTORY, THE STANDOFF, AND POLICY WORTH REREADING

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

The [deadly clashes at Galwan](#) and the ongoing standoff between India and China on the ridges or “fingers” around the Pangong Tso are a metaphor for the wider conflict between the two countries over all the areas that Chinese strategy refers to as the “[five fingers of the Tibetan palm](#)”. According to the construct, attributed to Mao and cited in the 1950s by Chinese officials, Xizang (Tibet) was China’s right palm, and it was its responsibility to “liberate” the fingers, defined as Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA, or Arunachal Pradesh). Sixty years ago, India began to set about ensuring that quite the reverse ensued, and all five fingers were more closely attached to India, not China. As the government of India grapples with its next steps at the Line of Actual Control (LAC), it must cast a similarly grand strategy, to renew its compact with each of those areas today.

In the 1950s, even after India and China signed the Panchsheel agreement in 1954 and before the 1962 China-India war, the Nehru government had begun to worry about some of China’s proclamations. Especially after the flight of the Dalai Lama to India in 1959, China began to demand “self-determination in Kashmir”, wrote former Foreign Secretary T.N. Kaul in his memoirs, detailing how the Chinese press and radio launched a propaganda war against India, while the Chinese government allowed Naga and Mizo dissidents into China for refuge and training. More importantly, school textbooks there began to depict the “five fingers” as a part of China, wrote Mr. Kaul, who was posted in Peking (Beijing) and then as Joint Secretary (East) overseeing the China relationship, in the 1950s. While Prime Minister Nehru’s military miscalculations and India’s defeat in the 1962 war have been studied in great detail, what is perhaps not so well understood is the three-pronged foreign policy New Delhi set into motion at the time, that provided an effective counter to Mao’s five finger policy over the course of the century.

[Ladakh face-off](#) | [India will protect every inch of its territory, says Narendra Modi](#)

The first was a push for building border infrastructure and governance. In the mid-1950s the government piloted a project to build the Indian Frontier Administrative Services (IFAS) for overseeing NEFA (Arunachal Pradesh) and other areas along the India-China frontier. The Foreign secretary was the Chair of the IFAS selection board, and many who enlisted in the cadre overlapped between the Indian Foreign Service, the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service, and rotated between postings in the most remote tribal areas and embassies in the region.

A special desk was created in the Ministry of External Affairs for officers who would tour all the regions from NEFA to Ladakh in order to make suggestions for the rapid development of these areas. While India’s border infrastructure is only now catching up with the infrastructure China built in the course of the next few decades, its base was made during the brief period the IFAS existed, before it was wound up in 1968. An idea before its time, the IFAS’s role has since been transferred to the Indian Army and the Border Roads Organisation, but it is an idea worth revisiting, especially as areas along the frontier continue to complain of neglect and a lack of focus from the Centre (in 2019, the Chief Ministers of Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram called for the resurrection of the IFAS).

The second prong were a series of treaties that were signed around that time with neighbours

such as Nepal and Bhutan, and the consolidation of control, militarily and administratively, of other territories that acceded to India, including Ladakh as a part of Jammu and Kashmir (1947), and NEFA (1951). In 1950, India signed a treaty with Sikkim that made it a “protectorate”, and by 1975 the Indira Gandhi Government had annexed Sikkim and made it the 22nd State of India.

Each of these treaties built unique relationships with New Delhi, tying countries such as Nepal and Bhutan in ways that were seen as a “win-win” for both sides at the time. However, over time, the treaties have outlived their utility, and the benefits of unique ties with Nepal and Bhutan, including open borders and ease of movement, jobs and education for their youth as well as India’s influential support on the world stage, have waned in public memory.

Analysis | [China’s Belt and Road Initiative fuels Ladakh standoff](#)

One of the reasons that China has been able to make inroads into Nepal and not with Bhutan, is that the government renegotiated its 1949 Treaty of Perpetual Peace and Friendship between the Government of India and the Government of Bhutan of 1949 with the India-Bhutan Friendship Treaty in 2007, dropping an article that had committed Bhutan “to be guided” by India on its external affairs policy. This has held India and Bhutan ties in good stead thus far, even during the Doklam stand-off between India and China in 2017 in the face of severe pressure from China.

However, despite years of requests from Kathmandu, New Delhi has dragged its feet on reviewing its 1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the Government of India and the Government of Nepal, and on accepting a report the Eminent Persons’ Group (EPG) on Nepal-India relations has produced that recommends a new treaty. New treaties may not, in themselves reduce India’s security threat from China in its neighbourhood, but they create space for a more mutually responsive diplomacy that is necessary to nurture special relationships.

For the third prong, India’s policy towards the “palm” or Tibet, itself should be looked at more closely as well. While New Delhi’s decision to shelter the Dalai Lama and lakhs of his followers since 1959 is a policy that is lauded, it does not change the need for New Delhi to look into the future of its relationship, both with the Tibetan refugee community in India, which has lived here in limbo for decades, as well as with its future leadership.

At present, the Dalai Lama has the loyalty of Tibetans worldwide, but in the future, the question over who will take up the political leadership of the community looms large. The Karmapa Lama, who lived in India after his flight from China in 2000, and was groomed as a possible political successor, has now taken the citizenship of another country and lives mostly in the United States. Meanwhile, China will without doubt try to force its own choice on the community as well. Given that it is home to so many Tibetans, India must chart a more prominent role in this discourse.

Analysis | [Is China’s ‘peaceful rise’ over?](#)

Finally, it is necessary to introspect on how India’s own reorganisation of Jammu and Kashmir in August 2019 has changed the security matrix and threat parameters for India, and its neighbours. While Pakistan’s extreme reaction to the move was expected, China’s reaction was perhaps not studied enough.

Beijing issued a statement decrying the impact on Jammu and Kashmir, and another one specifically on Ladakh, calling it an attempt to “undermine China’s territorial sovereignty by unilaterally changing its domestic law” and warning that the move was “unacceptable and will not come into force”.

Analysis | [With China, India will have to be 'atmanirbhar'](#)

Home Minister [Amit Shah's vow in Parliament](#), in August last year, to take back Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK) and Aksai Chin was not taken lightly either, as China's stakes in PoK now go beyond its historical closeness with Pakistan, to its investment in the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor that runs through it. The impact of the new map of Jammu and Kashmir on ties with Nepal as well, is no coincidence. There is proof enough that now more than ever, as the government readies its hand on dealing with China, it must not lose sight of every finger in play.

*suhasini.h@thehindu.co.in*

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Dear subscriber,

Thank you!

Your support for our journalism is invaluable. It's a support for truth and fairness in journalism. It has helped us keep apace with events and happenings.

The Hindu has always stood for journalism that is in the public interest. At this difficult time, it becomes even more important that we have access to information that has a bearing on our

health and well-being, our lives, and livelihoods. As a subscriber, you are not only a beneficiary of our work but also its enabler.

We also reiterate here the promise that our team of reporters, copy editors, fact-checkers, designers, and photographers will deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Suresh Nambath

Please enter a valid email address.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS

# CHINA'S GROWING THREAT VIA DEBT TRAP DIPLOMACY

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

China has been using the financial tool of debt to gain influence across the world and grab considerable power in India's neighbouring countries, thereby increasing the amount of political and security threats the nation is exposed to. Mint takes a deep dive.

## How does China's debt trap diplomacy work?

In a push to gain rapid political and economic ascendancy across the globe, China is dispensing billions of dollars in the form of concessional loans to developing countries, mostly for their large-scale infrastructure projects. Often, developing nations are lured by China's offer of cheap loans for transformative infra projects, which involve a substantial investment. These developing nations, which are primarily low- or middle-income countries, are unable to keep up with the repayments, and Beijing then gets a chance to demand concessions or advantages in exchange for debt relief.

## What concessions are demanded by China?

There are several advantages or concessions that China asks for in exchange for debt relief. Sri Lanka, for instance, was forced to hand over control of the Hambantota port project to China for 99 years, after it found itself under massive debt owed to Beijing. This allowed China control over a key port positioned at the doorstep of its regional rival India, and a strategic foothold along a key commercial and military waterway. Similarly, in exchange for relief, China constructed its first military base in Djibouti. Whereas Angola is repaying multibillion-dollar debt to China with crude oil, creating major problems for its economy.

## What are these concessional loans granted by China?

These are loans extended to low- and middle-income countries on terms that are significantly more generous than market loans. The 'concessional' factor is achieved either by offering interest rates that are below the market rates or leniency in the grace period, and often with a combination of both. These loans generally have long grace periods.

## Has India taken any loans from China?

India has not entered into any loan agreement directly with China. However, it has been the top borrower of Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), a multilateral bank wherein China is the largest shareholder (26.6% voting rights) and India the second (7.6% voting rights) among other countries. China's vote share allows it veto power over decisions requiring super-majority. Loans provided to India could also pave the way for Chinese firms to enter and gain experience in the promising Indian infra market.

## How is the debt trap affecting India, then?

Most of India's neighbours have fallen prey to China's debt trap, and ceded to China's \$8 tn project – One Belt One Road Initiative (OBOR) which seeks to improve connectivity among countries in Asia, Africa and Europe. The initiative requires India to accept that the Kashmir-controlled Pakistan region, is Pakistan, because that's where some of the projects are. China

through OBOR can hence increase India's political cost of dealing with its neighbours.

*Jhoomar Mehta is a Delhi-based development finance consultant.*

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com



# WHY ARE CHINESE AND INDIAN TROOPS FIGHTING IN A REMOTE HIMALAYAN VALLEY?

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

The Indian army says at least 20 of its soldiers were killed after hand-to-hand fighting with Chinese troops at a border site on Monday night, the deadliest clash in decades.

China has not given any details of casualties.

## WHERE WAS THE LATEST FIGHTING?

The clashes took place in the Galwan region of Ladakh, in the western Himalayas, where Indian and Chinese forces have been facing off since early May.

The site lies amid remote, jagged mountains and fast flowing rivers on the northern tip of India, abutting the Aksai Chin plateau

The area lies at an altitude of about 14,000 feet (4,250 metres) and temperatures often fall below zero degrees Celsius.

A 1993 agreement between the two countries stipulates that neither side shall use force at the Line of Actual Control (LAC), the de facto border. But violent, high-altitude disputes have erupted several times without any shots being fired.

## WHY DID CLASHES ERUPT NOW?

Both countries claim vast swathes of each other's territory along their 4,056 km (2,520 mile) Himalayan border. Some disagreements are rooted in demarcations made by India's former British colonial administrators.

Military experts say one reason for the current face-off is that India has been building roads and airfields to improve transport links and narrow the gap with China's superior infrastructure on its side of the LAC.

At Galwan, India completed a road leading to an airfield in October despite Chinese objections. India says it is operating on its side of the LAC.

## WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE PAST?

The deaths were the first since hundreds died on both sides in a major border clash in 1967 between the nuclear-armed neighbours, which are the world's two most populous countries.

India and China fought a brief war in Ladakh and in northeastern India in 1962. Mutual distrust has occasionally led to flare-ups since. Infrastructure work near or within territories is frequently followed by increased tension.

The LAC largely follows a ceasefire line after the 1962 war, but the two sides disagree on where it lies.

The last major dispute was in 2017 on the remote Doklam plateau near the borders of India,

Bhutan and China. After a tense standoff, both sides agreed to an "expeditious disengagement" of troops, according to India's foreign ministry.

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

# INDIA-CHINA BORDER TENSIONS: HOW TIES HAVE UNFOLDED OVER THE YEARS

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

The world's two most populous nations and nuclear-armed neighbours have never even agreed on the length of their 'Line of Actual Control' frontier

Asian regional superpowers India and China share a long history of mistrust and conflict along their lengthy border, and tensions flared up this week in a deadly clash between troops.

The world's two most populous nations and nuclear-armed neighbours have never even agreed on the length of their "Line of Actual Control" frontier, which straddles the strategically important Himalayan region.

Recent decades have seen numerous skirmishes along the border, including a brief but bloody war in 1962.

## Here are some key dates:

### - Nehru's 1959 Beijing visit -

India inherited its border dispute with China from its British colonial rulers, who hosted a 1914 conference with the Tibetan and Chinese governments to set the border.

Beijing has never recognised the 1914 boundary, known as the McMahon Line, and currently claims 90,000 square kilometres (34,750 square miles) of territory -- nearly all of what constitutes India's Arunachal Pradesh state.

The border dispute first flared up during a visit by India's first prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru to Beijing in 1959.

Nehru questioned the boundaries shown on official Chinese maps, prompting Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai to reply that his government did not accept the colonial frontier.

### - 1962 Sino-Indian War -

Chinese troops poured over the disputed frontier with India in 1962 during a row over the border's demarcation. It sparked a four-week war that left thousands dead on the Indian side before China's forces withdrew.

Beijing retained Aksai Chin, a strategic corridor linking Tibet to western China. India still claims the entire Aksai Chin region as its own, as well as the nearby China-controlled Shaksgam valley in northern Kashmir.

### - 1967 Nathu La conflict -

Another flashpoint was Nathu La, India's highest mountain pass in northeastern Sikkim state, which is sandwiched between Bhutan, Chinese-ruled Tibet and Nepal.

During a series of clashes, including the exchange of artillery fire, New Delhi said some 80

Indian soldiers died and counted up to 400 Chinese casualties.

### **- 1975 Tulung La ambush -**

This skirmish was the last time shots were officially reported to have been fired across the disputed border.

Four Indian soldiers were ambushed and killed along the dividing line in Arunachal Pradesh.

New Delhi blamed Beijing for crossing into Indian territory, a claim dismissed by China.

### **- 2017 Doklam plateau stand-off -**

India and China had a months-long high-altitude standoff in Bhutan's Doklam region after the Indian army sent troops to stop China constructing a road in the area.

The Doklam plateau is strategically significant as it gives China access to the so-called "chicken's neck" -- a thin strip of land connecting India's northeastern states with the rest of the country.

It is claimed by both China and Bhutan, an ally of India. The issue was resolved after talks.

### **- 2020 Ladakh confrontation -**

Tensions have boiled over again after several Indian and Chinese soldiers were injured in a high-altitude fist fight on the border at Sikkim state in early May.

Indian officials said that within days, Chinese troops encroached over the demarcation line further west in Ladakh region and India then moved in extra troops to positions opposite.

Last week both countries said they would peacefully resolve the face-off after a high-level meeting between army commanders.

India said 20 of its soldiers were killed in a violent clash in the strategically important Galwan Valley on the Himalayan frontier.

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

# NEPAL'S NEW MAP NOW PART OF CONSTITUTION

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - Nepal

K.P. Sharma Oli

The Upper House of Nepal's Parliament on Thursday passed the Second Constitution Amendment Bill 2077 (Vikram era), with all 57 members voting in favour of the new map that claims parts of Indian territory in Pithoragarh district. One post has fallen vacant and the Chairperson doesn't vote.

President Bidhya Devi Bhandari signed the Bill hours later in her official residence, Shital Niwas. The voting and the presidential assent completed the legislative procedure of the Bill that was taken up by the government of Prime Minister K.P. Sharma Oli, after India inaugurated the Darchula-Lipulekh link road on May 8. Nepal immediately protested, saying the road violated the status quo of the region, which it described as "unresolved".

The process of passing the Bill — cleared unanimously by the Lower House, Pratinidhi Sabha — was fast-tracked. The new map will now be part of the national emblem of Nepal. The Parliament Secretariat had started using it in its official letterheads and posters. It is likely to be featured prominently on the promotional tourism documents.

The formal inclusion of the map gives a rare guarantee to the physical territory of the Nepalese state that makes negotiations with India on the Kalapani issue difficult. However, Nepal has maintained that it is open for dialogue. Ministry of External Affairs spokesperson Anurag Srivastava had said the amendment amounts to "artificial enlargement of claims that are not based on historical fact or evidence and is not tenable".

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper, crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

END

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](http://crackIAS.com)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

# THE INDIA-CHINA CONFLICT IS NOT ALL ABOUT POWER PLAY

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

The face-off between India and China in Ladakh, which resulted in the deaths of 20 Indian soldiers, has put the spotlight on their war machines. On paper, China may look superior, but India has more experience in the high-terrain battlefield. Mint takes a deep dive.

## What's the history of India-China conflict?

There is no mutually agreed Line of Actual Control (LAC) along certain stretches of the 3,488-km long India-China border and both sides claim parts of it as their own. Representatives from China and Tibet gathered in Simla in 1914 to negotiate a treaty that would determine the status of Tibet and effectively settle the border. After initially accepting the agreement, the Chinese went back on their word. This status lingered on till 1962 when China attacked India and occupied the region of Aksai Chin. China still occupies that part of Ladakh. It also claims that Arunachal Pradesh is part of its territory.

## How do the two armies compare?

China spent close to \$261 billion compared to India's \$71.1 billion on defence in 2019. While China outdoes India on most numbers, in the case of ground troops, there is parity. There are an estimated 225,000 Indian ground forces in the conflict region, compared to 200,000-230,000 Chinese soldiers. According to a study by Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Centre for Science & International Affairs, the Indian Air Force with its Mirage 2000 and Sukhoi Su-30 jets has a qualitative edge over China's J-10, J-11 and Su-27 aircraft. India's fleet comprises all-weather, multi-role aircraft while only the J-10 in China has those capabilities.

## Does it all boil down to superiority in numbers?

India's is the more experienced and battle-hardened side, thanks to its low-intensity conflicts with Pakistan over decades. China's People's Liberation Army has not experienced this kind of combat since the Vietnam war in 1979. India has an edge at high altitudes. It also maintains a string of air bases near China's border from where it can launch aircraft, the Belfer study says.

## How are the militaries placed in the region?

The high altitude of Chinese air bases in Tibet and Xinjiang, along with the difficult geographical and weather conditions, force Chinese fighter aircraft to operate with half payload and fuel. India has built its bases near the border, placing emphasis on infra, base resiliency, better command, communications systems, and air defence. The Chinese air force uses eight bases in the region but most of them are civilian airfields at troubled elevations. Refueling could give Chinese planes more payload but they don't have enough tankers.

## What makes this conflict tricky?

China is stronger when it comes to technology and new weapons even though both are nuclear nations. Its economy is five times India's. But India participates in joint military drills with the US, Japan, France and Australia. In the event of a large-scale conflict, US intelligence could help India get a clearer picture of the battlefields. China has been taking on many nations including

US, Australia, Vietnam. Its role in the spread of covid-19 has only dented its image.

*Major Mohommed Ali Shah (retd) is a defence & strategy expert.*

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com



## AT THE HIGH TABLE: THE HINDU EDITORIAL ON INDIA'S U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL WIN

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: UNO and its various Agencies

[India's election to the U.N. Security Council](#) as a non-permanent member is a significant diplomatic victory for the country, which has long been pushing for reforms at global institutions. The victory wasn't unexpected as India was the only contestant for the Asia Pacific seat. But the Indian foreign policy establishment took no chances as the election would be done by secret ballot at the UN General Assembly and two-thirds of the votes were needed for victory. India secured the seat with 184 votes in the 193-strong General Assembly. Mexico, Norway and Ireland were also elected as non-permanent members. While Mexico won the Latin American seat uncontested, Norway and Ireland emerged victorious from a three-way contest for the Western Europe and Others Group seat. Canada failed to win enough votes in this group. Neither Kenya nor Djibouti, which were contesting the seat from Africa, won a two-thirds majority. They will face another vote. India sought the support of member countries by highlighting its commitment to multilateralism and reforms. Ahead of the vote, India had launched a campaign brochure which highlighted its demand for transparency in mandates for UN peacekeeping missions and push for the India-led Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism, and called for joint efforts for UN reform and expansion of the Security Council. A "new orientation for a reformed multilateral system" (NORMS), as laid out by External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar, would be India's overall objective during the two-year tenure that will begin next year.

Achieving this would depend on how India will conduct diplomacy in the global body, build alliances and raise issues that go beyond the interests of the big five. India has long been of the view that the structure of the UN Security Council doesn't reflect the realities of the 21st century. It has also got increasing support from member countries for its push for reforms. But the five permanent members of the Security Council have resisted these attempts. The COVID-19 pandemic has already shaken up the global order and sharpened the rivalry between the U.S. and China. It has also opened up fresh debates on strengthening multilateralism and multilateral institutions. In this context, the challenges before India are many. The Security Council is one of the most important multilateral decision-making bodies where the contours of global geopolitics are often drawn. India should avoid the temptation of taking sides at a time when the Security Council is getting more and more polarised. To serve its interests and push for its agenda of multilateralism and reforms, India should adopt value-based positions that are not transactional, aspire for the leadership of the non-permanent members of the Council and be the voice of the weaker nations.

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper, crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Dear subscriber,

Thank you!

Your support for our journalism is invaluable. It's a support for truth and fairness in journalism. It has helped us keep apace with events and happenings.

The Hindu has always stood for journalism that is in the public interest. At this difficult time, it becomes even more important that we have access to information that has a bearing on our health and well-being, our lives, and livelihoods. As a subscriber, you are not only a beneficiary of our work but also its enabler.

We also reiterate here the promise that our team of reporters, copy editors, fact-checkers, designers, and photographers will deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Suresh Nambath

Please enter a valid email address.

From the abrogation of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir, to the landmark Ayodhya verdict, 2019 proved to be an eventful year.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

END

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](http://crackIAS.com)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

# PASHTUN TAHAFUZ MOVEMENT COMPOUNDS PAKISTAN'S WORRIES

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - Pakistan

## [More from the author](#)

On May 23, on the eve of *Eid-ul-Fitr*, a video was uploaded on Twitter by a Pashtun rights activist associated with Pashtun Tahafuz [Protection] Movement (PTM), showing a group of Pashtuns staging a sit-in protest in front of an army camp in Gariyum area of Shaktoi in South Waziristan, against the abduction of more than 15 local youth days ago, who had not been produced in the court and had gone missing.<sup>1</sup> It is the same area where the American drones had struck in January 2010, suspecting former chief of Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) Hakeemullah Mehsud's presence there.

While there was no report of it in the Pakistani media, it is now well-known that innocent inhabitants of South Waziristan, predominantly Mehsud Pashtuns, have long been a victim of the ongoing complex power game between the Pakistani state and non-state actors of various hues. The state regards them as sympathisers of anti-state groups like TTP and treats them with brute force at one level and harasses them through its armed proxies at another. Those opposed to the Pakistan Army and state look at them as informers of the state. Apart from staged encounters and targeted killings, abductions of Pashtun youth and intellectuals have become a norm in the tribal areas in recent years.

In May 2014, a small group of students from South Waziristan set up a group called Mehsud Tahafuz Movement (MTM) in Dera Ismail Khan, with the avowed aim of bringing Pashtun sufferings to the limelight, in the wake of prolonged army action, as well as demanding clearance of landmines in the Mehsud areas in Waziristan in particular and tribal areas in general.

The PTM grew out of MTM and hogged the limelight when Naqeebullah Mehsud, an aspiring model was shot dead by the Karachi police claiming that he was a terrorist. PTM organised a march from Waziristan to Islamabad against the police inaction. Its five-point memorandum to the government contained longstanding demands of the Pashtuns apart from the trial of Rao Anwar, the police officer who had allegedly killed Naqeebullah in a fake encounter

The PTM holds state agencies responsible for the subsequent kidnapping and killing of Pashto poet and serving Superintendent of Police Tahir Dawar, chief of Peshawar police's rural circle in November 2018; the killing of Arman Loni, professor of Pashto literature in the University of Balochistan, in Loralai during a sit-in in February 2019; the killing of 13 civilians participating in a peaceful protest in North Waziristan in June 2019; and, the targeted killing of PTM leader Arif Wazir in May 2020. The main leaders of PTM, Mohsin Dawar, Ali Wazir and Manzoor Pashteen have been arrested several times for allegedly making anti-Pakistan speeches and inciting people to rise against the state.

The PTM has been regarded by the Pashtuns, especially from the tribal belt, who have suffered a lot because of continued operations by Pakistan Army in the pretext of fighting anti-state elements, as the true representative of their voice. They feel that as a social movement, PTM has been able to articulate their grievances well through peaceful sit-ins, protest marches, and enthusiastic use of all forms of media.

The PTM has consistently opposed the establishment's approach towards the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). Since 2003, in the name of the war on terror, Pakistan Army has launched multiple large and small-scale operations in the tribal areas, now integrated into the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KP) Province, with the express aim of clearing the area of the TTP. But the PTM activists have argued that the operations have been selective as the army makes a distinction between its jihadi assets which they consider as 'good' and those who oppose it.<sup>2</sup>

The recent killing of Arif Wazir points inevitably to the abiding nexus between Pakistani security forces and state-sponsored armed non-state actors, who act as extended arms of the Pakistan state.

The army operations have resulted in internal displacement and loss of lives of civilians, while forces loyal to the Afghan Taliban continue to hold their ground and gain in strength. According to the government figures, about five million people were displaced internally at the height of military operations in FATA.<sup>3</sup> Such a selective approach vis-à-vis armed non-state groups in the region has made people increasingly insecure. The people of tribal areas have been targeted both by the militant groups and the security agencies, each accusing them of spying for the other.

The stance taken by PTM urging the government to restore civil rights of the Pashtuns and reverse its policy of encouraging state-sponsored armed groups to operate with impunity has found resonance not only among Pashtuns of the tribal areas but also Pashtun nationalist groups in the rest of Pakistan.

The fact that PTM, a professedly social forum propagating its cause through peaceful protests, has started appealing to the Pashtuns beyond the tribal belt has been a point of worry for the establishment. The Pakistan state has traditionally regarded such popular manifestation of Pashtun ethnic sentiments as potentially divisive, and a threat to its integrity

Ruffled by the PTM-led protests, and its anti-military narrative as well as intense campaigns, the then spokesman of the Inter-Service Public Relations (ISPR), Major-General Asif Ghafoor, sought to delegitimise it by projecting it as "a foreign-funded movement probably backed by India or Afghanistan". However, the establishment has not provided any evidence to back its allegations.<sup>4</sup> To delegitimise PTM in the eyes of the Pakistani people, the state agencies have launched active propaganda in both mainstream as well as social media claiming that the PTM activists are supporters of TTP. The PTM leaders have openly challenged this allegation clearly stating that it has no link whatsoever to any armed group or agency, internal or external.<sup>5</sup> It has demanded that the state should end its support to all kinds of armed groups without being selective about them.

Arif Wazir, a prominent voice of PTM killed last month, had probably riled the state agencies through his vocal advocacy of Pashtun rights and condemnation of state-sponsored violence in the Pashtun areas. He spent almost 15 months in jail on various trumped-up charges. More recently, he was accused of allegedly making anti-Pakistan remarks during his visit to Afghanistan along with other PTM leaders to attend President Ashraf Ghani's swearing-in ceremony held on April 17.

In the absence of any other plausible reason for his killing, it is speculated that the killers of Arif were acting at the instruction of the state agencies, who wanted to get rid of him for having crossed the line. Perhaps, Arif was too popular and famous to be neutralised by well-known methods of abduction or encounter often employed by the agencies. In the aftermath of his killing, hardly hiding his glee, the Inspector General of KP made an unguarded statement to the media implying that it was normal to expect such attacks because Arif had indulged in anti-

Pakistan propaganda in his interview to a TV channel in Afghanistan.[6](#)

Interestingly, the attack did not attract any comment from any government official or prominent political leaders in Pakistan. Its coverage in the media was rather sketchy. Instead, a malicious campaign was launched against the Wazir family for its alleged opposition to Pakistan. Expectedly, such negative propaganda has brought the Pashtuns in the area firmly together as can be seen from the spontaneous outpouring of emotions on Pashtun-related issues in the social media.

The media of Pakistan is under tight control these days. There is censorship on reporting the activities of PTM. Its leaders are being denied any screen or airtime on TV debates and discussions.[7](#) Few columnists who wrote about PTM were reportedly removed from their jobs.

Faced with several constraints, PTM has used the social media platform liberally and effectively to highlight the condition of the Pashtun people in general and especially those in the tribal areas. Some PTM leaders have also written articles for international media outlets to put across their message.

The Pashtuns, in general, have taken to social media aggressively. In twitter, for example, hashtags like #statekilledarifwazir, ##pashtungenocidebypakstate and #MissingPersonsOnThisEid have sought to disseminate information about abduction and killing of innocent Pashtuns to attract international attention to their sufferings.

The Pakistan state has clearly failed to suppress the voice of the Pashtuns in the face of their indomitable courage to fight for their rights, and as they say, within the confines of the Pakistan Constitution.

The killing of PTM leaders like Arif Wazir and the growing number of enforced disappearances and repressive measures taken by the state in the tribal belt has only widened the gulf between PTM and the Pakistan Government. Arif's killing was condemned by many Pashtun nationalists in both Pakistan and Afghanistan, fueling anti-Pakistan sentiments in the Pashtun belt straddling both countries. In the coming days, tribal Pashtun voices are only likely to get shriller, adding to the worries of the Pakistan state.

*Views expressed are of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Manohar Parrikar IDSA or of the Government of India.*

**END**

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](http://crackIAS.com)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

## CHINA LAYS CLAIM TO ENTIRE GALWAN VALLEY

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

Monday's clash was reported to have taken place on India's side of the LAC.

India's constructions, including a bridge across the river that was completed on Friday and is thought to be one of the triggers for the recent clash, are on India's side of the LAC, in an area in between the Galwan-Shyok confluence and the line.

While most Chinese maps show almost all of the Galwan river within Chinese territory, the western edge of the river where it meets the Shyok River has not previously been shown as Chinese territory previously in most maps.

By now staking a claim to the entire valley and up to the confluence of the rivers — including on land where India has carried out construction work — Indian officials said China had expanded its claims and was seeking to alter the LAC.

While the LAC has not been demarcated and there are differing perceptions in more than a dozen locations along the LAC, this has not been a point of contention previously in the Galwan area, they said.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry's statement said: "For many years, Chinese border guards have been patrolling and performing their duties here. Since April this year, the Indian border defence forces have unilaterally continued to build roads, bridges and other facilities in the Galwan Valley region. China has repeatedly made representations and protests on this, but the Indian side has intensified cross-border troubles."

The statement revealed China sought a commitment from India to "not cross the Galwan estuary to patrol and build facilities", underlining its claims up to the confluence.

The statement claimed that in the early hours of May 6, Indian border guards "crossed the line into the Chinese territory in the Galwan Valley area by night, constructing construction barriers, blocking the normal patrol of the Chinese border guards, deliberately provoking incidents, and attempting to unilaterally change the status of border control." It said that "at the strong request of the Chinese side" India had "agreed and evacuated the personnel and facilities beyond the line".

The statement claimed that at the June 6 Corps Commander-level talks, India "promised not to cross the Galwan Estuary to patrol and build facilities, and the two sides agreed to withdraw the troops in batches through a meeting of local commanders." It repeated China's statement from earlier this week that blamed India for the June 15 violence.

On Friday, a Chinese strategic expert cited "historical rights" going back to the Qing Dynasty to claim the entire valley.

"Multiple accounts from the Qing Dynasty [1644-1911] and Western literature have recorded that the Galwan Valley was China's territory. Based on the principle of 'historic rights,' China has jurisdiction over the valley area," Zhang Yongpan, a research fellow of the Institute of Chinese Borderland Studies at CASS, told the *Global Times*.

He referred to India's construction activity near the Shyok river as reflecting an attempt "to break

into Chinese land”.

“In nearby Shyok River in west Galwan River, India built an airport, constructed bridges, roads and villages. For years, the country has been seeking to break into Chinese land,” he said.

“Chinese maps that I have seen show almost all of the Galwan River as lying within the territory China claims in the area,” M. Taylor Fravel, an expert on the Chinese military at MIT, told *The Hindu* earlier.

“The one discrepancy would be the western tip of the Galwan River as it meets the Shyok River. Here, the last few kilometres of the Galwan River are often depicted as lying beyond China’s border. How one defines the parameters of the valley itself might be different than the river, however.”

While there was some ambiguity on where the extremities of the valley may be defined, the new statements from China suggest their claim goes up to the confluence of the rivers.

China’s new claims, observers said, may have been triggered by last year’s opening of the vital Darbuk-Shyok-Daulet Beg Oldie (DSDBO) road, that runs parallel to the LAC providing key all-weather access to the post at Daulet Beg Oldie, one of the northernmost points in Ladakh.

China may also be seeking access to areas closer to the confluence, from where it could neutralise the strategically important DSDBO road.

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](#)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com



## NOW, CHINA EMBRACES BANGLADESH IN TRADE

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

In a significant show of economic diplomacy in South Asia, China has announced tariff exemption for 97 per cent of exports from Bangladesh. And diplomatic sources of Bangladesh have described the Chinese move as a “major success” in Dhaka-Beijing relationship

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh announced on Friday that 97 percent of items covering fisheries and leather products would be exempted of Chinese tariffs.

Beijing's decision came a month after Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina and President Xi Jinping discussed enhancing bilateral relation in the background of the economic hardship triggered by the COVID-19 pandemic.

“As part of our economic diplomacy, Bangladesh had written to China to exempt our export items from tariffs. In response to this China’s State Council Tariff Commission has issued a notification recently. Bangladesh is among the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and that is why this decision was taken by China”, announced Mohammed Touhidul Islam, Senior Information Officer of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Friday’s announcement is expected to help Bangladesh cushion the economic impact of the pandemic and also emerge as a possible beneficiary alongside Vietnam and Chile of the U.S.-China trade war. Bangladesh imports around \$ 15 billion in Chinese goods but its China-bound exports had been very low in comparison..

“Bangladesh already receives tariff-exemption for 3,095 items under the Asia Pacific Trade Agreement (APTA). As a result of the latest announcement, a total of 8,256 goods from Bangladesh will be exempted of Chinese tariffs,” Mr. Islam said.

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

## BEIJING SHOULD NOTE

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

In pushing India to a tipping point, [China](#) is close to losing the hard-won trust of the world's second most populous nation and a large neighbour. If the 1962 war saw the freezing of bilateral relations for the next quarter of a century, the current crisis could lead to a chill that lasts longer. Keeping India's trust, however, might look like a trivial matter to the current Chinese Communist Party leadership. India might be the world's fifth largest economy, but it is one-fifth the size of China's. Beijing is acutely sensitive to power differentials, and sees an India that is struggling to find an effective response to the Chinese manoeuvre in Ladakh. Of course, Communist China's disdain is not exclusively for India. Beijing, which once benchmarked itself against Washington, is now contemptuous of the US and more broadly of the West that has found it hard to cope with the COVID crisis and seems at odds with itself. The CCP is telling itself that "Xi Jinping Thought" is the essence of "twenty-first century Marxism" and that "socialism with Chinese characteristics" has triumphed over Western capitalism.

By all accounts, Beijing feels confident that it can confront all the major powers simultaneously. It bets that economic interdependence and political influence operations can easily break up any potential hostile coalition that might emerge within and among them. Coming to the Asian neighbours, the CCP believes that it owes no explanation for taking territories and waters that it claims as its own. It is convinced that China's "historic rights" take precedence over international law and good neighbourliness — whether it is in the South China Sea or in the Himalayas. The sensitivities of its neighbours — from Japan to Indonesia and Philippines to India — hardly make an impression on the Chinese sense of entitlement today.

Appealing to China's better angels at this juncture, then, might be futile. Yet, the CCP should know that China is not the first power to be overwhelmed by narcissism and hubris. Imperial Japan and Nazi Germany believed they were unstoppable in Asia and Europe in the run-up to the Second World War. Soviet Russia, too, believed in the late 1970s that America was in irreversible decline after its humiliating defeat in Vietnam and a string of socialist revolutions, from Cambodia to Namibia and from Afghanistan to Mozambique. But the tide eventually turned against all the three great powers that ended up in history's dustbin. Just as India struggles to understand the power impulses that drive China, the CCP could never fathom India's political culture. It has been easy for Beijing to underestimate India's strategic resilience that produces unity amidst crises. The CCP might also be under-estimating India's tradition of "non-cooperation". If Beijing does not step back and restore the status quo ante that existed prior to the crisis that began in May, it will compel Delhi to embark on a radical reorientation of its China policy. The CCP ought to have no doubt that the Indian people can and will step up to such a recalibration.

***The Indian Express is now on Telegram. Click [here to join our channel \(@indianexpress\)](#) and stay updated with the latest headlines***

**END**

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](#)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

## CRISIS IN THE PENINSULA: THE HINDU EDITORIAL ON THE KOREAS

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: Effect of policies and politics of developed & developing countries on India's interests

By blowing up a joint liaison office on the border with South Korea and threatening to deploy troops along the demilitarised zone, North Korea is back to what it is best at — aggressive posturing with the threat of war. Troubles began in the peninsula early this year after a deadline the North dictated to the U.S. to achieve progress in the denuclearisation talks expired on December 31. North Korea has conducted missile tests this year, sending warning signals to Seoul and Washington. The latest crisis was triggered by anti-North defector groups that sent out propaganda leaflets via balloons across the border. Angered by the South's refusal to crack down on them, Pyongyang has severed hotlines, demolished the liaison office, and is planning to deploy troops along the border. Tensions now risk rolling back whatever little was achieved through engagement over the past two years. South Korea's Unification Minister Kim Yeon-chul resigned on Friday and Seoul has also moved to charge the defector groups. But these moves are unlikely to ease tensions as the real problem is the stall in the talks. Two years after U.S. President Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un met in Singapore to discuss denuclearisation, little has been achieved in that direction. It is likely that the North is now trying to get back Mr. Trump's attention.

There were no high hopes of a quick solution to the U.S.-North Korean rivalry — it goes back to the 1950-53 Korean war — when Mr. Trump and Mr. Kim met. Still, the summit was an opportunity to open a new direction in relations. Mr. Kim had in principle agreed to denuclearisation in return for the lifting of American sanctions. But talks stalled as the U.S. insisted on “complete, verifiable and irreversible denuclearization” by North Korea in return for any concession. The North Koreans were wary, particularly because of the U.S.'s history of going after dictators such as Saddam Hussein of Iraq and Muammar Gaddafi of Libya or its breaching of the Iran nuclear deal. Mr. Kim's regime offered a staged approach. It put a freeze on nuclear tests and offered to shut its Yongbyon nuclear complex. The U.S. and South Korea could have responded to these measures and kept the talks on track. On less contentious issues, such as declaring a formal end to the Korean war — both Koreas are still technically at war — an agreement could have been achieved as a confidence-building measure. But that road was not taken. Worse, the U.S. and South Korea went ahead with their joint military exercise. Mr. Trump is now grappling with many problems at home — from the coronavirus outbreak and a sagging economy, to anti-racism protests. Still, if he does not want his two summits with Mr. Kim to be mere footnotes of history, he should take measures to revive talks with North Korea and push the peninsula back to normalcy.

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper, crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep pace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Dear subscriber,

Thank you!

Your support for our journalism is invaluable. It's a support for truth and fairness in journalism. It has helped us keep pace with events and happenings.

The Hindu has always stood for journalism that is in the public interest. At this difficult time, it becomes even more important that we have access to information that has a bearing on our health and well-being, our lives, and livelihoods. As a subscriber, you are not only a beneficiary of our work but also its enabler.

We also reiterate here the promise that our team of reporters, copy editors, fact-checkers, designers, and photographers will deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Suresh Nambath

Please enter a valid email address.

From the abrogation of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir, to the landmark Ayodhya verdict, 2019 proved to be an eventful year.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

END

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](http://crackIAS.com)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

## CHINA POLICY LACKS PERSPICACITY

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

There is an uncanny resemblance between what is going on now on the India-China border with the events in the run-up to the 1962 war. The debacle in that war was rightly blamed on the Nehru government for its military unpreparedness and for its inability to fathom China's larger strategic objectives. In fact, the former failure was but a corollary of the latter. With India much better prepared now to face China's challenge on the ground, the situation in terms of the military equation is not the same as in 1962 but that is a secondary issue.

**Also read:** [Analysis | With China, India will have to be 'atmanirbhar'](#)

In both cases New Delhi failed to fully understand China's fundamental strategic objectives regarding India. Nehru could be impugned for his idealistic notion of Afro-Asian solidarity and his suspicion of America's strategic designs that influenced his thinking on China. However, the present government, which by its own admission is firmly committed to national security above everything else and whose foreign policy actions are driven by transactional rather than idealistic considerations, seems to be equally naïve about Beijing's long-term strategic objectives.

[Watch | India-China border standoff explained](#)

New Delhi has compounded its failure by indulging in reckless rhetoric regarding Aksai Chin and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) that have painted the image of India as a revanchist power in utter disregard of the country's capabilities that preclude any attempt at changing the status quo on either front. Senior Cabinet Ministers' declamations about liberating Aksai Chin and recovering PoK, while justifiable in terms of India's legal rights to these territories, were ill-timed. They were made when Beijing was feeling alarmed at the Indian government's decision to separate Ladakh from Jammu and Kashmir that augmented its perception that it was a prelude to India's attempt to change the status quo in Aksai Chin. Beijing was also worried about India's renewed assertion of its claims on PoK that in China's perception threatened the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor project.

Also read | [Analysis: Pakistan factor behind India-China stand-off in Ladakh](#)

But these missteps were merely the icing on the cake. While the military is more cognisant of China's tactical goals in terms of creating facts on the ground and making them the base line for future negotiations, the political leadership, it appears, has failed to fully comprehend China's strategic objectives. These strategic goals include (a) ensuring that India understands that it is not in the same league as China and driving home the lesson by periodic localised assaults across the Line of Actual Control (LAC) if it tries to assume a position of equality; (b) warning India not to actively oppose Chinese designs to dominate the Indo-Pacific region by aligning with the U.S. and its allies — Japan and Australia, in particular — in an attempt to contain China; (c) keeping India preoccupied with problems in its immediate neighbourhood so that it cannot act as an alternative pole of power to China in the broader Asian region; and (d) as part of the last objective, supporting Pakistan economically and militarily, including the sharing of nuclear weapons designs, to neutralise India's conventional power superiority vis-à-vis that country. An understanding of these objectives is essential to fashioning a realistic Indian response to China's aggressive policies in Ladakh and elsewhere along the LAC. Pakistan is at best an irritant for India that can be managed with the use of diplomatic tools, international opprobrium, and superior military force. In fact, the Pakistani challenge to India has become magnified because of its nexus with China.

[The Hindu Explains | Who does Galwan Valley belong to?](#)

China is undoubtedly India's principal long-term adversary. Wining and dining with its leaders creates confusion and hinders a clear perception of this reality. India's main strategic goal should be the adoption of carefully calculated policies that neutralise China's diplomatic and military clout in the Asia-Pacific region without making India appear as a surrogate for other powers and without sacrificing India's autonomy of decision-making in foreign policy.

*Mohammed Ayoob is University Distinguished Professor Emeritus of International Relations, Michigan State University*

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Dear subscriber,

Thank you!

Your support for our journalism is invaluable. It's a support for truth and fairness in journalism. It has helped us keep apace with events and happenings.

The Hindu has always stood for journalism that is in the public interest. At this difficult time, it becomes even more important that we have access to information that has a bearing on our health and well-being, our lives, and livelihoods. As a subscriber, you are not only a beneficiary



of our work but also its enabler.

We also reiterate here the promise that our team of reporters, copy editors, fact-checkers, designers, and photographers will deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Suresh Nambath

Please enter a valid email address.

To reassure Indian Muslims, the PM needs to state that the govt. will not conduct an exercise like NRC

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

Crackin

# INDIA'S CONTINUING TWO-FRONT CONUNDRUM

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

Since 1959, when India-China relations sharply deteriorated, India has known that it has two geopolitical adversaries. Concerning China and Pakistan, the American academician, Professor Wayne Wilcox of Columbia University, famously stated in an article in *Survival* that India has to “hedge all bets and cover all contingencies”. Recently, India’s Chief of the Army Staff, General Manoj Mukund Naravane, reassuringly said in May at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses that the Indian Army remains “alive” to a “two-front” war.

Whenever India has forgotten that it has two antagonists and let its guard down, it has paid dearly for it. Conversely, whenever India has accounted for the prospect of a possible threat from both quarters, it has done well. The two obvious examples are the 1962 and 1971 wars.

China policy lacks perspicacity

In 1962, India’s Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Defence Minister V.K. Krishna Menon had both believed that the threat to India’s security came principally from Pakistan. In 1971, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi took account of a possible Chinese move in support of Pakistan. India, therefore, took out an insurance policy in the form of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between the Government of India and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The mistake made earlier is instructive today. There has been an obsession concerning the threat from Pakistan, together with a degree of complacency *vis-à-vis* China, in part because the recent stand-offs in Depsang, Chumar, and Doklam were defused. The interactions between Prime Minister Narendra Modi and President Xi Jinping at Wuhan (April 2018) and Mamallapuram, Tamil Nadu (October 2019) further blind-sided those involved in foreign and security policy planning in New Delhi.

In the India-China interactions leading up to the 1962 China-India war, India had demonstrated friendliness without reciprocity and firmness without force. Despite deteriorating India-China relations in the late-1950s, neither Nehru nor Krishna Menon had contemplated a war between the two countries.

**Also read:** [History, the standoff, and policy worth rereading](#)

A contemporary observer, Raj Thapar, founder-editor of the journal, *Seminar*, described in her autobiography how Mr. Menon, “firmly opposed moving a single man from the Kashmir front, so convinced was he that Pakistan would attack at any opportune moment”. She wrote that it was his immutable belief that Pakistan was the threat, not China. Krishna Menon could go to any lengths to convince others of this point of view. He asked India’s High Commissioner to Pakistan, Rajeshwar Dayal, to brief a group of senior Indian Army officers about Pakistan’s war preparations against India. Warned that projecting a danger from Pakistan was part of the Defence Minister’s larger plan, in the meeting Ambassador Dayal said that he had detected nothing about the Pakistani preparations. According to witnesses, Krishna Menon was visibly annoyed.

Nehru too shared the view that Pakistan posed the greater threat to India. He and Krishna Menon reinforced each other’s slant in this respect. “To be frank about it,” Nehru had acknowledged in parliament soon after the 1962 war, India’s defence dispositions “were based

on our unfortunate position *vis-à-vis* Pakistan.” He was misled also by the good equation he had developed with Premier Zhou En-lai, forgetting that countries seldom predicate their security interests on the personal predilections of their leaders.

Remaining non-aligned is good advice

India’s complacency and misjudgment in 1962 were not for want of warning signs from China. Indian leaders had apparently convinced themselves that the Chinese would not attack. Indeed, it was Nehru who told Krishna Menon and India’s Chief of the Army Staff that he had reliable information that the Chinese forces would not offer resistance if there was a show of force from India. Well over a year before the outbreak of hostilities, Krishna Menon took to denying that there was any problem with China, or that China was in occupation of what the government of India considered Indian territory. Addressing officers of the Indian Air Force Station, Agra, he had declared: “I am not aware of any aggression, incursion, encroachment or intrusion by the Chinese of any part of Indian territory.”

The then Chief of the Army Staff, General P.N. Thapar, had told Krishna Menon that the Indian Army did not have the necessary strength to evict the Chinese from their posts. With the troop deployment of six Chinese soldiers to one Indian, the Indian Army could have been facing an adventure. Krishna Menon reassured him that the Chinese Deputy Premier, Chen Yi, had told him that China would never fight India over the border issue. General Thapar had wanted to share his misgivings with Prime Minister Nehru, but was dissuaded by the Cabinet Secretary on the ground that Nehru might consider that General Thapar was “afraid to fight”. Later, when a prominent Indian journalist checked from Krishna Menon whether General Thapar had brought up his concerns, Krishna Menon had replied with an acid tongue: “That toothless old woman; he did not know how to fight a war.”

On October 20, 1962, the People’s Liberation Army struck simultaneously, all along the India-China frontier — a move smacking of long preparation. The 13 forward Indian posts, from Galwan Valley up to north of Daulat Beg Oldi were attacked by the Chinese forces. Concurrently, in the eastern sector, they launched an attack on Indian forces deployed along the Namka Chu river and at Khinzemane, eventually enveloping in their attack on four out of the five frontier Divisions of the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA), namely Kameng, Subansiri, Siang, and Lohit Divisions.

In his biography of Prime Minister Nehru, Professor Sarvepalli Gopal suggested that when Nehru issued instructions in November 1961 for the management of the India-China border, it was based on advice from the Intelligence Bureau that while the Chinese would move into areas where there was no Indian presence, they would keep away where Indian personnel had established themselves. It was assumed that the Chinese would not do anything against Indian forces when “even in a position to do so.” Professor Gopal also suggested that Nehru was perhaps unaware of the warning by the Indian Army’s General that the Indian Army was in no position to sustain an operation across the entirety of the India-China border.

It would not be out of place to remind ourselves why India became the object of Chinese aggression.

Nehru had explained in an interview aired just nine days before his death in 1964 that the Chinese acted the way they did principally as “they wanted the Asian world to realise that they are the top dog in Asia and that any person or any country in Asia should remember that”. Months earlier, Nehru had written to U.S. President John F. Kennedy that China was making a bid for leadership, not just of Asia, but “as a first step in their bid for world leadership”. So far as India was concerned, continued Nehru, China’s aim was not to acquire territory: the real aim

was “to force on India a political settlement which will involve India re-orienting its policies to suit the pattern of Chinese global policies”.

Although circumstances are different today, India continues to face the two-front conundrum. The last word on the present crisis is yet to be said. India must meanwhile assess its options in a balanced way. While remaining clear-eyed about Chinese intentions, India must resist the temptation to remedy past errors by precipitate action. These need a long-term vision, executed with patience and perseverance.

*Jayant Prasad, a former diplomat, served as Director General of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses*

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Dear subscriber,

Thank you!

Your support for our journalism is invaluable. It's a support for truth and fairness in journalism. It has helped us keep apace with events and happenings.

The Hindu has always stood for journalism that is in the public interest. At this difficult time, it becomes even more important that we have access to information that has a bearing on our

health and well-being, our lives, and livelihoods. As a subscriber, you are not only a beneficiary of our work but also its enabler.

We also reiterate here the promise that our team of reporters, copy editors, fact-checkers, designers, and photographers will deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Suresh Nambath

Please enter a valid email address.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS

# HEGEMONY OF CHINA THREATENS THE ASIAN CENTURY

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

Beijing has committed a strategic blunder by forcing conflict with India

Last week, India and China had a bloody face-off along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) bordering Ladakh. The unprecedented confrontation led to the martyring of 20 Indian soldiers and injuries to others; though China has not officially admitted to it, the chatter in the global intelligence community is that there were fatalities and injuries on their side, too. This episode fits the pattern of recent acts of aggression by China (like in the South China Sea) to expand its territorial reach; so China is unlikely to be given the benefit of doubt on the charge of forcing this bloody escalation. More worryingly, this tragic loss of lives is probably a tipping point defining the future of Asia. The uneasy relationship between two neighbouring nations with diametrically opposing ideologies—one wedded to the values of democracy, the other to a command-control regime defined by the principle of ends justifying the means—is bound to undergo a reset. The fear is that the contours of this new relationship will be based on confrontation rather than cooperation. The downside risk is that at the least it will lock both countries in a distracting, costly and exhausting low-intensity conflict—like the one India has to endure with its western neighbour (and China ally) Pakistan.

If, indeed, such an outcome does play out, the political economy costs will be devastating. China in its reckless pursuit of hegemony may just have buried the idea of the Asian century. If the two majors of Asia were to be locked in a conflict—overt or covert—it will further pollute an environment already sullied by Pakistan positioning itself as the terror factory of the world. Hardly the enabling environment to harness the economic potential of this continent. A plausible outcome, the Western nations, many of whom are already past their best, would welcome. An Asian Century would have formally shifted the centre of global power away from the West. This, in turn, would have structurally altered the global polity—something I doubt the West would stomach.

Given the stakes, it is baffling to understand China's actions, especially when India's political leadership, risking its own social capital, went out of the way to court China. All this when India, like the rest of the world, is struggling to fend off the covid-19 pandemic, which coincidentally began in Wuhan, China. It smacks of ruthless opportunism, unmindful of the geostrategic risks. Surely, China understands it is already under global scrutiny for allegedly concealing the onset and extent of the pandemic; worse, it has to address the prima facie charge of institutional capture and manipulation of the World Health Organization. In short it is struggling to manage a PR crisis rapidly spiraling out of control. Why, then?

In global diplomacy explanations are never binary. Here is a listicle of surmises seeking to explain the method in the madness of Chinese actions:

For one, despite the asymmetry between the two nations—India is a fourth of the size of the Chinese economy, while Beijing also enjoys an obvious military superiority—India continues to punch above its weight. Further, it is constantly being considered for a seat at the global high table; both must be frustrating for China.

Two, from the strategic point of view, India's potential, particularly with respect to its economy, is a definite long-term challenge to Chinese hegemony in Asia. While India is yet to realise its

potential, it is beginning to display signs of shaking off decades of lethargy.

Three, India has of late junked accepted policy precedent and begun to police its borders and developing critical infrastructure to facilitate quick movement of personnel. This has obviously irritated the Chinese.

Four, the covid-19 pandemic and growing frictions with the West have only made China that much more defensive; it sees every challenge as a threat. Connect all the dots and it is clear that China has committed a strategic blunder by forcing a confrontation with India. Something that could well tie Asia into knots, jeopardizing its bright future—including India's.

*Anil Padmanabhan is managing editor of Mint and writes every week on the intersection of politics and economics.*

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

Cracki

## INDIAN ARMY GETS NOD TO RESPOND APTLY TO ANY PROVOCATION ALONG LAC WITH CHINA

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

NEW DELHI: India on Sunday hit the reset button on the rules of engagement with Chinese troops along the entire stretch of the 3,488-kilometre long border, with the Indian Army given the green signal to respond appropriately to any provocation.

Defence Minister Rajnath Singh on Sunday gave his go-ahead to the new tactical approach to be adopted, a person familiar with the development said, which came against the backdrop of the 15 June "violent faceoff" between Indian and Chinese troops on the Line of Actual Control (LAC). Singh's approval was conveyed in a meeting he held on Sunday with Chief of Defence Staff Bipin Rawat and the three service chiefs. Singh also reviewed the situation in eastern Ladakh, a day before his departure on a three-day visit to Moscow for ceremonies to mark the 75th anniversary of the Soviet victory over Germany in the Second World War.

The new tactical approach to be taken up by the Indian Army may include staggered movement of patrols in key areas of the LAC besides holding some high position or feature to give Indian troops tactical advantage.

The Indian Army has also been given the freedom to deal suitably with any aggression by China along the LAC, the person cited above said. It is not clear whether this means Indian troops will no longer be bound by the long-held practice of not using firearms in faceoffs.

According to the terms of an agreement signed in 1996, it was agreed that "Neither side shall open fire or hunt with guns or explosives within two kilometers from the line of actual control."

During the 15 June "violent faceoff" in Galwan region of Ladakh, Chinese troops attacked an Indian army group with stones besides sticks wrapped with barb wire. There were also sticks embedded with nails that were used against the Indian troops.

The accounts of the attack drew questions from various quarters as to why the Indian soldiers were "unarmed." Indian foreign minister S Jaishankar last week in a Twitter post said: "Let us get the facts straight. All troops on border duty always carry arms, especially when leaving post. Those at Galwan on 15 June did so. Long-standing practice (as per 1996 & 2005 agreements) not to use firearms during faceoffs."

India has already put all troops along the LAC on high alert as well as Indian Air Force stations close to the borders with China. Reinforcements have also been sent to areas seen as sensitive with orders to be "extra vigilant." The Indian Air Force has also moved a sizeable number of its frontline Sukhoi 30 MKI, Jaguar, Mirage 2000 aircraft and Apache attack helicopters to several key air bases including Leh and Srinagar in the last five days, a PTI report said. India is to hold ground and not cede territory to the Chinese, a second person familiar with the matter said adding New Delhi had no doubts about whether the LAC lay.

In his remarks during an all-party meeting on Friday, Prime Minister Narendra Modi had said that the Indian army had been given the freedom to take necessary steps along the border and that India had informed China of this decision through diplomatic means.

The clash in Galwan Valley, seen as the worst flare-up of tensions between the two sides in 45



years has significantly frayed ties between the two countries. Another 76 Indian soldiers were also injured.

A statement from the Chinese foreign ministry on Friday had sought another meeting at the senior commanders to defuse tensions that have been simmering since early May when troops of the two countries clashed on the banks of the Pangong Tso lake in Ladakh.

The Pangong Tso incident was followed by another in Sikkim on 9 May. It is unclear whether India will accede to the demand given that India says that China has not kept to the understanding reached at the first meeting of senior commanders on 6 June. But the two countries could hold a meeting of the Working Mechanism for Consultation and Coordination on India-China Border Affairs (WMCC) – led by senior diplomats – maybe as early as this week to cool tensions between the two countries. Indian foreign minister S Jaishankar is to attend a trilateral meeting with the foreign ministers of Russia and China this week with the Indian foreign ministry saying that bilateral issues are not on the agenda of the Russia-India-China meeting.

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

Crack

## A SPUR IN THE GRAND RIVALRY

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

The deadly clash at patrolling Point 14 on a ridge line overlooking the fast flowing Galwan river in eastern Ladakh, in which 20 Indian soldiers were killed, echoes episodes of the Great Game — the late 19th century tussle where colonial Britain worked feverishly to block Russian influence from permeating through the mountainous “gates” of India.

There were multiple fronts of the Great Game, including Central Asia and Afghanistan, but Ladakh, starting from Leh, known for its lucrative trade through the lofty Karakoram Pass, into the heart of Xinjiang, had become an important spur in this grand imperial rivalry.

But two decades into the 21st century, India and China — two aspirational Asian nations — are following this trail of rivalry at strategic pivots along their contested mountainous borders.

### **New road**

Point 14, overlooking the Galwan river valley, is one of these key fulcrums, over which the Indian Army and the People’s Liberation Army of China brutally clashed with barbed wired rods, stones and rocks on the night of June 15. The area, from where the Chinese were supposed to withdraw, following a June 6 understanding, is of considerable strategic value.

India’s newly built Darbuk Shyok Daulat Beg Oldie (DSDBO) road, which leads to the base of the legendary 18,176-foot high Karakoram Pass, is within striking distance from this vantage point in the high mountains. In case the Chinese manage to build an observation tower in this area, they can disrupt traffic over an under-construction bridge along the DSDBO road, using heavy weapons. Understanding the strategic value of this location, it is hardly surprising that the soldiers following Col. Santosh Babu laid down their lives in a bid to prevent a permanent Chinese encampment near Point 14.

Traditionally, the Galwan Valley area has been part of the winter trade route that linked Leh with Yarkand and Kashgar across the Karakoram Pass, when frozen rivers allowed caravans to progress towards their destinations. From Leh, the caravans breached the Ladakh range at Chang La pass, reaching Darbuk, Shyok village on their way to the Karakoram Pass via Daulat Beg Oldie (DBO). Once the pass was crossed, traders, often in company of monks and scholars, headed for Yarkand and Kashgar, where British India had opened a consulate in a building complex called Chini Bagh. Much later, a motorable road was built from Leh. It entered the Nubra Valley, cutting through the Ladakh range via the 18,600-foot Khardungla Pass and heading to the base of Saser Kangri. Thereafter, a track headed to Murgo — linking up with the DSDBO route.

But the Galwan Valley is also not far from Aksai Chin, which is occupied by China. China’s highway number G219 passes through Aksai Chin, which is a vital artery linking the sporadically restive Tibet and Xinjiang, the gateway to Beijing’s ambitious Belt and Road Initiative, heading in the direction of Central Asia en route Europe. The Chinese have long established Hweitan — 48 km northeast of the LAC as the crow flies — as their main base servicing the Galwan Valley posts. Incidentally, Hweitan was also a launch pad for mounting an offensive during the 1962 India-China war.

### **Chinese claim line**

In order to protect their strategic road in Aksai Chin built in the 1950s, the Chinese have unilaterally expanded their territorial claim line along commanding heights, including the Galwan Valley. In response, India, in mid-1962, established a post opposite Samzungling, an area from where the 80-km-long Galwan river originates before joining the Shyok river, which in turn merges with the Indus.

During the 1962 war, a Chinese battalion destroyed this hopelessly outnumbered Galwan Valley post, after fierce combat, which lasted 24 hours.

Despite bouts of violence in its recent history, Galwan Valley was so named during the less brutal encounters of the Great Game. The Galwan river was named after Ghulam Rasool Galwan, a Ladakhi adventurer and explorer, who had been part of many European explorations, including two in 1890 and 1896 led by Francis Younghusband — a British explorer and Army officer, who became famous for his role in blocking Russian advances in Tibet.

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](#)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

## JAPAN TO RENAME ISLANDS DISPUTED WITH CHINA

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: Effect of policies and politics of developed & developing countries on India's interests

A local council in southern Japan voted on Monday to rename an area, including islands disputed with China and Taiwan, a move Beijing denounced as illegal and a “serious provocation”. The local assembly of Ishigaki city approved a plan to change the name of the area covering the Tokyo-controlled Senkaku Islands — known by Taiwan and China as the Diaoyus — from “Tonoshiro” to “Tonoshiro Senkaku”. Local media said another part of Ishigaki is also known as Tonoshiro, and the name change was cast as a bid to avoid confusion.

But the uninhabited islands are at the centre of a festering row between Tokyo and Beijing and the move sparked anger in both Taiwan and mainland China. “The passing of the so-called administration designation bill by Japan is a serious provocation to China’s territorial sovereignty,” said Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhao Lijian.

Taiwan says the islands are part of its territory, and also protested the move. “The sovereignty of Diaoyu islands belongs to our country and any move attempting to alter this fact is invalid,” the Foreign Ministry said in a statement.

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](#)

© **Zuccess App** by [crackIAS.com](#)

# CHINA TO JOIN UN ARMS TRADE TREATY

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: UNO and its various Agencies

China will join a global pact to regulate arms sales, with Beijing saying on Monday that it is committed to efforts to “enhance peace and stability” in the world. The Communist Party leadership’s top legislative body voted on Saturday to adopt a decision on joining the UN Arms Trade Treaty that is designed to control the flow of weapons into conflict zones. It comes after U.S. President Donald Trump announced plans last year to pull the U.S. out of the agreement — which entered into force in 2014.

Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhao Lijian told reporters that joining the treaty was “another important measure for China to support multilateralism”. It is among the agreements reached under the Obama administration that Mr. Trump has moved to pull out of.

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

# THERE IS A PRESSING NEED FOR INDIA TO DEVELOP A COMPREHENSIVE UNDERWATER DOMAIN AWARENESS STRATEGY

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India's Foreign Policy evolution and changes

At a time when [China](#)'s pre-meditated military moves along our northern boundary are drawing the nation's attention, it is important that we don't lose sight of our surrounding seas.

Our navy has interdicted Chinese maritime research and survey vessels that entered our Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and Continental Shelf (CS) without our prior consent in 2018 and 2019. India has legislation (Act No. 80/1976) that requires foreign marine scientific vessels to seek licence prior to undertaking activities. The Chinese claim that they are serving the interests of global scientific research. That may well be one purpose; but it is well-known that China uses civilian research vessels to gather crucial oceanographic data, such as sub-sea and sea-bed conditions, for military purposes. It has done so in the South China Sea without heed to protests by claimant states or international law.

To put this into perspective, one recent survey done by the Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative (CSIS), shows that between April 2019 and March 2020, China deployed 25 maritime survey missions in the Indo-Pacific. This figure is only marginally less than the 27 missions mounted by the next six countries taken cumulatively — US (10), Japan (6), India (4), Australia (3), France (3) and the Philippines (1).

**Opinion | [Acknowledging Beijing's rise, scale of challenge it presents, are first steps in crafting a new China policy](#)**

Earlier this year, the Australians voiced concern over the activities of the Chinese vessel Xiang Yang Hong No. 1 in international waters between the Australian mainland and Christmas Island. They suspected that aside from marine science research, the ship was also studying submarine routes from Australia into the South China Sea. This, incidentally, is the same vessel that operated in international waters just south of the Andaman & Nicobar Islands from April 15 to May 21, 2019, presumably with similar objectives. China has mounted at least six survey missions covering the waters between Indonesia and Sri Lanka, in the Bay of Bengal and the Northern Arabian Sea, in 2019-2020.

The Cambodian opposition leader, Sam Rainsy, wrote recently in Foreign Affairs that China follows a "pattern of denial and obfuscation" in its military expansion overseas. Beijing initially denied its intention to militarise the Spratly Islands but eventually acknowledged that they serve a military purpose. A similar pattern surrounded the Chinese military base in the Horn of Africa. Nobody any longer accepts China's claim that the Djibouti base is simply a logistics facility. Rainsy has expressed concern over a secret deal that gives China exclusive access to Cambodia's Ream Naval Base. If this report is accurate, it will bring China one step closer to our shores. This is not the only concern to be had. It is also believed that PLA Navy (PLAN) intelligence-gathering ships have sailed our coast-line to gather information on naval facilities and ships. It will, almost certainly, do so again.

China may well take the position that both activities are legitimate under international law. The Law of the Sea Convention says that military vessels have "right to innocent passage" to traverse the territorial sea of a coastal state without entering internal waters so long as they are not prejudicial to peace, good order and security of the coastal state. The Convention is also

open to different interpretations on the question of scientific surveys in the EEZ of coastal states. The US, for instance, maintains that hydrographical surveys without prior notice or consent are lawful in line with centuries of state practice, customary and international law and Articles 58, 86 and 87 of the Convention. However, it is worth noting that China herself explicitly requires all foreign marine research, and for that matter military, vessels to seek prior permission before they enter China's territorial seas as defined in their Declaration on the Territorial Sea (1958). The question, therefore, is whether China will respect the laws of other coastal states like India. In that regard, recent Chinese behaviour in the South China Sea does not give reason for optimism.

### **Opinion | [The road from Galwan: India's response must be mature and resolute](#)**

It is a reasonable presumption that the completion of Gwadar and the use of Ream (Cambodia) if such a report is confirmed, will make it easier for China to sustain naval deployments — including submarines — in the Indian Ocean. The collection of vital hydrographical data is critical to their understanding of the sub-surface environment, particularly around the Andaman Islands, which is a choke-point from the Chinese perspective, as well as to monitor our own submarine movements. It should, therefore, be presumed that in the coming 12-24 months, the Chinese could step up their efforts to secure significantly improved data in the seas between the Malacca Straits and Djibouti, especially in the Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea, through any one, or all, of the following.

First, the Chinese might try to send another survey vessel without our permission into our EEZ, even possibly under naval escort. In May, the Chinese survey vessel Haiyang Dizhi No. 8 accompanied by two Chinese coast guard ships and several fishing vessels (probably maritime militia) entered the Malaysian EEZ in the South China Sea for over a month despite Malaysian protests. Such action would contravene Indian law but the Chinese have never been deterred by finer points of the law.

Second, more likely, they might deploy unmanned underwater drones in our EEZ, while the mother vessel remains just outside. A recent Forbes report claims that Sea-Wing underwater, unmanned drones were launched from the Xiang Yang Hong No. 6 in mid-December 2019 and successfully retrieved in February 2020. That should be a matter of our immediate concern as during that period this very ship was in the Bay of Bengal from January 27 to February 24.

Third, China might sail PLAN intelligence-gathering ships along our coasts or in the waters off our island territories, just outside the 12 nautical mile limit, on grounds that this is "innocent passage" by naval vessels permissible under relevant provisions of the Convention; in other words the Chinese version of Freedom of Navigation operations.

### **READ | [Explained Ideas: Why India claims Galwan belongs to them](#)**

We have the necessary capacity to monitor and interdict survey vessels well before they enter our EEZ. The need for a comprehensive Underwater Domain Awareness (UDA) strategy is pressing. This will need coordination between our national security agencies, the navy, and the government departments responsible for the marine environment and disaster management, but also collaboration with like-minded countries who share our concerns. Such cooperation includes, inter alia, deepening of real-time information exchange, co-development and deployment of UDA monitoring devices and joint processing of acoustic signatures, and closer coordination in the patrolling of sea lanes to ensure a free and open Indo-Pacific.

The deployment of PLAN intelligence-gathering ships with naval escort along our coasts might also require a new sort of response. We should learn from Chinese tactics. A RAND study

describes how they use fishing boats, which are actually “maritime militia”, to overwhelm the external adversary with swarm-tactics, supported from the rear by coast-guard or naval vessels. This is below the threshold of a military response, and a successful, albeit crude, way of blocking the PLAN vessel. We have multiple fishing communities that can be provided with the capacity and training for such purposes. Building Maritime Domain Awareness, and especially Underwater Domain Awareness (UDA) capabilities and technology, both domestically and with like-minded partners, should be given the highest priority. There may not be more time to lose.

***This article first appeared in the print edition on June 23, 2020 under the title “Securing the sea lanes”. The writer is a former Foreign Secretary and Indian ambassador to China***

Opinion | [Chinese intrusion in Ladakh has created a challenge that must be met](#)

***The Indian Express is now on Telegram. Click [here to join our channel \(@indianexpress\)](#) and stay updated with the latest headlines***

END

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](#)

© **Zuccess App** by [crackIAS.com](#)

CrackIAS



## A WAY OUT OF UNDELINEATED BORDERS

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

The [Galwan face-off](#) should focus minds on resolving, not managing, different perceptions of the northern border, relying first on 'samadhaan', as Kautilya suggested.

Listen: [How will India-China relations progress after the Galwan Valley incident | The Hindu In Focus podcast](#)

The root of the [misunderstanding between India and Nepal](#) lies in a treaty to end a territorial war to which no map was attached and the negotiators had no idea of the geography of the area, except that devout Hindus on the way to Mansarovar [considered the springs at Kalapani](#), at the base of the Lipulekh pass, as the source of the Kali river.

The Treaty of Sugauli in 1815-16, which ended the Anglo-Nepalese War, stipulated that "the Kali River" would mark Nepal's western border with the British East India Company. The demarcation undertaken by W.J. Webb later in 1816, covered 'the entire Byans region both to the east and west of the river, on the ground that it had traditionally been part of Kumaon prior to the 25-year-old occupation by Nepal'. In 1817, Nepal made a 'representation to the British, claiming that it was entitled to the areas east of the river. The British Governor-General in Council accepted the demand', and the villages of Tinkar and Chaggru were transferred to Nepal, dividing the Byans area. The drainage of the Kalapani and Lipulekh was considered wholly within British territory, and it was stated that a short way below the springs, the Kali formed the boundary with Nepal.

Nepal later 'extended a claim to the Kuthi valley further to the west, stating that the Kuthi-Yankti stream, the western branch of the head waters, should be considered the main Kali river'. *The Himalayan Gazetteer* records that the surveyor, W.J. Webb, made known to Bam Shah, the Governor of Doti, who had negotiated the Treaty, 'that the lesser stream flowing from the Kalapani springs had always been recognised as the main branch of the Kali and had in fact given its name to the river. The British retained the Kuthi Valley' and the Limpiyadhura Pass.

Also read: [Galwan Valley | A spur in the grand rivalry](#)

The first British Resident in Nepal, Edward Gardner, laid this out to the Nepal Durbar, in correspondence (February 4, 1817 to October 10, 1817). The matter was considered settled as only the lowland lying between the Kali and Gorakhpur that were ceded in 1815 were restored to Nepal by the Treaty of 1860.

To establish the boundary, initially, the Deputy Commissioner of Almora would each year travel to the Lipulekh Pass to open trade. The northern boundary of Byans was stated as the line of water parting between India and 'Hundes' in the Settlements of Trail in 1828 and Batten in 1840-41. The first Settlement, under the British government of Beckett between 1863 -1873, measured each cultivated field, reiterated this, and, as *The Himalayan Gazetteer* points out, was used to input local names into the new map prepared by the Survey of India, correcting earlier sketchy maps. The British Government did not shift the British East India Company boundary, as Nepal alleges.

In 1905, Charles A. Sherring, Deputy Commissioner of Almora, recorded his travels across Lipulekh into Tibet. He camped at Kalapani and noted its half dozen springs and the Nepal boundary at the Tinkar Pass. Trade through Lipulekh, amounting to £26,000 annually, had

grown ten-fold since 1816, and was regulated by the British.

The 1954 Trade Agreement between India and China mentions Lipulekh as one of the passes that could be used for trade and pilgrimage traffic; a police post was established by India at Kalapani in 1956.

The China-Nepal Boundary Treaty, October 5, 1961, in its Article 1 states: "The Chinese-Nepalese boundary line starts from the point where the watershed between the Kali River and the Tinkar River meet the watershed between the tributaries of the Mapchu (Karnali) River on the one hand and the Tinkar River on the other hand." The China-Nepal Boundary Protocol of January 20, 1963 established permanent boundary markers "as numbered 1 to 79 in serial order from west to east." The first marker of the Sino-Nepal border is at Tinkar.

The tri-junction, though not delineated, corresponds to the border claimed by India and shown on the British map of 1879, and in subsequent ones, is about 5 km east-southeast of Lipulekh and 20 km from the Limpiyadhura pass.

Principles of international law support the British and India's claim. Borders are established through political agreements; delimitation gives specific meaning to the verbal description and is considered part of the negotiations and demarcation is the setting up of boundary markers. In the case of Lipulekh and Kalapani, and now Limpiyadhura, the political agreement in 1817 has been acted upon and not open to challenge now. A treaty has to be interpreted with reference to the circumstances prevailing at the time the treaty was concluded.

In considering the general significance of map evidence, the basis of Nepal's claim, if that evidence is inconsistent, its value is reduced by any delimitation done at that time and textual interpretation as well as legislative, administrative or judicial assertions of authority over the area. There are also clear legal grounds and reasons for corrections in names in the maps.

The militarisation of this un-delineated part of the border has made it imperative for India to respond early to Nepal's selective reference to certain maps of the British East India Company — first raised in 1997 — with a white paper and discuss giving Byansis in Nepal all facilities, as those villages are cut-off from the rest of Nepal. Equally important is the need for another white paper on Aksai Chin where the border is also not delineated. Resolution is a part of political negotiation and overlapping "patrolling points" are grossly inadequate substitutes for boundary pillars.

Civilisational states should rely on the power of persuasion to settle misapprehensions left over by colonialism based on historical facts and summit diplomacy.

Mukul Sanwal is a former UN diplomat and has served as Deputy Commissioner Almora

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper, crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep pace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Dear subscriber,

Thank you!

Your support for our journalism is invaluable. It's a support for truth and fairness in journalism. It has helped us keep pace with events and happenings.

The Hindu has always stood for journalism that is in the public interest. At this difficult time, it becomes even more important that we have access to information that has a bearing on our health and well-being, our lives, and livelihoods. As a subscriber, you are not only a beneficiary of our work but also its enabler.

We also reiterate here the promise that our team of reporters, copy editors, fact-checkers, designers, and photographers will deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Suresh Nambath

Please enter a valid email address.

To reassure Indian Muslims, the PM needs to state that the govt. will not conduct an exercise like NRC

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

END

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](http://crackIAS.com)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

## OP SAMUDRA SETU - INS AIRAVAT EMBARKS INDIAN NATIONALS AT MALDIVES

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - Indian Ocean Island nations

Indian Naval Ship Airavat entered the port of Male at Maldives today as part of the Indian Navy's ongoing Op Samudra Setu, under the aegis of the Indian Government's Op Vande Bharat to bring back Indian nationals from foreign shores.

A total of 198 Indian citizens embarked the ship today as she prepared to bring them home to the port of Tuticorin in Tamilnadu in this, the fifth instance of a naval ship entering Male under Op Samudra Setu. Till date the Indian Navy has brought home 2386 Indians from Maldives alone. 195 of those embarked belong to Tamilnadu while the remaining are from Pondicherry.

The embarkation was preceded by immigration formalities, medical screening and baggage disinfection following strictest protocols of social distancing and COVID -19 prevention measures in place. The ship has also demarcated specific zones onboard to ensure segregation of the evacuees from the ship's crew.

---

VM/ MS

67/20

Indian Naval Ship Airavat entered the port of Male at Maldives today as part of the Indian Navy's ongoing Op Samudra Setu, under the aegis of the Indian Government's Op Vande Bharat to bring back Indian nationals from foreign shores.

A total of 198 Indian citizens embarked the ship today as she prepared to bring them home to the port of Tuticorin in Tamilnadu in this, the fifth instance of a naval ship entering Male under Op Samudra Setu. Till date the Indian Navy has brought home 2386 Indians from Maldives alone. 195 of those embarked belong to Tamilnadu while the remaining are from Pondicherry.

The embarkation was preceded by immigration formalities, medical screening and baggage disinfection following strictest protocols of social distancing and COVID -19 prevention measures in place. The ship has also demarcated specific zones onboard to ensure segregation of the evacuees from the ship's crew.

---

VM/ MS

67/20

**END**

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](http://crackIAS.com)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

## IT IS ADVANTAGE TURKEY IN LIBYA

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India- West Asia

### [More from the author](#)

In the first week of June 2020, the conflict in Libya witnessed a shift after the Government of National Accord (GNA), recognised by the United Nations (UN) and led by Prime Minister Fayez al-Sarraj, announced that it has regained full control of the capital Tripoli. This came a couple of weeks after GNA had recaptured the strategically-located al-Watiya Airbase southwest of Tripoli. The airbase had fallen to the Libyan National Army (LNA) led by General Khalifa Haftar soon after the launch of the military campaign – *Operation Flood of Dignity* – in April 2019 aimed at overthrowing GNA and capturing Tripoli. Haftar and LNA were backed by the Tobruk-based House of Representatives (HoR) that hoped to bring the country completely under its control by use of force, accusing the GNA of supporting the Islamist militias.

Gradually, the conflict in Libya had drawn regional and international actors who based on their ideological inclination and geopolitical interests had started backing one of the two factions. While the HoR and LNA were supported by Egypt, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), France as well as Russia in the name of fighting against the Islamic State and other jihadist militants, the GNA was backed by Turkey, Qatar and Italy in the name of supporting the internationally-recognised government. The United States (US) under Donald Trump administration remained mostly on the side lines after initially backing Haftar. Notably, the European Union (EU) was divided as France and Italy that had played a major role in the fall of Muammar Gaddafi gingerly supported different factions. They supplied weapons to the opposing faction but also advocated resumption of the UN-backed political process to end the deadlock.

For much of 2019, the GNA had remained on the defensive and on many occasions it appeared that the HoR and LNA will score a military victory and force a political resolution on the Tripoli-based GNA. All UN-led efforts for a ceasefire continued to fail with Haftar backed by Egypt and the UAE not willing for a compromise. This forced the GNA to reach out to Ankara for military backing. The dynamics of the conflict began to change after Turkey accepted the GNA invitation and decided to militarily intervene on its behalf. On November 27, 2019, Turkey and the GNA signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) on security and military cooperation.<sup>1</sup> In December, the GNA formally invited Turkey to provide military and logistical support. In early January 2020, the Turkish parliament approved the deployment of troops in Libya and soon thereafter started sending military advisors to train and provide operational support to the GNA-backed forces.

The Turkish decision intensified the battle for Tripoli and the Haftar-led LNA targeted Tripoli port to destroy military cargo coming from Turkey. This did not deter Ankara and in March the GNA with active Turkish military backing launched *Operation Peace Storm* to fend off the LNA advances towards Tripoli. Ankara not only brought military advisors to support the GNA but reportedly also anchored naval vessels in the southern Mediterranean as well as brought mercenaries from Syria. What tipped the balance in favour of the GNA, however, was the use of Turkish-made armed-drones, Bayraktar TB2. Turkey further supplied hawk missiles and anti-aircraft guns and brought more military personnel to help GNA operations. The air cover and drone offensive proved critical and by mid-May, the GNA was able to recover lost ground and Haftar-led force was forced to retreat.

Thought it does not mean that the HoR and LNA have conceded defeat, the signs of a Turkey-GNA advantage are clear. They have not only refused to accept a ceasefire proposal

announced by Egyptian President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi on June 6 but have launched a counter-offensive to capture the economically important coastal city of Sirte. The fighting might not continue for long and Ankara has already started diplomatic outreach to Russia and the US to revive the UN-backed political process. The process had come to an abrupt halt due to the LNA military offensive in 2019 after over two years (January 2016 to March 2019) of negotiations and bickering failed to bridge the differences between the GNA and HoR.

The turn of events in Libya has put Turkey in an advantageous position not only in terms of the civil war dynamics but also in regional politics. So far as Libya is concerned, Ankara's moves to reach out to Moscow and take the US into confidence shields it from great power pressure. Russia certainly has the space to undermine Turkey but is reportedly keen on finding a way to end the conflict even if it means abandoning Haftar. Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu and his Russian counterpart Sergei Lavrov had planned a meeting to discuss the situation in Libya and Syria at Istanbul on June 14, and though the meeting was postponed at the eleventh hour due to the heavy fighting in Sirte, both sides have kept the lines of communication open.

Other external powers including France and Italy, as well as Egypt and the UAE, are likely to be unhappy with the turn of events. However, without the US and Russian support, they might not be able to force Turkey to compromise as was highlighted when Ankara rejected the Egypt-backed ceasefire proposal stressing that there cannot be any place for Haftar in the political process.

For Turkey, the intervention in Libya and the prospect of a long-term military presence gives it a geopolitical advantage over regional rivals. Turkey has already established military bases in the Persian Gulf and the Horn of Africa. In Libya, it is eyeing long term permission to use the Misrata Naval base and the Al-Watiya Airbase that will ensure its military presence in the Southern Mediterranean and North Africa.

Turkey is also eyeing economic gains as Libya sits over vast hydrocarbon reserves and has a long coastline in the Mediterranean Sea. Turkey has already signed a maritime zone agreement with the GNA that gives it drilling rights near the Greek island of Crete.<sup>2</sup> It appears keen to exploit maritime economic zones in the Mediterranean though it puts Turkey at odds with Greece, Cyprus and Israel. Russia, an international hydrocarbon power, might work with Turkey to anchor the political process, which will give both countries a head start as far as the Libyan oil industry is concerned. The experience of cooperation in Syria, while supporting opposing sides, can help bring the two countries together in Libya.

At this stage, it is difficult to ascertain what might be the outcome of the efforts to resume the political process in Libya and what shape the situation eventually takes. What is clear is that the military intervention has put Turkey and the GNA in an advantageous position. Besides, there are geopolitical implications for West Asia (or the Middle East). Ankara's military prowess and diplomatic dexterity have reinforced its position in regional politics. Libya is yet another instance in recent years wherein Ankara has shown its presence and interest.

Earlier, for example, it came out strongly in support of Qatar during the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) crisis, put its foot down in Syria to shield Idlib and push back the Kurdish forces, established a military presence in the Horn of Africa, and took Riyadh head on over the murder of Jamal Khashoggi. Though not interlinked, these are not just isolated incidents. Turkey is a regional heavyweight and wants to be recognised as a global middle power. Under President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, it has become more ambitious and is using every opportunity to intervene in regional politics. Turkey's growing regional presence has already set alarm bells ringing in regional capitals.

*Views expressed are of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Manohar Parrikar IDSA or of the Government of India.*

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com



# CHINA MUST RECOGNISE THAT INDIA TOO HAS NON-NEGOTIABLE CORE CONCERNS, ASPIRATIONS, INTERESTS

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

In one fell swoop, [China](#), with Xi Jinping in the core leadership position of the CPC and with ultimate responsibility as the Chairman of China's Central Military Commission, has effectively destroyed the edifice of bilateral relations so painstakingly built post the Chinese aggression of 1962. Hubris, internal insecurities in China, the [COVID-19 pandemic](#) and the complex and confused external environment have led to caution being thrown to the winds. Perhaps, the anticipated medium and long-term competition posed by India from the ideological, strategic and economic points of view began to loom larger and Beijing felt that this was a good opportunity to once again assert its self-proclaimed territorial claims in Ladakh. That may have been a grave error of judgement. Military adventures like the recent barbaric one unleashed by the Chinese in Galwan have a habit of ending up with nasty surprises.

Parallels are being drawn between what happened in 1962 with recent events in eastern Ladakh. These do not bear scrutiny. However, China's recent military actions in Ladakh clearly violate the signed agreements of 1993, 1996, 2005, etc on maintaining peace and tranquillity along the [Line of Actual Control](#). These actions are in violation also of other signed agreements, including at the highest level, and contradict positions taken by Xi himself at the informal Wuhan and Chennai summits in 2018 and 2019.

## Opinion | [Acknowledging Beijing's rise, scale of challenge it presents, are first steps in crafting a new China policy](#)

In June 2003, Prime Minister [Atal Bihari Vajpayee](#) and Premier Wen Jiabao signed a Declaration on Principles for Relations and Constructive Cooperation between our two countries. The third principle states: "The two countries are not a threat to each other. Neither side shall use or threaten to use force against the other." This was more than reiterated in the agreement signed in April 2005 on the Political Parameters and Guiding Principles for settlement of the India China boundary question. Article 1 states, inter alia: "Neither side shall use or threaten to use force against the other by any means."

In past years, Chinese intrusions along the LAC were sustained despite the agreements referred to earlier but peace and tranquillity was maintained. A qualitative change though occurred in Chinese perceptions after the Doklam face-off. That necessitated the first informal summit at Wuhan in April 2018. The underlying effort then was to ensure that peace and tranquillity in the border areas are maintained while placing serious difficulties on the back burner. One important outcome of that summit was the agreement to continue to meet at the highest level and to enhance trust and strengthen strategic communication.

The second informal summit between Xi and [Narendra Modi](#) in Chennai in October 2019 took place in the aftermath of the revocation of [Article 370](#) by India and China's unnecessary and unsuccessful attempt to raise the issue in the UN Security Council. By then, many other developments — both internal and external — had added pressure on China. The Chinese had said that the Chennai summit would enable a candid and in-depth exchange of views on bilateral relations and major international and regional issues of common concern. With hindsight, one can argue that the deception began there.

## Opinion | [The stand-off on the LAC and the doomsayers](#)

China's state-run news agency Xinhua, on October 12, 2019, provided the Chinese version of the outcome of the Chennai summit. It quoted Xi as having told Modi that "maintaining and developing good relations between the two countries is China's unwavering policy" and that "we must — inject a strong endogenous impetus to bilateral relations". Xi also made it clear that some of the problems between our two countries are serious and require both sides to "correctly view each other's development and enhance strategic mutual trust". He pointed to a lack of appreciation of each other's core interests and the need to "prudently deal with" such issues. He sought support for the BRI and CPEC.

At Chennai, the Chinese undoubtedly drew some red lines. Which of these does China feel India has crossed? Why does China fear India crossing these lines? And why did China not follow up on Xi's call for greater strategic communication and enhancing trust?

Ironically, the warning signals began during Xi's own visit to India in September 2014 when he publicly announced that China was a neighbour of South Asia and announced assistance packages for countries in the region. (CPEC became a part of BRI during Xi's subsequent visit to Pakistan in April 2015).

One fundamental red line is China's long-held and strategic interest in parts of Jammu and Kashmir that border Xinjiang and Tibet and allow connectivity between the two. We in India have wrongly argued that it is Pakistan that is the issue in J&K. China is as big an issue but has quietly hidden behind Pakistan's cover. That is no longer feasible as democratic India becomes economically and otherwise stronger.

The trust between our leaderships and nations has been seriously impaired by the events in Ladakh. The next casualty will be the effort to enhance strategic communication. The so-called Strategic and Cooperative partnership of 2005 and the Closer Development Partnership of 2014 can now be buried.

The Special Representatives process to address the boundary question seems stalemated and its usefulness needs review. The 2005 agreement contains the necessary parameters for a boundary settlement but there is obviously not adequate common ground. Some positivity can, however, be brought in if the LAC clarification process is revived and completed in a time-bound manner. But this is easier said than done in the prevailing circumstances. Patrolling procedures will need to be revised, preferably by mutual agreement.

## Opinion | [There is a pressing need for India to develop a comprehensive Underwater Domain Awareness strategy](#)

The current nature of the economic partnership between India and China is not sustainable. India's annual trade deficit with China in recent years virtually finances a CPEC a year! China has still not fulfilled all its commitments to India on joining the WTO in 2001. Indian business and industry must stop taking the easy option. Some costs will no doubt go up but there can be environmental advantages of switching to other sources of technology and equipment. There is more than one available source of financial investments in Indian ventures.

Bilateral dialogue mechanisms will continue their desultory course. On issues of interest to India such as terrorism, we get no support from China. Cooperation on river waters has not evolved. On the global agenda, on issues such as climate change, dialogue and cooperation will continue in multilateral fora depending on mutual interest.

The response of the government of India to China's recent actions in Ladakh must be an all-of-government one, indeed an all-India one — covering all sectors including heightened security and be coordinated, consistent and implemented with spine. This is not a question of nationalism or patriotism but of self-esteem and self-respect.

Bilateral relations between India and China cannot progress unless there is peace on the borders and China recognises that India too has non-negotiable core concerns, aspirations and interests. The principle of equal and mutual security is fundamental. No country can have a veto on India's relations with any other country or group of countries.

***This article first appeared in the print edition on June 24, 2020 under the title "India, China, the red lines". The writer is a former ambassador to China and is currently Distinguished Fellow at the Delhi Policy Group. Views are personal***

Opinion | [Chinese intrusion in Ladakh has created a challenge that must be met](#)

***The Indian Express is now on Telegram. Click [here to join our channel \(@indianexpress\)](#) and stay updated with the latest headlines***

END

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](http://crackIAS.com)

© **Zuccess App** by [crackIAS.com](http://crackIAS.com)

CrackIAS

## **RAKSHA MANTRI SHRI RAJNATH REVIEWS INDIA-RUSSIA DEFENCE COOPERATION WITH RUSSIAN DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER**

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - Russia

Raksha Mantri Shri Rajnath Singh reviewed India-Russia defence cooperation with Mr. Yury Borisov, Deputy Prime Minister of Russian Federation in Moscow today. Mr Borisov is the co-chair of the Inter-Governmental Commission with India on Trade & Economic & Scientific Cooperation. He also co-chairs with Raksha Mantri the High Level Committee on Science & Technology. Their discussions on bilateral cooperation and regional issues were very positive and productive.

Raksha Mantri mentioned that despite all the difficulties of the pandemic, India-Russia bilateral relations are keeping good contacts at various levels. India and Russia enjoy Special and Privileged Strategic Partnership and defence relationship is one of its important pillars.

Shri Rajnath Singh is on a 3-day visit to Moscow at the invitation of the Russian Defence Minister to attend the 75th Anniversary of Victory Day Parade. Raksha Mantri conveyed his greetings for solemn ceremonies of 75th Victory Day in World War II and congratulated the friendly people of Russia, especially the veterans, who have contributed so much to the common security of India and Russia.

Earlier this morning, Defence Secretary Dr Ajay Kumar had discussions with his counterpart, Deputy Defence Minister, Col General Alexander Fomin. They discussed bilateral defence cooperation issues and issues of regional development.

\*\*\*

### **ABB/SS/Nampi/KA/DK/Savvy/ADA**

Raksha Mantri Shri Rajnath Singh reviewed India-Russia defence cooperation with Mr. Yury Borisov, Deputy Prime Minister of Russian Federation in Moscow today. Mr Borisov is the co-chair of the Inter-Governmental Commission with India on Trade & Economic & Scientific Cooperation. He also co-chairs with Raksha Mantri the High Level Committee on Science & Technology. Their discussions on bilateral cooperation and regional issues were very positive and productive.

Raksha Mantri mentioned that despite all the difficulties of the pandemic, India-Russia bilateral relations are keeping good contacts at various levels. India and Russia enjoy Special and Privileged Strategic Partnership and defence relationship is one of its important pillars.

Shri Rajnath Singh is on a 3-day visit to Moscow at the invitation of the Russian Defence Minister to attend the 75th Anniversary of Victory Day Parade. Raksha Mantri conveyed his greetings for solemn ceremonies of 75th Victory Day in World War II and congratulated the friendly people of Russia, especially the veterans, who have contributed so much to the common security of India and Russia.

Earlier this morning, Defence Secretary Dr Ajay Kumar had discussions with his counterpart, Deputy Defence Minister, Col General Alexander Fomin. They discussed bilateral defence cooperation issues and issues of regional development.

\*\*\*

**ABB/SS/Nampi/KA/DK/Savvy/ADA**

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

## INDIA PLANS POWER SECTOR OVERHAUL TO DISCOURAGE CHINESE IMPORTS

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

This comes in the backdrop of India contemplating an economic response against China and is part of a wider decoupling exercise embarked on by the Indian government since the 15 June border clashes with China

**NEW DELHI** : More tariff barriers, subsidised financing for encouraging domestic equipment usage, rigorous testing of foreign equipment and prior permission requirements for imports from adversary countries, are some of the focus areas of India' proposed power sector overhaul currently in the works.

This comes in the backdrop of India contemplating an economic response against China and is part of a wider decoupling exercise embarked on by the Indian government since the 15 June border clashes with China.

Addressing the industry captains, power and new and renewable energy minister Raj Kumar Singh on Tuesday said that some countries who are adversaries or potential adversaries will be identified as "prior reference countries", and a prior government permission will be required before importing any equipment from there.

This dispensation will be applicable across the power sector value chain including generation, distribution and transmission, both in the conventional and the green energy space and also be applicable to smart meters currently being deployed across the country.

Singh said that it is very important to use equipment manufactured in India, as power is a strategic sector and added that whatever equipment is being imported will be tested and certified to prevent any 'trojan horse' or malware slipping through.

This comes in the backdrop of India's power sector facing cyberattacks, with at least 30 events reported daily, Mint reported earlier. A majority of the attacks originate from China, Singapore, Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries.

As such, there are growing concerns that the country's power infrastructure could be the next target of enemy forces looking to cripple India's economy. A grid collapse is the worst-case scenario for any transmission utility. When this happens, states that draw power from a particular network go without electricity.

The rationale behind the comprehensive exercise unveiled by Singh on Tuesday is to deny revenue and job creation activities in those countries who are India's adversaries. Singh said that military power is also linked with economic power and that economic power has to be strengthened.

As the first step, starting 1 August all imported solar cells, modules and inverters will attract a basic customs duty (BCD) as reported by Mint earlier. This will make imports from China expensive and will follow after the safeguard duty on solar cells and modules imported from China and Malaysia, currently in place, expires on 29 July. This may result in a 20 paise increase in solar tariffs for new contracts.

Also, to ensure that the already bid out projects and the electricity tariffs quoted are not hit, the government plans to 'grandfather' such projects and is collating details along with the tentative equipment import date.

Singh added that whatever is made in India will not be imported and said that an Indian is willing to pay more for power provided it is made in India.

Similar tariff barriers are also expected across the power sector value chain to encourage the Atma Nirbhar Bharat or self-reliant India strategy articulated by the Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

The power ministry will also come up with a list that will only allow those manufacturers who are approved by the Bureau of Indian Standards and the ministry of power to be eligible for government supported schemes, including projects from where electricity distribution companies procure electricity for supply to their consumers. A similar approved list of modules and manufacturers (ALMM) exists for the clean energy sector.

Singh said that tariff walls will be built so that things are not imported nor are dumped here.

He added that the policy framework will be leveraged to induce buying equipment manufactured in the country and the tariff barriers will help prepare the domestic manufacturing space over the next two to three years.

India is also looking to play a larger role in global supply chains in the backdrop of the disruption caused by the coronavirus that originated in Wuhan, China.

China remains India's second largest trading partner after the US. India's exports to China rose 3.8% to \$17.1 billion in 2019 while imports contracted 7.5% to \$68.3 billion during the same year. The widening bilateral trade deficit with China has remained a cause of concern for India.

Also, financing from state owned public sector lenders Power Finance Corp. (PFC), Rural Electrification Corp. Ltd (REC) and Indian Renewable Energy Development Agency (IREDA) will be structured in favour of those using equipment manufactured by providing concessional finance. These three companies are the largest lenders to the power sector.

The government will also do away with providing certificates that allows imports at lower duties.

This isn't the first such move. In the past week, the Indian government has cancelled key projects and contracts given to Chinese companies. Among the decisions are barring of Chinese firms from supplying telecom equipment to state-owned Bharat Sanchar Nigam Ltd. Telecom operators are also unlikely to order 5G equipment from Chinese gear makers given rising tensions between both countries

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

END

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](http://crackIAS.com)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com



# DECIPHERING RUSSIA'S NEW NUCLEAR STRATEGY

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - Russia

## [More from the author](#)

On June 2, 2020, Russian President Vladimir Putin signed into law the country's new nuclear strategy, titled "Basic Principles of State Policy of the Russian Federation on Nuclear Deterrence."<sup>1</sup> This is the first time that Kremlin has publicly released a strategic nuclear planning document. While largely in sync with Russia's 2014 Military Doctrine, the new six-page document, nevertheless, sheds light on the Kremlin's nuclear rethink. This includes the rationale for a more robust nuclear deterrence and conditions that may entail the launch of nuclear weapons, including their 'first use'.

Against the backdrop of these developments, several pertinent questions arise about the nature of Russia's new nuclear strategy, the timing of its release, and the message it seeks to convey to its adversaries and allies alike.

Russia's 2020 nuclear doctrine seeks to balance the rhetoric of using nuclear weapons with the document's core emphasis on the strategy being 'defensive by nature'. Russian nuclear weapons are viewed primarily through the prism of maintaining a credible deterrence against potential adversaries. It calls upon the Kremlin to leave no stone unturned to increase the nuclear threshold before contemplating the deployment of nuclear weapons as a last resort. In this context, the document's focus on 'inevitability of retaliation' and inflicting 'guaranteed unacceptable damage' blends in with the widely acknowledged principles of nuclear deterrence.<sup>2</sup>

The strategy identifies six key 'risks' to Russia and its allies posed by Moscow's adversaries which have the potential to translate into 'threats' that warrant 'nuclear deterrence'. Some of the notable dangers include the build-up of nuclear forces and weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and the deployment of missile defence including cruise and ballistic missiles in areas contiguous to Russia. In recognition of the new frontiers of modern-day warfare, the document also highlights the spectrum of threats emanating from the deployment of "missile defence assets and strike systems in outer space" as well as "non-nuclear high-precision and hypersonic weapons, strike unmanned aerial vehicles, and directional energy weapons."<sup>3</sup> It reaffirms the view that Russian nuclear deterrence remains anchored in the triad of land, sea and air-based nuclear forces.

While the document does not single out Russia's adversaries yet its tone and tenor clearly points to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) as Moscow's principal opponent. As stated in the document: "The Russian Federation implements its nuclear deterrence with regard to individual states and military coalitions (blocs, alliances) that consider the Russian Federation as a potential adversary and that possess nuclear weapons and/or other types of weapons of mass destruction..."<sup>4</sup>

Interestingly, a paragraph under the section 'essence of nuclear deterrence' gives credence to the Western allegations of Russia having an 'escalate to de-escalate strategy' anchored in the use of tactical nuclear weapons to tip the balance in favour of Moscow. The nuclear document states that "In the event of a military conflict, this Policy provides for the prevention of an escalation of military actions and their termination on conditions that are acceptable for the Russian Federation and/or its allies".<sup>5</sup> On its face value, this can be interpreted as leaving the door open for Russia's limited use of tactical nuclear weapons in a battle fought with

conventional arms. However, the devil always lies in the details. The fact that this paragraph falls under the section 'general provisions' and not 'conditions for the transition to the use of nuclear weapons' highlights its nuanced underplay. Notably, the fallout of a nuclear conflict, albeit a limited one, in Russia's periphery is unlikely to spare the Russian borderlands. It is, therefore, likely that the wording of this section, while upping the ante, has been deliberately kept ambiguous – a key hallmark of deterrence – to keep a conventionally superior opponent guessing about Russia's next lethal move in the battle chessboard.

Arguably, ambiguity is the strength of this document. This is also reflected in the wording of the definition of 'allies' and 'WMDs'. It is not clear if Russia will come to the aid of its allies and which allies will these be.

Crucially, the nuclear strategy outlines four scenarios which may result in Russia launching its nuclear weapons. While maintaining an element of continuity with the 2014 Military Doctrine which justifies their usage in the event of a nuclear and WMD attack on Russia, the three additional premises raise the stakes further by bringing into equation the concept of 'first strike'. These conditions include the receipt of reliable data on the launch of ballistic missiles targeting Russia and an existential threat to the country emanating from conventional weapons. Similarly, an attack against critical governmental or military sites that undermines Russia's nuclear response can also trigger nuclear retaliation. This likely brings a massive cyber-attack, designed to cripple the Russian nuclear infrastructure, into the Kremlin's 'first use' matrix.

The timing of the release of the nuclear strategy may be attributed to Russia's ongoing competition and confrontation with the West. Their rivalry in the nuclear theatre is particularly borne out by the recent collapse of landmark arms control agreements including the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) and the Open Skies treaties. The future outlook of even the 2010 New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), formally known as 'Treaty on Measures for the Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms', considered a cornerstone of the United States (US)-Russia strategic stability, appears bleak. The US has already signalled the possibility of walking away from it.<sup>6</sup> This American sentiment is anchored in its 2018 *Nuclear Posture Review (NPR)* which highlights Moscow's 'repeated violations' of the strategic weapons control architecture.<sup>7</sup>

Notably, for Russia, these exclusive arms negotiations with the US have been a recognition of its position as a key pole in global affairs. They have intrinsic leverage in Moscow's ties with the US. These negotiations not only help Moscow project itself as a responsible global actor but also negate the perception of it being isolated on the global stage. With the New START Treaty due to expire in February 2021, time could be running out for Russia to salvage the Treaty. The new nuclear strategy could be Russia's last roll of the dice to force the US back to the negotiating table. Russia's pressure tactics appear to have had an incipient effect as Washington has invited Moscow for nuclear talks, scheduled to be held in June 2020, after months of dithering.<sup>8</sup>

Today, nuclear weapons are Russia's proverbial insurance against Western conventional military superiority. In this context, the core security stakes for Moscow have never been higher, especially at a time when the US has upped the ante by outlining its intentions of modernising its nuclear arsenal.<sup>9</sup> This may erode the nuclear parity between the two strategic competitors who have increasingly viewed each other as an adversary. As such, the new nuclear document conveys Russia's determination to maintain the existing nuclear equilibrium with the US. Failure of the upcoming talks could open up the prospect of a new arms race between the world's two biggest nuclear powers unchained by strategic arms control agreements.

Moreover, given the US attempts to contain Russia in its neighbourhood, the nuclear document also highlights Russia's red lines which, if breached, may lead to nuclear retribution. These

ostensibly include NATO's build-up in Eastern Europe, military exercises in Russia's periphery, installation of missile defence and development of outer space weapons. The reference to 'protecting Russia's territorial integrity' likely signals the non-negotiable status of Crimea. Arguably, this strategy seeks to overcome Russia's perceived power asymmetries and vulnerabilities. The document, therefore, can be seen through the lens of Russia's strategic communication with the US, at a time when prospects of negotiations are fast depleting.

Notably, Russia's red lines put NATO's East European members in Moscow's nuclear crosshairs. The Kremlin would likely have factored in its nuclear doctrine the frayed trans-Atlantic partnership which has led European countries to question the reliability of the US security umbrella. Perhaps, by raising the nuclear stakes, Russia is seeking to tap the latent European fear of abandonment, which has led the European Union (EU) to focus on achieving greater self-reliance and strategic autonomy, and build a *détente* with the European continent. The Kremlin could also be signalling the potential NATO members of the nuclear threats that lurk in the membership of the military alliance. On the contrary, the document, while not being the Holy Grail, may end up strengthening the prevailing Russophobia in the West.

Interestingly, the nuclear document has reaffirmed the evolving Russia-China entente. Over the last few years, there has been a growing understanding between Moscow and Beijing over each other's core security concerns. This sentiment was aptly reflected in the Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesperson's response to Moscow's new nuclear strategy. The spokesperson stated that "China respects and understands Russia's efforts to safeguard its national security interests". Highlighting their shared global apprehensions, the spokesperson, in an oblique reference to the US, went on to add that "rising unilateralism and hegemonism in international strategic security is having a severe impact on global strategic equilibrium and stability".<sup>10</sup>

Notably, the US had labelled both Russia and China as 'revisionist powers' and 'strategic rivals' in its 2018 *National Defence Strategy* and 2017 *National Security Strategy*.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, given the chequered Sino-Russian history, lingering suspicions of each other and with balance of current ties tilting towards China, the core message of Moscow's nuclear deterrence and 'first use' is unlikely to have been lost on Beijing. The fact remains that China continues to quantitatively and qualitatively improve both its nuclear and conventional arsenal while its military budget dwarfs Russia's. At its current pace, the strategic military parity between them might not be too distant in the horizon.

Overall, Russia's new nuclear strategy is both a tactical and a strategic document. There are elements of ambiguity as well as the postulation of clear red lines. This could be seen as a calculated move that leaves the door open for adversaries to recalibrate their strategies while giving Russia the scope to manoeuvre the ongoing turbulence in its ties with the US. It can even open up new avenues of strategic negotiation between the world's two most formidable nuclear powers. For now, a nuclear conflict between them may not be inevitable. However, in the current hostile climate, there is no gainsaying of the dangers of a nuclear flashpoint lurking in the background.

*Views expressed are of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Manohar Parrikar IDSA or of the Government of India.*

**END**

## INDIA URGENTLY SEEKS RUSSIAN MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM AFTER CHINA CLASH

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - Russia

India defense minister Rajnath Singh plans to seek the advanced delivery of the Russian S-400 anti-aircraft missile defense system -- currently due in Dec 2021 — and the purchase of Russian-made jet fighters Su-30Mki and MiG-29

India is pushing Russia to speed up the delivery of a missile defense system and fighter jets as ties with China deteriorate following the worst military clash between the Asian nations in four decades.

The request comes as China and India's foreign ministers are due to meet Tuesday in their first face-to-face interaction since a fight along their disputed Himalayan border killed 20 Indian soldiers and an unknown number of Chinese troops. India and China agreed to deescalate the situation along their undemarcated boundary, Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhao Lijian said at a regular news briefing Tuesday in Beijing.

Last week's clashes — along with revelations that China held 10 Indian soldiers in military custody for days afterward before releasing them — came amid rising nationalism stoked by both governments as they jostle for regional influence. Prime Minister Narendra Modi is keen for an early resolution of the border dispute as he risks a drop in popularity if the army suffers more losses.

Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov will host the virtual trilateral meeting with China's Wang Yi and India's Subrahmanyam Jaishankar after Moscow emerged as a key player in thawing relations between the two neighbors.

Yet another meeting between Defense Minister Rajnath Singh and his Russian counterpart in Moscow could prove just as important for India as it looks to increase its defense capabilities. They are expected to discuss the India-China border tensions and New Delhi's desire to ensure an unimpeded and early supply of military spares from Russia, long one of the country's top defense suppliers.

Singh plans to seek the advanced delivery of the Russian S-400 anti-aircraft missile defense system -- currently due in December 2021 -- and the purchase of Russian-made jet fighters Su-30Mki and MiG-29, people familiar with the details said. India and Russia signed the S-400 deal worth than \$5 billion in 2018.

The missile system will provide heft to the country's otherwise antiquated air defenses, while the additional fighters will boost the capability of the Indian Air Force. It needs 10 more squadrons of fighters to supplement the 32 currently in operation, said the people, who asked not to be named citing rules on speaking to the media. A squadron has between 16 and 18 warplanes.

The US has cautioned India against buying the S-400 system, saying the purchase would have a serious impact on Washington-New Delhi defense ties. Defense Ministry spokesman A Bharat Bhushan Babu declined to comment before the meetings in Moscow had taken place.

The Victory Day parade in Moscow on Wednesday will see both Indian and Chinese troops marching.

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

## HOW TO PLAY AGAINST CHINA

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

The sudden and [tragic loss of 20 Indian army personnel](#) in a treacherous ambush by the People's Liberation Army (PLA) in Ladakh's Galwan Valley has caused deep public anguish and anger, mollified, only partially, by the swift retribution visited on the assailants by our gallant jawans. Equally exasperating for the public has been the cavalier inconsistency of statements emanating from government sources in New Delhi on a matter of grave national importance; especially, since the contradictions have given comfort to the adversary and caused confusion at home.

Given that the Sino-Indian territorial dispute has been festering since the late 1950s, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the current lack of clarity amongst our decision-makers is rooted in incomprehension of the long-term strategic aims and objectives that underpin [China's](#) belligerent conduct. This is hardly a surprise, considering that we have failed to devote adequate intellectual capital, intelligence resources and political attention to acquisition of a clear insight into China and its motivations. Even when intelligence is available, analysis and dissemination have fallen short.

Consequently, it would seem that from [Jawaharlal Nehru's](#) naïve hopes, encapsulated in the "Hindi-Chini bhai-bhai" mantra, to Prime Minister [Narendra Modi's](#) prolonged courtship of Xi Jinping, India has been groping in the dark, while grossly misreading China's real intent. As we watch Beijing's sinister border strategy unfold, the absence of a matching counter on India's part becomes painfully obvious.

Indians, as devotees of chess or "shatranj", have been thinking in terms of striking blows, fighting pitched battles and finally, checkmating the opponent. A similar Chinese board game, "wei qui", is described, thus, by Henry Kissinger: "If chess is about decisive battle, wei qui is about a protracted campaign and 'strategic encirclement' where opponents seek to occupy empty spaces and then surround and capture opposing pieces. While chess encourages single-mindedness, wei-qui generates guile and strategic flexibility."

Since 1995, China has been issuing a defence white paper (DWP) every two years or so. These thematic public documents articulate China's national security aims, objectives and vital interests and also address the "ends-ways-means" issues related to its armed forces. The 11 DWPs issued so far are a model of clarity and vision, and provide many clues to current developments. It is a measure of our complacency and indifference towards national security that no Indian government since Independence has deemed it necessary to issue a defence white paper, order a defence review or publish a national security strategy. Had we done so, it may have prepared us for the unexpected and brought order and alacrity to our crisis-response.

Historically, China is heir to an ancient system, based not on sovereign equality of states, but on the divine and boundless reach and authority of the Chinese Emperor. Even in the current discourse there are enough pointers to show that an ascendant China sees itself on track to realising its "strong nation dream", of becoming the world's No 1 power by surpassing and then replacing the US. A part of the "China dream" is the establishment of a "unified global system", or empire, termed tianxia ("all under heaven" in Mandarin). Translating its enormous economic gains into coercive military power, China expects neighbouring nations to submit to its hegemony.

In order to show India its place, China had administered it a "lesson" in 1962, and may, perhaps,

be contemplating another one in 2020, with the objective of preventing the rise of a peer competitor. For China, the [line of actual control](#) or LAC, representing an unsettled border, provides strategic leverage to keep India on tenterhooks about its next move while repeatedly exposing the latter's vulnerabilities.

There is probably no other instance world-wide where two antagonistic neighbours have left such a long border, undetermined, unmarked and unresolved for so long. Our diplomats derive considerable satisfaction from the 1993 Border Peace & Tranquility Agreement, which, according to former foreign secretary, Shivshankar Menon, "...effectively delinked settlement of the boundary from the rest of the relationship". But to a layman, it appears that by failing to use available leverage for 27 years, and not insisting on bilateral exchange of LAC maps, we have created a ticking time-bomb, with the trigger in China's hands. While "disengagement" may soon take place between troops in contact, it is most unlikely that the PLA will pull back or vacate any occupied position in Ladakh or elsewhere; in which case, India needs to consider a three-pronged strategy.

At the ground-level, we need to visibly reinforce our positions, and move forward to the LAC all along, enhancing the operational-tempo of the three services as a measure of deterrence. Indian warships should show heightened presence at the Indian Ocean choke-points. Cyber emergency response teams country-wide should remain on high alert. While building-up stocks of weapons, ammunition and spares, the Ministry of Defence should seize this opportunity to urgently launch some long-term "atma-nirbharta" schemes in defence-production.

At the strategic level, the government must moot a sustained process of engagement with China at the highest politico-diplomatic echelons. The negotiations should seek multi-dimensional Sino-Indian modus-vivendi; encompassing the full gamut of bilateral issues like trade, territorial disputes, border-management and security. Simultaneously, at the grand-strategic level, India should initiate a dialogue for the formation of an "Indo-Pacific Concord for Peace and Tranquility", inviting four members of the Quad as well as Vietnam, Indonesia, Philippines and Malaysia.

Finally, in 1962, India's Parliament had expressed, "the firm resolve of the Indian people to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India", a resolution interpreted as a pledge for the restoration of Aksai Chin. As a nation, we need to be pragmatic enough to realise that neither conquest nor re-conquest of territory is possible in the 21st century. Parliament should, now, resolve to ask the government, "to establish with utmost urgency, stable, viable and peaceful national boundaries, all around, so that India can proceed, unhindered, with the vital tasks of nation-building and socio-economic development".

***The writer is a retired chief of naval staff***

***The Indian Express is now on Telegram. Click [here to join our channel \(@indianexpress\)](#) and stay updated with the latest headlines***

**END**

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](#)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

## BAD TO WORSE: THE HINDU EDITORIAL ON INDIA-PAKISTAN TIES

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - Pakistan

In another round of tit-for-tat manoeuvres, India, followed by Pakistan, has decided to [halve the strength of diplomatic missions](#) in each other's capital. The government's decision, conveyed in a démarche to the Pakistani Chargé d'affaires on Tuesday, follows the ill-treatment and torture of Indian personnel posted in Islamabad, in clear violation of their diplomatic rights. Pakistan's contention was that the [two men arrested](#) were carrying fake currency, but it is more likely the action was a response to arrests and the expulsion of two [Pakistani High Commission officials](#) accused of espionage last month, who were also taken into custody by Indian security officials. New Delhi also accused Pakistan High Commission officials of maintaining "links to terror organisations" as a reason for its decision. While expulsions of diplomats are not uncommon between countries as inimical to each other as India and Pakistan are, this is the first time such a measure has been taken since 2001. Then, the [Parliament attack in December 2001](#), and the largest military mobilisation of the time along the India-Pakistan border, Operation Parakram, were the triggers. Eventually, after a thaw in ties, and Prime Minister [Atal Behari Vajpayee's visit to Pakistan](#) for the SAARC summit in 2004, the move was reversed and diplomats were gradually taken back to a full strength of over a 100 in each High Commission.

The latest decision follows not one event, but a general downslide in relations in the past year. After the [Pulwama attack last February](#), the [Balakot air strike](#) and the [August 5 decision to amend Article 370](#) of the Constitution and reorganise Jammu and Kashmir, India and Pakistan have snapped all trading ties, downgraded missions — now without High Commissioners — and shut down most diplomatic activities. India and Pakistan have had no talks since 2015, when PM Modi visited Lahore, and the External Affairs Ministers met a few months later. All sporting and cultural exchanges are at an end, and visas are rarely granted, apart from the rare exception being made for the [Kartarpur corridor inaugurated](#) last year. From the LoC, where ceasefire violations continue to claim lives of soldiers and civilians on both sides, to practically every multilateral forum India and Pakistan are a part of, both sides are at daggers drawn. Even on non-contentious issues such as cooperating on the coronavirus pandemic as a part of the SAARC grouping, or collaborating against the recent locust invasion that affected the region, Islamabad and New Delhi are unable to find common cause. While the present seems bleak, the future does not augur well for a change, particularly as India-China tensions occupy New Delhi's concerns and focus. The decision to reduce mission strengths is unlikely to impact working relations between India and Pakistan at present. It is a sign, however, that just when it seems ties between the two neighbours cannot get much worse, they do.

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.



Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper, crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep pace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Dear subscriber,

Thank you!

Your support for our journalism is invaluable. It's a support for truth and fairness in journalism. It has helped us keep pace with events and happenings.

The Hindu has always stood for journalism that is in the public interest. At this difficult time, it becomes even more important that we have access to information that has a bearing on our health and well-being, our lives, and livelihoods. As a subscriber, you are not only a beneficiary of our work but also its enabler.

We also reiterate here the promise that our team of reporters, copy editors, fact-checkers, designers, and photographers will deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Suresh Nambath

Please enter a valid email address.

From the abrogation of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir, to the landmark Ayodhya verdict, 2019 proved to be an eventful year.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

END

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](http://crackIAS.com)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

## WHY CHINA IS BEING AGGRESSIVE ALONG THE LAC

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

The ongoing tensions along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) pose the biggest national security challenge to New Delhi in at least 20 years. The clashes in Galwan Valley in eastern Ladakh have [claimed 20 Indian lives](#), the first incident of fatalities on the India-China border in 45 years. [China has revived its claim on the entire Galwan Valley](#) and has [asked India to pull back](#) from the areas. [Satellite images](#) in the public domain suggest that China has set up defence positions in the valley as well as the disputed “Fingers” of Pangong Tso. Both sides are engaged in a face-off at Hot Springs. Despite multiple rounds of military-level talks, tensions are unlikely to ease given the complexity of the ground situation.

What led to the current situation? In 2017, India and China agreed to amicably resolve the [Doklam standoff](#) that lasted for more than two months. No blood was spilt then, and no shots fired. The National Democratic Alliance government led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi has been very careful not to upset China’s domestic and geopolitical sensitivities. Barring occasional joint statements issued with leaders from the U.S. and Asia-Pacific countries, reasserting India’s commitment to “freedom of navigation” (a veiled criticism of China’s claims over the South China Sea), India has stayed away from criticising China on controversial topics, whether its “de-radicalisation” camps in Xinjiang, crackdown on protests in Hong Kong, or disputes with Taiwan. Yet China chose to increase tensions along the LAC. Why?

One popular argument is that China’s move, driven by local factors such as India’s infrastructure upgrade and its [decision to change the status of Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh](#), was reckless. For some square kilometres of land, this argument goes, [China has lost India strategically](#), to the West. Several experts have claimed that the tensions on the border are driving India deeper into a strategic embrace with the U.S. But it’s not as easy as it seems. There is a [clear shift in Chinese foreign policy](#) post the COVID-19 outbreak. This is seen in [China’s rising tensions with the U.S.](#), its threats against Taiwan, repeated naval incidents in the South China Sea, and a [new security law for Hong Kong](#). The tensions along the LAC are part of this shift. To understand this shift, one has to get a sense of the sources of China’s conduct.

Today’s China is an ambitious rising power which wants to reorient the global order. Unlike the Soviet Union of the 1940s (in the early stages of the Cold War), China is not an ideological state that intends to export communism to other countries. But like the Soviet Union of the post-war world, China is the new superpower on the block. When it was rising, China had adopted different tactical positions — “hide your capacity and bide your time”, “peaceful rise” or “peaceful development”. That era is over. Under President Xi Jinping, the Chinese think they have arrived. With the global economy in the doldrums, globalisation in an irrecoverable crisis accentuated by the COVID-19 outbreak, and the U.S. under an isolationist President taking the most aggressive position towards China since Richard Nixon, Beijing believes the global order is at a breaking point. It is fighting back through what game theorists call “salami tactics” — where a dominant power attempts to establish its hegemony piece by piece. India is one slice in this salami slice strategy.

China doesn’t see India as a ‘swing state’ any more. It sees India as an ally-in-progress of the U.S. Its actions were not reckless, taken at the risk of losing India strategically. Its actions are a result of the strategic loss that has already happened. If India is what many in the West call the “counterweight” to China’s rise, Beijing’s definite message is that it is not deterred by the counterweight. This is a message not just to India, but to a host of China’s rivals that are teaming up and eager to recruit India to the club.

Also read | [Is China's 'peaceful rise' over?](#)

Within this broader framework there could be a host of factors — local, regional and global — that influenced China's moves. When most of the world's big powers are grappling with the pandemic, revisionist powers such as China have more room for geopolitical manoeuvring. Europe has been devastated by the virus. The U.S. is battling in an election year the COVID-19 outbreak as well as the deepest economic meltdown since the Great Depression. Its global leadership is unravelling fast. The Indian economy was in trouble even before COVID-19 struck the country, slowing down its rise. Social upheaval over the Citizenship (Amendment) Act (CAA), 2019, and the National Register of Citizens had weakened the Indian polity. India's traditional clout in its neighbourhood was slipping: tensions with Pakistan have been high keeping the troops occupied in the border areas; Nepal raised boundary issues with India; Sri Lanka is diversifying its foreign policy and China is making deep inroads into that region; and Bangladesh was deeply miffed with the CAA. Even in Afghanistan, where Pakistan, China, Russia and the U.S. are involved in the transition process, India is out. More important, last year's Balakot airstrike was strategically disastrous. It may have helped Prime Minister Modi win a re-election, but there was no evidence that proved that Indian strikes hit the militants. India lost a jet to the neighbour and its pilot was captured and later released by Pakistan. The whole operation exposed the chinks in our armour, eroding India's deterrence. A confluence of all these factors, which point to a decline in the country's smart power, allowed China to make aggressive moves on the LAC.

Also read | [What explains the India-China border flare-up?](#)

This is a strategic trap. India has reached here partly because of the lack of depth in its strategic thinking. A deep embrace of a declining U.S. is not a solution as many argue; rather, it's part of the problem. Pakistan embraced a far steadier U.S. during the Cold War to check India. What happened to Pakistan thereafter should be a lesson for India. What India needs is a national security strategy that's decoupled from the compulsions of domestic politics and anchored in neighbourhood realism. It should stand up to China's bullying on the border now, with a long-term focus on enhancing capacities and winning back its friendly neighbours. There are no quick fixes this time.

*stanly.johny@thehindu.co.in*

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Dear subscriber,

Thank you!

Your support for our journalism is invaluable. It's a support for truth and fairness in journalism. It has helped us keep apace with events and happenings.

The Hindu has always stood for journalism that is in the public interest. At this difficult time, it becomes even more important that we have access to information that has a bearing on our health and well-being, our lives, and livelihoods. As a subscriber, you are not only a beneficiary of our work but also its enabler.

We also reiterate here the promise that our team of reporters, copy editors, fact-checkers, designers, and photographers will deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Suresh Nambath

Please enter a valid email address.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](#)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

# INDIA AND CHINA: FORGOTTEN HISTORIES, COMPLEX PRESENT

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

Trade ties between India and China, snapped after 1962, resumed in 1978

There are two faces to India-China relations, one involving a historical, civilizational dimension that linked our border regions with those on China's periphery, Xinjiang and Tibet, and the second a modern dimension largely devoid of emotional or humanistic context, but tied to present imperatives.

To illustrate the first dimension, 1954, the year when Panchsheel made its much-heralded debut, marked the conclusion of the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between India and the Tibet Region of China, and also the first bilateral trade agreement between India and China. The Tibet Agreement, which was the first international agreement signed in Hindi, in addition to Chinese and English, entailed our relinquishing privileges inherited from British India, in Tibet and the creation of trade agencies for India in Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok in Tibet. An Indian consulate replaced the political mission in Lhasa. Six passes along the India-China frontier were specified as crossing points for border trade and pilgrimage. Border trade was significant to India-China relations at the time, even if there was no mutually agreed border. All this, of course, ended with 1962. The 1954 agreement on Tibet was buried even before the conflict. Border trade was revived, minimally, in 1991, but it is a pale shadow of its former self.

The tragedy in the Galwan River Valley besides signifying the diminution of bilateral trust also brings to mind what we have lost, over the decades, in terms of the ecosystem of human-level contact between our Himalayan regions and Chinese Xinjiang and Tibet. Once upon a time, Ladakh's contiguity with Central Asia and Tibet, made its capital Leh, the emporium of cross-border trade between India, Tibet, Central Asia and Afghanistan.

Caravan routes converged on Leh, and its connection with the Silk Route and Yarkand, Kashgar and Khotan in Xinjiang was through the Karakoram Pass, "the most important and long-established thoroughfare between India and Central Asia." (Warikoo, 1989). Kashmiri Muslim traders settled in Ladakh, monopolized trade with Tibet and Swedish explorer Sven Hedin was astonished to see their enormous wealth during a visit to Leh enroute to Tibet in 1906.

Trade with Xinjiang died out in 1949-50 with the entry of the People's Liberation Army. Ladakhi trade with Tibet was affected with the Chinese take-over of the region in 1950-51 and petered out by 1959. The border dispute between India and China has subsumed all else, with the additional complications created by China-Pakistan relations from 1963 onwards.

Trade ties between India and China, snapped after 1962, resumed in 1978. China's economic reform and opening up to the world brought phenomenal change within the country and generated huge global impact.

By 2010 it had become India's largest trading partner in goods (it has been overtaken by US and is at second position now). Trade volumes epitomize diversification of relations beyond the historical and political. It is for this reason that Galwan, even though a turning point, cannot be a breaking point. The Chinese ingress is not just across the Line of Actual Control, they have come into various sectors of the economy. A disentanglement, far less a decoupling, presents its challenges. A sober assessment is called for before we cut any Gordian knot.

The frustrations with China are not new. Our trade relationship is grossly imbalanced, coupled with justified grievance about China's reluctance to open sectors like IT and pharmaceuticals to Indian companies and its non-tariff barriers. Our imports from China in 2018-19 amounted to \$70.3 billion while our exports to China were \$16.7 billion for the same period. In a study for the Brookings Institute, China scholar and journalist, Ananth Krishnan notes that the growth of Chinese investments into India since 2014 has changed the nature of the transactional trade relationship. In his estimation, "total current and planned Chinese investment in India has crossed \$26 billion".

The sectors involved include manufacturing, infrastructure, energy, automobiles, consumer goods, and real estate. Starting 2016, Chinese capital has entered the technology sector through investments and acquisitions of Indian startups. Chinese tech giants Alibaba (in Paytm, Snapdeal, BigBasket, Zomato) and Tencent (Ola, Flipkart, Byju, Swiggy) are some entrants. Mobile phone company Xiaomi is another big investor. This points to a strategy of long-term presence and a significant stake in the Indian market, Krishnan notes.

These investments, driven by market compulsions, have escaped the scrutiny of the sort they are subjected to in the West. Chinese investment in critical sectors that impinge on national security deserves special scrutiny. A Gateway House study states: "Chinese funding to Indian technology startups is making an impact disproportionate to its value, given the deepening penetration of technology across sectors in India... China is embedded in Indian society, economy and technology ecosystem that influences it."

The dependence on Chinese goods is huge in India. Our Make in India revolution has not gathered critical velocity. Relocation of substantive supply chains, given the fact that these are located closer to final demand markets and China is a major such demand market, may not happen soon.

Bringing investment into manufacturing in India will be really successful only if we upgrade our infrastructure including ports, and improve labour productivity and ease of doing business. Our exit from negotiations to conclude a Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, at a time when we want to be a hub and work with countries in the region to relocate supply chains, creates a new set of complexities.

The trend toward economic nationalism within the country is another contradiction. There is need for more coherence, credibility and less of a muddling through in the building of our capacities. The slowing down of the economy and the special stress created by the pandemic are points to ponder. Whatever the outcome, we cannot stand to lose more than we gain in any steps we take to address the agitated public mood in the wake of the recent confrontation. Act with reason and with full awareness of the consequences.

The India-China relationship straddles a wide spectrum. A land border, among the longest in the world, remains to be mutually agreed upon between the two countries, and spells a protracted contest. The closed-door approach of the Chinese that has cut off all ties between our Himalayan regions and Tibet, ties that were people-centered, has compromised the historical, geo-civilizational dimension of these relations. On the other hand, the phenomenal growth of trade and investment ties is the modern, impersonal, face of this relationship.

The stakes involved impact India's economic well-being but national security concerns cannot be ignored. The choices to be made are not easy, but difficult times such as these should spur the national resolve to make the necessary adjustments and craft rational responses.

*Nirupama Rao, Former Foreign Secretary & Ambassador to China*

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com



## IT'S INDIA, NOT CHINA, THAT TARIFFS WOULD HURT

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

The non-negotiable nature of India's import dependency on China makes the prospect of unilateral trade actions quite doubtful in securing its objectives. Such actions, if implemented exhaustively, are likely to end up injuring Indian producers and consumers significantly.

The latest border stand-off with China has created possibilities of India raising barriers on Chinese imports. The possibility arises at a time when India is devoting considerable energy to articulating 'Atmanirbhar Bharat', the notion of a self-reliant India. The import pushback inherent in the belief is accentuated by border clashes with China, leading to the surmise of India enhancing tariffs on Chinese imports. Unilateral trade-restrictive actions like tariffs are intended to convey to China, India's determination to not allow import dependence to come in the way of its acting tough on China.

The goods trade deficit with China, which has steadily enlarged from \$48.5 billion in 2014-15 to \$53.6 billion in 2018-19, has been a serious worry for India. The deficit, which is more than 60% of the size of India's total goods trade of \$87 billion with China, is the largest among India's major trade partners. India imports more than it exports, making it an overall net goods importer. It imports the most from China, thereby making the greater perception of reducing dependency on imports, fundamentally an effort to reduce imports from China.

India is looking to reduce import dependency on China, ostensibly for safeguarding national security interests. According to many, deep reliance on China for several critical imports, cramps the country's negotiating space and flexibilities in strategic consultations, such as those going on at the border right now. These concerns are similar to those that inspired the US to unilateral tariff actions under Section 232 of the US Trade Expansion Act of 1962, some years ago. The steel and aluminum tariff hikes by the US were based on these being strategic items, required extensively by several major domestic industries including defence. The latter industries needed to reduce their import dependence by switching to domestic sources, which were to be encouraged by the tariffs, and respond positively by raising capacity and output. Similar sentiments are prevailing in India with imports that are perceived as security risks.

India's dependence on Chinese imports is not new. It has built up over decades. The dependence and concomitant anxieties have persisted notwithstanding leadership changes in China and India. Today, as India contemplates unilateral trade actions as an option for responding to a hostile China, it is important to reflect on whether more tariffs on Chinese imports will serve a purpose.

India's imports from the rest of the world can be broadly grouped into those that include energy resources, precious metals, and the rest. Except for coal, India doesn't rely on China significantly for import of energy resources, such as crude oil, or for precious and semi-precious metals, like gold and silver. India's imports from China are much more broad-based. They cut across an array of products, with the significant ones being electrical machinery and equipment, transformers, electronic items, semi-conductor devices, telecom equipment, vehicle parts, fertilizers, steel products and antibiotics.

In many of India's overall major imports, such as electrical machinery, mechanical appliances, organic chemicals, iron & steel products, furniture, glass, and textile fabrics, China accounts for around two-third to a quarter of the imports. The character of imports points to their being both capital goods and consumer goods. While the former could be machineries and components,

they also include semi-finished intermediates that are processed further into final goods. Major consumer item imports from China include new-generation semi-conductor and electronics like smartphones and televisions, featuring prominently across Indian households of various income classes.

In fixing tariffs and other trade barriers, India's challenge would be to select imports for such action. Several imports from China are fundamental for domestic industries. Higher prices of these imports, at a time when domestic businesses, particularly small enterprises, are struggling to overcome the adverse economic impact of covid-19, would result in more financial hardships. This applies for imports of many chemicals (organic and inorganic), textile fabrics, auto parts, solar panels, components for mobile handsets, printed circuit boards, batteries, and active pharmaceutical ingredients (APIs) required by generic drug formulation producers. These imports, used as raw materials and intermediates in major manufacturing supply chains in India, are heavily sourced from China. On the other hand, tariffs on consumer goods, particularly those consumed by the middle class, such as smartphones and household appliances, would restrict the much-awaited revival of consumer demand in India, in absence of sufficient home-made substitutes of same quality.

Covid-19 has ironically highlighted India's import dependency on China in an almost non-negotiable fashion. China is the largest source of India's imports for critical medical supplies, such as humidifiers, patient monitors, pulse oximeters, hand sanitizers, medical masks, aprons, protective clothing and goggles. Given the urgency of securing sufficient stocks of these, fixing higher tariffs on their imports, would be counterproductive to the objective of building greater preparedness for fighting covid-19.

Domestic economic compulsions would restrict India's ability to impose tariffs across a wide range of imports from China. This becomes more obvious considering the difficulty of locating alternative sources. EU, US, Southeast Asia and Asia-Pacific economies like Japan and Korea are the other locations for sourcing these imports. But all of these are reeling from the economic reverses of covid-19. It will be a long time before their production revives to full capacity enabling India to switch to these countries. Even if these countries are able to turn around faster than expected, their products might still suffer from price disadvantage vis-à-vis China.

China's ability to keep prices low continues to make its imports competitive in India vis-à-vis other sources, despite tariffs. For Indian businesses, importing large volumes from non-Chinese sources, is always an expensive prospect.

Finally, India might find it difficult to target Chinese imports, while excluding other countries. China is sure to go against such moves at the WTO, particularly if such actions by India are raised on tenuous security grounds. The only option for India is to go for an across-the-board rise in tariffs for a limited range of items, which are not essential, and tariff actions on which won't make significant differences to India's volume of trade and imports. However, over the last five years, India has been raising tariffs on less essential items to encourage 'Make in India', which means current tariffs are high and difficult to push up further.

The non-negotiable nature of India's import dependency on China makes the prospect of unilateral trade actions quite doubtful in securing its objectives. Such actions, if implemented exhaustively, are likely to end up injuring Indian producers and consumers significantly. Except for token symbolism, tariff actions would serve little purpose.

*Amitendu Palit, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore*

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

# THE MOSCOW RESET - EDITORIALS - HINDUSTAN TIMES

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - Russia

Jun 26, 2020-Friday

-°C

Humidity

-

Wind

-

**Metro cities** - [Delhi](#), [Mumbai](#), [Chennai](#), [Kolkata](#)

**Other cities** - [Noida](#), [Gurgaon](#), [Bengaluru](#), [Hyderabad](#), [Bhopal](#), [Chandigarh](#), [Dehradun](#), [Indore](#), [Jaipur](#), [Lucknow](#), [Patna](#), [Ranchi](#)

Powered by  OpenWeatherMap

India invests in its relationship with Russia, but increasingly in return for neutrality rather than support. Defence minister Rajnath Singh visited Moscow to help mark World War II Victory Day just after external affairs minister S Jaishankar attended a virtual Russia-India-China summit hosted by Moscow. The defence minister asked Russia to speed up its delivery of the first battery of the S-400 air defence system. He did not ask Moscow to reconsider its steadfast neutrality during the altercation along the Sino-Indian border.

This should not come as a surprise. Russia is not the Soviet Union. Its economy is half the size of India and its enormous economic relationship with China is essential to its prosperity. The two have a crude geopolitical convergence in their common antagonism towards the United States. Moscow supplies arms and hydrocarbons to both India and China. Russia is powerful enough to maintain relationships with both, but not strong enough to choose between them. And Russia sees its interests in maintaining this position. Among other things it is profitable: China was its first customer for the S-400.

New Delhi has already begun seeking to reset its relationship, especially as the defence element is starting to fade. Energy and strategic minerals are now rising in importance between the two countries and this is evident in the bilateral investment figures. Moscow still wields a veto in the United Nations and will remain a diplomatic partner in many areas. More differences will crop up, as is evident already over Afghanistan, as the knob on bilateral ties is turned down from special to normal. All this flows naturally from a changing global order and New Delhi should adjust its policies without sentiment.

**END**

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](http://crackIAS.com)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

## IN DEBT CRISIS, SRI LANKA TURNS TO CHINA

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: Effect of policies and politics of developed & developing countries on India's interests

Mahinda Rajapaksa sought India's help this February.

The Sri Lankan government is likely to once again turn to China for help with debt repayment, as it did in 2014, even as its request to India for a postponement of its debt repayment has been hanging fire for the last four months. After a conversation between Chinese President Xi Jinping and President Rajapaksa on May 13, Beijing has already approved an additional \$500 million loan from its development bank to help counter the impact of the pandemic.

Even prior to the coronavirus pandemic, Prime Minister Mahinda Rajapaksa had asked India for a debt deferment during a visit to Delhi in February, as he had confirmed in an interview to *The Hindu*. In April, the Central Bank of Sri Lanka sought a \$400 million currency swap with the RBI under the SAARC facility and again in May, President Gotabaya Rajapaksa sought a "special" \$1.1 billion currency swap facility from Prime Minister Narendra Modi, who had called him to discuss the responses to the pandemic and bilateral cooperation.

The situation could get more difficult for Colombo, as Japan's International Cooperation Agency (JICA) has put on hold funding for a proposed light rail transit system, local media reported, because of concerns over the island nation's rising debt. Sri Lanka's total foreign debt is approximately \$55 billion, which accounts for nearly 80% of its GDP, according to last year's official figures. Of that, China and the Asian Development bank each hold about 14%, Japan accounts for 12%, the World Bank holds 11%, while India holds about 2%.

When asked about talks on the moratorium, Chinese Embassy officials in Colombo confirmed that the two countries are working together on the financial cooperation "via different channels and mechanisms".

"More practical progress will be drawn in coming weeks," spokesperson at the Chinese Embassy Luo Chong told *The Hindu*.

### Regional distress

Other countries in the region are also now seeking debt repayments. On Friday, Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan spoke to President Rajapaksa about joining a 'Global Initiative on Debt Relief' to mitigate the economic impact of the pandemic, a press release from the Pakistani High Commission in Colombo said.

In the Maldives, President Solih's government is talking to all its bilateral partners and international agencies. "We would also be seeking help from India, one of our closest friends," Presidential spokesperson Ibrahim Hood told *The Hindu*.

According to government sources, Maldives has very "small loans" from India, which prefers a more project-driven, development aid programme. In comparison the Maldives owes China a sum of nearly \$1.5 billion, including \$600 million from government-to-government, which could necessitate a shift from the Solih government's earlier tough stand on what it called the Chinese "debt trap" due to the Belt and Road Initiative projects. Reports suggest that China has now agreed to a partial repayment, to reduce the dues this year from \$100 million to \$75 million, a development New Delhi will watch closely.

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

Crack

## INDIA SNUBS PAK. OFFER TO REOPEN KARTARPUR

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - Pakistan

India on Saturday said Pakistan's proposal for reopening the Kartarpur Corridor to mark the death anniversary of Ranjit Singh was a "mirage of goodwill".

India's ambiguous response came after Pakistan Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi offered access to the Kartarpur gurdwara for Indian pilgrims on the death anniversary of the early 19th century ruler of Punjab.

### COVID-19 curbs

"Cross-border travel has been temporarily suspended as part of measures to prevent and contain the spread of coronavirus. Further view would be taken in consultation with health authorities and other stakeholders concerned," said an informed source, who said Pakistan was "trying to create a mirage of goodwill by proposing to resume Kartarpur corridor".

Earlier, Mr. Qureshi had announced on social media that Pakistan proposed to open the religious corridor on June 29 on the occasion of the death anniversary of the founder of the 19th century Sikh empire. Ranjit Singh passed away on June 27, 1839, in Lahore and events are organised in Pakistan as well as India in his memory on this day.

"As places of worship open up across the world, Pakistan prepares to reopen the Kartarpur Sahib Corridor for all Sikh pilgrims, conveying to the Indian side our readiness to reopen the corridor on June 29, the occasion of the death anniversary of Maharaja Ranjit Singh," said the Pakistan Foreign Minister in a social media message.

### Short notice

India, however, said Pakistan had not followed the procedure laid down for the reopening of the corridor, saying a "short notice of two days" is insufficient to organise the logistics as at least seven days of notice period is necessary "to open up the registration process well in advance".

India also expressed dissatisfaction over the lack of infrastructure on the Pakistani side of the border which is necessary for ensuring a comfortable journey of the pilgrims.

"Pakistan has not built the bridge on their side across the flood plains of the Ravi river despite having committed to it in the bilateral agreement. With the advent of the monsoon, it would need to be evaluated whether pilgrim movement is possible though the corridor in a safe and secure manner," the source said.

The Kartarpur Corridor was inaugurated by Prime Minister Imran Khan in the presence of Indian dignitaries on November 9 last year to mark the 550th birth anniversary of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh faith. The gurdwara at Kartarpur is sacred to pilgrims as it is believed that the guru spent a considerable part of his life at this place.

***A short notice of two days is insufficient as at least seven days are necessary to open up the registration process***

***Indian official***

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

Crack



# ON THE WARPATH AGAINST TERROR FINANCING

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: FATF

In October 2001, in the wake of the 9/11 terror attacks in the U.S., the plenary session of a little-known global organisation based in Paris working on money laundering and white collar crimes, the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), met in Washington DC to discuss a radical shift in its goals. It was already very clear to U.S. investigators that the attacks pointed to a terror network around the world from Germany to Karachi, Dubai to London and Kabul, and each thread had to be tracked down through a financial transaction made. More importantly, if the world were to actually fight “global terror”, it would need to not only “follow the money” trail but also hold countries that allowed terrorists safe haven and financial assistance to account.

“The FATF, the leading international body in the global fight against money laundering, will provide its expertise and energy to the related battle against the financing of terrorism,” said Ms. Clarie Lo, the then President of FATF, announcing the shift. The FATF plenary then adopted an eight-point amendment to its charter that added Combating the Financing of Terrorism (CFT) to its tasks on Anti-Money Laundering (AML/CFT).

On September 28, 2001, the UN Security Council had also passed a new resolution (UNSC 1373), which added to a previous 1999 resolution (UNSC 1267), which barred links to any group or individual connected to the Taliban or al-Qaeda. The lists that the UNSC then approved, of hundreds of designated terrorists, soon became one of the important tasks for the FATF, and the reason it is frequently in the news, including most recently this week, when it held its quarterly plenary session to discuss the listings of several countries on its radar, including Pakistan.

## Technical prism

The FATF is not a part of the UN system, but it functions out of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development headquarters in Paris, since it was started in 1989 after a decision by members of the G-7 and the European Commission. The FATF runs differently from other multilateral agencies, as its primary focus is on reviewing all actions through a “technical” not a political prism, and frowns upon countries bringing bilateral issues to the forum.

It is not an enforcement agency itself, but a task force composed of 39 member governments who fund the FATF and agree on its mandate. This means that FATF depends on voluntary implementation of its reports by member countries. Also, meetings of the group are carried out behind closed doors, and deliberations are not publicised. In the past, the FATF has penalised countries that have disclosed the contents of its meetings.

Decisions are made by the grouping on a consensus basis, as they conduct reviews of countries on AML/CFT parameters (called “Mutual evaluations”), and then either clear them, or use a “colour coded” reference for them, placing countries in the “increased monitoring” category or the “grey list”, or the “high risk jurisdictions” or “call for action” category, as the “blacklist” is formally known.

At present, only Iran and North Korea are on the blacklist, while 18 countries, including Pakistan, Syria, Yemen, Iceland, Jamaica and Mauritius, are on the grey list.

India became an observer in the grouping in 2006, and was inducted as a full member in 2010. It has faced three rounds of mutual evaluations and cleared them, and faces the fourth round next

year. However, it is Pakistan's performance at the FATF that most often makes news, as Pakistan has been kept on the group's radar since 2008, with one stint on the grey list from 2012-2015, and another beginning June 2018. Presently, it has until October 2019 to show that it is making progress on the FATF's report, that gave it a gruelling 27-point action plan to fulfil, or face a blacklisting, which means severe financial restrictions, a downgrading by credit agencies, and most significantly, possible loan cuts by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Although the Pakistani government, which has sent ministerial-level delegations to each meeting of the FATF to ensure it is let off penalties, says it has now cleared 14 of the 27 points on the list, and has "partially" fulfilled 11 of the remainder, it is still being held strongly to account by the FATF statements, including one particularly stern statement in 2019 that said, "All deadlines given to Pakistan to check terror-funding ended; it failed to complete its action plan in line with agreed timeline."

What is significant is that while Pakistan has clearly disregarded warnings from India, the U.S. and other countries to crackdown on a number of cross-border terror groups that exist on its soil (such as Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT), Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), the Taliban, al-Qaeda, Haqqani network, etc), it remains eager to avoid the FATF strictures. Government officials in Delhi say the difference is heartening, given India's long and sometimes lone battle over the past few decades in holding Pakistan to account for cross-border terror activities, including in Jammu and Kashmir, the IC-814 hijacking, 2008 Mumbai attacks, the Pathankot airbase attack in 2015, Uri Army base in 2016, and many others.

As a result, in the last few years, while Pakistan has been on the FATF's watch list, governments in Islamabad have gone to some length to demonstrate their compliance with the FATF demands: changing terror laws to include all UN Security Council-designated individuals and organisations, to show progress in the prosecution of leaders of LeT and JeM, including the re-arrest of Mumbai attacks mastermind Hafiz Saeed last year, as well as tightening all banking mechanisms to show that it has frozen funding to all these groups.

### **India's persistence**

Clearly much of it is lip-service, and much more remains to be done, but New Delhi, which sends a team comprising officials from the Ministry of External Affairs, the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Finance Ministry to assist with the Indian delegation in Paris during FATF sessions, has some reason to persist with its efforts in bringing evidence it has on Pakistan's terror links to the world body.

"Unlike others, the FATF follows a principle of ostracism against members who don't comply with its strictures. The impact is amplified if the global banking system then scales up its diligence of each transaction flowing in and out of the jurisdiction named," explained an official aware of the FATF's workings. "It works despite the fact that none of this is based on any law or covenant."

### **Decision making**

Officials say the fact that decisions are taken by consensus in the 39-member group, where any three members can exercise a "veto" on an action, has ensured that the FATF doesn't at present suffer from the same polarisation that has virtually paralysed the UNSC. While there are differences between the two main blocs at the UNSC — the U.S., the U.K., France, and Russia, China — at the FATF as well, the entire grouping's view is made to count.

This is not to mean the organisation isn't affected by geopolitical trends.

The U.S. and other countries have been able to ensure that Iran and North Korea remain on the FATF blacklist, while others are able to avoid the tag as they are able to enlist the political support of enough other countries like China, Russia and Turkey.

With the U.S. striking a deal with the Taliban this year, and efforts to take it off the UN listing, the global body may change the focus of its reviews in jurisdictions that have engaged with the Taliban in the past. It also remains to be seen how the FATF responds to new-age challenges to the global counter-terror and anti-money laundering regime: including bitcoins and cyber currencies, illegal trafficking of wildlife as a source of funding, use of artificial intelligence in terror attacks and biowarfare as part of the wider challenge of the coronavirus pandemic.

For India, however, its focus at the FATF on countering cross-border terror will be a priority for the foreseeable future.

### ***In Focus***

***FATF reviews countries and either clears them or places them on its 'grey' or 'black' list***

***At present, only Iran and North Korea are on the blacklist***

***Eighteen countries, including Pakistan, Syria, Yemen, Iceland, Jamaica and Mauritius, are on the grey list***

***Pakistan has been kept on the group's radar since 2008, with one stint on the 'grey list', or the high-risk jurisdictions category, from 2012 to 2015, and another beginning June 2018***

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

END

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](http://crackIAS.com)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

## S. CHINA SEA RIGHTS SHOULD BE ROOTED IN UN TREATY: ASEAN

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: Effect of policies and politics of developed & developing countries on India's interests

Vietnamese Prime Minister Nguyen Xuan Phuc speaking at the summit on Friday. APHau Dinh

Southeast Asian leaders said a 1982 UN oceans treaty should be the basis of sovereign rights and entitlements in the South China Sea, in one of their strongest remarks opposing China's claim to virtually the entire disputed waters on historical grounds.

The leaders of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations took the position in a statement issued by Vietnam on Saturday on behalf of the 10-nation bloc. ASEAN leaders held their annual summit by video on Friday, with the COVID-19 pandemic and the long-raging territorial disputes high on the agenda. "We reaffirmed that the 1982 UNCLOS is the basis for determining maritime entitlements, sovereign rights, jurisdiction and legitimate interests over maritime zones," the ASEAN statement said.

The leaders were referring to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, a 1982 international agreement that defines the rights of nations to the world's oceans.

Three Southeast Asian diplomats told that it marked a significant strengthening of the regional bloc's assertion of the rule of law in a disputed region that has long been regarded as an Asian flashpoint. While it has criticised aggressive behaviour in the disputed waters, ASEAN has never castigated China by name in its post-summit communiqués.

As ASEAN's leader this year, Vietnam oversaw the drafting of the "chairman's statement". Vietnam has been one of the most vocal critics of China's actions in the disputed waters.

Subscribe to The Hindu digital to get unlimited access to Today's paper

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or Subscribe to The Hindu.

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS.com

## INDIA WARNS CHINA THAT ATTEMPTS TO ALTER STATUS QUO WILL HAVE 'REPERCUSSIONS'

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

India warned China that trying to alter the status quo on the ground by resorting to force can also have 'ripples' in the broader bilateral relationship

Beijing: India on Friday warned China that trying to alter the status quo on the ground by resorting to force will not just damage the peace that existed on the border areas but can also have "ripples and repercussions" in the broader bilateral relationship, and demanded that Beijing stop its activities in eastern Ladakh.

The only way to resolve the current military standoff along the LAC in eastern Ladakh was for Beijing to realise that trying to "change the status quo by resorting to force or coercion, is not the right way forward," India's ambassador to [China](#) Vikram Misri said in a hard-hitting interview to PTI.

Asserting that actions taken by the Chinese forces on the ground have damaged "considerable trust" in the bilateral relationship, the Indian ambassador added that it was entirely the responsibility of the Chinese side to take a careful view of the relations and to decide which direction the ties should move.

Noting that maintenance of peace and tranquillity "on the border is sine qua non for progress in the rest of bilateral relationship between India and China", Misri said: "The resolution of this issue is quite straight forward from our perspective. The Chinese side needs to stop creating obstruction and hindrances in the normal patrolling patterns of the Indian troops," he said. He also rubbished China's claim of sovereignty over [Galwan Valley](#) in Ladakh as "completely untenable", and asserted that these kinds of exaggerated claims are not going to help the situation. "Whatever activities we may be carrying on have always been on our side of the Line of Actual Control (LAC), so the Chinese need to stop activities to alter the status quo. It is very surprising that they should attempt to do so in a sector which has never before been a sector of concern." he said. Emphasising that [India](#) is "very aware and very clear about the alignment of the LAC in the Galwan Valley," he said our troops have been patrolling up to these areas without any difficulty for a very very long period of time. Misri's strong comments came in response to the recent claims by the Chinese military and the foreign ministry of sovereignty over Galwan Valley. On the Chinese Ambassador Sun Weidong's assertion on Thursday that the onus is on India to deescalate tensions, Misri said, "I think we have been very clear, and very consistent in pointing out that it has been Chinese actions over an extended period of time, that are responsible for the current situation".

"In fact beginning with the time frame of April and May, I would say there were a number of Chinese actions along the LAC in the [Ladakh](#) sector in the western sector that interfered with and hindered with the normal patrolling activities of our troops in that sector. This led obviously to a few face-off situations," he said.

During an interview with PTI, Sun refused to reply to questions about China's transgressions of the LAC. He was asked why China has not been allowing Indian patrols from Finger 4 to Finger 8 areas in Pangong Tso even though the areas belonged in the Indian side of LAC. He was also asked why China has resorted to massive build up of troops in almost all areas of the 3500 km LAC. But Sun sidestepped the questions and remained mum.

Misri said he "would underline the remarks of our External Affairs Minister (S Jaishankar) when he spoke to Foreign Minister Wang Yi that these developments cannot but have an impact on the bilateral relationship." "The bilateral relationship is of great value to the two countries. It is important not just for us but also regionally important", he said. "So I think there should be a realisation on the Chinese side that there is no gain in trying to alter the status quo on the ground especially by resorting to force ... that will not just damage the peace and tranquillity that existed on the border but it can have ripples and repercussions in the broader bilateral relationship," Misri said.

"We have no wish and desire for that. Therefore, it is entirely the responsibility of the Chinese side to take a careful view of our bilateral relations and to decide which direction the bilateral relationship to move forward", he said.

"To my mind there is only one answer, I do very much hope that the Chinese side will also see it in that way", he added. Noting that in the Galwan Valley especially there has never been any difference as to where the LAC lay, the Indian envoy said : "It is very surprising that they should have chosen to, in the context of these recent developments, to do this kind of thing in a sector which has never before been a sector of concern." "So for China to now voice these kinds of claims is completely untenable. These kinds of exaggerated claims are not going to help the situation. The kind of language that has been used is not helpful to the resolution of this situation," he said.

In the ongoing meetings including at the military level that are going on "we hope that the Chinese side will realise its responsibility in de-escalation and disengagement", he said.

"That would be a true resolution of this issue", he said.

Misri's comments came a day after the external affairs ministry said China has been amassing a large contingent of troops and armaments along the LAC in eastern Ladakh since early May, and warned that continuation of the current situation would only vitiate the atmosphere for the development of the relationship.

*This story has been published from a wire agency feed without modifications to the text. Only the headline has been changed.*

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com



# CENTRE MOVES TO CHOKE FUNDS FOR CHINESE TECH

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

India may tighten its economic squeeze on China with New Delhi planning to discourage states from using Chinese equipment and technology in the strategic power sector by withholding funding to such projects from government-owned lenders to such projects if they use Chinese imports, two people aware of the development said.

State-run Power Finance Corp. Ltd (PFC), Rural Electrification Corp. Ltd (REC) and Indian Renewable Energy Development Agency (IREDA) are the largest lenders to the Indian power sector and the move is expected to deter states from involving Chinese firms, which are usually the cheapest suppliers. This will be in addition to providing low-cost funds to local power equipment makers to make them competitive.

At stake are contracts worth billions of dollars under India's proposed distribution reform programme—tentatively named Samarth—with an estimated capital outlay of 3.5 trillion. The scheme aims to slash electricity losses of power distributors to under 12% and install prepaid smart meters across the power distribution chain, including 250 million households. "The idea is to ensure they don't use Chinese equipment or technology. These financing lines may be made conditional to that," said a government official cited above.

Apart from securing large orders in India's clean energy space, large thermal power generation project contracts totalling around 48 gigawatt (GW) have been placed with Chinese manufacturers. Also, firms use supervisory control and data acquisition (Scada) systems from China in the electricity distribution space.

With mounting tensions along the India-China border, India is working on a wider decoupling exercise that involves imposing tariff and non-tariff barriers to check Chinese imports, including prior-permission requirements for power equipment imports from countries with which it has a conflict.

"Trade ties between India and China have seen a setback recently. The government had brought the FDI in Indian companies from 'bordering nations' under an approval route from the automatic route in April 2020. Modi also made 'self-reliance' a key point of his post-covid stimulus," Jefferies Equity Research wrote in a 24 June report.

A power ministry spokesperson did not respond to queries emailed by *Mint* on Saturday.

A 23 June government statement referring to power and renewable energy minister Raj Kumar Singh's meeting with industry captains and lobby groups said, "Singh pointed out that power is a sensitive and strategically important sector, as all our communications, manufacturing, data management and all essential services depend on power supply and any malware may bring down the system. Therefore, 'Aatmanirbhar Bharat' has a much higher level of significance for the power sector."

Along with leveraging its growing power sector market to ready an economic retaliation against China, India also wants to play a larger role in global supply chains. "The plan may also include codifying sanctions across the power sector," said a second Indian government official who also didn't want to be named.

Some steps already adopted by the government involves imposing a basic customs duty (BCD) on imported solar cells, modules and inverters from 1 August, to be followed by a plan to impose import duty on wafers and ingots that go into the manufacturing of solar cells and modules. The BCD follows the 29 July expiry of safeguard duties on solar cells and modules imported from China and Malaysia.

Recently, the government has cancelled projects and contracts given to Chinese firms.

[Click here](#) to read the Mint ePaperLivemint.com is now on Telegram. [Join Livemint channel](#) in your Telegram and stay updated

Log in to our website to save your bookmarks. It'll just take a moment.

Your session has expired, please login again.

You are now subscribed to our newsletters. In case you can't find any email from our side, please check the spam folder.

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

CrackIAS

## READING CHINA RIGHT

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

The motive behind [China](#)'s incursion in Ladakh is to push India to settle the boundary issue and cede Aksai Chin to China. Experts phrase China's border policies differently, but the overriding assessment is that they are essentially an outward projection of internal security concerns. The key, in essence, is to ward off the threat at the periphery to achieve internal stability.

A pattern is being noticed after China's last experiment of settling borders with Russia and three Central Asian states in the 1990s. Fearing its sensitive Xinjiang region becoming an object of external power play after the Soviet collapse, Beijing had displayed urgency in settling the border with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The Chinese border negotiation tactics with these countries blended "incentives with coercion". Beijing settled for a third of territories it claimed from Kazakhstan. Yet, the Kazakhs had to admit they had gained. In addition to what it had lost, Kazakhstan had to denounce Uyghur separatism and curb anti-China activities. In a similar pattern, Kyrgyzstan had to cede 1,20,000 hectares in a dubious exchange for Chinese assistance. Tajikistan was made to surrender 1,100 square miles in 2010. Here, China claimed some 28,000 sq km, but settled for 3.5 percent of it. The Tajiks had to cede land and yet were made to feel the victor.

In essence, China ultimately gained a bit of land, nixed the Uyghur issue, and pushed its economic agenda by making Xinjiang a pivotal link to the Eurasian markets. The success gave birth to a self-serving SCO, lauded as an exemplary multilateral cooperation mechanism, essentially meant to blunt any US-led Asian alliance in Eurasia. But China's appetite for territorial expansion did not stop here. In Russia's Far East, weaker states are induced to let out agriculture and forestland to Chinese farmers. Borders and rivers are being altered to meet China's new interests.

India desperately wanted to join the Chinese-led SCO, without perhaps understanding its game. The Belt and Road Initiative has since been added by Xi Jinping in 2013. A view popular now is that the early surrender to China was a mistake. Its tactics are fuelling tensions and resentments across Asia.

China's past border tactics should offer some example, if not a complete cue to Chinese strategy. Ever since India and China agreed in 2005 on a new set of guiding principles to settle the vexed boundary dispute through the Special Representative (SR) level talks, China has been seeking a substantive adjustment concession especially on Tawang. India probably prefers having a marginal modification in the current alignment of the boundary to settle the issue. For India, ceding Tawang confronts a political difficulty. This was reflected in the drafting of the guiding principles. But both countries hoped to clinch a solution through this mechanism.

In March 2013, China once again pushed for a settlement. Remember, the motive behind the PLA's 19-km intrusion in Depsang in April 2013 was to press India to show "urgency" and "redouble" efforts to settle the boundary issue. Post-Depsang events showed the officials of two sides had drawn certain lessons. The officials described the Depsang standoff as an "isolated" incident, but the important thing was to underscore how it was resolved without making the issue big enough to affect relations. Importantly, the boundary resolution was deemed important from the Chinese point of view.

So far 22 rounds of special representative-level talks have been held since the drafting of the guiding principles. But a framework agreement still eludes these talks. Meanwhile, China has

created more suspicion through its economic expansion in and around India. India too has responded while building up its infrastructure along the [Line of Actual Control](#) (LAC).

China's recent swoop in Ladakh can't be unrelated to its growing domestic uncertainties and on India's front, about future plans in Xinjiang and Tibet that border Ladakh. Beijing doubts India would raise the Tibet issue. But, it does suspect the US-Japan-India coalescing to encircle China. Therefore, a stronger assertion may be a euphemism for deterring India plus others harming China's core interests. Of course, China retains the option to offset the three by fronting Iran, North Korea and Pakistan.

Through the Ladakh incursion, the Chinese are possibly trying to convey three essential points. One, settle the boundary dispute on its terms. Two, that it intends to solve the Tibet problem internally and does not want any Indian interference in the post-Dalai Lama developments. Three, it wants to point out that a US-led QUAD strategic forum should not be encouraged.

China seems to be pushing for a formal settlement along the LAC in Ladakh, where they have nothing to lose. Probably, they also assume that India has accepted *fait accompli*. And, to our disappointment, it may not involve swapping India's claims over Aksai Chin for China's claims over Arunachal Pradesh, which many in India thought to be a pragmatic thing to accept. This time, Chinese may be making a tricky move to let India, in the first step, forego its claim over 38,000 sq km (Aksai Chin), thereby de-link Ladakh from the overall boundary dispute. But, should that happen, India, by implication, will have to give up not only Aksai Chin, but also cede its notional claim over the 5,047 sq km (Skyasgam valley) and the Menser Enclave (five villages) near the Mansarovar Lake. China's "minimal demand" that Tawang is non-negotiable had been aired through Chinese academics. This tactic was also applied with Central Asian states.

If India falls for some kind of Chinese position over Aksai Chin, Beijing will then shift the focus to Arunachal to emphatically claim 90,000 sq km from India. Ceding Aksai Chin would fundamentally alter the status of J&K and Ladakh. By implication, India would have to forget about PoK and Gilgit-Baltistan as well. India should tread carefully unless both sides are willing to make a move for grand bargaining.

***The writer, a former ambassador is an expert on strategic affairs***

***The Indian Express is now on Telegram. Click [here to join our channel \(@indianexpress\)](#) and stay updated with the latest headlines***

**END**

Downloaded from [crackIAS.com](#)

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com

## MAKING SENSE OF CHINA'S CALCULATIONS

Relevant for: International Relations | Topic: India - China

What policy planners in Delhi, and possibly those in Beijing, have long feared, viz., a [direct confrontation leading to fatal casualties](#), occurred in the Galwan heights in the late evening of June 15. The number of casualties, 20 on the Indian side was the highest since 1967, and included that of a high ranking Colonel of the Bihar Regiment. The [number of casualties on the Chinese side](#) has not been formally indicated, though they have conceded that at least one Colonel was among those killed.

With this incident, it should have been obvious that the die was cast as regards the future of China-India relations. Nevertheless, there was a flicker of hope when apparently the Corps Commanders of India and China on June 22-23 appeared to reach a ["mutual consensus" to disengage](#) and embark on lowering "tensions" through a "gradual and verifiable disengagement". This proved shortlived, with the [Chinese post in the Galwan area](#) not only being restored, but also, from satellite images available, bigger in size than before.

The Hindu Explains | [Who does Galwan Valley belong to?](#)

What occurred in the Galwan heights on June 15, must not, hence, be viewed as an aberration. It would be more judicious to view it as signifying a new and fractious phase in [China-India relations](#). Even if the situation reverts to what existed in mid-April (highly unlikely), India-China relations appear set to witness a "new and different normal".

The debate on the Indian side has so far been largely limited to China's perfidy in violating the status quo. Former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh for instance, [accused China](#) of "brazenly and illegally seeking to claim parts of Indian Territory such as the Galwan Valley and Pangong Tso". Adding spice to the debate was the [Prime Minister's statement](#) at an all-party meeting on June 19 to discuss the border issue, that "there was no intruder on our land now and no post in anyone's custody", which raised the Opposition's hackles.

China's reaction has been consistent — [India must move out of Galwan](#). This is something that India cannot ignore any longer. What took place in the Galwan heights cannot be viewed as a mere replay of what took place in Depsang (2013), Chumar (2014) and Doklam (2017). This is a new and different situation and India must not shrink from addressing the core issue that relations between India and China are in a perilous state.

China's assertion of its claim to the whole of the Galwan Valley needs close and careful analysis. For one, Point 14 gives China a virtual stranglehold over the newly completed, and strategically significant, Darbuk-Shyok-Daulat Beg Oldie Road, which leads on to the Karakoram Pass. For another, the strategic implications for India of China's insistence on keeping the whole of the Galwan Valley are serious as it fundamentally changes the status quo. Finally, by [laying claim to the Galwan Valley](#), China has reopened some of the issues left over from the 1962 conflict, and demonstrates that it is willing to embark on a new confrontation.

Ambiguity has existed regarding the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in this sector; the Chinese "claim line" is that of November 1959, while for India the LAC is that of September 1962. In recent years, both sides had refrained from reopening the issue, but China has never given up its claims. By its unilateral declaration now, China is seeking to settle the matter in its favour. India needs to measure up to this challenge.

Also read | [A phantom called the Line of Actual Control](#)

A charge that could be levelled against successive administrations in Delhi in recent years is that while China has consistently asserted its claims over the whole of Aksai Chin, India has chosen to overlook China's more recent postures in this region. The importance of Aksai Chin for China has greatly increased of late, as it provides direct connectivity between two of the most troubled regions of China, viz., Xinjiang and Tibet. This does not seem to have been adequately factored in to our calculations. While Indian policy makers saw the reclassification of Ladakh as purely an internal matter, they overlooked the fact that for China's military planners, the carving out of Ladakh into a Union Territory (followed later by Home Minister Amit Shah's statement last year laying claim to the whole of Aksai Chin) posited a threat to China's peace and tranquillity.

Also read | [PoK, Aksai Chin part of Kashmir, Amit Shah told the Lok Sabha](#)

It is in this context, that questions are now being raised about the failure of intelligence. It is axiomatic that leaders make better decisions when they have better information, and the enduring value of intelligence comes from this fundamental reality. Admittedly, the timing and nature of China's actions should have aroused keen interest in intelligence circles about China's strategic calculations. The Chinese build-up in the Galwan Valley, Pangong Tso and Hotsprings-Gogra did not require any great intelligence effort, since there was little attempt at concealment by the Chinese. India also possesses high quality imagery intelligence (IMINT) and signals intelligence (SIGINT) capabilities, distributed between the National Technical Research Organisation, the Directorate of Signals Intelligence of the Ministry of Defence and other agencies, which made it possible to track Chinese movement.

Where, perhaps, intelligence can be faulted is with regard to inadequate appreciation of what the build-up meant, and what it portended for India. This is indicative of a weakness in interpretation and analysis of the intelligence available, as also an inability to provide a coherent assessment of China's real intentions. Intelligence assessment of China's intentions, clearly fell short of what was required.

Also read | [Was there any intelligence failure, Sonia Gandhi asks government](#)

It is at the same time true that while India's technological capabilities for intelligence collection have vastly increased in recent years, the capacity for interpretation and analysis has not kept pace with this. Advances in technology, specially Artificial Intelligence have, across the world, greatly augmented efforts at intelligence analysis. It is a moot point whether such skills were employed in this instance.

The failure to decipher China's intentions in time is no doubt unfortunate, but it has to be understood that deciphering China's intentions, understanding the Chinese mind (which tends to be contextual and relational), and trying to make sense of Chinese thinking, are an extremely difficult task at any time. Even so, since last year when China's economy began to show signs of a decline followed by the COVID-19 pandemic, China is known to have become extremely sensitive to what it perceived as efforts by others to exploit its weakness. It has often felt compelled to demonstrate that no nation should attempt to exploit the situation to China's disadvantage. India's intelligence and policy analysts obviously failed to analyse this aspect adequately, while trying to make sense of China's latest forward push.

Another of China's current preoccupation, viz. that India is feeling emboldened because of its growing strategic alignment with the United States, should also have been adequately considered by the analysts, in any assessment of putative Chinese responses.

Also read | [For minor tactical gains on the ground, China has strategically lost India, says former Indian Ambassador to China](#)

The principal responsibility for intelligence assessment and analysis concerning China, rests with the National Security Council Secretariat (NSCS) and India's external intelligence agency, the Research and Analysis Wing (R&AW), and to a lesser extent, the Defence Intelligence Agency. It may not, perhaps, be wrong to surmise that the decision of the NSCS to dismantle the Joint Intelligence Committee has contributed to a weakening of the intelligence assessment system. In the case of the R&AW, lack of domain expertise, and an inadequacy of China specialists might also have been a contributory factor.

We cannot also minimise the adverse impact of certain policy imperatives. For one, the preference given recently to Summit diplomacy over traditional foreign policy making structures proved to be a severe handicap. Summit diplomacy cannot be a substitute for carefully structured foreign office policy making. Any number of instances of this nature are available. Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain of Great Britain was one of the earliest victims of Summit diplomacy. The disastrous meeting between Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and U.S. President Richard Nixon had long-term adverse implications for India-U.S. relations. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and U.S. President George W. Bush did establish a rapport through frequent Summit meetings, but this was the exception rather than the rule.

Currently, India's Summit diplomacy has tended to marginalise the External Affairs Ministry with regard to policy making, and we are probably paying a price for it. As it is, the Ministry of External Affairs's (MEA) stock of China experts seems to be dwindling, and its general tilt towards the U.S. in most matters, has resulted in an imbalance in the way the MEA perceives problems and situations.

*M.K. Narayanan is a former National Security Adviser and a former Governor of West Bengal*

You have reached your limit for free articles this month.

Already have an account ? [Sign in](#)

Start your 14 days trial now. [Sign Up](#)

Find mobile-friendly version of articles from the day's newspaper in one easy-to-read list.

Enjoy reading as many articles as you wish without any limitations.

A select list of articles that match your interests and tastes.

Move smoothly between articles as our pages load instantly.

A one-stop-shop for seeing the latest updates, and managing your preferences.

We brief you on the latest and most important developments, three times a day.

\*Our Digital Subscription plans do not currently include the e-paper ,crossword, iPhone, iPad mobile applications and print. Our plans enhance your reading experience.

Dear reader,

We have been keeping you up-to-date with information on the developments in India and the

world that have a bearing on our health and wellbeing, our lives and livelihoods, during these difficult times. To enable wide dissemination of news that is in public interest, we have increased the number of articles that can be read free, and extended free trial periods. However, we have a request for those who can afford to subscribe: please do. As we fight disinformation and misinformation, and keep apace with the happenings, we need to commit greater resources to news gathering operations. We promise to deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Dear subscriber,

Thank you!

Your support for our journalism is invaluable. It's a support for truth and fairness in journalism. It has helped us keep apace with events and happenings.

The Hindu has always stood for journalism that is in the public interest. At this difficult time, it becomes even more important that we have access to information that has a bearing on our health and well-being, our lives, and livelihoods. As a subscriber, you are not only a beneficiary of our work but also its enabler.

We also reiterate here the promise that our team of reporters, copy editors, fact-checkers, designers, and photographers will deliver quality journalism that stays away from vested interest and political propaganda.

Suresh Nambath

Please enter a valid email address.

Subscribe to The Hindu now and get unlimited access.

Already have an account? [Sign In](#)

Start your 14 days trial now [Sign Up](#)

To continue enjoying The Hindu, You can turn off your ad blocker or [Subscribe to The Hindu](#).

[Sign up for a 30 day free trial.](#)

**END**

Downloaded from **crackIAS.com**

© **Zuccess App** by crackIAS.com