

# INDIA AND HER NEIGHBORS

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## UNIT - I

Historical and Geographical Setting - Geo Strategic location of India - India's position in South Asia - India's Neighborhood Policy: Panchsheel to Gujral Doctrine

### Objectives

- ❖ To understand India's historical and geographical setting and how its geo-strategic location influences regional and global politics.
- ❖ To examine India's role and position in South Asia in terms of security, diplomacy, and regional leadership.
- ❖ To analyze India's Neighborhood Policy, tracing its evolution from the Panchsheel Principles to the Gujral Doctrine.

### Introduction

After independence, India developed a foreign policy with its own distinct character. The core principles of this policy have always been freedom, peace, and international cooperation. Even before independence, Jawaharlal Nehru, as the Prime Minister of the Interim Government in 1946, declared that India would work with other nations to promote peace and liberty.

After independence, when the Congress formed the government under Nehru's leadership, he continued to follow the same approach. India adopted the policy of Non-Alignment, dealing with global issues with an open mind and expressing its views independently, without fear or favour. This allowed India to stay away from both superpower blocs during the Cold War.

India strongly opposed imperialism, colonialism, and racial discrimination. However, with the end of the Cold War, the relevance of the Non-Alignment

Movement began to decline. As a result, India started focusing on strengthening its diplomatic relations with various countries. Though different political parties have come to power over the years, India's foreign policy has remained largely consistent. Like any other nation, India's foreign policy continues to be guided primarily by its national interests.

### **Geo Strategic location of India**

India's geostrategic location in South Asia is crucial due to its central position between East and West Asia, giving it a foothold on both the western coast (linking to West Asia, Africa, and Europe) and the eastern coast (linking to Southeast and East Asia). This central location on the Indian Ocean provides control over vital maritime trade and energy routes, enhancing its influence in regional and global geopolitics. The country's southern peninsula juts into the Indian Ocean, acting as a key maritime hub for global trade, notes this article from shapernet.in.

#### **Key aspects of India's geostrategic location**

- **Central position in Asia:** India's position in the middle of Asia, with the Indian Ocean to its south, allows it to maintain strong commercial contact with countries in West Asia, Africa, and Europe via its western coast, and with Southeast and East Asia via its eastern coast.
- **Dominance of the Indian Ocean:** The Indian Ocean is a critical hub for international trade and energy, with a significant percentage of global trade passing through its routes. India's strategic access to this ocean gives it considerable influence over sea lanes, which is why India has a strong naval presence and focuses on maritime security.
- **Strategic air routes:** Many air routes connecting Europe and West Asia to East Asia, Southeast Asia, Japan, and Australia pass through India.

- Peninsular shape: The Deccan Peninsula, which forms India's southern part, projects into the Indian Ocean, strengthening its role as a maritime power and a center for trade.
- Energy security: India is a major player in energy markets due to its location, as the Indian Ocean is a primary conduit for global energy trade.

### **Challenges and opportunities**

- Regional influence: India's location allows it to exert strategic influence in regions like the Middle East and Southeast Asia.
- Maritime security: India is keen to ensure maritime security and freedom of navigation in the Indian Ocean to protect its trade interests.

## **India's Position in South Asia**

### **1. Geographical Centrality**

- India occupies the **central and dominant position** in South Asia.
- Shares borders with almost all South Asian countries – **Pakistan, China, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka** (maritime).
- Forms **75%** of South Asia's landmass and population.

### **2. Political and Economic Influence**

- India is the **largest democracy** and the **biggest economy** in the region.
- Plays a major role in **regional peace, stability, and crisis management**.

### **3. Cultural and Historical Links**

- India shares deep **civilizational, linguistic, religious** ties with every South Asian country.
- Acts as a **cultural core** of the region.

#### 4. Strategic Importance

- Controls major **sea routes in the Indian Ocean**.
- Influences regional security through defence partnerships, humanitarian aid, and disaster relief.

#### 5. Role in Regional Organizations

- Founding and leading member of **SAARC, BIMSTEC, and Indian Ocean Rim Association**.
- Promotes **regional cooperation and development**.

### India's Neighbourhood Policy: From Panchsheel to Gujral Doctrine

India's neighbourhood policy aims to ensure **peace, stability, and cooperation** with surrounding countries.

#### 1. Panchsheel Agreement (1954)

The foundation of India's foreign policy.

#### Five Principles of Panchsheel

1. Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty
2. Mutual non-aggression

3. Mutual non-interference in internal affairs
4. Equality and mutual benefit
5. Peaceful coexistence

## Significance

- Signed originally between **India and China**.
- Became the guiding principle for India's overall neighbourhood diplomacy.
- Emphasized **trust, non-violence, and peaceful settlement** of disputes.

## 2. Post-1971 Neighbourhood Policy

After the creation of Bangladesh, India adopted:

- **Friendly relations through treaties** (e.g., Indo-Bangladesh Treaty 1972)
- **Economic support** to Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, and Maldives
- **Security cooperation** against terrorism and external influence

## 3. SAARC and Regionalism (1985 onward)

- India promoted **regional cooperation** through SAARC.
- Aimed to improve **trade, connectivity, health, and disaster management**.

## 4. Look East / Act East Policy

- Extended India's neighbourhood concept beyond South Asia towards **ASEAN and the Indo-Pacific**.
- Strengthened economic and maritime links.

## 5. Gujral Doctrine (1996–97)

Announced by Prime Minister **Inder Kumar Gujral**.

### Main Principles

1. Unilateral concessions to smaller neighbours without expecting reciprocity.
2. No country should allow its territory to be used against the interest of another.
3. Non-interference in internal affairs.
4. Respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty.
5. Peaceful resolution of disputes through dialogue.

### Significance

- Improved ties with **Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Maldives, and Bhutan**.
- Reduced India's image as a “big brother” and promoted **mutual trust**.

## UNIT II

India's relations with Pakistan: Legacy of the colonial policy – Partition of India – Kashmir Issue – Indo - Pak Wars – Impact of Cold War on Indo - Pak Relations – Nuclear Tests and Missile Race – Kargil War – Surgical Strike at Balakot – Cross Border Terrorism – Indus River Water Sharing -- Chinese Factor in Indo-Pak relations – Economic and other issues.

### Objectives

- ❖ To study the historical causes of tensions between India and Pakistan.
- ❖ To understand major conflicts like wars, Kashmir issue, and terrorism.
- ❖ To examine key issues including nuclear race, water sharing, and the role of China.

### India's relations with Pakistan

India was partitioned on the basis of two nation theory in 1946. The Hindus and the Muslims migrated from India to Pakistan and from Pakistan to India vice versa, some by force and some out of fear. India and Pakistan became two nations. India decided to be a secular state and Pakistan became an Islamic state. Right from their independence there have been no cordial relations between India and Pakistan. Though there have been many factors responsible for the strained relations, the recent developments like terrorism, fanatic attitudes and the Kashmir issues remain to be a great challenge to India. Pakistan is not ready for compromise over the Kashmir issue. Within twenty four years (1947-1971) Pakistan invaded India three times – 1947, 1965 and 1971. Though Pakistan was defeated in all the wars, yet Pakistan still shows hostility equipping arms and ammunitions.

## **Junagarh Affairs**

Junagarh was ruled by the Nawab, the Muslim ruler. But the country had Hindu majority. The Nawab wanted to join his country with Pakistan whereas the people wanted to merge with India. A plebiscite was conducted in Junagarh in which the majority of people voted in favour of merger with India. This was not liked by Pakistan.

## **Police Action In Hyderabad**

The Nizam of Hyderabad wanted his state to merge with Pakistan. But Hyderabad had Hindu majority. Moreover it was located in the heart of India. Hence India took police action there and joined it with India. Pakistan took this matter to the Security Council which failed to entertain it as it was an internal affair of India.

## **The Kashmir Issue**

Another province that had the Hindu ruler with people of Muslim majority was Kashmir. Since the ruler of Kashmir did not wish to join on either side, Pakistan took this opportunity and invaded Kashmir with the support of the tribes of Kashmir. Hari Singh the ruler of Kashmir found himself helpless, decided to accede to India. Then India came forward with her force to bush back the Pakistani forces. Yet Pakistan occupied a portion of Kashmir which was known as Pakistan occupied Kashmir. The dispute over the Kashmir issue is still alive. It remains to be the bone of contention for the both countries. The Kashmir problem still remains unsettled as far as Pakistan is concerned. As far as India is concerned the Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India as elections have been conducted and the only unsettled matter is with Pakistan occupied Kashmir. Pakistan signed Tashkent Declaration but it did not follow. She criticised it and observed an anti-Tashkent day on the occasion of its first anniversary. Anti Ayub propaganda led to leaving the power to General Yahya

Khan. Ayub Khan resigned his post because of the opposition of the people. General Yahya Khan came to power and prevented Pakistan to follow the principles of Tashkent Declaration. He expressed his desire to live in peace with India. But he took no effort for that.

### **Partition of India**

The partition of India in 1947 was the division of British India<sup>[a]</sup> into two independent dominion states, the Union of India and Dominion of Pakistan. The Union of India is today the Republic of India, and the Dominion of Pakistan is the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the People's Republic of Bangladesh. The partition involved the division of two provinces, Bengal and the Punjab, based on district-wise non-Muslim (mostly Hindu and Sikh) or Muslim majorities. It also involved the division of the British Indian Army, the Royal Indian Navy, the Indian Civil Service, the railways, and the central treasury, between the two new dominions. The partition was set forth in the Indian Independence Act 1947 and resulted in the dissolution of the British Raj, or Crown rule in India. The two self-governing countries of India and Pakistan legally came into existence at midnight on 14-15 August 1947.

The partition displaced between 12 and 20 million people along religious lines, creating overwhelming refugee crises associated with the mass migration and population transfer that occurred across the newly constituted dominions; there was large-scale violence, with estimates of loss of life accompanying or preceding the partition disputed and varying between several hundred thousand and two million. The violent nature of the partition created an atmosphere of hostility and suspicion between India and Pakistan that plagues their relationship to the present. The term *partition of India* does not cover the secession of Bangladesh from Pakistan in 1971, nor the earlier separations of Burma (now Myanmar) and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) from the

administration of British India. The term also does not cover the political integration of princely states into the two new dominions, nor the disputes of annexation or division arising in the princely states of Hyderabad, Junagadh, and Jammu and Kashmir, though violence along religious lines did break out in some princely states at the time of the partition. It does not cover the incorporation of the enclaves of French India into India during the period 1947–1954, nor the annexation of Goa and other districts of Portuguese India by India in 1961. Other contemporaneous political entities in the region in 1947, such as Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal, and the Maldives, were unaffected by the partition.

### **Pre-World War II (1905–1938)**

#### **Partition of Bengal: 1905**

In 1905, during his second term as viceroy of India, Lord Curzon divided the Bengal Presidency—the largest administrative subdivision in British India—into the Muslim-majority province of Eastern Bengal and Assam and the Hindu-majority province of Bengal (present-day Indian states of West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, and Odisha). Curzon's act, the partition of Bengal—which had been contemplated by various colonial administrations since the time of Lord William Bentinck, though never acted upon—was to transform nationalist politics as nothing else before it.

The Hindu elite of Bengal, many of whom owned land that was leased out to Muslim peasants in East Bengal, protested strongly. The large Bengali-Hindu middle-class (the *Bhadralok*), upset at the prospect of Bengalis being outnumbered in the new Bengal province by Biharis and Oriyas, felt that Curzon's act was punishment for their political assertiveness. The pervasive protests against Curzon's decision predominantly took the form of

the *Swadeshi* ('buy Indian') campaign, involving a boycott of British goods. Sporadically, but flagrantly, the protesters also took to political violence, which involved attacks on civilians. The violence was ineffective, as most planned attacks were either prevented by the British or failed. The rallying cry for both types of protest was the slogan *Bande Mataram* (Bengali, lit. 'Hail to the Mother'), the title of a song by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, which invoked a mother goddess, who stood variously for Bengal, India, and the Hindu goddess Kali. The unrest spread from Calcutta to the surrounding regions of Bengal when Calcutta's English-educated students returned home to their villages and towns. The religious stirrings of the slogan and the political outrage over the partition were combined as young men, in such groups as Jugantar, took to bombing public buildings, staging armed robberies, and assassinating British officials. Since Calcutta was the imperial capital, both the outrage and the slogan soon became known nationally.

The overwhelming, predominantly-Hindu protest against the partition of Bengal, along with the fear of reforms favouring the Hindu majority, led the Muslim elite of India in 1906 to the new viceroy Lord Minto, asking for separate electorates for Muslims. In conjunction, they demanded representation in proportion to their share of the total population, reflecting both their status as former rulers and their record of cooperating with the British. This would result<sup>citation needed</sup> in the founding of the All-India Muslim League in Dacca in December 1906. Although Curzon by now had returned to England following his resignation over a dispute with his military chief, Lord Kitchener, the League was in favor of his partition plan. The Muslim elite's position, which was reflected in the League's position, had crystallized gradually over the previous three decades, beginning with the 1871 Census of British India, which had first estimated the populations in regions of Muslim majority. For his part, Curzon's

desire to court the Muslims of East Bengal had arisen from British anxieties ever since the 1871 census, and in light of the history of Muslims fighting them in the 1857 Rebellion and the Second Anglo-Afghan War.

In the three decades since the 1871 census, Muslim leaders across North India had intermittently experienced public animosity from some of the new Hindu political and social groups. The Arya Samaj, for example, had not only supported the cow protection movement in their agitation,<sup>1</sup> but also—distraught at the census' Muslim numbers—organized "reconversion" events for the purpose of welcoming Muslims back to the Hindu fold.<sup>[12]</sup> In the United Provinces, Muslims became anxious in the late-19th century as Hindu political representation increased, and Hindus were politically mobilized in the Hindi-Urdu controversy and the anti-cow-killing riots of 1893. In 1905, Muslim fears grew when Tilak and Lajpat Rai attempted to rise to leadership positions in the Congress, and the Congress itself rallied around the symbolism of Kali. It was not lost on many Muslims, for example, that the *bande mataram* rallying cry had first appeared in the novel *Anandmath* in which Hindus had battled their Muslim oppressors. Lastly, the Muslim elite, including Nawab of Dacca, Khwaja Salimullah, who hosted the League's first meeting in his mansion in Shahbag, were aware that a new province with a Muslim majority would directly benefit Muslims aspiring to political power.

### **Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms: 1919**

Secretary of State for India Montagu and Viceroy Lord Chelmsford presented a report in July 1918 after a long fact-finding trip through India the previous winter. After more discussion by the government and parliament in Britain, and another tour by the Franchise and Functions Committee to identify who among the Indian population could vote in future

elections, the Government of India Act of 1919 (also known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms) was passed in December 1919.<sup>[19]</sup> The new Act enlarged both the provincial and Imperial legislative councils and repealed the Government of India's recourse to the "official majority" in unfavourable votes.<sup>[19]</sup> Although departments like defence, foreign affairs, criminal law, communications, and income-tax were retained by the viceroy and the central government in New Delhi, other departments like public health, education, land-revenue, local self-government were transferred to the provinces. The provinces themselves were now to be administered under a new dyarchical system, whereby some areas like education, agriculture, infrastructure development, and local self-government became the preserve of Indian ministers and legislatures, and ultimately the Indian electorates, while others like irrigation, land-revenue, police, prisons, and control of media remained within the purview of the British governor and his executive council. The new Act also made it easier for Indians to be admitted into the civil service and the army officer corps.

A greater number of Indians were now enfranchised, although, for voting at the national level, they constituted only 10% of the total adult male population, many of whom were still illiterate. In the provincial legislatures, the British continued to exercise some control by setting aside seats for special interests they considered cooperative or useful. In particular, rural candidates, generally sympathetic to British rule and less confrontational, were assigned more seats than their urban counterparts. Seats were also reserved for non-Brahmins, landowners, businessmen, and college graduates. The principle of "communal representation", an integral part of the Minto-Morley Reforms, and more recently of the Congress-Muslim League Lucknow Pact, was reaffirmed, with seats being reserved for Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, and

domiciled Europeans, in both provincial and imperial legislative councils. The Montagu–Chelmsford reforms offered Indians the most significant opportunity yet for exercising legislative power, especially at the provincial level, though restricted by the still limited number of eligible voters, by the small budgets available to provincial legislatures, and by the presence of rural and special interest seats that were seen as instruments of British control.

### **Introduction of the two-nation theory: 1920s**

#### ***Main article: Two-nation theory***

The *two-nation theory* is the assertion, based on the former Indian Muslim ruling class' sense of being culturally and historically distinct, that Indian Hindus and Muslims are two distinct nations. It argued that religion resulted in cultural and social differences between Muslims and Hindus. While some professional Muslim Indian politicians used it to secure or safeguard a large share of political spoils for the Indian Muslims with the withdrawal of British rule, others believed the main political objective was the preservation of the cultural entity of Muslim India. The two-nation theory was a founding principle of the Pakistan Movement (i.e., the ideology of Pakistan as a Muslim nation-state in South Asia), and the partition of India in 1947. Theodore Beck, who played a major role in founding of the All-India Muslim League in 1906, was supportive of two-nation theory. Another British official supportive of the theory includes Theodore Morison. Both Beck and Morison believed that parliamentary system of majority rule would be disadvantageous for the Muslims.

Arya Samaj leader Lala Lajpat Rai laid out his own version of two-nation theory in 1924 to form "a clear partition of India into a Muslim India and a non-Muslim India". Lala believed in partition in response to the riots against Hindus

in Kohat, North-West Frontier Province which diminished his faith in Hindu-Muslim unity.

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar had initially proposed an embryonic form of the two-nation theory in his 1923 ideological pamphlet *Essentials of Hindutva*. The pamphlet served as the founding text of Hindutva, a Hindu nationalist ideology. In 1937, during the 19th session of the Hindu Mahasabha in Ahmedabad, Savarkar declared, "India cannot be assumed today to be a unitarian and homogenous nation. On the contrary, there are two nations in the main: the Hindus and the Muslims, in India". The theory is a source of inspiration to several Hindutva organisations, with causes as varied as the redefinition of Indian Muslims as non-Indian foreigners and second-class citizens in India, the expulsion of all Muslims from India, the establishment of a legally Hindu state in India, prohibition of conversions to Islam, and the promotion of conversions or reconversions of Indian Muslims to Hinduism

In 1940, Muhammad Ali Jinnah undertook the ideology that religion is the determining factor in defining the nationality of Indian Muslims. He termed it as the awakening of Muslims for the creation of Pakistan. However, Jinnah opposed Partition of Punjab and Bengal and advocated for the integration of all of Punjab and Bengal into Pakistan without the displacement of any of its inhabitants, whether they were Sikhs or Hindus. In 1943, Savarkar publicly expressed his support for Jinnah, stating, "I have no quarrel with Mr Jinnah's two-nation theory. We, Hindus, are a nation by ourselves and it is a historical fact that Hindus and Muslims are two nations".

There are varying interpretations of the two-nation theory, based on whether the two postulated nationalities can coexist in one territory or not, with radically different implications. One interpretation argued for sovereign autonomy,

including the right to secede, for Muslim-majority areas of the Indian subcontinent, but without any transfer of populations (i.e., Hindus and Muslims would continue to live together). A different interpretation contends that Hindus and Muslims constitute "two distinct and frequently antagonistic ways of life and that therefore they cannot coexist in one nation." In this version, a transfer of populations (i.e., the total removal of Hindus from Muslim-majority areas and the total removal of Muslims from Hindu-majority areas) was a desirable step towards a complete separation of two incompatible nations that "cannot coexist in a harmonious relationship."

Gandhi and Abdul Ghaffar Khan at a pro-independence rally in Peshawar, 1938

Opposition to the theory has come from two sources. The first is the concept of a single Indian nation, of which Hindus and Muslims are two intertwined communities. This is a founding principle of the modern, officially secular Republic of India. Even after the formation of Pakistan, debates on whether Muslims and Hindus are distinct nationalities or not continued in that country as well. The second source of opposition is the concept that while Indians are not one nation, neither are the Muslims or Hindus of the subcontinent, and it is instead the relatively homogeneous provincial units of the subcontinent which are true nations and deserving of sovereignty; the Baloch have presented this view, along with the Sindhi<sup>[43]</sup> and Pashtunsub-nationalities of Pakistan and the Assamese<sup>[45]</sup> and Punjabisub-nationalities of India.

### **Kashmir Issue**

The Kashmir problem still remains unsettled as far as Pakistan is concerned. As far as India is concerned the Jammu and Kashmir is an integral

part of India as elections have been conducted and the only unsettled matter is with Pakistan occupied Kashmir. Pakistan signed Tashkent Declaration but it did not follow. She criticised it and observed an anti-Tashkent day on the occasion of its first anniversary. Anti Ayub propaganda led to leaving the power to General Yahya Khan. Ayub Khan resigned his post because of the opposition of the people. General Yahya Khan came to power and prevented Pakistan to follow the principles of Tashkent Declaration. He expressed his desire to live in peace with India. But he took no effort for that.

### **Liberation Of Bangladesh (Indo - Pak War 1971**

Elections were held in Pakistan in December, 1970. The very purpose of conducting election was to shift military rule to democratic rule in which elected representatives of the people would have power. Butto's party Pakistan People Party won in the West Pakistan and Mujib's party Awami League won in the East Pakistan. The National Assembly was not convened. It was postponed. On 3rd March, 1971 the Awami League organised a strike. On March 15, Mujib declared the independence of Bangladesh on March 15, 1971 and took over the administration. Then Mujib was arrested and sent to West Pakistan. Pakistan's army killed many people in Bangladesh. It resulted in the migration of people as refugees from Bangladesh to Indian provinces. Since migration was at a large level India had to tackle the problem of refugees. The people of Bangladesh organised Mukti Bahini a guerrilla force and attacked Pakistan forces which were stationed in Bangladesh. India also helped the Mukti Bahini forces indirectly. On 3 December, 1971 Pakistan planes of Air Force attacked upon several Indian airfields. Indian Airforce made a counter attack on Pakistani airfields. The war was lasting for fourteen days. Pakistani forces were defeated and at Dacca in Bangladesh more than 95,000 soldiers of Pakistan surrendered under General Nazi to Lt.Gen J.S.Arora of India. Both

the countries decided to settle their problems bilaterally. The Simla Agreement was drafted and signed on 3 July, 1972. Indira Gandhi and Bhutto signed the agreement. This was a landmark agreement in history.

### **Simla Agreement**

Its text is as follows: The Government of India and Government of Pakistan are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and work for promotion of a friendly relationship. Both countries agreed in principle not to take any unilateral decision which will affect the cordial relations. Both countries agreed to respect each others territory and peaceful coexistence. Both agreed to abandon false propaganda against each other. In Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the ceasefire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both the sides, without prejudice to the recognised position on either side. The withdrawal of forces was completed within thirty days.

**Significance of the Simla Agreement** The Simla Agreement was a landmark in the history of India and Pakistan. 'Indeed, the Simla Agreement was the outcome of the free will of India and Pakistan and it reflected the political maturity of both Indira Gandhi and Bhutto. The press and people and almost all the political parties of India accepted that the Simla Agreement was a positive step towards peace. U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim said that it was the first step on the long and necessarily arduous road to peace in the sub-continent. With regard to the significance of the Simla Agreement, 'it lies in the fact that it substitutes a new ceasefire line (brought about by the war of 1971) in the place of the old ceasefire line (1948-49). The new line gives India an additional territory of 400 Square miles.' The agreement gives India an international frontier instead of a ceasefire line. But the Simla Accord failed to solve the Kashmir issue. Nevertheless, the absence of war in the subcontinent

for the last 22 years owes much to the Simla Agreement and its underlying principles.

### **Kashmir Accord And Delhi Agreement**

After the birth of Bangladesh, the leader of Kashmir Sheikh Abdulla realised that he could not use the Pakistan factor for greater concessions from India. Under this situation Sheikh Abdullah withdrew the demand for plebiscite in Kashmir. The Government of India reiterated that Kashmir shall continue to be governed by Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. “The Indian government’s reconciliation with the Sheikh has taken much of the sting out of the Kashmir problem.” Indira Sheikh Accord of February 1975 put an end to the 20 years old stalemate. Though Pakistan’s reaction was hostile outwardly she wanted to integrate POK with her inwardly.

### **Delhi Agreement**

Two countries resolved the issue of repatriation of POW. The issue of trial of 195 Pakistani POWs on charges of war crimes and genocide was also amicably resolved. Bhutto recognised Bangladesh on 22nd February 1974. Following it the tripartite talk was held at New Delhi in which Pakistan, India and Bangladesh signed agreement in April 1974. As per the Agreement 195 POWs were returned to India.

### **India’s Nuclear Bomb And Pakistan’s Reaction**

India detonated a nuclear bomb at Pokhran in the vast desert of Rajasthan on 18th May, 1974. She proved her nuclear capability. It was a great success and welcomed by the developing countries in Asia and Africa. It was an event breaking the monopoly of the Super Powers. The Western countries

criticised India pointing out her economic condition. But India is firm in its policy that it is purely for the security of India. Indira Gandhi assured that the nuclear explosion was “entirely for peaceful purposes.” A.B.Vajpayee, the Prime Minister announced India’s nuclear tests on May 11, 1998 in New Delhi. The nuclear test began on May 11, 1998 two 37 more sub-kiloton nuclear tests were carried out at Pokhran range at 12.21 p.m on May 13, 1998. The tests were fully contained with no release of radioactivity into the atmosphere.

### **Indo-Pakistan Relations During The Janata Rule (1977 – 1979)**

In 1977 the Janta Party came to power and Morarji Desai became the Prime Minister of India and Vajpayee became minister of foreign affairs. Vajpayee paid a visit to Pakistan and stated that India would not assume the role of big brother. Economic relations between India and Pakistan increased. In 1978 India and Pakistan reached an agreement on the Salal Dam project on 12th April 1978. By this agreement India secured the right to build Salal Dam and power project on the Chenab river in Jammu and Kashmir. India agreed to cut the height of Salal Dam to 32 feet as against 40 feet, as proposed. Morarji Desai stated that India was ready to solve all outstanding issues with Pakistan including the Kashmir issue in an interview with a Pakistani journalist. It can be said that the period between 1977 and 1979 is recalled as the ‘golden period’ of Indo Pak relations.

### **Indo-Pakistan Relations Since 1980**

The premature end of Janata era in January 1980, and the development of Indo-Pakistan differences over the crisis in Afghanistan gave a new twist to the Indo-Pakistan relations in 1980. As per the Simla Agreement it was agreed that the mutual differences would be settled without the intervention of the third party. But the relations between them did not improve. During 1980 the USA

supplied F.16 planes to Pakistan as a reactionary measure taken against the intervention of U.S.S.R in Afghanistan. India worried about the development. Besides, Pakistan started terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir as a strategy. Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, like his predecessors, maintained that unless the controversial issue of Kashmir is resolved, we cannot solve any other problem. He asserted that it was Pakistan that had prevented the freedom fighters from crossing the line of control and go across. He also said, "it is now India to see the basic right of self-determination is given to the Kashmiris." Siachen glacier issue emerged during the early 1980 primarily because of the Indian attempts to occupy the unoccupied areas of the glacier. It is an issue on which no agreement seems to be forth coming between India and Pakistan as it is a part of the Kashmir problem. The Siachen glacier is located in an area where cease fire lines are ill-defined. For years, the glacier was not an issue of discord between the two countries. The early 1980 witnessed Indian efforts to establish territorial rights there. It lays at a very high altitude between 10,000 and 20000 feet above sea level. Both the countries spend huge amount to control the area. India Pakistan talks were held in New Delhi from November 5 to 13, 1998. The issues relating to the Tulbul barrage, Siachen glacier, Sir Creek, economic and commercial cooperation, terrorism and drug trafficking and cultural exchange figured in the discussions. A.B.Vajpayee took a historic initiative and visited Lahore during February 20-21, 1999. Its chief aim was conveying India's deep desire to establish peaceful, cooperative and friendly ties with Pakistan. The Lahore Declaration, a historic declaration, was signed by the Indian Prime Minister, A.B.Vajpayee, and the Pakistani Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, on February 21, 1999 in Lahore. The Lahore Declaration, which committed the two countries to build trust and confidence and develop mutually beneficial co-operation to resolve outstanding issues including Jammu and Kashmir through

bilateral negotiations, provided a blue print for Indo-Pakistan relations in the 21st Century.

### **Kargil Conflict 1999**

The ink had barely dried on the Lahore Declaration that Pakistani army launched a military attack in May 1999 across LoC. It occupied the heights along a 140 km. long stretch of Srinagar-Leh Highway. Its aim was to create a situation by which Pakistan would dominate the strategically important Kargil heights. India forced Pakistani troops to retreat to their side of LoC. India earned accolades from the entire world, Pakistan failed to provoke it into escalating the conflict into a full-scale war.

### **Indo-Pak wars (1948, 1965, 1971, 1999)**

Since the Crimean War, the role of media in all major wars and conflicts has been put to rigorous academic analysis (Knightly, 2004; Carruthers, 2011; Lasswell, 1927; Allan & Zelizer, 2004; Tunstall, 2007; Gaddard & Robinson, 2008; Barnett & Roselle, 2010; Aday et al, 2005; Lewis et al, 2006; Goddard, et al, 2008). The critical media scholars have identified a number of key determinants of war-media nexus like – willingness of media to play the patriotic card, self-censorship, government censorship, role of lobbies and the commercial interests of media industries (Robinson, 2000; Entman, 2004). In South Asia, a number of researchers have analyzed the escalatory role of media during wars between India and Pakistan (Seth, 2016; Thussu, 2002; Joshi, 2004; Khalid, 2014). Despite making a valuable contribution to understanding the role of media in Indo-Pak wars, these studies do not provide a comprehensive analysis mainly for two reasons. First, the available literature focuses mainly on the 1999 war between India and Pakistan and makes scant references to the other three wars which were fought between the two neighboring countries in

1947, 1965 and 1971. Secondly, most of the available work on the subject is in the form of discrete reports produced by NGOs and graduate students. Researchers of the present study believe that for understanding the role of media in national wars and conflicts, a holistic approach is warranted more than exploring their role in an individual war. We believe that contrary to the atomistic approach for analysis of national mass media in a war the holistic approach enables one to make easier comparisons of media role and give a more vivid and delineated picture of the phenomenon in question for better understanding which in turn helps in drawing more relevant and rational inferences. Hence the researchers designed the present study to examine the role of national media in all the wars which India and Pakistan have fought so far against one another. This study would contribute to the existing literature in two ways: First, it will help us know how media system in a third world country behaves in a belligerent environment. Second, it will help us know what factors have acquired prominence in media framing of the prolonged conflict between the two atomic powers. According to Madiratta (2014), the robust media in both India and Pakistan have added new dimensions to the decade-old rivalry between them while others have lamented that media in the two countries is responsible for conflict-escalation (Khalid, 2014; Boss, 2016). Keeping view the above two objectives in mind, the researchers will first identify the key discursive themes in the leading press of Pakistan. Secondly, the researchers will record how these discursive themes vary over a period of time in the different wars.

### **Wars between India and Pakistan**

Since separation as two independent states in 1947, both India and Pakistan have been at the loggerheads due to an array of unresolved issues, particularly the disputed territory of Kashmir. The two countries have fought four wars in 1947-8, 1965, 1971 and 1999 and still they are not at peace with one

another. Thousands of innocent lives have been lost in these four wars and despite interventions and commitments at bilateral as well as at international levels, the contested issue remain unresolved. As this study is focusing on the analysis of media conduct during wars, the researchers will try to briefly present key events in these four wars, though it is not easy to find impartial accounts due to the highly biased academic environment in India and Pakistan.

### **First war (October 1947- January 1948)**

The first war erupted in October 1947 when tribesmen from Pakistan came to the support of Kashmiri Muslims who revolted against Maharaja Hari Singh' decision of accession with India. At the time of the partition of the Indian subcontinent, the State of Jammu and Kashnir was one of the 564 princely states that had to choose either joining with India or Pakistan in accordance with the twin principles of geographical contiguity and self-determination. Though Kashmir had a Muslim majority (77% in the census of 1941), and shared a long border with Pakistan, the Maharaja refused to opt for Pakistan (Hussain 2009). To save his rule from the Kashmiri mutineers, the Maharaja requested the assistance of the Indian armed forces, in return for acceding to India. However, there is considerable debate among historians on the accurate timing between when the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir signed the document of accession and when the Indian army moved into the state. While Pakistani leaning historians believe the Maharaja signed the agreement under duress, the Indian historians believe the decision was made voluntarily (Hussain, 2009). The Prime Minister of India Jawahar Lal Nehru approached UN and offered holding of a UN-administered plebiscite for deciding final status of Kashmir as part of agreement for ceasefire with Pakistan in 1948(Schofield, 2000). The United Nations passed a resolution that "both India and Pakistan desire that the question of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be

decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite" (UNSC 21 April 1948). On 13 August 1948, UNSC adopted another resolution that also states that future status of the state Jammu and Kashmir will be determined in accordance to the will of the people of the state (UNSC 13 August 1948). However, these resolutions and commitments were never acted upon and even after seven decades, the stalemate continues.

### **Second war (April-September 1965)**

India and Pakistan fought the second war in 1965. This war is attributed to two factors: First, the border skirmishes in the Runn of Kutch in April 1965 when Indian troops penetrated into Pakistani side and secondly, the operation Gibraltar which Pakistan army launched to support 'freedom struggle' in Indian controlled Kashmir in August 1965. According to an Indian author, Pakistani army resorted to war because it wanted to wrest Kashmir from Indian control(Ganguly 1990). However, instead of limiting the war to Kashmir, India opened up international border near Lahore and Sialkot which resulted in a full scale war between the two countries. By September 22, 1965, both sides agreed to a UN mandated ceasefire. The United Nations Security Council unanimously passed a resolution on 20 September, calling for a cessation of the hostilities(Ganguly 1990). On January 10, 1966, Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistani President Ayub Khan signed an agreement at Tashkent (Uzbekistan), agreeing to withdraw to pre-August lines.

### **Third war (December 1971)**

This war started in March 1971 when civil war erupted in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) against the rulers of West Pakistan for their high-handedness. The military ruler of Pakistan General Yahya Khan ordered action against the suspected 'Bengali separatist'. India intervened in the civil war and actively

supported the Bengali separatists who wanted separation from the West Pakistan. On their request, India launched a land, air and sea assault on East Pakistan and in just 13 days was able to force Pakistan army to surrender at Dhaka, and took 90,000 soldiers as prisoners of war. East Pakistan became independent country of Bangladesh on December 16, 1971. Hostilities between India and Pakistan continued till July 1972 when both the countries signed Shimla Agreement and vowed to settle their differences through peaceful means.

#### **Fourth war (May-July 1999)**

In May 1999, Pakistani forces and Kashmiri fighters occupied strategic positions on the Indian side of Line of Control which led to an Indian counter offensive. The Pakistani military wanted to occupy terrain in the Dras-Kargil sector to provide a fillip to the Kashmiri freedom movement (Qadir 2002). This prompted a small-scale and limited war between the two newly nuclear armed states (Lavoy 2009). The international community, particularly the US was concerned this time and actively intervened to end hostilities between the two countries in July, 1999.

**Media, Wars and Conflicts** According to the liberal theory of press, during wars, media should remain objective and impartial and expose lies and propaganda (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005). Since declaration of war is the most important decision that a government makes, and it is essential for media to critically evaluate such an eventuality. Unfortunately, this does not happen in the realm of real politik (Carruthers, 2011) though the need for correct information increases manifold during such occasions to counter the propaganda and jingoism of war-mongers (Barton and Campbell, 2001). The existing scholarship reveals that journalists exhibit extreme form of patriotism and nationalism during wars and leave behind the considerations of

professionalism (Knightly, 2004; Allan & Zelizer, 2004; Thussu & Freedman, 2003; Snow & Kamilpour, 2004; Ottosen & Nohresdet, 2010). From the Crimean war to the Spanish invasion of Cuba to the recent war of Iraq, media have predominantly supported the war initiatives of policy makers. In Rwanda and Hitler's Germany, media openly called for killing the 'enemy' by declaring them threat to national security (Des Forge, 2007; Herf, 2006). Likely, the US media largely remained subdued to elites during the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan in modern times.

### **Impact of the Cold War on Indo-Pak Relations**

The Cold War had a profound influence on the relations between India and Pakistan. Soon after independence, both nations adopted different foreign policy orientations, which deepened political and military rivalry.

#### **1. Alignment and Military Alliances**

Pakistan joined Western military alliances such as SEATO (1954) and CENTO (1955) with the support of the United States. This gave Pakistan access to military and financial aid. India, on the other hand, adopted a policy of Non-Alignment. This divergence heightened suspicion and mistrust between the two nations.

#### **2. Militarization of Pakistan**

US military and economic assistance strengthened Pakistan's armed forces. With increased defence capability, Pakistan felt confident to challenge India, contributing to conflicts such as the 1965 Indo-Pak War. The Cold War thus indirectly fueled Pakistan's aggressive stance.

#### **3. Indo-Soviet Friendship**

India's closer relations with the Soviet Union, especially after signing the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation (1971), shaped the regional balance of power. This Soviet support helped India during the 1971 Bangladesh War, further straining Indo-Pak relations.

#### **4. Superpower Involvement in Conflicts**

The United States and the Soviet Union often intervened diplomatically during Indo-Pak conflicts. US tilt towards Pakistan and Soviet support to India caused each side to perceive the other as a proxy of rival superpowers, widening the gap between them.

#### **5. Kashmir Issue and Global Politics**

Cold War politics internationalized the Kashmir dispute. Pakistan sought support from the US and the UN, while India relied on Soviet vetoes in the UN Security Council. This external involvement complicated peaceful resolution efforts.

#### **Nuclear tests and missile race india**

Nuclear Tests and Missile Race in India – Short Notes

##### **1. India's Nuclear Programme – Background**

- India's nuclear policy is based on peaceful uses of nuclear energy and strategic security needs.
- Driven by regional security issues and the need for credible minimum deterrence.

## **2. Pokhran-I (1974)**

- Codename: “Smiling Buddha”
- Conducted on 18 May 1974 at Pokhran, Rajasthan.
- India became the first country outside the P-5 (USA, USSR, UK, France, China) to conduct a nuclear test.
- Declared as a peaceful nuclear explosion, but marked India’s entry into the nuclear club.

## **3. Pokhran-II (1998)**

- Conducted on 11 & 13 May 1998 under Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee.
- Series of five nuclear tests.
- Demonstrated:
  - Fission bombs
  - Fusion (thermonuclear) device
  - Sub-kiloton tests
- India declared itself a nuclear weapons state.
- Led to global sanctions but strengthened India’s strategic position.

## **4. Missile Development Programme**

India’s missile race accelerated with the Integrated Guided Missile Development Programme (IGMDP) launched in 1983 under Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam.

Major Missiles Developed

**Prithvi Series**

- Short-range ballistic missiles.
- Highly accurate, used by Army, Air Force, and Navy.

### **Agni Series**

- Backbone of India's nuclear deterrence.
- Ranges:
  - Agni-I: 700–900 km
  - Agni-II: 2,000–3,000 km
  - Agni-III: 3,500 km
  - Agni-IV: 4,000 km
  - Agni-V: 5,000+ km (can reach China)

### **Akash**

- Medium-range surface-to-air missile.

### **Nag**

- Anti-tank guided missile.

### **BrahMos**

- Supersonic cruise missile (India–Russia joint project).
- One of the fastest cruise missiles in the world.

## **5. Strategic Impact**

- India strengthened second-strike capability and deterrence posture.
- Missile advancement ensured:
  - Credible Minimum Deterrence (CMD)

- No First Use (NFU) policy
- Triggered a nuclear and missile race in South Asia, particularly with Pakistan.
- Enhanced India's global strategic standing.

### **Kargil Conflict-1999**

The Kargil Conflict was fought in high altitude mountains of Ladakh. This region is sparsely populated and it consists of diverse religious, linguistic and ethnic groups in one of the world's highest mountains. India and Pakistan fought for Jammu and Kashmir in 1947-1948 and the battle ended with the cease fire line which bisects the Baltistan district. Kargil was on the Indian Territory in the Ladakh subdivision of Jammu and Kashmir. Both India and Pakistan went to war in 1965 and 1971. This was the fourth conflict after independence. Previous this time Pakistan had sent infiltrators on the quiet who occupied important heights in the mountains. It became necessary to evict them from the heights. See the map above and identify the places marked. This was called the 'Conflict Zone' and includes the Muskho Valley, Drass, Batalik sector, Kaksar, Tololing heights, Tiger Hill, Southwest and Northeast of Kargil. Strategically the area enjoys a high ground which would give advantages to the defending force and increase difficulties to the attacker. Sitting on these heights one can see the towns of Drass and Kargil below. Kargil is 788 km from Pakistan controlled town of Skardu. The average heights of the mountains in Kargil are 16000 ft and the winter temperature can go upto -48 C. Pakistan had trained and covertly sent Pakistani troops and paramilitary forces, under the guise of Mujahedeen along the Line of Control (LoC) in Kargil Sector for monitoring and gathering information of the Indian movement in the LoC. Such infiltration was code named "Operation Badr". Their main aim was to force Indian Forces to

withdraw from the Siachen Glacier and to cut off Ladakh region and internationalise the Kashmir issue so as to have a speedy resolution.

## **Background**

During 1998, several intrusions were carried out by the Pakistani sides in the places of Mushkon Valley, Marpo La near Drass, Kaksar near Kargil, Chorbatla sector and Turtok sector south of the Siachen area. The reason behind Pakistan reoccupying the India post in the LoC was to dominate the towns of Kargil and Drass, internationalise the Siachen glacier and Kashmir issue. In Batalik sector, an attack was carried out by the enemy troops over the Indian army who were on routine patrolling duty, under the team led by Capt. Saurabh Kalia.

**There were three major phases to the Kargil War.**

- First, Pakistan infiltrated forces into the Indian-controlled section of Kashmir and occupied strategic locations. This enabled it to bring the road connecting Drass and Kargil within range of its artillery fire. See fig. 20.1. This is how the Pakistan army infiltrated and occupied the heights of Kargil. Pakistan called its operation Al Badar.
- The next stage consisted of India discovering the infiltration and mobilising forces to respond to it.
- The final stage involved major battles by Indian and Pakistani forces resulting in India recapturing the territories held by Pakistani forces and the subsequent withdrawal of Pakistani forces back across the Line of Control.

1) In military terms 'Operation Vijay' was a limited conflict with 2 to 3 Divisions involved on both sides. Apart from keeping the plan top secret, the Pakistan Army also undertook certain steps to maintain surprise and deception.

2) Unlike other similar high altitude areas, the Kargil Mountains lose snow cover rapidly as the summer progresses. Below the peaks and the ridgelines are loose rocks, which make climbing extremely difficult. The movement of the troops is slow, labourious and time consuming.

3) The Intruders on the heights were a mixture of professional soldiers and mercenaries. They included the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 12th battalions of some Pakistan Army's Northern Light Infantry (NLI). Among them were some Mujahideen and members of Pakistan's Special Services Group (SSG). It was initially estimated that there were about 500 to 1,000 intruders occupying the heights but later it was estimated that the actual strength of the intruders may have been about 5,000.

4) The infiltrators, apart from being equipped with small arms (rifles and machine guns) and grenade launchers, were also armed with mortars, artillery and antiaircraft guns. Many posts were also heavily mined.

#### Indian Army Operations

(a) The Indian Army detected the intrusions between May 3 and May 12, 1999. Strategic planning for operations was carried out by the Indian Army from May 15 to May 25, 1999. Such activities included military operations, troops movement, artillery and other equipment were moved in and the necessary equipment was also purchased from friendly countries. On May 26,

1999, Indian Army carried out offensive action named Operation VIJAY to evict the Pakistani intruders.

(b) Indian troops moved towards Pakistani occupied positions with air cover provided by aircraft and helicopters. However 1AF was ordered not to cross the LOC as India did not want to enlarge the scope of war. A joint InfantryArtillery battle with air cover was launched on regular Pakistani soldiers of the Northern Light Infantry (NLI) who occupied high altitude mountain peaks and ridgelines. Indian troops deployed firepower that could destroy the intruders.

(c) About, 250 artillery guns fired on enemy positions to clear the infiltrators. The Bofors FH-77B field howitzer played a vital role in this operation. An innovative tactics was employment for Artillery firepower in battle. A massive exchange of fire broke out between the two groups. Three hundred Artillery guns, mortars and rocket launchers fired approximately 5000 shells, rockets and bombs on a daily basis at the enemy.

(d) Indian army used the 155 mm Bofors medium guns and 105 mm guns and prevented the enemy from interfering with the assault. The Arillary fire was so devastating that the Army captured Tiger Hill and Point 4875 on July 5, Mashkoh Valley on July 7, 1999. The Indian Army renamed the Point 4875 as “Gun Hill” in honour of the stupendous performance of the Gunners in the Drass and Mashkoh sub-sectors.

(e) Tiger Hill was bombed with high explosives which caused large-scale death and devastation and the Indian Artillery fired their 122 mm Grad multi-barrel rocket launchers (MBRLs). These were employed in the direct firing role audaciously without regard for personal safety. Even such incidents of the guns

firing were telecast in full view of TV cameras and the nation watched in rapt attention for the first time in history of independent India.

(f) In the Batalik sector despite heavy casualties the Artillery OPs were established on dominating heights. Another victory was added when Indian forces recaptured Point 5203 and Khalubar on 21 June and July 6 respectively. With the effective use of artillery guns by India, the Pakistani forces started suffering casualties and their moral went down.

(g) Firepower played a significant role in weakening the Pakistani defences, destroying its battalion and headquarters and mainly the logistics supplies. In the Kargil war the Indian troops fired over 250, 000 shells, bombs and rockets, i.e. 5,000 shells, mortar bombs and rockets daily.

### **Role of Indian Air Force**

The IAF launched an operation called 'Operation Safed Sagar' to support the ground troops during the war. Such role was limited due to the weather condition, high altitude, limited bomb loads and less number of airstrips. As the terrain in the Kargil area is at 16,000 to 18,000 feet above sea level, it needs well trained personal and special aircrafts. On May 27, the MiG-27 flown by Flt Lt Nachiketa, while attacking a target in Batalik sector, developed an engine trouble and he had to bailout. Sqn Ldr Ajay Ahuja, in a MiG-21, went out of the way to locate the downed pilot and in the process was hit by a Pakistani surface- to-air missile (SAM). He ejected safely but his body bearing gun wounds was returned subsequently by Pakistan. The state-of-the-art Mirage-2000s along with Mig -29 were used for electronic warfare, reconnaissance and ground attack carrying free-fall bombs. It also fired the laser-guided bomb with deadly effects causing considerable destruction to Pakistani bunkers on the ridges at Tiger Hill

and Muntho Dhalo. In the Mirage attack on MunthoDhalo, 180 Pakistani troops were killed.

### **Role of Indian Navy**

The Indian Navy blocked the Pakistani ports near Karachi to cut off the supply routes. The Navy was clear that a reply to the Pakistani misadventure had to be two-pronged. It was decided by Naval Head Quarters that all efforts must be made to deter Pakistan from escalating the conflict into a full scale. From May 20 onwards the Indian Navy was on full alert for launch of the naval retaliatory offensive. Thus, Naval and Coast Guard aircraft were put on a continuous surveillance and the units readied. Rapid reaction missile boats and ships from the fleet were deployed in the North Arabian Sea for carrying out missile firing, anti-submarine and electronic warfare. Sea Harrier aircrafts can take off vertically and do not need a runway. In 'Operation Talwar', the 'Eastern Fleet' joined the 'Western Naval Fleet' and blocked the Arabian sea routes of Pakistan. Later, the Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif disclosed that the country was left with just six days of fuel to sustain itself if a full-fledged war had broken out. This also means that our strategy of blocking the port of Karachi worked.

### **American Intervention during Kargil Conflict**

During the outbreak of war, Pakistan asked American help in de-escalating the conflict. On June 18, the G-8 group of the world's leading industrial nations met at Cologne in Germany, and asked Pakistan to stop the aggression on the LoC and resume talks with India. The American President, Bill Clinton refused to intervene until Pakistani troops were fully withdrawn from the Indian side of the Line of Control. On July 4, Pakistan Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, agreed to remove all his troops and most of the fighting came to

a gradual halt, while some troops remained in the LoC. The United Jihad Council rejected Pakistan plan for a withdrawal and instead decided to fight on independently. The victory is celebrated as Kargil Vijay Diwas on 26th July every year (Kargil Victory Day) in India. India resumed its control of all territory which was established in July 1972 as per the Shimla Agreement. The World community criticised Pakistan for instigating the war, as both the Pakistan paramilitary forces and insurgents crossed the Line of Control. Pakistan tries to justify the world community but its diplomatic stance found few backers on the world stage.

### **Role of Indian Media during Kargil Conflict**

During the Kargil War, the war stories and war footage were often telecast in Television and many websites provided deep analysis of the war to the public. This conflict was the first “live” war in South Asia with detailed media coverage. News papers and TV channels were allowed to be in Kargil and allowed to cover war live. Some other activities related to the media, which the Indian Government under took were as listed below:

- a) The Indian government placed a temporary news ban on Pakistan, banning the telecast of the state-run Pakistani Channel PTV and blocking access to online editions of the Dawn newspaper. In turn Pakistan criticized India on curbing the freedom of press in India. Indian media claimed that the government action was in the interest of National Security.
- b) The Indian media ran stories in foreign publications including The Times and The Washington Post, with creditable details of Pakistan’s role in supporting the extremists in Kashmir. Media coverage of the conflict was more intense in India than in Pakistan as war progressed. Indian channels showed images from the battle zone in a style similar to the coverage of the Gulf War by

CNN (An American News Channel). Reasons behind the increased coverage were because Indian Government gave opportunity to the media to cover the war live. India has greater number of privately owned electronic media as compared to Pakistan with freedom to report. Pakistan journalists agreed in a seminar in Karachi that the Indian government had taken the press and the people into its confidence. According to some analysts, Indian media was both larger in number and more credible which may have acted as a force multiplier for the Indian military operations in Kargil and served as a morale booster.

**The Kargil Review Committee (KRC)** After the war was over the Prime Minister of India Atal Bihari Vajipayee set up an inquiry about the causes of Indian intelligence failures. The committee was to identify weaknesses in the organisation of the Armed Forces and suggest remedial measures. The Committee had, K. Subrahmanyam (Chairman), Lieutenant General (Retd.) K.K. Hazari, B.G. Verghese and Satish Chandra, Secretary, National Security Council Secretariat (NSCS) who was also designated as Member-Secretary. The Committee's findings are based primarily on official documents, authenticated records and copies of documents. The report was not an investigation into what happened at Kargil, but a review of the developments and recommendations as to the measures to be undertaken to prevent such an occurrence in future. The report also gave for reaching recommendation to restructure our security set up. You have studied about the number of wars fought by India after independence. Other than these wars that you have studied, Indian Army has fought bravely in a number of other places. In Siachen glacier, the Army had to occupy some posts at very high altitudes in extreme cold temperatures because Pakistanis were trying to occupy the area illegally. Similarly our Army was sent to Sri Lanka in 1987 to help the Sri Lankan Government battle the LTTE. In both these areas our soldiers fought with great valour and were awarded the highest gallantry

award the Param Vir Chakra. Find out the names of the soldiers who were awarded the PVC in this war.

### **Cross-Border Terrorism in India**

#### **Introduction**

Cross-border terrorism refers to terrorist activities planned, supported, or executed from outside a country's borders. In the case of India, it primarily originates from Pakistan and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK). It includes infiltration, training of militants, providing weapons, funding extremist groups, and launching attacks on Indian soil. For over three decades, cross-border terrorism has posed one of India's most serious national security challenges.

#### **Historical Background**

The roots of cross-border terrorism go back to the late 1980s when insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir gained momentum. Pakistan began supporting militant groups as part of its strategy of “proxy war” against India. Over the years, terrorism expanded beyond Kashmir, targeting major cities and security establishments across India.

#### **Major Terrorist Organisations Involved**

Several Pakistan-based groups have played a central role in promoting cross-border terrorism:

- Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) - Responsible for the 26/11 Mumbai attacks.
- Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) - Behind the Parliament attack (2001) and Pulwama attack (2019).

- Hizbul Mujahideen - Active in Kashmir Valley.

These groups have received safe havens, training camps, weapons, and logistical support from elements within Pakistan.

### **Modes and Methods of Cross-Border Terrorism**

1. Infiltration across the Line of Control (LoC) using rugged terrain.
2. Training camps located in PoK and Pakistan.
3. Smuggling of arms and explosives through borders and via drones.
4. Funding networks using hawala channels and fake currency.
5. Online radicalization to recruit youth.
6. Launching Fidayeen (suicide) attacks on security forces and civilians.

### **Major Cross-Border Terror Attacks in India**

- 1999 - IC 814 hijacking
- 2001 - Indian Parliament attack
- 2008 - Mumbai 26/11 attack
- 2016 - Pathankot and Uri attacks
- 2019 - Pulwama suicide bombing

These attacks caused heavy casualties and created tension between India and Pakistan.

### **Causes for Cross-Border Terrorism**

1. Pakistan's use of terrorism as state policy to weaken India.
2. Unsettled Kashmir conflict exploited by Pakistan-backed groups.
3. Religious radicalization by extremist organisations.
4. Military rivalry and historical hostility between India and Pakistan.
5. Geography of Kashmir, which makes border infiltration easier.

## **Impact on India**

- Loss of thousands of soldiers and civilians.
- Disturbance of peace and development in Jammu & Kashmir.
- Rise of communal tensions and political instability.
- Heavy economic burden on national security and surveillance.
- Repeated diplomatic tension between India and Pakistan.
- Strengthened resolve of India to modernize its military and intelligence systems.

## **India's Response to Cross-Border Terrorism**

### **1. Military Measures**

- Surgical Strike (2016) on terror launch pads in PoK.
- Balakot Airstrike (2019) destroying JeM training camp deep inside Pakistan.
- Strengthening border fencing and deploying advanced surveillance technology.

### **2. Diplomatic Efforts**

- Isolating Pakistan at global platforms like UN, FATF, and SAARC.
- Gaining international support condemning Pakistan-based terrorism.

### **3. Legal and Security Measures**

- Strengthening laws such as UAPA and empowering the National Investigation Agency (NIA).

- Disrupting financial networks that fund terrorism.
- NSA-led anti-terror coordination committees.

#### 4. Developmental Initiatives in Kashmir

- Political reforms, infrastructure development, employment schemes, and community outreach to reduce local recruitment.

#### Indus River Water Sharing

The Indus Waters Treaty is a water-sharing agreement between India and Pakistan signed in 1960. It was brokered by the World Bank. This is an important treaty and one of the most successful water-sharing agreements to date. It is an important topic for the as it features in the news whenever Indo-Pak relations are discussed.

#### Indus Water Treaty Latest Update

- The Indus Water Treaty (IWT) between India and Pakistan marks its 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary on 19<sup>th</sup> September 2020.
- In March India had suggested a virtual conference but Pakistan had insisted on a physical meeting. But, India said because of restrictions on movement in light of the COVID-19 pandemic, travelling to the border for a meeting isn't advisable.
- In August 25, 2021 Pakistan raised objections to a mega 624 MW project over the Chenab river in Jammu and Kashmir citing that the dam was in violation of the Indus Water treaty. But the Indian government firmly asserted that the construction of the dam was within the established norms of the treaty.

## Indus Waters Treaty (IWT)

The IWT was signed by the then Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the then Pakistani President Ayub Khan. Brokered by the World Bank (then known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development), the negotiations for the agreement went on for nine years.

Ever since the partition of India in 1947, the Indus River had been a bone of contention between the four countries through which it runs - India, Pakistan, China, and Afghanistan. The river originates from Tibet.

India had blocked water to Pakistan for some time in 1948 but later restored it after the ceasefire. In 1951, Pakistan took the matter to the United Nations (UN) and accused India of cutting the supply of water to many Pakistani villages.

On the recommendations of the UN, the World Bank came up with this agreement in 1954. It was eventually signed on September 19, 1960.

### Indus Waters Treaty - Provisions in Brief

The treaty spells out conditions for water-sharing of the River Indus and its five tributaries.

- India got control over the three eastern rivers, which are:
  - Ravi
  - Beas
  - Sutlej
- All the waters of the Eastern Rivers shall be available for the unrestricted use of India until the arise of any unwanted situation.
- Pakistan got control over the three western rivers, which are:

- Indus
- Chenab
- Jhelum
- A Permanent Indus Commission was set up by the United Nations for resolving any disputes that may arise in water sharing, with a mechanism for arbitration to resolve conflicts amicably.
- According to the treaty, India can use the water from the western rivers for domestic, non-consumptive needs such as storage, irrigation, and also the generation of electricity.
- The treaty gives India 20% of the water from the Indus River System and the rest 80% to Pakistan.
- In executing any scheme of flood protection or flood control each country(India/Pakistan) will avoid, as far as practicable, any material damage to the other country.
- The use of the natural channels of the Rivers for the discharge of flood or other excess waters shall be free and not subject to limitation by either India or Pakistan, and neither of the countries shall have any claim against the other in respect of any damage caused by such use.

### **Indus Waters Treaty Issues**

There have been issues concerning the treaty with both sides accusing each other of violating the terms of the treaty.

- In 2016, Pakistan had approached the World Bank raising concerns of India's Kishenganga and Ratle hydroelectric power projects being constructed in Jammu & Kashmir. India then requested for neutral experts to inspect the plants, saying that the points raised by Pakistan

were technical ones and do not require a court of arbitration (as Pakistan has taken it to an arbitration court). The World Bank permitted India to proceed with the projects after talks were concluded between both the countries on the technicalities of the treaty.

- The Tulbul project (which is a navigation lock-cum-control structure at the mouth of the Wular Lake, situated on the Jhelum from Anantnag to Srinagar and Baramulla) was suspended in 1987 after Pakistan objected to it. Recently, the government decided to review this suspension not taking into account Pakistan's protests.
- Pakistan's Left Bank Outfall Drain (LBOD) project passes through the Rann of Kutch in India's Gujarat. The project was constructed without India's consent. India has objected because this is in contravention to the IWT. The lower riparian state is in India and hence it needs to be given all details. There is also the danger of flooding in the state of Gujarat.
- Recently, the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan have taken on a downward spiral. In the wake of the Uri attacks on India, Prime Minister Modi remarked that blood and water cannot flow simultaneously indicating to Pakistan that its support to terrorism across the border will lead to India rethinking its generous stance on the IWT. Indeed, many experts believe that the treaty is more favourable towards Pakistan than India.
- Another issue cited with the IWT is that it was signed on India's behalf by the then PM Nehru. However, he was not the head of state and that the treaty ought to have been signed by the head of state, the then president of the country.

- India does not use its entire share of water it is entitled to as per the provisions of the IWT. About 2 million acre-feet (MAF) of water from the River Ravi flows into Pakistan unutilized by India.
- In the wake of the Pulwama attacks in 2019, the Indian government stated that all water flowing into Pakistan at present, in the three eastern rivers, will be diverted to Haryana, Punjab, and Rajasthan for different uses.
- To prevent this flow and utilize the entire share of water under the Treaty, India has taken the following steps:
  - Shahpurkandi Project: This will help in generating power for Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir.
  - Ujh Multipurpose Project: This will create storage of water on the Ujh, which is a tributary of the River Ravi, for irrigation as well as power generation.
  - 2nd Ravi Beas link below Ujh: This has been declared a National Project by the GOI. This involves constructing a barrage across river Ravi for diverting water through a tunnel link to the Beas Basin. This is planned to prevent excess water flowing into Pakistan.

### **Developments on the Eastern rivers of Indus Water Treaty**

1. To utilize the waters of the Eastern rivers which have been allocated to India for exclusive use, India has constructed Bhakra Dam on Satluj river, Pong and Pandoh Dam on Beas river, and Thein (Ranjit Sagar Dam) on Ravi river.
2. India utilizes nearly an entire share of 95% of the water of Eastern rivers with the help of works like Beas-Sutlej Link, Madhopur-Beas Link,

Indira Gandhi Nahar Project, etc. However, about 2 Million Acre Feet (MAF) of water from Ravi is reported annually to be still flowing unutilized to Pakistan below Madhopur.

3. India has taken the following steps to stop the flow of this water to Pakistan which belongs to India for its utilization-
  - o Construction of Shahpur Kandi Project to utilize the water coming from Thein Dam for irrigation and power generation in Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir.
  - o Construction of Ujh multipurpose project - River Ujh is a tributary of Ravi. It will create storage of water for irrigation and power generation in India. This project is a National Project whose completion period will be 6 years from the beginning of the implementation.
  - o The 2nd Ravi Beas link below Ujh project is being planned to tap excess water flowing down to Pakistan through river Ravi, even after construction of Thein Dam, by constructing a barrage across river Ravi for diverting water through a tunnel link to Beas basin.

### **IWT - Options for India**

A few political thinkers believe that the treaty is one-sided and biased towards Pakistan and that it should be abrogated.

However, this is easier said than done and not without serious ramifications.

- The treaty's provisions do not allow a unilateral abrogation.
- Even if India decides to back down from the treaty, the 1969 Vienna Convention on the law of treaties should be abided by.

- This can hamper the country's image internationally. India's other neighbouring countries like Bangladesh and Nepal may become skeptical about similar treaties with them.
- Some experts on international affairs think that India should safeguard bilateral treaties if it is aspiring for a permanent seat in the UNSC.
- The move to abrogate the treaty may lead to more problems with respect to terrorist activities.
- India should also build adequate infrastructure to use the entire water before stopping water from Pakistan.
- Another angle is that of China. China, with its support to Pakistan, may block the water from the Brahmaputra to Assam. It can also stop the waters of the Indus which originates in the Chinese territory.

Experts opine that India should use the waters of the western rivers as permitted by the IWT. This alone can send a strong signal to Pakistan. A lot should be thought over before any other drastic steps are taken, as they can have lasting effects on the relationship with Pakistan.

## **INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS**

The premature end of Janata era in January 1980, and the development of Indo-Pakistan differences over the crisis in Afghanistan gave a new twist to the Indo-Pakistan relations in 1980. As per the Simla Agreement it was agreed that the mutual differences would be settled without the intervention of the third party. But the relations between them did not improve. During 1980 the USA supplied F.16 planes to Pakistan as a reactionary measure taken against the intervention of U.S.S.R in Afghanistan. India worried about the development. Besides, Pakistan started terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir as a strategy. Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, like his predecessors, maintained that

unless the controversial issue of Kashmir is resolved, we cannot solve any other problem. He asserted that it was Pakistan that had prevented the freedom fighters from crossing the line of control and go across. He also said, “it is now India to see the basic right of self-determination is given to the Kashmiris.” Siachen glacier issue emerged during the early 1980 primarily because of the Indian attempts to occupy the unoccupied areas of the glacier. It is an issue on which no agreement seems to be forth coming between India and Pakistan as it is a part of the Kashmir problem. The Siachen glacier is located in an area where cease fire lines are ill-defined. For years, the glacier was not an issue of discord between the two countries. The early 1980 witnessed Indian efforts to establish territorial rights there. It lays at a very high altitude between 10,000 and 20000 feet above sea level. Both the countries spend huge amount to control the area. India Pakistan talks were held in New Delhi from November 5 to 13, 1998. The issues relating to the Tulbul barrage, Siachen glacier, Sir Creek, economic and commercial cooperation, terrorism and drug trafficking and cultural exchange figured in the discussions. A.B.Vajpayee took a historic initiative and visited Lahore during February 20-21, 1999. Its chief aim was conveying India’s deep desire to establish peaceful, cooperative and friendly ties with Pakistan. The Lahore Declaration, a historic declaration, was signed by the Indian Prime Minister, A.B.Vajpayee, and the Pakistani Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, on February 21, 1999 in Lahore. The Lahore Declaration, which committed the two countries to build trust and confidence and develop mutually beneficial co-operation to resolve outstanding issues including Jammu and Kashmir through bilateral negotiations, provided a blue print for Indo-Pakistan relations in the 21st Century.

### **Kargil Conflict 1999**

The ink had barely dried on the Lahore Declaration that Pakistani army launched a military attack in May 1999 across LoC. It occupied the heights along a 140 km. long stretch of Srinagar-Leh Highway. Its aim was to create a situation by which Pakistan would dominate the strategically important Kargil heights. India forced Pakistani troops to retreat to their side of LoC. India earned accolades from the entire world, Pakistan failed to provoke it into escalating the conflict into a full-scale war.

## AN APPRAISAL

India's diplomatic failure with regard to China affected her prestige in the international arena. Pakistan decided to settle the Kashmir problem by means of war. Besides she accumulated arms and ammunitions from the Western countries in order to contain the spread of communism, she drew the support of China. Perhaps the military strength would have led Pakistan to attack India. However, India did not fail to improve the relations between India and Pakistan.

### Self-Assessment Questions

1. What were the major impacts of colonial policies on the early relationship between India and Pakistan after 1947?
2. How did the Partition of India contribute to long-term political and territorial disputes, especially in Kashmir?
3. What were the main causes and outcomes of the Indo-Pak Wars of 1947-48, 1965, 1971, and 1999 (Kargil)?
4. How did the Cold War influence the foreign policy positions of India and Pakistan toward each other?
5. Why are issues such as nuclear tests, cross-border terrorism, Indus River water sharing, and the Chinese factor important in shaping Indo-Pak relations today?

## Unit -III

India's relations with China :- Early years - Indo - China war of 1962 - Border Dispute and Negotiations - Tibetan Issue - Recognition of Sikkim as an integral part of India - Chinese interest in the Indian Ocean region - Economic relations

### Objectives

1. To understand the early diplomatic relations and major conflicts between India and China, including the 1962 war.
2. To examine key issues such as border disputes, the Tibetan question, and China's recognition of Sikkim.
3. To study China's strategic interests in the Indian Ocean and evaluate the economic relations between the two countries.

### India's relations with China

India and China have cultural heritage. There had been cultural, religious and commercial contact between them. Buddhism spread in China and many Chinese pilgrims came to India and left their accounts in their itineraries which give some historical accounts of India. But the political condition of India and China in the eighteenth century and thereafter underwent a great change. Both the countries were under the yoke of western Imperialist rulers. China was dominated by the Western powers and India was under the British rulers. India got independence in 1947 and the People's Republic of China came to power in China after defeating the forces of nationalistic government of Chian Kai Seik in 1949. While India has adopted democracy China has adopted communism. Both the countries had to reconstruct the economic condition of their country.

India tried her level best under Jawaharlal Nehru, the former Prime Minister of India. Nehru was a man of ideas and a great diplomat. He had much influence in international arena. He followed the Non-Alignment policy and thereby he was away from the power politics of the Super Powers. Posing himself as a champion of world peace, he took the decision to bring about peace.

### **Relations Between India And China**

India was one among the first countries which recognised People's Republic of China. Nehru advocated for China to include her as a member in the United Nations. He was of a notion that both countries in Asia would form Eastern federation. As far as China was concerned she stood for Communism and showed hostile attitude to all non-Communist countries. That was the reason that both the countries could not have developed friendship between them. China had designs of expansion of her territories. But, it came to know only later. India took much interest in building up friendship with China. Nehru took keen interest in it and had a vision that the friendship with China would help to promote Asian countries. But China criticised India's non-aligned policy pointing out that it is not true. Such negative and hostile attitude of China towards India actually prevented the growth of Sino - Indian relations in the early years. As far as China was concerned she did not accept the MacMohan Line as the boundary and China wanted to expand her territories. Moreover, she wanted to annex Tibet with her. It materialised by invading Tibet by her force declared that Tibet was the territory of China. When Nehru objected to it he suggested to China to settle this problem through bilateral talk. China did not like it and criticised that India was interfering in the internal affairs of China.

China invaded Tibet in 1911. But Tibet drove out the Chinese forces in 1912 and declared that it was an independent country. Then Tibet, China and Britain met at the Simla Convention in 1914 in which it recognised the autonomy of Tibet and the boundary disputes were settled by the

demarcation known as MacMohan Line. But China refused to ratify the document. After assuming power, she decided to annex Tibet with her. She also had the desire to expand the territories of China. It claimed that Tibet was a part and parcel of China. She had no faith in negotiated settlement of the issue and therefore, on September 7, 1950, without giving any warning sent 40,000 Chinese troops was sent to Tibet. Then it established military rule. India suggested to China to settle the dispute in bilateral talk. China did not like this and she criticised India that it interfered in the internal affairs of China. The issue of Tibet came to United Nations. India entered into an agreement with China in 1954, and formally recognised the Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. Thus the friction between India and China came to an end for the time being.

### **Korean Crisis**

A war broke out in Korea between North Korea and South Korea. The former was supported by China and the latter was supported by the USA. The matter was brought to United Nations and it was decided that the UN forces had to cross the 38th parallel in Korea. India opposed to this design and wanted to settle the problem by talks. Moreover, India refused to join the Western powers to condemn China as an aggressor. This was very much praised by China. China materialized her objective of annexing Tibet with her. She was also successful to silence the voice of India over the Tibetan issue. It was evident that India failed in her diplomacy. India's recognition of Tibet to be the part of China was criticised by the Western countries.

### **Panchasheel**

Nehru believed that if nations would accept some code of conduct, wars can be prevented. He evolved along with the Chinese leaders the code called Panchasheel. It was part of an agreement signed by China and India in Tibet on April 29, 1954. The co-existence is expressed in the Panchasheel or five principle of peaceful co-existence.

**Strained Relationship** China was very careful that India should not have influence in Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet, Sikkim and other neighbouring countries and her design was that she should have dominant position in Asia. Nehru believed that China would be cooperative with India. But China was very particular in her designs and took advantage whenever the opportunities were available. Though the period between 1954 and 1956 is described as the zenith of Sino-Indian relations, yet no abiding basis for permanent friendship could be established during the courtship phase. China's friendship was based on sheer expediency and nothing else. Nehru was not aware of the attitude of China. However he thought of forming an ally in Asia against the American domination through the alliance system. All the efforts taken by India to develop friendship with China proved to be futile as China made use of all occasions to strengthen her position and weaken India's friendship with other countries. 'It is interesting to note that the Bandung Conference (1955) to which Chou En-lai was introduced by Nehru marked the beginning of the end of Sino-Indian cordiality and the birth of an understanding between China and Pakistan. At Bandung China wanted to displace India and herself emerge as the leader of anti-colonial and anti-imperialist Asia.' China did not like the revivalism of Buddhism in India in 1956. The friendship between India and the Soviet Union under Khrushchev was not liked by China and she was very jealous over it. The revolt against China at Lhasa, the capital of Tibet was crushed by China. Dalai Lama the head of the Tibetan theocracy fled to India and got asylum. China condemned India for giving asylum to Dalai Lama. Chou En-lai came to India and discussed the border issue but talks ended in failure.

### **Chinese Aggression (1962)**

India sent a letter to China pointing out that some of the territories of India shown were as Chinese territories in the map published by China. In reply China replied that the maps were drawn by the Kuomintang Government which

would be corrected in due course of time. China had already decided to capture some Indian territories and secretly taken steps for it. India did not expect that China would wage a war since she had concluded an agreement (Panchasheel). Without giving a prior warning China sent her troops to the Indian borders. On October 20, 1962, The Chinese army launched a powerful offensive on the eastern and western sectors of India; whereas in Ladakh the Chinese advance was halted, on the eastern sector, the Chinese made deep inroads into the Indian Territory. China occupied a large chunk of Indian territories both in NEFA and Ladakh. On 21st November 1962, China announced a unilateral ceasefire. The war came to an end. The defeat of India lowered the prestige of India. The diplomatic efforts taken by India with China proved to be futile. It was only then India came to know that China was not a friend but an enemy. China thought that Anglo-American support to India would endanger if the war continued. Since she achieved her short term goal of capturing some territories of India as well as showed her military capability to other nations she stopped the war. China captured 200 Square miles in the Eastern sector and 15000 Square miles in the Western sector.

### **Impact Of War**

The war had far-reaching changes on Indian foreign policy. India realised that China was not a friend but an enemy. As a result of war India's prestige went to lowest ebb. The trust and diplomatic efforts taken so far proved to be futile. The cause of the Chinese war on India is still mysterious because the real cause could not be traced out. However it is inferred that China wanted to show her might to Soviet Union and other Asian countries. Besides it is evident that she had an ambition to expand her territories. Tibet fall victim soon after Red China formed its government. The sudden attack on India made India to be suspicious of Chinese activities. China did not like India to be friendly with the Soviet Union. Pakistan decided to try her might on attacking India so as to

settle the Kashmir issue. She underestimated India and that was the reason Pakistan attacked India in 1965 and 1971. Pakistan's over confidence and her relations with US and China would have been the reasons for attacking India. The Sino-Indian war affected the economy of India. India decided to strengthen her defence so as to cope up with other countries. There were the following reasons responsible for the retreat of the Indian troops: The Chinese were attacking downward from the mountain heights, whereas the Indian defenders had to fight uphill. The Chinese were better acclimatized conditions and the mountain terrain than the Indians who had not been given training to serve in high-altitude environment. The Chinese reached their Tibetan bases through a network of military roads extending up to the MacMohan line, whereas the Indians had to depend on the air dropping of military equipment and food supplies.

### **Relation Between India And China Since 1962**

India had to reconstruct the social, economic and political life of the people after the India China war. India had to think of the future policy to be adopted in the changed situations.

### **INDIA AND CHINA RELATIONS FROM 1962 TO 1979**

India, after the Chinese invasion, began to realise her weakness and she realised and learnt a lesson from China that she had to be careful in future in defending her. This altered the trend of foreign policy of India. The non-aligned policy would not help at the time of danger and therefore she had to have some other ties with countries which were close to her. Indian diplomacy failed. China not only did violate the agreement (1954) but also occupied a large territory of India. 'The People's Republic of China under late Mao Tse - Tung treated most of the Indian leaders as reactionaries and was not interested in the improvement of relations.' China exploded nuclear bomb in October 1964. Chou En-Lai condemned India that China had never relinquished its sovereignty over the

90000 sq.Kilometers of territory South of MacMohan Line. When Pakistan attacked India in the Rann of Kutch region, China supported Pakistan. Between 1967 and 1971, an all weather road was built across the territory claimed by India, linking People's Republic of China's Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region with Pakistan; India could do no more than protest. China continued an active malicious propaganda campaign against India and supplied ideological, financial and other assistance to dissident groups, especially to tribes in north-eastern India. India signed the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation with the Soviet Union in August 1971. China did not like this development. She gave her support to Pakistan. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India expressed in a Press Conference that the Government was prepared and try and find a way of solving the dispute with China without pre conditions. In May 1971 the Chinese ambassador and the Indian ambassador met at Moscow in a three day meeting. In 1971 efforts were taken by Indian government for normalisation with China. When Sikkim was annexed with India, China criticised that India is making Sikkim an Indian Colony. On 23 April 1975 the Lok Sabha passed a bill paving the way for Sikkim to become the 22nd State of the Union. China did not remain quite without criticism. India concluded the Kashmir Accord with Sheikh Abdullah in February 1975. On 15th August 1975 the Government of India announced its decision to restore ambassador level diplomatic relations. This was welcomed by China. On April 14, 1976 the diplomatic relations between India and China were 92 resumed. The Janata Government came to power in India in 1977, Chinese Government welcomed it. The Janata Government followed the same policy of previous government with regard to foreign affairs. In 1978 the trade delegations were exchanged. In February 1979, the Indian Foreign Minister, A.B.Vajpayee, paid a goodwill visit to Peking with a view to further normalise their bilateral relations. But it did not materialise because China was then involved in Vietnam War.

## **RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND CHINA FROM 1980 TO 2004**

In January, 1980, Indira Gandhi came to power with the majority support. She continued the effort that was initiated by her in 1976. China modified its pro-Pakistan stand on Kashmir and appeared willing to remain silent on India's absorption of Sikkim and its special advisory relationship with Bhutan. The leaders of People's Republic of China agreed to discuss the boundary issue, India's priority, as the first step was to a broadening of relations. The two countries hosted each other's news agencies, and Mount Kailash and Mansarovar Lake in Tibet, the mythological home of the Hindu path on, were opened to annual pilgrimages from India. Indira Gandhi approved a plan to upgrade the deployment of forces around the Line of Actual Control to avoid unilateral redefinitions of the line. India also increased funds for infrastructural development in these areas. Rajiv Gandhi became Prime Minister of India in 1984. He visited Peking in 1988 and his visit gave remarkable improvement in the relationship. During the visit the two countries pledged to settle the border dispute through peaceful and friendly consultation. A joint working group was formed following this visit. Besides three agreements- air link, scientific and technological cooperation and cultural exchange -were signed. In 1989 both the nations signed a trade protocol. Six rounds of talks of the Indian - Chinese joint working groups on the border issue were held between December 1988 and June 1993. Progress was also made in reducing the tensions on the border via confidence-building measures. Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and Premier Li Peng signed the border agreement and three other agreements on cross-border trade, and on increased cooperation on the environment and in radio and television broadcasting. The India - China Expert group met in New Delhi in March 1995 and held talks. It led to an 93 agreement to set up two additional points of contact along the 4,000 Km border to facilitate meetings between military personnel. The two sides were reported as "seriously engaged' in

defining the McMahon Line and the line of actual control vis-à-vis military exercises and prevention of air intrusion. Following India's nuclear tests in May, 1998, Indian Defence Minister George Fernandes declared that "China is India's number one threat", hinting that India developed nuclear weapons in defence against China's nuclear arsenal. In 1998, China was one of the strongest international critics of India's nuclear tests and entry into the nuclear club. Relations between India and China stayed strained until the end of the decade. Indian President K.R.Narayanan visited China in 2000 and it marked a gradual re-engagement of Indian and Chinese diplomacy. In 2003 Indian Prime Minister A.B.Vajpayee visited China and his visit marked improvement in Sino-Indian relations. China officially recognised Indian sovereignty over Sikkim as the two nations moved toward resolving their border disputes. In 2006 Nathu La was reopened and numerous bilateral trade agreements were made. In 2004 Sino-Indian bilateral trade surpassed the \$ 10 billion.

### **AN APPRAISAL**

The Chinese aggression has been a lesson to India that the security and safety of the country is more important. India has many challenges from her neighbours. India has flourishing democracy. Neighbouring countries of India are ruled by totalitarian governments or monarchical system and lack the practise of true democracy (there are changes because of take-over of the countries by military bureaucrats. India has been maintaining good relations with the Soviet Union and U.S.A. China and Pakistan waged war against India in 1962(China), 1965 and 1971 (Pakistan). Both countries have close ties. Laying roads along the border by China makes India suspicious over China's activities. "Good fences make good neighbours" said Robert Frost, the poet. It is true. If the borders are demarcated by bilateral talks between the countries the problems rise out of borders would come to end. If the neighbouring countries are friendly and cooperative then there will be peace. When there is no war threat the countries

can have better trade and commerce activities which pave a way for prosperity of the countries. Mutual understanding and friendship rather than having a grudge against one another will lead definitely to economic prosperity and peace.

### **India-China Tibet Issue**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

In the past, Tibet has thrived as a preserve of an antiquated civilization, living in the isolation and calm of a vast firmament, far from the commotion and upheaval of the outside world. Not for its wealth or its arsenal, Tibet was renowned for the heights of its spiritual splendour and the breadth of its intellectual philosophy. The central theme of this civilization has been religion. In Tibet's mountain fastnesses, glens, and plateau, life persisted in its spiritual pursuit until recently, when the force of circumstances changed the way things were. Tibet has always been important in the complex relationship between China and India. Tibet is still seen as an afterthought in Sino-Indian relations despite its significance, which throws a dark shadow on bilateral relations. India has taken an overly cautious approach to Tibet and recognises Tibet as a Chinese autonomous region.

#### **TIBET DYNAMIC IN INDO-SINO BORDER DISPUTE**

Conflicts along India's border with China revolve on two sizeable regions, namely Ladakh and Arunachal Pradesh. China says that the latter is a part of "Southern Tibet" and the former is a part of the Aksai Chin territory which is under its administration. The history of China's occupation of Tibet is the root cause of both of these conflicts. The most recent manifestation of these conflicts were the clashes between Indian and Chinese soldiers in the Indian Galwan valley in June 2020, which resulted in fatalities on both sides. There is

information that in August 2020, one Tibetan who is part of SFF (special frontier force) lost his life in a land mine detonation during one of his patrols in the region. This August incident near the Sino-Indian border claimed the life of Tibetan warrior Nyima Tenzin, and his military burial was a contentious event.

Both the Tibetan “snow lion” flag which is forbidden in China, and the tricolour of India, were flown over his coffin.<sup>[2]</sup> Such events demonstrate how Tibet has been and will continue to be a crucial component of India-China ties and a key issue in the context of their border dispute. As a result, it is crucial that going forward, India develops and implements a strong and unambiguous foreign policy on its diplomatic interactions with China, with the Tibet problem at the forefront of the conversation rather than as a secondary consideration.

### **TIBET FACTOR’ IN THE INDO-SINO BORDER DISPUTE**

For thousands of years, Tibet acted as a physical barrier to keep China and India apart and at peace. Since China attacked and controlled Tibet in 1950, India and China have just recently started to share a border, and with it the inherent issues of border security, such as the delineation and demarcation of the boundary and the movement of people and flow of trade across it.

The new border law consists of seven chapters and 62 articles. All of China’s land borders must have boundary markers installed by law in order to properly indicate the border. By the way, India is not the only country affected by the new border laws. India is one of China’s 14 international neighbours along its 22,457-kilometer land border, which ranks third in length behind Mongolia and Russia. The law also mandates that the state take action to improve public services and infrastructure, strengthen border defence, support economic and social development, open up border regions, and encourage and support

people's lives and employment. It also calls for the coordination of border defence and social and economic development.

Without a doubt, the new border restrictions would have an impact on India. These guidelines come into force as India continues to seek a peaceful resolution to its longstanding dispute with the PRC. The first issue with this legislation is that it forbids the construction of any long-term infrastructure near the border without China's consent. Building activity has grown in recent years in both China and India, with both nations building roads, bridges and military housing at a dizzying pace. The Barahoti Plains in Uttarakhand, the whole state of Arunachal Pradesh, and portions of Ladakh up to the 1959 Claim Line are also included on China's new map. Additionally, the new legislation specifies that China would have total control over its internal waterways, regardless of the interests of its neighbouring governments.

## **TIBET-INDIA RELATIONSHIP: A HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

China and Tibet have historically engaged in conflict. Taking control of Tibet was among the communist leaders of China's top goals. Tibet was crucially significant to China from a strategic and security standpoint. It acted as a buffer zone between British India and China historically. Tibet is China's unsecure backdoor, which has never been fully closed. Early in the 20th century, when China was struggling and the Manchu dynasty was disintegrating, the British established themselves in Tibet. China believed that Nehru's independent India was carrying on the British government's policy towards Tibet.

At the time, Tibet was a mostly independent, isolated province, but because of its location between British-ruled India and China's Qing Dynasty, it was strategically significant. A military and diplomatic mission by the British Empire

in 1903-1904 known as the Younghusband Expedition or Younghusband Mission sought to establish British dominance in Tibet.<sup>[6]</sup> Colonel Francis Younghusband, a British military commander and explorer, was in charge of the mission. He was given the responsibility by the British government of negotiating trade and boundary agreements with Tibet and, if necessary, resorting to force to further their goals. In December 1903, the expedition entered Tibet and ran into opposition from Tibetan soldiers. The 13th Dalai Lama escaped to Mongolia when the British arrived in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, in August 1904.<sup>[7]</sup> Younghusband mediated the Treaty of Lhasa while the British controlled Lhasa. This agreement, which was signed in September 1904, established British suzerainty over Tibet, obliging Tibet to coordinate its foreign policy with that of the United Kingdom. Tibet also consented to provide Britain a sizable indemnity. The Younghusband Expedition was a pivotal event in the history of Tibet because it placed Tibet under British rule. Additionally, because it was perceived as a challenge to Chinese control over Tibet, it had repercussions for the geopolitical equilibrium in the area.

China was well aware that if Tibet remained ungoverned, it would ultimately come closer to India, with which it shared a border, a strong religious and cultural bond, and no hostilities in the past. In fact, India and Tibet have long had a very active two-way exchange of religious and cultural ideas. India, the country where Buddhism took birth, is viewed by Tibetans as both their spiritual teacher and as Aryabhumi, or “the Land of the Holy.”<sup>[8]</sup> Similar to how Mount Kailash and Lake Mansarovar in Tibet are recognised as Lord Shiva’s residence in Hindu myth and tradition, they are also considered to be the holiest peak and lake in those religions. In India’s upper Himalayan mountains, the Tibetan school of Mahayana Buddhism is the dominant school of thought. In India, the Dalai Lama is very well-liked. In actuality, India has traditionally provided a

haven for Tibetans; fifty years prior to the current Dalai Lama's escape to India in 1959, his forerunner, the thirteenth Dalai Lama, had fled to British India for safety when the Chinese army arrived in Lhasa in 1910.<sup>[9]</sup>

### **CHINESE DENIAL OF BOUNDARIES, AGGRESSION AND INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT IN TIBET**

Since the majority of India's borders and the 3500 km Ladakh Autonomous Region (LAC) are within the Tibetan Autonomous Region and not the rest of China, Tibet has long been considered India's true neighbour. Tibetan delegates signed the Simla convention with British India in 1914, together with Chinese representatives, to define boundaries.<sup>[10]</sup> However, China rejected the agreement and the McMahon line that separated the two nations once it fully annexed Tibet in 1950. Additionally, India and China agreed to recognise Tibet as the "Tibet region of China" in a 1954 accord. The Dalai Lama, the spiritual head of the Tibetan people, and many of his supporters fled to India in 1959 after the Tibetan uprising. He and other Tibetan exiles were given sanctuary by the late Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru, who also assisted in establishing the Tibetan government in exile (Central Tibetan Administration). According to official Indian policy, the Dalai Lama is a spiritual leader, and the more than a lakh Tibetan exiles living in India are not permitted to engage in any political activities.

China began to firmly establish its grasp on Tibet in 1950, when it seized control of Tibet. In order to do this, it was essential to build more stable transit ties with Tibet. Highways linking Tibet to other regions of China were completed by 1954. Furthermore, Chinese believed that the arid and unpopulated Aksai Chin region offered a relatively straightforward route from Xinjiang to Tibet.<sup>[11]</sup> The Chinese administration utilised dilatory tactics in the border issue

to lull India into complacency because Aksai Chin was controlled and claimed by India. It simultaneously took steps to strengthen its presence on the ground and created plans to construct a route that would connect Xinjiang with Tibet over Aksai Chin.

The Chinese imposed the Seventeen-Point Agreement on us in May 1951. The Indian government granted administrative power over the remote and sparsely populated Himalayan regions of Ladakh and the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA), commonly known as Tawang. Arunachal Pradesh is the new name for NEFA. After it had subdued the Dalai Lama and begun road-building projects to improve connectivity with Tibet, China concentrated on weakening Tibet's traditional economic ties with India and Nepal, eliminating India's extraterritorial rights in Tibet, and securing India's legitimacy for China's occupation of Tibet.<sup>[13]</sup>

In September 1957, construction of the Aksai Chin route, which links Tibet and Xinjiang, was complete. India was naturally on watch and anxious, but it didn't express its dissatisfaction until the next year.<sup>[14]</sup> But China's attitude got more antagonistic. Through Zhou Enlai, the Dalai Lama had invited Nehru to travel to Tibet in January 1958, but the Chinese began to postpone the trip. Significant areas of the NEFA were claimed by China on printed maps, and there were more instances of Chinese soldiers transgressing the Indian-controlled territory. It is obvious that the Sino-Indian relationship has become worse.

It was obvious that China had occupied parts of Aksai Chin that India also claimed or controlled as a result of the actions it was taking to tighten its authority over Tibet. Naturally, this infuriated India. China, on the other hand, took offence at India's participation in US initiatives as well as its own backing

for the Tibetan resistance movement in India. Large-scale riots occurred in Kham and Amdo during the attempt by the government to impose collectivization, which resulted in the destruction of several monasteries and the execution of monks. Numerous refugees also fled to India as hundreds of them poured into central Tibet. The Dalai Lama fled to India in March 1959 as a result of the rapidly worsening situation in Tibet.<sup>[15]</sup>

## **INDIA'S SHIFTING POSITION ON TIBET**

Various moves by India show that its position on Tibet is shifting. The leader of the Tibetan government in exile was invited to the swearing-in event in 2014, thanks in part to the Indian government's management of public forums including the Dalai Lama. On His Holiness' 88th birthday, on July 6, Prime Minister Narendra Modi personally sent birthday greetings, continuing a practice that began in 2014. Additionally, India sponsored the first worldwide conference on Buddhism this year, which was opened by the Indian Prime Minister and attended by high-ranking Indian officials. In addition, India changed its position following the conflict in the Galwan Valley by officially endorsing the Tibetan Special Frontier Force. However, India must express its commitment by officially acknowledging the Central Tibetan Administration

## **SIKKIM BECAME THE PART OF INDIA**

In the Limbu language, the word 'Sikkim' literally means "new palace." Sikkim was a small Buddhist kingdom with strong religious and cultural ties to Tibet in the past. It has been ruled by its hereditary monarch, Chogyal, since the 17th century. It was a British Protectorate subject to British Paramountcy from 1886 onwards, so its position was similar to that of other princely states in India.

When India gained independence in 1947, a popular referendum in Sikkim rejected joining the Indian Union. However, those were the days in China when communists rose to power. When China's People's Liberation Army invaded Tibet in 1950, India protested vehemently but was powerless to stop it. Nehru rushed through a series of defence treaties with Bhutan (August 1949), Nepal (July 1950), and Sikkim as China neared victory in Tibet (December, 1950). Nehru's definition of a redrawn security zone included these countries. Throughout the 1950s, Nehru tried to show that he was serious about the Himalayan doctrine. Nehru formed the North and North-Eastern Defence Committee in February 1951 and paid visits to the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA), Sikkim, and Bhutan. In summary, Nehru offered Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim support in the event of a Chinese invasion. The treaty between India and Sikkim required the kingdom to hand over all of Sikkim's external relations to India, allow Indian troops to be stationed in the kingdom, and prohibit the kingdom from "dealings with any foreign power."

As a result of this treaty, Sikkim was designated as a protectorate, with Chogyal as the Monarch. Chogyal Tashi Namgyal died in 1963, and his son Palden Thondup Namgyal succeeded him. There was, however, a growing schism between the people and the Namgyals. The Namgyals wanted full sovereignty, but the majority of the state's citizens, including some local political parties, wanted the monarchy removed and a democratic system in place, as well as accession to the Union of India. In 1973, this culminated in widespread agitation against the Sikkim Durbar. These protests resulted in the administration's complete collapse.

On May 8, 1973, the Chogyal, the Government of India, and the political leaders of Sikkim signed a historic agreement acknowledging the importance of the

people in the affairs of Sikkim. The Sikkim Assembly passed the Government of Sikkim Act, 1974, in 1974, paving the way for Sikkim's first ever responsible government and seeking representation in India's political institutions. In addition, India passed the 35th Amendment Act of 1974, which added a new article 2A, titled "Sikkim to be associated with Union," and a 10th schedule.

Making Sikkim an associate state of the Union, on the other hand, would have set a bad precedent in the long run. Another anomaly was the exclusion of Sikkim MPs from voting in the presidential and vice-presidential elections. In 1975, Sikkim's Prime Minister, KaziLhendupDorjee, petitioned the Indian Parliament to change Sikkim's status so that it could become a state of India. The Indian Army took over Gangtok in April of that year and disarmed the Palace Guards. Then, in 1975, a referendum approved the abolition of the monarchy and the complete merger of Sikkim with India with around 97 percent of the vote. In western, Chinese, and communist media, the referendum has sparked debates, criticism, and conspiracy theories, with some calling it an illegal annexation.

The referendum was followed by the Thirty-sixth Amendment Act, 1975, which amended the Indian Constitution yet again. Article 2-A and the Xth Schedule were repealed, and Sikkim was added to the Constitution's first Schedule as a state. Sikkim became India's 22nd state on April 26, 1975, as a result of this. Every year on the 16th of May, Sikkim celebrates its State Day, which commemorates the day when the first Chief Minister of Sikkim took office.

## **TENTH SCHEDULE OF INDIAN CONSTITUTION-PRESENT STATUS**

The 10th Schedule was omitted in the 36th Amendment, but it was later reintroduced as the Anti Defection Law in the 52nd Amendment Bill of 1985. Article 371 of the Constitution protects Sikkim's Special Provisions (F). Part XXI-Temporary, transitional, and special provisions of the Indian constitution mentions safeguards.

### **CHINA'S STAND ON SIKKIM'S MERGER**

China refused to accept Sikkim as an integral part of India for decades after 1975, claiming that the referendum was a farce and that the merger was actually a forcible annexation by India. It continued to issue maps depicting Sikkim as a sovereign state.

China, on the other hand, removed Sikkim from its website of Independent Asian countries for the first time in 2003.

At the time, China was the only country that did not recognise Sikkim as an Indian state.

China had previously stated that it would recognise Sikkim as part of India in exchange for full recognition of Tibet as part of China by India.

India and China agreed to begin border trade through Nathu La Pass in Sikkim and Tibet after signing a memorandum of understanding. China's acceptance of Nathu La as an Indian trade point was interpreted by India as approval of Sikkim's recognition as an integral part of India. Sikkim "is no longer

an issue in India-China relations," according to a joint statement issued in 2005 during the visit of Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao to India.

## **China in Indian Ocean Region**

### **What we mean by “China in Indian Ocean Region”**

- The “Indian Ocean region” refers broadly to the maritime and coastal states bordering or with strategic access to the Indian Ocean – from East Africa, across South Asia (India, Sri Lanka, Maldives), to Southeast Asia and beyond.
- “China in IOR” refers to China’s growing geopolitical, economic, and naval presence in this region: through port investments, maritime trade routes, naval logistics, and diplomatic influence.

### **What China is doing in the Indian Ocean Region**

- Port infrastructure & investments – Over the past years, China has invested in, built or helped finance strategic ports and maritime infrastructure in IOR countries. These include ports in e.g. Sri Lanka, Pakistan (on Arabian Sea, but affecting Indian Ocean connectivity), Maldives and East Africa (though specifics vary over time). This facilitates China’s maritime trade and gives it leverage over critical maritime chokepoints.
- Maritime trade & supply-chain connectivity – The Indian Ocean is vital for China’s energy imports (oil/gas) and export/import shipping routes. By ensuring secure and reliable maritime access via IOR, China supports its global trade ambitions.
- Naval / military reach – Although China’s main historic focus was land-based expansion in Asia-Pacific, in recent decades it has gradually

extended its naval presence into the Indian Ocean: using ports for refuelling/logistics, potentially securing sea-lanes, projecting power and safeguarding its maritime interests.

- Diplomacy & influence over smaller coastal states – Through “infrastructure + investment + trade + port access,” China builds relationships with many IOR countries. This can translate into political influence, strategic partnerships, and sometimes leverage in geopolitical disputes.

### Why the Indian Ocean Region Matters for China

- Energy security & resource import routes: Many of China’s sea-borne energy imports (oil, gas) and trade goods pass through the Indian Ocean – ensuring safe, efficient passage is important for China’s economy.
- Global trade and supply-chain diversification: As China becomes more integrated into global supply chains, having alternate maritime routes and logistics nodes in the IOR helps.
- Strategic counterbalance to other powers: The IOR is historically a zone of influence for other powers (naval powers, regional powers). By increasing its presence, China gains strategic depth, potential advantage in maritime disputes, and bargaining power.
- Part of broader global maritime strategy: China’s ambitions aren’t just regional – with global trade, naval reach, and Belt & Road style investments, the IOR forms a critical link between China and Africa, the Middle East, Europe and beyond.

## Implications & Regional Reactions

- Security concerns for regional powers – For countries like India (your country), increased Chinese presence in the Indian Ocean region raises strategic concerns: potential encirclement, influence over key maritime chokepoints, and challenge to regional balance.
- Debt, sovereignty & economic leverage – For smaller or financially vulnerable IOR states, Chinese port investments can lead to dependency, debt, or leverage that China could exploit in diplomatic negotiations.
- Geopolitical competition & balancing – Other powers (regional and global) may strengthen their influence – leading to competition, alliances or countermeasures (naval deployments, trade deals, diplomatic pushback).
- Opportunity for economic development – or risk – For developing coastal nations, Chinese investment can bring infrastructure, jobs, and connectivity; but poorly managed deals may lead to long-term economic or sovereignty risks.

## What this means for India / South Asia

- As a major regional power in South Asia and a key Indian Ocean littoral state, China's increasing presence in IOR directly impacts India's strategic environment.
- India may need to strengthen its own maritime strategy, deep-sea logistics, naval reach, and diplomatic ties with IOR neighbors to safeguard regional balance.

- Smaller IOR neighbors might increasingly look to choose between Chinese economic offers, traditional regional powers, and global powers – shifting regional alignments over time.

## **China and India – Economic Relations (Overview)**

China and India are two of the world's largest developing economies. Their economic relationship is marked by high trade volume, deep interdependence, and significant strategic competition.

### **1. Historical Background**

- Economic engagement increased after India's 1991 economic reforms.
- Rapid growth in bilateral trade happened in the 2000s, especially after China joined the WTO (2001).
- In 2005, both countries declared they were “strategic partners for peace and prosperity.”

### **2. Trade Relations**

China is one of India's largest trading partners.

India's Exports to China

India mainly exports:

- Iron ore
- Cotton
- Organic chemicals

- Copper
- Agricultural products
- Petroleum products

### **China's Exports to India**

China exports mainly manufactured and high-value goods:

- Electrical machinery
- Electronics (phones, laptops, components)
- Chemicals
- Pharmaceuticals ingredients (APIs)
- Auto components
- Solar equipment

### **3. Trade Imbalance**

A major feature of China-India relations is India's large trade deficit with China.

- India imports far more from China than it exports.
- This dependence is especially high in electronics, pharmaceuticals, and machinery.
- The trade deficit has grown to become one of India's biggest economic concerns.

#### **Reasons for deficit:**

1. China's strong manufacturing competitiveness.
2. India's dependence on Chinese intermediate goods.
3. Limited diversification of India's exports.

## 4. Investment Relations

### Chinese Investments in India

- China has invested in technology, telecom, electronics, automotive, and infrastructure.
- Many Chinese companies (Xiaomi, Vivo, Oppo, Lenovo, Alibaba, etc.) operate in India.

### Regulatory Changes

After border tensions (2020), India placed restrictions:

- Screening of FDI from neighboring countries
- Ban on several Chinese apps
- Stricter scrutiny on telecom and tech equipment

Still, Chinese investment remains economically significant.

## 5. Economic Cooperation

Despite political tensions, both countries cooperate in:

- BRICS
- Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO)
- Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB)
- Regional development projects

**They share interests in:**

- Climate change

- Global supply chain resilience
- Reform of international economic institutions

## 6. Economic Competition

China and India also compete in:

- Manufacturing
- Infrastructure projects in South Asia
- Influence in Indian Ocean Region
- Global markets for exports and investment

China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and projects in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Bangladesh add a strategic dimension.

## 7. Impact of Political Tensions

Events like:

- 2017 Doklam standoff
- 2020 Galwan Valley clash

have affected economic relations.

Impacts include:

- Reduction in new Chinese FDI
- Avoidance of Chinese equipment in sensitive sectors
- Diversification of supply chains
- Strengthening of Atmanirbhar Bharat (self-reliance) initiative

## 8. Future Prospects

Economic relations will depend on:

- Management of political and border issues
- India's ability to reduce import dependence
- Opportunities for cooperation in green energy, digital economy, and pharmaceuticals

Despite tensions, economic interdependence remains strong.

### Self-Assessment Questions

1. What were the major factors that shaped the early relationship between India and China after independence?
2. What were the main causes and consequences of the Indo-China War of 1962?
3. How have the India-China border disputes evolved, and what negotiations have been attempted to resolve them?
4. Why is the Tibetan issue significant in shaping India-China relations?
5. How do China's interests in the Indian Ocean region affect India's strategic and economic policies?

## **Unit- IV**

India relations with Bangladeshin1971 - Farakka Barrage - Rohingya Refugee crisis, India relations with Srilanka : Dispute in the Palk Straits - Kachatheevu issue - Sri lanka Tamil Issue - IPKF - Gwadar Port.

### **Objectives**

1. To understand India's political, strategic, and humanitarian role in Bangladesh's creation in 1971 and major issues like the Farakka Barrage and the Rohingya refugee crisis.
2. To examine India-Sri Lanka relations with special focus on the Palk Strait dispute, Katchatheevu issue, Sri Lankan Tamil conflict, and the role of the IPKF.
3. To analyze regional security concerns, including the strategic significance of Gwadar Port and its impact on India's neighbourhood policy.

### **India relations with Bangladeshin1971**

India got independence from the British. After a long struggle the people of India cut off the yoke of the British rule. Likewise East Pakistan felt that West Pakistan did not give equal treatment to the people of East Pakistan. Step motherly attitude shown by Pakistan to the East Pakistan was a vital cause that led to the civil war in East Pakistan. Atrocities committed by General Yahya Khan on the people of East Pakistan led to civil war in 1971. India helped the people of Bengal against West Pakistan. West Pakistan was defeated and war came to an end. It resulted in the emergence of Independent Bangladesh.

## **BACKGROUND AND EMERGENCE OF BANGLADESH**

India was partitioned into two nations - India and Pakistan. Pakistan consisted of West Pakistan and East Bengal. Between there was Indian territories. There was a distance between Pakistan and East Bengal thousand two hundred kilometres. As far as India is concerned democracy has been successful. But in Pakistan whenever the country faces crisis, she turns into military state. She used East Pakistan only as its colonial country which the people of Bangladesh did not like. East Pakistan stood against this type of attitude shown by Pakistan. Though the Muslims were majority in both provinces, West Pakistan dominated economic, political life of Pakistan. Pakistan declared Urdu as National language in 1949. The language of the people in Bangladesh was Bengali. The Awami League, the political party in East Pakistan stood for the right of the people of East Pakistan. In 1957 the East Bengal Assembly passed a resolution demanding full autonomy for East Bengal. In December 1970 elections were conducted in Pakistan in which Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League captured majority seats in the Assembly. Though Pakistan People Party (PPP) of Bhutto won the majority in West Pakistan yet Awami League was to be called to form the Government. But it was not liked by West Pakistan to be ruled by East Pakistan. In March 1971 the army of West Pakistan was sent to force Sheikh Mujibur to form a government with the PPP. The people of East Bengal rose in revolt against the regime of Pakistan for the step motherly attitude of Pakistan towards them. A Civil War broke out in East Pakistan. The forces of Pakistan under General Yahya Khan killed many innocent people of East Pakistan. The Mukti-vahini the force organised by the people of East Pakistan fought against Pakistan forces. India helped Mukti-vahini when Pakistan launched a heavy attack on East Pakistan. Thousands of thousands people of East Bengal moved to India out of fear of their lives. India had to tackle the refugee problem. India did not fail to bring

the attention of European countries and United Nations Organisation pleading the cause of East Pakistan. The war came to an end when the forces of Pakistan was defeated and about 95,000 soldiers of Pakistan surrendered to the army of India in Dacca in East Pakistan. Mujib declared the independence of Bangladesh. India recognised Bangladesh on the 6th of December 1971. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman assumed the post of Prime Minister of Bangladesh on 20th January 1972. He was in power from 1971 to 1975. Era of Mujib was a golden period for friendly relations between India and Bangladesh.

Assassination of Mujibur Rahman Sheikh Mujibur Rahman altered the old constitution of Bangladesh and proclaimed a new constitution under which a Presidential form of Government was established. Mujib himself assumed the office of the President on 26th January 1975. He gave an ordinance launching a single party system, banned newspapers with the best intention. On 15th August 1975, Mujib was assassinated in a coup attempt by a group of army-men. His sons and relatives were killed. Bangladesh Radio said, "this step has been taken in greater interest of the country. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has been killed and his autocratic government toppled."

## **GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF BANGLADESH**

Bangladesh is geographically located between the Indian States of West Bengal and Assam to its north and north east, the Union territory of Tripura in the east, and Burma to its South-east. Its area is 1,43,000 Square miles and its population is about 75 millions.

## **MUJIB'S ERA - FRIENDLY RELATIONS 1971 - 1975**

Throughout the period of Mujib's regime there had been good relations between India and Bangladesh. The leaders met each other and cooperated for the economic development and settled problems in an amicable manner. India- Bangladesh agreement has been prompted by the desire of the two governments to live in peace and pursue the goal of development

unhindered by foreign invasion. Sheik Mujibur Rahman visited India in February, 1972 met Indian Prime Minister and other leaders and held discussions on mutual economic relations. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India went to Bangladesh and India and Bangladesh signed a treaty "Treaty of Friendship and Peace" in March 1972. It was indeed improved good relations between the two countries. The Treaty contained 12 articles. The articles in the Treaty of Friendship and Trade Agreement are as follows:

The contracting parties solemnly declare that there shall be lasting peace and friendship between the two countries and each side shall respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other and refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the other side;

The contracting parties condemn colonialism and racialism of all forms, and reaffirm their determination to strive for their final and complete elimination; The contracting parties reaffirm their faith in the policy of non alignment and peaceful co-existence as important factors for easing tension in the world, maintaining international peace and security and strengthening national sovereignty and independence;

The contracting parties shall maintain regular contacts and exchange views with each other on major international problems affecting the interest of both the states; The contracting parties shall continue to strengthen and widen their mutually advantageous and all round cooperation in the economic, scientific and technical fields, and shall develop mutual cooperation in the fields of trade, transport and communication on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual benefit; The contracting parties agree to make joint studies and take joint action in the field of flood control, river basin development and development of hydro-electric power and irrigation;

Both the parties shall promote relations in the field of arts, literature, education, culture, sports and health;

In accordance with the ties of friendship existing between the two countries, each of the contracting parties solemnly declare that it shall not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other party. Each of the parties shall refrain from any aggression against the other party and shall not allow the use of its territory for committing any act that may cause military damage to or continue to threaten to the security of the other contracting parties;

Each of the contracting parties shall refrain from giving any assistance to any third party taking part in an armed conflict against the other party. In case if either party is attacked or threatened to attack, the contracting parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to take necessary measures to eliminate the threat and thus ensure the peace and security of their countries; Each of the parties solemnly declare that it shall not undertake any commitment, secret or open, towards one or more states which may be incompatible with the present treaty; The present treaty is signed for a term of twenty-five years, and shall be renewed by mutual agreement;

Any differences interpreting any Article of the treaty shall be settled on a bilateral basis by peaceful means in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding. India exported coal, cement, machinery and tobacco and imported fish, raw jute and newsprint. The total value of trade exported was to be about Rs.100 crores. India also offered transit facilities to Bangladesh. The exchange of officials, scientists and delegation were taken place 45 between India and Bangladesh. The Summit was held on 12th May, 1974. Indira Gandhi and Mujibur had direct talk with each other. Agreement was reached between both the countries in the summit in connection with the sharing of Ganga waters, boundary disputes and function of Joint River Commission.

The Summit covered almost all aspects of Indo-Bangladesh relations. It seemed the main interest during the conference was the search for a solution to the purely bilateral problems between India and Bangladesh. Indo-

Bangladesh relation during Mujib era was friendly. India cooperated with Bangladesh in promoting economy, trade by providing loans and grants. Some sections of people of Bangladesh launched anti-Indian propaganda, but Mujibur Government honoured the five year Ganges waters sharing. He only refuted the charges against India but also tried its best to curb the anti-Indian elements. It can be said that Mujib era was a golden period in the history of Bangladesh.

### **BANGLADESH AFTER SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN**

After the assassination of Mujib, Khandekar came to power and he declared martial law and banned all political activities. In 1976 political parties were legalised. In the Presidential election held Zia was elected President. In the election held for the Parliament, in 1979 Bangladesh Nationalist Party won out of 300. In May 1981 Zia was assassinated. Thus there was no stable government. On March 1983 General Hossain Muhammad Ershad staged a coup and became Martial Law Administrator. Though he wanted to maintain good relationship with India, he tactically made the Frakka issue a problem by suggesting Nepal to be included for negotiation. In the election held in 1990 Begam Khalida Zia's party came to power. Then the country changed the form of Government into Presidential. There are certain issues between India and Bangladesh. Efforts are being taken to settle these by both the countries. They are as follows:

### **FARAKKA ISSUE**

The partition of India gave birth to the distribution and use of river waters. Farakka Barrage Dispute belongs to that category. The barrage had been constructed in West Bengal 22.8 metres high and 2120 metres long. The partition of India gave birth to the problem of the distribution and use of river

waters. The flow of Ganga varied between 2 million cusecs in the wetter months to 55,000 cusecs in the driest. Regarding 46 the disputes in sharing the water, both the countries had reached some agreement during earlier 1974 protocol and five years of Ganges water's sharing Agreement of November 5, 1977. When India proposed for the construction of Brahmaputra-Ganga link Canal for this purpose, Bangladesh proposed to include Nepal for negotiation. While India wanted to settle the problem by bilateral talks. Bangladesh wanted to make it into international problem. In a summit meeting that was held in 1982, Indira Gandhi and Ershad reached an understanding over the sharing of Ganga water. Till this issue is not settled.

## **NEW MOOR ISLAND**

The new Moor Island was located at a distance of 5.2 Km from India and 7.6 Km from Bangladesh. Its surrounding area is economically useful for securing sea food, mineral resources and natural gas. Hence both India and Bangladesh cast their eyes on this island. Indian Navy erected identification pillars there in 1974. Bangladesh questioned the Indian claim in 1978. The issue is unsettled. In 1981 the matter led to such an extent that both the countries sent their naval ships. However the tension was defused by the announcement of both the countries for a Minister level talks to settle the dispute. Both the countries withdrew their naval ships from the region. But the issue is left unsettled.

## **THE CHAKMA ISSUES**

The issue of Chakma refugees has been perceived differently in India and Bangladesh. From India it is primarily a problem of massive influx of refugees from persecution. Tripura and Mizoram were the states which the Chakma

refugees came from the Chittagong Hill Tracts. It is alleged that the insurgents had been trained and armed by the Indian government. The Chakma issue actually became more serious with the advent of military rule in Bangladesh. The military rulers with the Muslim fundamentalists took steps to turn Chittagong Hill into a Muslim majority area. When the tribals resisted the moves, the military ruler's committed atrocities on them. This led to massive migration into Tripura and Mizoram.

## **INDIA AND SRI LANKA RELATIONS**

India and Sri Lanka are neighbouring country. They have had social, cultural, commercial and political contacts. The main issue between them is an ethnic problem. Though both the countries have trade relations yet India is worried about the foreign domination on Sri Lanka. Efforts are constantly made by both the countries to have a friendly relation.

## **GEOGRAPHY OF SRI LANKA**

Sri Lanka also sometimes called Ceylon is an island Ocean, located in Southern Asia, South east of India, in a strategic location near major Indian Ocean Sea lanes. It has a total area of 65,610 km, with 64,740 km of land and 870 km of water. Its coastline is 1340 km long. Sri Lanka's climate includes tropical monsoons the north east monsoon (December to March) and south west monsoon (June to October).

## **INDIA AND SRI LANKA RELATIONS UP TO 1964**

India and Sri Lanka has had glorious past. Both the countries had trade and cultural contacts even before second century B.C There is historical sources and monuments which speak of the cultural contacts between these countries.

Buddhism spread in Sri Lanka and Hinayana Buddhism exists even today. Many Buddhist followers of Sri Lanka visit India in order to see pilgrim centres. Sri Lanka had been independent Kingdom ruled by Sri Lankan Kings. The British was able to rule Sri Lanka as well as India since the eighteenth century A.D. Hence both the countries were under the imperialist rule of the British. India got independence in 1947 and Sri Lanka in 1948. 'India attained Independence from the yoke of British imperialism through a determined and strong national movement, whereas Sri Lanka did not have to work that hard for securing its Independence. It got Independence because of the British decision to withdraw from South Asia.

India and Sri Lanka have been the member countries of the Commonwealth. India preferred to be a member of the Commonwealth because she wanted to maintain economic, trade and cultural links with Britain. But Sri Lanka wanted to become a member of the Commonwealth because she wanted to safeguard its security interests against the 'possible invasion' from India. India wants to have good relations with neighbouring countries. However the suspicion of the neighbouring countries that India would expand her territories or intervene in their internal affairs remains a stumbling block for improvement of relations. Sri Lanka is not an exception to it.

**Problem of Indians in Sri Lanka** During the 19th Century the British Government brought many South Indian people to Sri Lanka for the purpose of plantation and the workers were given many facilities. These workers worked in Sri Lanka for many years contributing for the prosperity of Sri Lanka. In 1963 there were 11, 40,000 persons of Indian origin in Sri Lanka. Of these about 1, 40,000 persons were granted Sri Lanka citizenship. About 29,000 held Indian passports. Thus status of the remaining 9, 71,000 was a matter of dispute between the two countries. Sri Lankan Government held that the vast majority

of Indians had not been given Sri Lankan citizenship in the absence of which they retained their Indian nationality. The Indian viewed it was that such people had lived and worked in Sri Lanka for generations, had made Sri Lanka their home, had contributed to the country's economy and prosperity and that they should be treated on par with other residents of Sri Lanka and given Sri Lankan citizenship. While Sri Lanka refused to accept them either as stateless residents or as Sri Lanka's citizens, India was not prepared to accept them as Indian citizens.

#### **Agreement of 1954- Nehru-Kotlewala Pact**

In 1954, the Nehru-Kotlewala Pact was signed. It provided for the speedy registration of Indians to acquire Ceylonese citizenship. Those who did not get themselves registered could be deported. The problem did not work out, and remained unresolved. During the Premiership of Srimao Bhandaranaike (1960-1965) Sri Lanka moved closer to China. At the time of War between India and China (1962), Sri Lanka did not say that China is the aggressor in Sino-Indian Border. As far as Non-aligned Movement Sri Lanka supported India's action for liberation of Goa, Damon and Diu from the Portuguese possession. She also pleaded the Indian case in the UN's Security Council. In 1964 Srimao Bhandaranaike came to India to attend the funeral of Nehru on 27th May, 1964.

#### **INDIA AND SRI LANKA RELATIONS FROM 1964 TO 1980**

Sri Lanka Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike and Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Sastri signed an agreement on October, 30, 1964. In this 73 agreement India agreed to take back 5,25,000 and Sri Lanka agreed to grant full

citizenship rights to 3,00,000 settlers. The repatriation of those who were to get India's citizenship would be spread over 15 years. At the time of repatriation Sri Lanka would allow these persons to take all their assets. The 1,50,000 persons not covered by this agreement were to subject of further negotiations. The agreement was a model of conciliation and compromise for the solution of a problem. There was no doubt that it reduced the long-standing irritant between India and Sri Lanka.

### **Improvement in relations**

Dudley Senanayaka formed a National Government in Sri Lanka in 1965. Sri Lanka decided to improve relations. She did not tilt towards China as before. The trade between Sri Lanka and India was on. In 1969, India was the fourth largest supplier of goods to Sri Lanka - next to UK, China and USA. The United Front Government came to power in 1970. Between 1970 and 1977, under Srimavo's second tenure, important and meaningful efforts were made by both the sides to maintain and develop the bilateral relation between India and Sri Lanka.

### **Kachhativu Island T**

The question of ownership over the Kacchativu Island became an issue between the two countries. It is an oval shaped island with a circumference of three miles. It is a barren, uninhabited place which has been used since years by the fishermen as a resting place. Both India and Sri Lanka claimed the island on the basis of the historical links, records and the location of the island. This matter was under the discussion for six years and a Maritime Boundary Agreement was signed on June 28, 1974. This agreement had eight Articles and as per this

Agreement Kachhativu became part of Sri Lanka. However, Indian fishermen and pilgrims would enjoy access to Kachhativu.

Agreement on Maritime boundaries, 1976 The international boundary between India and Sri Lanka in their historical waters in Palk Strait and Palk Bay was demarcated and the issue of overlap; in the territorial seas of the two countries in this region was resolved. A boundary line was drawn falling one mile off the west coast of Kachhativu. The demarcation of maritime boundary and the settlement of Kachhativu were the important settlements between India and Sri Lanka. In 1974 Bandaranaike visited Delhi and discussed on 1,50,000 stateless persons and signed an Agreement called Indira-Srimavo Agreement (1974) There was no doubt that the bold attempts were made to solve the ticklish problems between India and Sri Lanka. On 16th January, 1986 India and Sri Lanka agreed to resolve once and for all, the problems of stateless persons of Indian origin in Sri Lanka.

## **INDIA AND SRI LANKA RELATIONS SINCE 1980**

Ethnic problem There had been tension between the Tamils and the Sinhalese for long time. It came to surface in July, 1983 when the military personnel brutally murdered Tamils in prisons and elsewhere. The disparity was shown by Sinhalese as well as Sri Lankan Government on the Tamils in Sri Lanka led to ethnic problem. The Tamils demanded basic rights of citizens and also a measure of autonomy for the area in which they were in majority, without affecting the unity of the country. One of their proposals was to establish regional council. Sri Lankan Government was also seemed to concede it. But later it changed because of the opposition from the section of Sinhalese and Buddhist priests of Sri Lanka. The pathetic condition of the Tamils was that they were branded as terrorists and anti-nationals. In 1983, the Government passed a

constitutional amendment making advocacy of separatism illegal. The Government sent her troops to Jaffna to fight against the Tamils. The civil war began. The situation was worsening in Sri Lanka and the news of mass killing of Tamils and their mass migration to India created problem to India. In this situation there was no other go other than India had to interfere in Sri Lanka. India sent Peace Keeping Force to restore peace in Sri Lanka.

Rajiv - Jayawardena Accord India entered into an agreement with Sri Lanka. It was known as Rajiv-Jayawardena accord, signed on 24th July 1987. Accordingly Sri Lankan force was to be confined to barracks and it was the responsibility of Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) to disarm Tamil Tigers and accept their surrender. Indian Government sent her forces to do the same. Prabhakaran was called to Delhi and assured all kind of monetary help for the economic reconstruction of Jaffna peninsula. The provisions of the accord were that IPKF had to implement to disarm the LTTE. that North and Eastern Provinces would be amalgamated and an administrative unit would be created, that the provision was also made for the creation of elected council. The Rajiv-Jayawardena Accord was criticised at home and abroad. It was criticised as Indian Munroe Doctrine. India withdrew her forces on 7th June, 1988 and by the end of 1988 all the soldiers were withdrawn from Sri Lanka. Again the civil war went on in Sri Lanka between the LTTE and Sri Lankan forces. Rajiv Gandhi's assassination at Sriperumbudhur by the LTTE led to the banning of LTTE in 1992. It was renewed by the successive Governments.

## **Self Assessment Questions**

1. How did India contribute to the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971, and what were the long-term effects on bilateral relations?
2. Why is the Farakka Barrage an important issue in India-Bangladesh relations, and what challenges does it create?
3. What are the causes and consequences of the Rohingya refugee crisis for India and Bangladesh?
4. How have disputes in the Palk Straits and the Katchatheevu issue influenced India-Sri Lanka relations?
5. What was the role of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) in Sri Lanka, and how does the strategic development of Gwadar Port affect India's security interests?

## **Unit - V**

India relations with smaller neighbors : Nepal - Afghanistan - Bhutan - Maldives , SAARC: Origin - Contribution to cooperation and development in South Asia.

### **Objectives**

- ❖ To understand India's political, economic, and security relations with its smaller neighbours such as Nepal, Afghanistan, Bhutan, and Maldives.
- ❖ To examine India's role in promoting regional cooperation through SAARC, including its origin and major contributions to South Asian development.
- ❖ To analyze key challenges and opportunities in India's neighbourhood policy and its impact on regional stability.

## **Nepal**

India has been a democratic country. Nepal has been ruled by monarchy. The two governments have different methods of rule. Nepal is a buffer state to India and therefore India is taking much more interest to have a good relation with Nepal. The course of events reveals us the relations between both the countries.

### **Historical Background Of Nepal**

Nepal has been an independent kingdom. Though recently some changes have been made in the political structure yet the country is ruled by the monarch. Right from the ancient times Nepal has had contacts with India with

regard to social, cultural and religious life. India and China are neighbouring countries. Nepal remains a buffer state to India. Its population is roughly ten millions. Like the Peshwas to Maratha kingdom, the Ranas, the powerful landlords established themselves the hereditary Prime Ministers. Unlike the Peshwas who were dedicated to their rulers, the Rana family was selfish and their exploitation of wealth of the country, ignoring the people led to revolts. The British India enabled the Ranas to retain power. Withdrawal of the British from India after India's independence made the Ranas little uncomfortable. However, India's support to Nepal extended by the new regime gave Nepal a relief.

## **INDIA AND NEPAL RELATIONS UP TO 1955**

Since Nepal was a feudal state, the handful of feudal lords held influence and the powers of kings were usurped by the Ranas, the particular family established for themselves the hereditary Prime Ministership. During the period of rule by the Ranas they neglected the welfare of the people, rather they accumulated wealth with selfish pursuits. In this situation the leader of Nepali Congress B.P.Koirala demanded administrative reforms. But Mohan Shunshere, the Prime Minister assured him to do so, but he did anything. Then the Nepali Congress decided to launch a strike in 1950. Mohan Shunshere summoned the Council of Nobles and dethroned King Tribhuwan and crowned prince Gyanendra as King of Nepal. The Nepali Congress organised a revolt against the Government at Kathmandu. As agitation went into an unprecedented level the Ranas sought the recognition from USA, UK and India. India did not accept the new King, but favoured the ruler Tribhuwan. USA and UK kept silence over this. India organised meetings in India and suggested some proposals for the compromise. They were following. These were discussed in the Nepalese Government and accepted. One thing was clear that the constitution became more democratic due to the pressure of the Government

of India. Tribhuwan formed a cabinet in February 1951. There were two treaties concluded between India and Nepal in 1950 - The Treaty of Peace and Friendship, and The Treaty of Trade and Commerce. By these treaties both Governments agreed to acknowledge and respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and continue diplomatic relations. According to the treaty of trade and commerce, India recognised Nepal's right to import and export commodities through Indian Territory and ports. Customs could not be levied on commodities in transit through India. 'India respected the sovereignty of Nepal and wanted that Nepalese political system should be made broad-based, responsible and responsive.' India also helped Nepal at her request for the services of some Indian civil servants and military personnel for helping Nepal to undertake administrative reforms and military reorganisation. The stand of India was long standing one and she really wanted strong Napalese Government. That was the reason India did not want to uproot the existing system. India's wish was only Nepal to be an Independent country. She also feared that if the Ranas sought the help of USA and UK, the political development in Nepal would be different. It would lead to foreign domination. But at the same time the Nepali Congress lacked economic programme and unity of purpose. India concluded a treaty of friendship with Nepal. India also helped Nepali Government in the organisation of Nepalese army. The King died and his son Mahendra became the ruler.

## **INDIA AND NEPAL RELATIONS FROM 1955 TO 1971**

The King died in 1955 and his son Mahendra became the King of Nepal in the same year. He wanted to have relations with other countries. He was of the view that the development of relations with China was a means to assert Nepal's independence and identity. In 1959, China was successful in making Tibet a part of China. This development worried India. The establishment of

Parliamentary system in Nepal in 1959 was a relief to India's efforts. The relation between India and Nepal was cordial, friendly and cooperative from 1955 to 1960. It was not long lasting because King Mahendra dissolved the Cabinet and took over the administration of Nepal in his hands in 1960. The liquidation of popular and representative Government by the King was not liked by India. The King was very close to China. During The India China war in 1962, Nepal maintained a neutral stand. In 1962 the King introduced a constitution reasserting royal power and providing for a party system of Government based on Panchayat with a Prime Minister appointed by the king. Dr.Tulsi Giri became the P.M of Nepal (1962 -1965) and he was followed by Surya Bahadur Thapa (1965 - 1969). During this time Swaran Singh visited Nepal and signed an agreement with Nepal. India promised Nepal to help in the construction of a highway connecting Sunauli with Ostwara valley. In 1969 relations became stressful with Nepal when she asked India to withdraw the Indian security check posts and liaison group. India expressed her resentment that it was against the Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950. India withdrew its military check posts and liaison group, although the treaty was not abrogated.

## **INDIA AND NEPAL RELATIONS FROM 1971 TO 1980**

India concluded a treaty of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union in 1971. She won in the Indo-Pak war (1971) and helped the people of East Bengal in liberating them from Pakistan and for the birth of Bangladesh. Then India changed her policy towards Nepal. Sikkim, after conducting plebiscite, joined with India. Nepal criticised over this. In 1975, it appeared in the press that the retired Gorka soldiers of Indian army leaked out military secrets to Pakistan. India brought this matter to Nepali Government, but she stated that the information was found to be a figment of imagination of vested interests.

The proposal of Nepal as a Peace Zone, 1975 King Birendra, the King of Nepal announced the proposal of Nepal as a Peace Zone in 1975. Nepal insisted India to declare Nepal as a peace zone. The main features of the peace zone are as follows:

1. Nepal intends to follow the policy of peace, non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. It endeavours to develop friendly relations with all the countries of the world, especially with her neighbours not considering their social and political system, on the basis of equality and respect for each other's independence and sovereignty.
2. Neither Nepal will enter into military alliances with other countries nor it will remit the foreign countries to establish military base on its soil. Those countries supporting this proposal should not enter into military alliances or establish military bases on their soil, which would threaten the security of Nepal.
3. Nepal will not permit foreign powers making any activities within their territories intended to injure the security of the states which accepted the peace zone proposal. As a reciprocal measure these states should not permit any activities hostile to Nepal.
4. Nepal is not for using force which might endanger the peace and security of other countries.
5. Nepal will not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.
6. Nepal will settle all disputes between her and other states by peaceful means.

7. Nepal will honour all the existing treaties concluded by her with other states. India was not enthusiastic to accept Nepal as a zone of peace. Thereafter, India decided to prevent the movements of Nepalese nationals in some specified areas of Indian territories. ‘India abandoned its appeasement policy towards Nepal and instead tried to develop relations on the basis of mutuality of interest and needs.”

Nepal was worried about the Indian Press because of the adverse comments. A.B.Vajpayee then Foreign Minister of India declared that the views expressed in certain sections of Indian Press, which was both free and democratic, were not the views of the Government. Vajpayee gave an assurance to Nepal that India in no way wanted to interfere with Nepalese internal affairs and it was interested in maintaining good and friendly relations with all the countries. He visited Kathmandu during July 14-16, 1977 and reaffirmed India’s complete faith in the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship. Morarji Desai, Indian Prime Minister paid a visit to Nepal on 9th December, 1977 and helped the two countries to understand each other’s viewpoints on various issues. India and Nepal signed two separate treaties one relating to trade and the other to transit facilities on 17th March, 1978.

As per the treaty India agreed to give preference to goods manufactured in Nepal in Indian markets which will accelerate the industrialisation of Nepal. Both the countries promised to supply essential commodities needed by each other and promote mutual trade. The Treaty of Transit was dealt with rules to be followed for the transport of Napalese goods through India. India allowed Nepal to export their goods to Bangladesh through Indian roads. They also agreed to prevent unauthorised trade. In 1978 the Nepalese Prime Minister Kirti Nidhi Bista came to India and his visit gave strength to Indo-Nepal cooperation in the setting up of joint enterprise in Nepal. India agreed to provide Rs.320

million aid for the construction of Devi Ghat hydro-electric project in Nepal on June 8, 1978. During the regime of Janata Government India was successful in establishing a new understanding with Nepal. There had been good cooperation between both the countries, though there were some issues unsettled such as Nepal's proposal for a zone of peace and the issue.

During the regime of Indira Gandhi, Narashima Rao, the foreign minister of India paid a visit to Nepal and held discussion with the Prime Minister of Nepal. In 1982, India extended a number of trade and transit concessions to Nepal. Out of the concessions Nepal got many benefits. The practice of charging triple rent from Nepalese parties was abandoned. India completed the Devi Ghat Hydro Electric Project in July 1983. When Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister of India, he took much importance to extend friendly relations with the neighbouring countries. The emergence of SAARC also strengthened the economic trade and cultural cooperation among the countries of South Asia.

## **INDIA AND BHUTAN**

Bhutan is a neighbouring country of India. She is an independent country and closely related to India, Nepal and Tibet culturally. India has been maintaining good relations with Bhutan and the latter also treats India as her brother and reciprocates friendly relations with India. India has taken care of Bhutan in promoting the economic life of the people and has been rendering her assistance in all the ways.

## **GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITION**

“The kingdom of Bhutan is nestled in the southern slopes of the eastern Himalayas and landlocked between the Tibet Autonomous Region to the north and the Indian States of Sikkim, Bengal and Assam and Arunachala Pradesh to the west and south. It lies between latitude 26 and 29 N and longitudes 88 and 93 E.

“Bhutan” is a kachari word, as at one time Bhutan was in the area of Tibet. “A place of Bod” in Tibetan, Di-Bod meant a place of frozen water, it later became DiBodo-Tibodo-Tibet. Likewise, Bodo hathan-Bhuthan Bhutan is a possible origin of the name: from Bod, a name of place and Hathana kind of place, in this way Bod Hathana-Bhuthan-Bhutan. In another theory of Sanskritisation, Bhoma-anta means “At the end of Tibet”, as Bhutan is immediately to Tibet’s south.

## **INDO - BHUTAN’S RELATIONS**

With regard to the early history of Bhutan, Ugyen Wangchuck was unanimously chosen as the hereditary king of the country by an assembly of leading Buddhist monks, government officials and heads of important families in 1907. The British Government recognised him in 1910. After the Independence of India a treaty was signed by Bhutan with India namely ‘Treaty of Friendship’ in 1949. This treaty was a guideline that gave the right to India to formulate foreign affairs of Bhutan. But it also mentioned that it would not interfere in the internal affairs of Bhutan. Desiring to clearly reflect this exemplary relationship as it stands today; and having decided, through mutual consent, to update the 1949 Treaty relating to the promotion of, and fostering the relations of friendship and neighbourliness between India and Bhutan; they have agreed as follows:

Article 1 There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between India and Bhutan.

Article 2 In keeping with the abiding ties of close friendship and cooperation between Bhutan and India, the Government of the Kingdom of Bhutan and the Government of the Republic of India shall co-operate closely with each other on issues relating to their national interests. Neither Government shall allow the use of its territory for activities harmful to the national security and interest of the other.

Article 3 There shall, as heretofore, be free trade and commerce between the territories of the Government of Bhutan and the Government of India. Both the Governments shall provide full cooperation and assistance to each other in the matter of trade and commerce.

Article 4 The Government of India agrees that the Government of Bhutan shall be free to import, from or through India into Bhutan, whatever arms, ammunition, machinery, warlike material or stores as may be required or desired for the strength and welfare of Bhutan, and that this arrangement shall hold good for all time as long as the Government of India is satisfied that the intentions of the Government of Bhutan are friendly and that there is no danger to India from such importations. The Government of Bhutan agrees that there shall be no export of such arms, ammunition and materials outside Bhutan either by the Government of Bhutan or by private individuals.

## **DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES**

India took steps to enhance the financial position of Bhutan. She rendered help in this regard by giving financial help. Bhutan also showed her

cooperation and thereby many industries came up. India laid roads for 200 Km from Pantsoling to Thimbu. The hydroelectric power and other projects for Rs. 83 crores were carried out. Moreover India helped Bhutan in its five year plans - for the first five year Plan of Bhutan, India spent Rs10 crores and Rs 20 crores for the second five year plan. India also helped Bhutan by undertaking the construction of some dams.

### **India Maldives Relations, History, Significance, Challenges...**

India Maldives relations are based on long-standing ties, with India playing a key role in the Maldives' security and development. Cooperation covers defence support, crisis assistance, trade, tourism, and climate action. India has provided support during emergencies, while investments in infrastructure and digital payments have strengthened economic links. India Maldives relations are strategically important for India's security and trade routes in the Indian Ocean. However, challenges like China's growing influence, political instability, climate risks, and maritime threats require sustained coordination....

### **India Maldives Relations History**

India Maldives Relations are rooted in long-standing cultural, religious, and commercial ties, reflecting centuries of interaction as neighbours and maritime traders. These historical links laid the foundation for close and friendly relations, guided by shared strategic interests. Formal Diplomatic Engagement: Following the Maldives' independence in 1965, India was among the first countries to establish diplomatic relations. This early recognition laid the foundation for enduring political cooperation and regional partnership. Resolution of Disputes: The 1976 Maritime Boundary Agreement resolved the

Maldives' claim in India's favour, with the Maldives recognising Minicoy as part of India. This accord reinforced mutual respect for territorial integrity and strengthened peaceful bilateral relations. **Comprehensive Trade Agreement:** In 1981, India and the Maldives signed the Comprehensive Trade Agreement, formalising bilateral trade ties and fostering sustained economic collaboration.

**Operation Cactus (1988):** Indian Armed Forces foiled a coup attempt against Maldives' former President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom and restored stability, leading to long-term and friendly bilateral relations with the Maldives.

**Current Relationship:** More recent times have seen some tensions due to the Maldives' outreach towards China and an "India Out" campaign under the current Maldivian president. However, in 2025, both countries made efforts to renew ties and signed cooperation agreements involving infrastructure and defence....

### **India Maldives Relations Recent Developments**

In 2025, the Indian Prime Minister visited Malé as the chief guest for the Maldives' 60th Independence Day, marking significant recent developments in India-Maldives relations. The Maldivian President called it a defining visit that reset ties after the 2023 political change and opened a new phase of cooperation.

**Strategic Partnership:** Both countries reviewed progress on the 2024 Economic and Maritime Security Partnership, reaffirming India's Neighbourhood First and MAHASAGAR policies. Cooperation was also strengthened under the Colombo Security Conclave Charter and regional forums to enhance Indian Ocean security. **Economic Support:** India extended a ₹4,850 crore Line of Credit and reduced annual debt repayments by 40%, providing crucial financial stability. It also initiated negotiations for a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) and a

Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT). Infrastructure and Connectivity: Projects such as the Greater Male Connectivity Project (GMCP), Addu City road and drainage works, community development projects, and about 3,300 social housing units were inaugurated. Digital Integration: Digital integration advanced through the formal launch of Unified Payments Interface (UPI), RuPay cards, and local currency trade. Health: India donated two Aarogya Maitri Health Cubes (BHISHM), equipped to provide emergency medical aid for up to 200 casualties.... \

### **India Maldives Relations Areas of Cooperation**

India Maldives relations share a multifaceted relationship with several key areas of cooperation, critical for regional stability, maritime security, economic development, and bilateral ties. Security and Military Cooperation: India is a principal security partner, supporting maritime security, coastal defense, and disaster response capabilities for the Maldives. Both countries conduct joint military exercises, such as the Ekuverin, trilateral "Dosti" exercise with Sri Lanka. In 1988, India thwarted a coup attempt in the Maldives through a swift military intervention named "Operation Cactus". Economic Cooperation: India is a leading development and trade partner, supporting infrastructure, healthcare, and education through grants, Lines of Credit, and investments. Initiatives such as the Greater Male Connectivity Project, duty-free tuna exports, and visa facilitation enhance connectivity and promote economic growth. Political Cooperation: Political cooperation between India and the Maldives involves regular diplomatic engagement, support for democratic institutions, and collaboration in regional and multilateral forums to strengthen bilateral trust and stability.

This is reflected in high-level visits such as the Indian Prime Minister's 2025 trip to Malé, Joint Commission meetings, and foreign ministerial dialogues. Strategic Financial and Digital Cooperation: India and the Maldives share cordial financial links, with India supporting Maldivian economic development for years. Digital cooperation advanced in 2025 with the official launch of Unified Payments Interface (UPI) and RuPay in the Maldives. Both countries signed an MoU in 2024 to settle trade in their local currencies (INR-MVR), reducing reliance on the US dollar and easing bilateral trade. Disaster Management and Humanitarian Aid: India and the Maldives cooperate closely in disaster relief, search and rescue, and pollution control.

India has reinforced its role as the Maldives' first responder by giving timely assistance during the 2004 tsunami, the 2014 Male water crisis (Operation Neer), and the COVID-19 pandemic. India also supplied 30,000 measles vaccine doses in 2020 to prevent an outbreak. Climate and Sustainability: India and the Maldives cooperate on renewable energy, climate adaptation, and disaster preparedness, with India providing financial and technical support for sustainable projects.

Capacity Building: India plays a key role in strengthening Maldivian human and institutional capacities through higher education, teacher exchanges, scholarships, and training programmes.

India also provides around 70% of the Maldivian National Defence Force's training, covering joint exercises, EEZ patrols, anti-narcotics operations, medical evacuations, and humanitarian assistance.

### **Greater Male Connectivity Project**

Greater Male Connectivity Project (GMCP) is one of the largest infrastructure projects in the Maldives and a flagship India-assisted initiative, funded through a USD 400 million Line of Credit and a USD 100 million grant from India. Features: The project consists of a 6.74 km bridge and causeway connecting Malé, Villingili, Gulhifalhu, and Thilafushi, featuring renewable energy-based lighting and surveillance to support sustainable development.

Significance: The GMCP will ease travel, boost trade and tourism, support the planned Gulhifalhu Port and Thilafushi industrial zone, create jobs, and drive long-term economic growth, benefiting nearly half of the Maldivian population....

### **India Maldives Relations Significance**

India-Maldives relations are vital for Indian Ocean security and trade, supporting India's Neighbourhood First policy and SAGAR vision. With increasing trade, investments, and defence cooperation, economic growth and maritime safety are boosted, while tourism strengthens people-to-people links.

Strategic Location: The Maldives lies barely 70 nautical miles from India's Minicoy and about 300 nautical miles from the west coast, positioned along critical Indian Ocean sea lanes. These routes carry around 50% of India's external trade and 80% of its energy imports, making the Maldives vital for safeguarding India's trade and energy interests.

Its position aligns with India's Neighbourhood First policy and SAGAR vision.

Political Stability: India Maldives relations help maintain political stability by supporting democracy and strong institutions, reducing external

influence, particularly from China, and strengthening strategic, economic, and maritime cooperation.

### **India Maldives Relations Challenges**

India Maldives relations face several challenges, including Maldives' growing tilt to China with strategic deals, debt dependency, anti-India sentiment impacting tourism, political instability, and concerns over Indian military presence. **Geopolitical Competition:** China's growing presence in the Maldives through infrastructure projects, such as the Sinamale Bridge and airport expansion, has increased its economic footprint.

**Political instability:** Frequent changes in government and shifting foreign policy create instability. **Pro-India policies** often face domestic opposition, making it harder to maintain consistent cooperation. **Anti-India Sentiments:** Sections of Maldivian politics and society increasingly use anti-India rhetoric to mobilise domestic support and question India's role in development and security.

This has fuelled campaigns such as “India Out,” which undermine bilateral cooperation and public goodwill. **Economic Vulnerabilities:** The Maldives faces economic vulnerabilities, including high fiscal deficits and potential debt, high external debt, and concerns over debt trap diplomacy largely owed to China. **Radicalisation:** Rising religious extremism, with some Maldivians joining global terrorist groups, poses a threat of transnational terrorism and coastal security risks for India. It also creates internal instability that can spill over into the wider Indian Ocean region.

**Maritime Security Concerns:** Piracy, illegal fishing, and trafficking are growing threats in the Indian Ocean. Coordinated patrols, intelligence sharing,

and maritime infrastructure development are essential to ensure regional security.... Countering China: India and Maldives healthy relations contribute to regional stability in the Indian Ocean. It helps counter external influences, particularly from China, and protects important sea lanes critical for trade and energy supply.

**Economic Significance:** India is one of the Maldives' largest economic partners, with trade growing from USD 300 million in 2021 to USD 548 million in 2023. Investments in infrastructure and social sectors help reduce external dependencies and promote shared growth.

**Security Cooperation:** The Maldives acts as India's frontline partner in combating piracy, trafficking, and terrorism in the Indian Ocean region. Defence collaboration through patrols and intelligence sharing reinforces maritime security and regional peace.

**Tourism:** Tourism is a major contributor to the Maldives' economy, with India being its largest source market. In 2023, Indian nationals made up a significant portion of tourist arrivals to the Maldives, with over 200,000 Indian tourists visiting the Maldives.... **India Maldives Relations Way Forward**

India Maldives relations are essential for regional stability, economic growth, and maritime security in the Indian Ocean. Cooperation across security, economy, climate, and people-to-people ties can ensure a mutually beneficial partnership. **Deepen Economic Cooperation:** India and the Maldives should speed up the Free Trade Agreement (FTA), encourage Indian investments, and use local currency trade to make business easier. Important projects like the GMCP and undersea cables should be completed quickly to improve transport and digital connectivity and reduce reliance on other countries. Enhance

**Maritime Security:** Maritime security should be strengthened with joint naval patrols, EEZ monitoring, sharing intelligence, and providing patrol vessels and drones. India should also use regional platforms like the Colombo Security Conclave to improve security in the Indian Ocean. **Diplomatic and Political Engagement:** Regular high-level visits, joint meetings, and Track-II diplomacy (through think tanks and academic exchanges) will build trust. India should handle sovereignty concerns carefully and avoid public disputes to maintain stable political relations.

**Promote People-to-People Ties:** India should engage Maldivian youth, support independent media, and encourage cultural exchanges such as films, education, and skill development programs to strengthen trust and friendship....

### **SAARC: Origin - Contribution to cooperation and development in South Asia.**

Several regional organisations are there among the countries to promote peace and economic cooperation. One among them is the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation. The SAARC has seven member countries namely India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives. It was formally launched in December, 1985. Though there are certain issues to be settled by themselves, the SAARC has been serving the purpose at its best in many fields.

### **THE GENESIS OF THE SAARC**

Regionalism is not quite new. There were regional organisations which led to wars. History portrays them. After the Second World War there are organisations established among the countries to promote peace, friendship and economic cooperation. The United Nations Charter describes as follows:

“Regional arrangements” is define as Organisations of a permanent nature, grouping in a given geographical area, several countries which by reason of their proximity, commonality of interests or cultural, linguistic, historical or spiritual affinities, make themselves jointly responsible for the peaceful settlement of any disputes which may arise between them and for the maintenance of peace and security in their region, as well as for the safeguarding of their interests and the development of their economic and cultural relations”. The idea of SAARC was initiated by the President of Bangladesh, Zia-Ur Rahman in 1981. It met at Delhi in 1983, and the member countries adopted the “Declaration of South Asian Regional Cooperation”. The SAARC, an infant organisation is faced with several constraints in the form of political and security perceptions of the member states at different levels of economic growth and development. The SAARC has a vital role in bringing the member countries closer to realise the beneficial results.

## **SAARC'S OBJECTIVES**

According to Article I of the Charter of the SAARC, the objectives of the Association are:

1. to promote the welfare of the people of South Asia and to improve their quality of life;
2. to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region and to provide all individuals the opportunity to live in dignity and to realise their full potentials; 117
3. to promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of south Asia;

4. to contribute to mutual trust , understanding and appreciation of one another's problems;
5. to promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields;
6. to strengthen the cooperation with other developing countries;
7. to strengthen cooperation among themselves in international forums on matters of common interest; and 8. to cooperate with international and regional organisations with similar aims and purposes.

**Article II of the Charter lays down the following principles:**

1. Cooperation within the framework of the Association shall be based on respect for the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, political independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and mutual benefit.
2. Such cooperation shall not be a substitute for bilateral and multilateral cooperation but shall complement them.
3. Such cooperation shall not be inconsistent with bilateral and multilateral obligations.

**SAARC'S SUMMITS**

So far, twelve Summits have taken place-Dhaka (1985), Bangalore (1986), Kathmandu (1987), Islamabad (1988), Male (1990), Colombo (1991), Dhaka (1993), New Delhi (1995), Male (1997), Colombo (1998), Kathmandu (2002) and Islamabad (2004). However, in the past several summits have been

postponed or not held at all because of domestic and bilateral problems of member countries. The SAARC has a fairly impressive record of meetings, seminars, studies and reports that it has sponsored. The Calendar of Activities released by the SAARC Secretariat from time to time, enumerates a large number of activities pertaining to such diverse developmental fields as agriculture, animal husbandry, horticulture, health and sanitation, forestry, population,

meteorology, postal services, drug trafficking And abuse, integrated rural development, transfer of technology, sports, transport, telecommunication, women's development, trade and commerce, and others.

SAARC activities are not confined to developmental issues only. Even such an issue as terrorism, which has been hanging in fire in Indo-Pak relations for several years and has serious political overtones, had earlier received attention. Despite deep-rooted divisions among the SAARC countries over this question, they could adopt a convention against terrorism. Its highlight was the identification of offences, which 'shall be regarded as terrorism and for the purpose of extradition shall not be regarded as a political offence or as an offence inspired by political motives.' The convention provides the necessary follow-up through the signing of bilateral extradition treaties. This convention has not been implemented because Bangladesh and Pakistan have not ratified the same as they do not have the enabling domestic legislations against the terrorists. However, a new dimension was given to this Convention in the Islamabad Summit of 2004.

The first SAARC summit was held in Dhaka in December 1985. At this meeting, SAARC was formally launched. This Summit was particularly important in two respects. In the first place, there was the use of expressions

‘Non-use of Force’ and ‘Peaceful Settlement of All Disputes’ (Preamble and Article 11). It may be noted that similar expressions were used in the original Working Paper (1980) prepared by Bangladesh, but in the first Meeting of Foreign Secretaries (April 1981) they were dropped on account of Pakistan’s reservations. Pakistan’s no-war pact proposal to India came later in September 1981. The use of these expressions in the SAARC document, therefore, made the no-war proposal virtually redundant. Secondly, the summit decided in favour of a Council of Ministers and a Secretariat thereby giving permanence to SAARC.

At the second SAARC summit held in Bangalore in November 1986, the leaders forged a regional convention on suppression of terrorism, agreed to set up a regional food security reserve and decided to commission a study on the causes and consequences of natural disasters and the preservation of the environment. In response to the Afghan application for membership, the summit directed the Standing Committee to draw up the criteria for membership. (SAARC charter is silent on the admission of new members).

The third SAARC summit was held in Kathmandu in November 1987. In the summit, the SAARC Regional Convention on Suppression of Terrorism was signed, which came into force on 22 August 1988. The fourth SAARC summit was held in Islamabad in 1988. At this summit, an integrated development plan called SAARC 2000 - a basic needs perspective was drawn. The plan envisaged a regional perspective programme with a specific target in core areas like food, clothing, shelter, education, primary health care, population planning and environmental protection, to be met by the year 2000. The fifth SAARC summit was held in Male in November 1990. At this summit, the leaders called for the welfare of the disabled and the girl child, convention on narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances to deal effectively with the menace

of drug abuse and suppression of illicit traffic in the region, enlargement of visa-free travel facility beyond the existing categories of members of Parliament and Supreme Court Judges to include the heads of national academic institutions, their spouses and dependent children, and, most importantly, the extension of the core areas of economic cooperation. It was decided that by the end of February 1991 the regional study dealing with the contentious issue of trade, manufactures and services should be completed. This was particularly important because everyone agreed that to meet the challenges posed to the global economy by the collapse of the socialist economies, new pattern of production, consumption and trade would have to be conceived, and that sooner it was realized the better it was for South Asia. The sixth SAARC summit at Colombo was originally scheduled to be held in November 1991. But following the last moment decision of the Bhutanese King not to participate in the summit because of his pressing domestic problems, the meeting had to be postponed. This was unavoidable because both India and Nepal insisted that since the King of Bhutan was not participating, they too would not. They strongly felt that in the absence of any one member of the summit, the meeting, even if held, would amount to going against the collective spirit of SAARC. The summit was later held on 21 December 1991. Most of the issues in the Colombo declaration that was adopted at the summit were part of SAARC's continuing agenda over the previous years. The need to curb terrorist activities, the Maldivian initiative to seek international consensus on reinforcing the security of small states, the call to take effective steps to combat terrorism in South Asia, the plea to articulate a collective

stand on global and regional environmental issues fall in this category. The summit leaders also agreed that the inter-governmental group, already set up to study the prospects for regional cooperation in the areas of trade,

manufactures and the services, should also examine the Sri Lankan proposal for the establishment of a SAARC Preferential Trading Arrangement (SAPTA) by 1997. But the most significant of all the decisions taken at the Colombo Summit was the agreement that a special session of the SAARC Foreign Secretaries should be held in Colombo in 1992 to study the ways and means to streamline the working norms of the organization. This study could cover a wide spectrum of proposals, including those designed to seek changes in the SAARC charter. Even the issue of establishing suitable external linkages with other regional organizations such as ASEAN and EU could also be considered. The seventh SAARC summit was held at Dhaka in April 1993. In this summit, the SAARC Preferential Trading Arrangement (SAPTA) was signed. The agreement was supposed to provide the member countries with the basic legal framework for step by step trade liberalization amongst them through tariff, Para tariff, non-tariff and direct trade deals. At the eighth SAARC summit held in New Delhi in 1995, the SAPTA was formally launched. At the ninth SAARC summit at Male held in 1997, the SAARC Group of Eminent Persons was established. The group contemplated the creation of SAARC Economic Vision through creating a SAARC common market and effecting macro-economic policy coordination. Encouraged by the progress made by SAPTA negotiations, at the tenth SAARC Summit The tenth meeting held at Colombo in 1998, the SAARC leaders decided to set up a Committee of Experts to draft a treaty on South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA). The treaty was expected to lay down legally binding schedules for freeing trade among SAARC countries and to provide a predictable and transparent time path for achieving a free trade area in the region. The eleventh SAARC Summit at Kathmandu was originally scheduled for November 1999 but had to be postponed because of the military coup in Pakistan on 12 October 1999. Eventually, the summit was held in January 2002. The highlight of the summit was the signing of a convention to prevent illegal

trafficking of girl children and women for immoral purposes across the region. The delay in holding the summit, however, did not mean that SAARC remained inactive. The sixth meeting of the Governing Board of the South Asian Development Fund (SADF) was held in Maldives on 22-23 May 2000 in which the activities of the Fund were reviewed and proposals for placing the Fund on a professional footing discussed. SAARC consortium examined the proposals for cooperation in the SAARC region to promote the use of open and distance learning at all levels of education. The growing people-to-people contact of all kinds was a notable development during the year. The third meeting of the SAARC Network of Researchers on Global, Financial and Economic issues was held at the SAARC Secretariat on 31 October 2000. The 19th meeting of the SAARC Audio Visual Exchange Committee was held at Dhaka from 19-20 December 2000. In November 2000, a special SAARC Senior Officials' Meeting was held in Colombia. The meeting finalized the calendar for holding the meetings of technical committee, expert-level meetings of the South Asian Preferential Trading Arrangement (SAPTA) and the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA). The SAARC Technical Committees are the primary mechanism for the implementation of the SAARC integrated programme of action (SIPA). 'A regional meeting on Financing Renewable Energy for sustainable Development and Alleviation of Rural Poverty in South Asia was held in Colombo from 12-14 June 2000, jointly with the World Energy Council. A South Asian Business Leaders' summit was held in Bangalore in August 2000 by the initiative of the federation of Karnataka Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) and the Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The SAARC Law Conference, a recognized regional apex SAARC body, held its 8th Annual Conference in Nepal in September 2000. As part of its effort to improve the health sector in the South Asian region, SAARC signed a Memorandum of

Understanding with the WHO on 23 August 2000. The twelfth SAARC summit was held in Islamabad from 4-6 January 2004. This summit was acclaimed by many as the two leaders of India and Pakistan met with great bonhomie that augured very well for both improvements in bilateral relations and of the development of SAARC process. This summit made far reaching recommendations in many areas of regional cooperation. Firstly, it signed the SAARC Social charter which covers issues like poverty alleviation, population stabilisation, empowerment of women, youth mobilisation, human resource development, promotion of health and nutrition. All these are likely to have far reaching impact on the lives of millions of South Asians. Secondly, while reaffirming commitment to regional convention on combating terrorism signed in 1987, they signed an additional protocol to this convention to deal effectively with financing of terrorism. Thirdly, the members signed the Framework Agreement of South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) and implement the same by January 2006. And finally, the SAARC award was instituted to honour and encourage outstanding individuals and organisations within the region in the fields of peace, development, poverty alleviation and in other areas of regional cooperation.

### **Self Assessment Questions**

1. How have historical, cultural, and geographical factors shaped India's relations with Nepal, Afghanistan, Bhutan, and the Maldives?
2. What are the major areas of cooperation and conflict in India–Nepal relations, particularly in trade, security, and border management?
3. How does India contribute to the political stability and development of Afghanistan, Bhutan, and the Maldives?
4. What were the circumstances that led to the formation of SAARC, and what are its main objectives?
5. How has SAARC contributed to regional cooperation and development in South Asia, and what challenges limit its effectiveness?

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## **Web Resources**

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