TIMELINE OF ENVIRONMENTAL TREATIES

A TIMELINE OF ENVIRONMENTAL NEGOTIATION
(ROLE OF INDIA)
Timeline Of Environmental Negotiation (Role Of India)

1) Stockholm Conference 1972
2) Brundtland Commission (1983)
3) UN Summit on Environment and Development 1992
4) Kyoto Protocol 1997
5) Bali Summit 2007
6) Copenhagen Summit 2009
7) Durban Conference
8) Warsaw Climate Summit
9) Lima Summit (2014)
10) Paris Climate Conference 2015
11) Bonn Conference Germany (2017)
1) STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE 1972
1. First UN conference on environment.

2. India played active role in the formulation of the fundamental principles of environmental negotiation.
FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES;

• 1. Environment is seen as collective responsibility
• However it will be a common but differentiate responsibility.
• It employees at there will be difference in the role of north and south.
FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES;

• 2. The priority of south is development because without development there cannot be any meaningful contribution by south towards environment.
According to the then Indian PM Indira Gandhi “Poverty is the Biggest Pollutant”.
FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES;

• 3. It is the responsibility of no one to support south in addressing poverty and underdevelopment

• It saw necessary steps for protection of environment.
ANALYSIS

• Stockholm principles have been favourable to south it is based on the principle of equity.

• Note-
  • Equity should be the guiding principle of environmental negotiation according to India.
2) BRUNDTLAND COMMISSION (1983)
• UN Commission on Environment and Development popularly known as “Brundtland Commission” (1983).
• It has been set up as a follow up measure of Stockholm conference to determine the nature of development to be taken by developing countries.

• It published a report title “Our Common Future” (Prelims).
WHAT IS THERE IN THE REPORT?

• Though development is a Priority of south,

• South does not have option to pursue the same model of development which has been pursued by North till now South has to go for sustainable development.
ANALYSIS

• It has been recognized that the model of development pursued by north up till now has not been sustainable.
ANALYSIS

• It is to be noted that Gandhi in one of his writings has mention that if south (other countries) pursue the same model of development which western countries have pursued at least 9 more EARTHs will be required.

• It also result into the images of principle of “Historical Responsibility”.
3) EARTH SUMMIT (RIO BRAZIL)
EARTH SUMMIT (RIO BRAZIL)

- At Rio de Janeiro popularly known as Earth summit (Rio Brazil)
The purpose of Summit is to suggest practical ways to achieve sustainable development as recommended by the Brundtland Commission.
Outcomes (Earth Summit)

1) Rio Principles
2) “Agenda 21”
3) At Rio 4 Conventions Emerged
1) Rio Principles

A. Precautionary Principle
B. Polluters Pay Principles
A. PRECAUTIONARY PRINCIPLE

- Environmental efforts will not be delayed or avoided just because of the scientific (variables evidence) is not available.

- Note - USA is against precautionary principle
B. POLLUTERS PAY PRINCIPLES

• USA's approach- Take present polluters into account and not the historical responsibility. At present the three biggest emitters are China, USA and India

• India's Position- India insist on “Historical Responsibility”.
2) “AGENDA 21”

- It is a programme of action for “sustainable development”
- It contains strategies for sustainable development in micro areas.
THEME OF APPROACH

• No sustainable development can be achieved without community participation.
• There is closed connection between democracy and sustainable development.
• It suggests adoption of multi stockholders approach involving government business as well as civil society.
3) AT RIO 4 CONVENTIONS EMERGED

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>UNFCC – (UN Framework Convention On Climate Change)</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Convention on Biodiversity</td>
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It has been recognized that climate change is happening because of anthropogenic reasons. Hence it is necessary to take action rather than just leaving on natural adaptations.
It has been recognized that if Global Warming goes beyond “2 Degree Celsius” of the pre-industrial level, it will be catastrophic.

Help the overall objective of Climate Change negotiations is to achieve the target that global warming remains well below “2 Degree Celsius or 1.5 degree Celsius” if possible.
It has also been accepted that whatever actions taken should not threaten food security and should be sure that development take place in sustainable manner.
At Rio countries adopted UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, USA has been the party to convention.

Why?
• It is not Binding in Nature.
FEATURES OF UN FRAMEWORK CONVENTION

- It is based on CBDR- HR
- How-
  - Countries are classified into two groups-
Countries are classified into Two Groups

1) Annex Countries
2) Non-Annex Countries (Developing)
NOTE

• USA believes that above classification is Crude, we need to redefine the criteria countries like China and other BRICS Nations cannot get the benefit of above non scientific classification.

• At present for China the term “Non Developed Country” is used in Paris Climate Change arrangement rather than develop.
Annex Countries Where Further Classified Into 2 Groups

1. Annex I
2. Annex II
1. ANNEX I

- It includes all industrialized countries which have to go for mitigation action this includes the industrialized countries of eastern Europe also.
2. ANNEX II

- The smaller groups comprising of economically well of countries primarily OECD Countries.

- There is possibility is beside mitigation help developing countries in adaptation.
How

1. By Transfer of Technology
2. By Transfer of Funds
• There has been fall in carbon emission but the reason was not the major emitters like USA reduced emissions.
• Actually USA emissions increased, the reason in halt in industrial activities of the countries of former communist bloc.
4) KYOTO PROTOCOL 1997
PURPOSE

• It was a realize that country's would have to take binding commitments,

• Since Kyoyo Protocol came into existence USA has been out of any of the agreement and become party only to Paris Agreement under Obama Administration.
PURPOSE

• US President in his address in June 2017 declared USA coming out of the it, called it as against USA interest and will not contribute in anyway for Protection of Environment.
4) Kyoto Protocol 1997
FEATURE OF KYOTO PROTOCOL

• 1. Kyoto Protocol has set up the target of emission reduction by 5.2% below 1990 level.
FEATURE OF KYOTO PROTOCOL

FEATURE OF KYOTO PROTOCOL

3. Kyoto Protocol will be valid for the period 2005 to 2012.
The Kyoto Protocol is negotiation has been happening to find out the successor agreement of the Kyoto Protocol which was to be expired in 2012.

Because of the attitude of the USA and extremely diluted agreement, the Paris Climate Change Agreement emerged after a gap of 3 years, which is in 2015.
FEATURES OF KYOTO PROTOCOL

1. Kyoto Protocol has introduced market mechanism known as carbon trading
It has also introduced

1. Clean Development Mechanism
2. Joint Implementation
It is a mechanism to earn carbon Credit by sponsoring adaptation program in any country of the south.
(2) JOINT IMPLEMENTATION

It is also earning **Carbon Credit** by going for project in other Developed Country.
5) BALI SUMMIT 2007
5) BALI SUMMIT 2007

- By the year 2007 China has started giving big challenges to US economic interests.

- By the year 2007 China also become the biggest emitters.
SINCE THEN USA'S APPROACH IS

A. To bring BRICS countries specially India and China under Binding Commitment.
SINCE THEN USA'S APPROACH IS

B. USA interlinks the Trade and Environment.
USA DOES NOT FAVOUR

A) Top Down Approach of earlier agreements.
USA DOES NOT FAVOUR

B) USA stand for voluntary pledges or Bottom Up Approach.
USA DOES NOT FAVOUR

C) USA will not accept historical responsibility but we'll go for a deal on the basis of present in emissions.
USA DOES NOT FAVOUR

D) Technology Transfer as trade rather than aid. BRICS countries have already captured the commodity trade. Technology and IPR in the only way by which developed countries can sustain their economics.
e) USA does not favor government based mobilization of funds; it has to be public-private partnership.
OUTCOMES OF BALI SUMMIT

• 1) Failed to arrive at successor agreement but Climate Change talks to continue.
OUTCOMES OF BALI SUMMIT

• 2) Countries agreed for road map, road map has two for the classification as below-
  • 1. Mitigation
  • 2. Adaptation
OUTCOMES OF BALI SUMMIT

• In Bali however common but differentiated responsibilities as a principal remain the part of negotiating principles.
6) COPENHAGEN SUMMIT 2009
6) COPENHAGEN SUMMIT 2009

• Significance

• Up till Bali the interest of the Countries Of South could be taken care of but since Copenhagen climate change talks started moving in reverse direction.
WHAT IS REVERSE DIRECTION?

• A) Developing countries to be under Similar Obligation.
WHAT IS REVERSE DIRECTION?

- B) Developed countries to enjoy Similar Privileges.
Why Developed Countries Were Successful in Changing the Directions

1. Before Copenhagen Summit, BRICS countries have won by grouping known as basic to put forward their joint approach.
Why Developed Countries Where Successful In Changing The Directions

2. USA adopted a adamant stand that until and unless India and China does not accept binding commitments USA will not be a Party.
3. Climate change agreement carry no meaning if USA is excluded. Developed countries play divisive politics. They divided their responsibilities.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A) EU took ambitious target to project the soft face.</th>
<th>B) European Union checked small islands States engaged.</th>
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<td>Left EU’s commitment on the ones that USA also goes for binding commitment.</td>
<td>Small islands states are most vulnerable the entire blame game on India and China.</td>
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</table>
5. China did not maintain its solidarity. China held that it is ready to take mitigation commitments. Thus India stood isolated.
India was criticized as the deal breaker both at Doha and at climate change.
Why Developed Countries Where Successful In Changing The Directions

6. Hence, India was under compulsion to accept US approach. Though the stand of Government of India entering into compromise was criticized at home resulting in to change of ministry.
Why Developed Countries Where Successful In Changing The Directions

6.
Jairam Ramesh was replaced by Jayanthi natarajan.
OUTCOMES AT COPENHAGEN

- Copenhagen has been the point of inflection it was the definite victory of USA as all countries accepted USA's approach.
APPROACH

• 1. No Top Down Approach
2. Voluntary Commitments which means all countries will take their “Nationally Determined Intended Action”.
APPROACH

3. All Countries will take mitigation action and not just developed countries are there in developing countries and privilege not to go for any mitigation commitments.
APPROACH

- Copenhagen did not result into acceptance of the principles by parties.
- Copenhagen Accord who are just "TAKEN NOTE OF".
- Hence letter on at concern in 2010 part is accepted the principles.
PRINCIPLES

1. All will take mitigation action which means dilution of common but differentiated responsibilities.
2. Agreement to create “Green Climate Fund” and to transfer hundred million dollar US dollar developing countries by the year 2020.
NOTE

• There was no clarity from where the funds will be mobilized.

• From developed countries point of view, they will mobilize fund through private sector.

• However developing countries wanted commitment from the government.
7) DURBAN CONFERENCE
7) DURBAN CONFERENCE

- Outcome - Durban Platform
- Features of Platform
FEATURES OF PLATFORM

• 1. It ended the difference between “Mitigation and Adaptation Action”.

• Under Kyoto Protocol there were ad-hoc working groups.
FEATURES OF PLATFORM

- Ad-hoc Working Groups.
  - 1st Ad Hoc working groups works on mitigation.
  - 2nd was on adaptation now it become single track single group.
FEATURES OF PLATFORM

• 2. Parties agreed that whatever successive agreement emerges.

• It should have some legal basis there was difference between India and European Union.
EU'S APPROACH

• Party should take Legally Binding Commitment.
INDIA'S APPROACH

• “Document Should Have Legal Force”.

• BASIC group which was form before coppenhagen was deleted and China for a new group known as group of like minded countries, later on India also became part of it.
Hence there is no clear polarization of developed and developing North and South rather broad range of countries from like minded group.
OUTCOME

• It resulted into “Doha Climate Gateway”.
WHAT DOES GATEWAY SYMBOLIZE?

- It symbolizes that talks are into have not been derived and member countries have been position to find out the solution for the years when the period of Kyoto Protocol ended in 2012 and then you commitment period started (2020).
WHAT DOES GATEWAY SYMBOLIZE?

- From 2013 to 2020 some developed countries agreed that they will continue to fulfill the obligations of the quota for remaining period.
- Prominent developed countries kept themselves out (USA never joined), (Japan, Russia, Canada, New Zealand held that they will not accept extension of the commitment).
WHAT DOES GATEWAY SYMBOLIZE?

• (Australia had reduced its commitment) thus at present only few developed countries are talking mitigation.
8. WARSAW CLIMATE SUMMIT (DEC 2013)
8. WARSAW CLIMATE SUMMIT (DEC 2013)

- Outcome

- Countries announce that they will announce their Plans by the end of the first quarter of 2015.
9. LIMA SUMMIT (2014)
9. LIMA SUMMIT (2014)

- Countries area from that they will have final deal by (2015).
10. PARIS CLIMATE CONFERENCE 2015.

- 194 Countries took swearing pledge that it is a Landmark Agreement.
1. The target to Limit global warming well below “2 Degree Celsius” or 4.5 degree Celsius if possible pre industrial level.
2. Net carbon emission has to be zero by achieving the balance between anthropogenic emission and removal by carbon sinks.
3. Countries should reach their peak emission and after which they have to reduce their emission picking time should be as early as possible.
4. Each country will present INDC which is *intended nationally determined contributions. INDC should have plans about limiting their carbon emission the implementation period starts before 2020.
5. Countries will go for domestic mitigation measures.
6. Pledge for the promotion codes in future for that they will reap on revising target after every 5 years.
8. Another hundred million will be mobilize and will be delivered by 2025.
9. Global stock taking will be done in 2023 and then every 5 years.
Nature Of Agreement

1. The agreement is not binding which means there are no penalties.

2. At present only two countries are out of Paris climate change that is USA and Syria.
11) BONN CONFERENCE GERMANY (2017)
11) BONN CONFERENCE GERMANY (2017)

- Led by Fiji but organized by Bonn.
PRESENT STATUS

• In July 2017 USA has announced the withdrawal after lot of Criticism from other countries

• US clarified that withdrawal is not immediate and it abide by “4 year exit clause process” at present USA emission are 14.5 % and Chinese emissions are 29.5 percent of the total emissions.
China's per capita emissions are higher than India.

China has announced 2030 as a peaking year.

China has announced lowering the carbon intensity of GDP by 60% to 65% of 2005 level by 2030.
China has announced lowering the carbon lifting density of GDP by 6265 17 of 2005 level by 2030.

China has committed to increase its share of “Non Fossil Fuel” by twenty percent as well as its Forest Cover.
WHAT ARE EUROPEAN UNION'S COMMITMENT?

European Union has been at the forefront first major economic to submit in INDC.
WHAT ARE EUROPEAN UNION'S COMMITMENT?

European Union will reduce its a mission by at least 40 % by 2030.
India plans to reduce its carbon emission intensity per unit by GDP by 30 to 35% from 2005 levels over 15 years.
India aims at producing 40% of its install electricity capacity by 2030 from non-fossil fuels.
India will increase forest cover by 5 million hectares.
India has initiated an ambitious project known as International Solar Alliance.
INTERNATIONAL SOLAR ALLIANCES

• It is a treaty based International, intergovernmental alliance of around 121 countries having rich solar resources.

• International governmental Alliance of around 121 countries having rich solar resources.
India has provided initial investment of $30 Million.
India has launched a tool name IESS (Indian Energy Security Scenario) 2047 (calculate to explore the potential of future energy scenario for India).
Before “Copenhagen Summit” India in 2008 had launch National action plan for climate change.
WHAT ARE IMPLICATIONS OF USA WITHDRAWAL

• It will weaken the attempt for climate change anyone because USA will not be under any commitment.

• However another way it may prove good because countries making of Renegotiating the Paris deal.
WHAT ARE IMPLICATIONS OF USA WITHDRAWAL

• According to USA the deal is not resulting into decrease in carbon emission rather increasing carbon emission till the peaking year 2030. by China and India.

• Though China is projecting itself as a responsible country but in reality China is taking the advantage.
WHAT ARE IMPLICATIONS OF USA WITHDRAWAL

- On one hand China is protectionist and unfair trade negotiations.

- On the other hand China is utilizing the Paris agreement in it’s trading interest. The real culprit is China rather than USA.
WHAT ARE IMPLICATIONS OF USA WITHDRAWAL

- India should see the opportunity in Bonn Summit, India should force countries for the negotiations of the deal.

- India should continue to work with US as well as International community to have a better deal which brings real impact on global warming.
ROLE OF INSTITUTIONS IN FOREIGN POLICY

- Institutions.

- It is definition rules formal or informal or shared...(in..) that constraints are prescribed (reaction...) on the political actors.
<table>
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<th>FORMAL INSTITUTIONS</th>
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<td>MEA</td>
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- MEA
- NSA
- PMO
- Parliament
- Other Ministries
- State Diplomacy
MEA

1. Strength
2. Quality
3. Special prospective on foreign Secretary
4. Inherited biasness towards west
1) Politicization

Rajiv Bhatia

Kiran S. Rana
“Rajiv Bhatia” is from the view that it is better to be Ambassador at better embassy rather than becoming a foreign secretary interview by PMO.
Diplomat “Kiran S. Rana” is of the view that sum of the first of your name should be thrown out for state officials of on deputation.
“REVOLVING DOOR CONCEPT”

- Taking powers from think tank Universities etc.
- Debate Between K P Mishra Sharma And K Subramanya.
Question

• Que. 1. Do we have any policy towards Pakistan. If yes what are the salient features of India's Pakistan policy.
• Que. 2. Give suggestions to deal with challenges posed by Pakistan.
INTRODUCTION

“Dilip Hiro” in his book "The longest August" the unfinished rivalry between India and Pakistan" traces the bitter countous of rivalry in a span of century.
According to Dilip Hiro,
It is a Tale or story of fatal miscalculations, antagonism and mutual paranoia of elites.
INTRODUCTION

- Shashi Tharoor in his book “Pax Indica” call Pakistan a “Brother Enemy”.
- He believes that dealing with Pakistan has been the biggest challenge.
- India has tried all options but nothing seems to work.
• Stephen P. Cohen in his recent book on India and Pakistan title "Shooting for a Century" mentions that they will take at least one hundred years of shooting before they will be able to normalize their relations.
INTRODUCTION

• He terms it as ‘paired minority conflict’ in which each side views itself as threatened and vulnerable, and thus resists negotiations and compromise.

• The only other example of such I was ready are the Rivals between Jews and Arabs or singhalis and Tamil.
INTRODUCTION

• India's policy towards Pakistan “Rajesh Baseur” in his Article on Indian and Pakistan relation in Oxford handbook of India's foreign policy mentions that “Almost every PM dealt with the issue of Pakistan personally despite personal attention at the highest level.
INTRODUCTION

• India has not been able to manage its relation.
• the primary reason is that in India Pakistan relations Many search factors operators are beyond the control of India considering the high level of animosity which Pakistan head towards India.
• We have been able to manage the situation with reasonable Manner.
• Nothing more could have been possible.
• Suhasini Haider suggest that India does not have a policy “India have postures towards Pakistan.
• India’s policy towards Pakistan looks like instant coffee magic changes so fast”.
• **Kanti Bajpai** suggest that “India's policy towards Pakistan reflect the cycle of cooperation and defection”.
According to Kanti Bajpai, India's policy towards Pakistan China and Kashmir has reached to dead end.
POLICIES OF DIFFERENT PM'S TOWARDS PAKISTAN
SOME ADVICES OF SUN TZU

• The supreme art of war is to subdue the enemy without fight. Supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy’s resistance without fight.

• Know your enemy more than yourself. To know your enemy, become your enemy. Keep your friends close and enemy closer.

• Strategy without tactics is slowest route to victory. Tactics without strategy is noise before defeat.

Is war a good strategy
- Views of Clausewitz:
- War is extreme trail of strength and stamina. Diplomacy is war by other means.
Policies Of Different PM's Towards Pakistan.

1. Pandit Nehru
2. Indira Gandhi
3. I K Gujral
4. Atal Bihari Vajpayee
5. Manmohan Singh
6. Narendra Modi
1. PANDIT NEHRU

- Nehru never considered that Pakistan can be a real challenge.
- He believed that one day Pakistan will automatically come back to India or will enter into good relations with India.
1. PANDIT NEHRU

- Pakistan's economic geography and destiny is linked to South Asia which itself is linked to India.
- It shows that Nehru lacked the understanding of Pakistan's have hatred towards India and Pakistan’s own national identity.
- Indus water treaty with Liquakat Ali highly unfavourable to India based on his understanding of similar interests.
- We can consider Nehruvian approach as too idealistic.
2. INDIRA GANDHI

- Indira Gandhi took a more “realistic posture towards Pakistan. Made intervention in East Pakistan and created Bangladesh”.
- 1971 war can be considered as a military victory but a diplomatic defeat there was no concrete gain for India in “Shimla Agreement”.
2. INDIRA GANDHI

- It was the last opportunity for India to settle the Kashmir issue.

- After 1971 war Pakistan went for proxy wars and developing nuclear weapons.
2. INDIRA GANDHI

• Rise of extreme revenge towards India, Deep state took the route of thousand cuts.

• Rajiv Gandhi's policies where continuation of policy of Indira Gandhi and has not bought any improvement in the relations.
Some Basic Information

- A deep state also known as a state within a state, is a form of clandestine government made up of hidden or covert networks of power operating independently of a state's political leadership, in pursuit of their own agenda and goals.

- Examples include organs of state, such as the armed forces or public authorities (intelligence agencies, police, secret police, administrative agencies, and government bureaucracy).

- Bleed India with a Thousand Cuts is a military doctrine followed by Pakistan against India.

- It consists of waging covert war against India using insurgents at multiple locations.
3. I K GUJRAL

• Gujral as a foreign minister and later on PM made huge investment improving relations with the neighbors.

• Gujral doctrine was India's gesture towards smaller neighbours to remove their apprehensions and to establish peace in south Asia.
3. I K GUJRAL

• There was concrete achievements of Gujral doctrine with respect to all neighbors and even with respect to Pakistan, decided to go for “Visa Liberalization” for patients and students.
4. ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE

- He also believed in the improvement of relations with neighbours as compulsion.
- In the words of Vajpayee, “we can choose our freinds but we cannot choose our neighbours”.
- We can change history but we cannot change geography”.

4. ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE

• However Vajpayee took the decision to go nuclear resulting into the extreme deterioration in security situation in South Asia giving opportunity to Pakistan for nuclear blackmail of India as well as the legitimating of Pakistan's nuclear weapon as a smaller state against imperialistic neighbor.
4. ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE

- Since then International community had started taking India Pakistan relations seriously.
- The fear of nuclear warfare in South Asia become the huge possibility.
- USA started taking steps for forcing two neighbours to go for normalization.
4. ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE

• Under US pressure, Vajpayee went for “Bus Diplomacy” resulting into Lahore declaration.

• However Lahore declaration has ended with the misadventure of Kargil And the breakdown of deterrence.
4. ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE

- Thus the relations further deteriorated.

- Once again USA pushed for normalization resulting into Islamabad Summit of SAARC and the declaration to introduce free trade area and to work together to address the poverty in the region.
5. MANMOHAN SINGH

- Manmohan Singh also took keen interest in normalization of relations.

- The pillar of MMS Doctrine was “Economic Diplomacy” one of the major agenda of government was MFN status for India from Pakistan.

- “I want my grandchildren to live the way we used to live. We can start a journey with breakfast in Kabul, lunch in Lahore and dinner in Delhi.”
5. MANMOHAN SINGH

- It is believed that Manmohan Singh and Musharraf came very close to the conclusion of Sir creek, Siacheen and even Kashmir issue.

- There were concrete actions on the ground according to the formula.
1) Convert LOC into soft border in this context both the governments permitted cross LOC trade and opening on the bus route between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad.
2) Demilitarization of the public places in Kashmir. In this context also Government of India had moved army from the public places towards the borders and deployed paramilitary forces.
3) Joint Administration; there was no progress as Musharraf who was thrown out of the power.
Pakistan even agreed for FTA with India, agreed for NDMA (MFN STATUS). However towards the end of Manmohan singh’s regime, relations started to deteriorate because of increased violence at LOC.

- The peace process was stopped due to mumbai terror attacks, since there was huge international pressure Pakistan shifted the strategy instead of terrorism, violence at borders.
- The Government couldn’t continue with dialogue process due to domestic pressure.
6. NARENDRA MODI (Modi approach or doctrine)

- Modi government started with the note of “neighbourhood first policy.”
- Modi invited SAARC leaders including Pakistan in Oath taking ceremony.
- It was very divergent to Modi’s image giving tough to Pakistan message to Pakistan. As the dialogue process was stopped post Pak high commission’s meeting with Kashmiri separatist and appointment of Ajit Doval as national security advisor, it became clear that Modi will go for realism and policy of isolating Pakistan.
6. NARENDRA MODI

- PM Modi also adopted other strategy like "cricket diplomacy".
- He took an unusual step of going to Pakistan while returning from Afghanistan.
- However, Modi government could not continue with its policy towards Pakistan in context of various attacks on India's military forces.
6. NARENDRA MODI

- Since then India is going for isolation of Pakistan and more realistic approach towards Pakistan.

- The So-Called Doval Doctrine.
India’s Retaliation against terrorism.

Surgical strikes after Uri attacks and air strikes after 2019 Pulwama attack.
DOVAL DOCTRINE

- According to Ajit Doval, you should speak in the language which Pakistan understands,

- He suggests “defensive offence” means working on Pakistan vulnerabilities. The use of money, weapon and even non state actors, use of high technology driven military operations.
DOVAL DOCTRINE

• The Modi Doval doctrine also use Balochistan issue, Gilgit balistan and Indus water treaty.

• However, this approach has not brought the results.
According to Kanti Bajpai, it has resulted into dead end.
According to Tharoor, "Hostility is a mood not a policy".
1. Punish Pakistan - though surgical strikes would not cause any real materialistic loss to Pak, yet it might hurt Pakistan’s international reputation. It also allowed India to test Pak’s nuclear bluff.

Though there has been criticism of achievements of Surgical strike and pulwama air strikes because it could not stop Pakistan’s attempt to sponsor terrorism. yet it provided scope for India, to frame a better strategic policy and action in future.

At least it gives a message that India is determined to give Pakistan an answer to its policy of thousand cuts.

- According to security experts, use of surgical strike as an option has been better than crippling indecisiveness and inaction. It marks the end of India’s policy of strategic restraint. India’s strategic restraint was interpreted as India’s weakness.
COLD START DOCTRINE

- Based on the belief that Pakistan’s proxy war demands punitive action.
- It is about taking swift actions without risking nuclear war. It’s utilisation of number of integrated division sized forces launching action to capture large strip of Pakistan’s territory, utilise it as a bargaining chip.

Present government also tried to use Indus water card. It’s believed that, water card is one of the strongest card India have. There is shortage of water on Pakistan’s side. India should come out of treaty because India is not legally bind to treaty as China has emerged as third party. As china has constructed dams on Indus on its side. Hence the treaty doesn’t have validity or India’s obligation. It is suggested India should keep on building dams as well as meeting of IWC should be suspended till resolution of dispute.
• Approaches of all the PMs show that either India lacks the understanding of Pakistan (Nehru) or India lacks the strategic culture (Indira Gandhi) (Vajpayee, Modi).
ASSESSMENT

• So for the approaches of Gujral and MMS had some positive achievements but continuation on such approaches is extremely difficult.
The reason is, there are vested interest on both side of Border and whenever India will take initiative for peace, India will become more vulnerable of attack from Pak. In such situation it becomes difficult to continue with peace, until and unless there is a strong political will.
WHAT IS REQUIRED TO MAKE A SOUND POLICY.

1. Clarity Of Goals
   • India first need to have clarity whether
     • a) India wants peace with Pak.
     • b) India wants enmity with Pakistan.
ENEMITY WITH PAKISTAN

- We have to assess our resources and limitations considering Pakistan, a rogue state, a nuclear weapon state and a failed state, where state is under the influence of radical forces, is this advisable for India to take such a huge risk.
ENMITY WITH PAKISTAN

- We should not forget that when we deal with Pakistan
- We will deal with Pakistan and China, Though China and Pakistan talks about the “Deep emotional linkages of their relationship as higher than mountains, deeper than oceans, sweeter than Honey” yet China's approach towards Pakistan is transactional". 
ENMITY WITH PAKISTAN

• China aims to take advantage of Pakistan using its location and to use PAK to contain India's rise.

• So that India do not give challenge to China.
• Peace is a compulsion not a choice because we cannot change our neighbours, however if India goes for the goal of peace it should be ready to pay the cost.

• India had to decide peace but at what cost. The moment India goes for peace, India will be more vulnerable to the terror attack.
Hence even the goal of peace with Pakistan doesn't seem workable.

The more we are prolonging the things the more we are losing the options of peace.

By not having peace with Pakistan we have given leverage to other countries over Pakistan. Thus reducing Pak's dependency on India.
• The CPEC is a game changer because it will change the logic of geography and Pakistan will have no motivation for normalization of relations.

• It appears that Government of India is more interested in maintaining the status quo and there is no real interest in normalization of relations.
In most of the situation, it is India which has called off the talks. India always put such conditions which no government in Pak is capable of fulfilling.

It only gives the indication of lack of seriousness to International community for a sound policy towards Pak. We need to have proper understanding of Pakistan.

Peace With Pakistan
Anatol Lieven in his recent book on Pakistan titled "Pakistan a Hard Country" suggest that India's underestimate Pakistan resilience as a nation and even its economic potential.
Scholars like Zakir Hussain, suggest that India's policy of isolating Pakistan will never work.
• The reason is Pakistan cannot be isolated because of its strategic location.

• Pakistan is considered as “Deep State” of international politics.

• Infact Pakistan has good relation with all P5 countries.
In recent times there is a significant improvement in Pakistan-Russia relations though Pakistan-Russia flirtation are not new.

Both the super powers wanted good relation with Pakistan during cold war Russian Scholars called Pakistan 'Zipper State' connecting Eurasia.
WHAT ARE INDIA'S STRATEGIC OPTIONS
VIEWS OF SHASHI THAROOR

• India has Limited options wrt Pakistan, India cannot deal directly with Pakistan, India has to go for “back channel diplomacy”.

• Improving relation with a country which have leverage over Pakistan like UAE, Saudi Arabia, USA, India should use its growing economic and political leverage at International platforms.
VIEWS OF SHASHI THAROOR

• Like IMF to stop financial support to Pakistan. India has to work with international community.

• The most important method will be increasing the stakes of International community of Indian economy. This is the strongest protection against the terror attack.

• India should try to get “comprehensive convention against terrorism” passed at UN at earliest.
The most important thing is India should maintain the “spirit of India”.

Pakistan can continue with its terror attacks but Pakistan can win only when it is able to kill the spirit of India.

Hence every possible step should be taken to check radicalization.
Shiv Shankar Menon in his book “ Choices” suggest that when we deal with Pakistan we deal with many Pakistan's.

There is a need to differentiate civilians government, deep state, civil society and the business community.
• Sumit Ganguly (Realistic Views)

• Book- “The Deadly Impasse”
1. Deterrence by denial.
3. Strengthen counter insurgency efforts.
4. Address grievance in Kashmir
5. In context of growing radicalization around the world take step to check radicalization of muslim youth in India.
Former NSA Mk Naraynan

6. Former NSA Mk Naraynan “Pakistan is like basket case like north Korea. India has to act with restraints “we should not spoil our image as a mature country we cannot afford to look like rogue state”.”
• Pakistan is not a normal state, strategic restraint does not mean defeatism.
• Restrain is also a deterrence.
• We are not giving opportunity to Pakistan about what it wants (let us not be provoked by Pakistan)
Problems-
1. Pakistan’s obsession with Kashmir.
2. Paranoia of Pakistani elites.
3. Pak’s deep state (it is said that other states have army but in Pakistan army has a state)-
Most lavishly funded army in the world.
Reductive nationalism

- Pakistan nationalism comprise of 95% hatred towards India and 5% love for Pakistan.
Issues in Indo-Pak

Kashmir – According to Pak, this is the core issue but according to India, it is a non-issue for India, Terrorism is the main issue.

Why both centuries want Kashmir

There are 2 theories

1. A matter of identity- Kashmir in India is very important for India’s identity as a secular state.

2. Kashmir’s strategic location and its water resources.
What is India’s approach to solve issues

OFFICIAL APPROACH

As per Simla agreement talks in bilateral framework. India is status-quoist and would prefer if Pakistan accepts LOC as an international border.

Informal Approaches

- Vajpayee formula
- Musharaff –Manmohan formula
PAKISTAN'S FORMULA

- Pakistan supports Nehru's formula that is “plebiscite” in Kashmir
What India Can Do?

- Address the grievance in Kashmir

Main Grievance?

- India never respected the autonomy.

Suggestion-

- As per the interlocutor appointed by previous government there is a need to give real autonomy.
1) Article 370
2) Siachen 1982
3) Sir Creek issue
1) ARTICLE 370
Only two Articles Apply

1. Article 1
   Kashmir no rights to secede

2. Article 370
   (Human Centric Approach instead of Territory Centric Approach)
2) SIACHEN 1982
2) Siachen 1982 – “Operation Meghdoot” strategic control by India.
MANMOHAN FORMULA
(MOUNTAIN OF PEACE)
Manmohan Formula (Mountain of Peace)

Solutions

1. Demarcation
2. De-militarization
   Pakistan want this first.
According to “Stephen Cohen”, on the fight is like to “bald person fighting for a comb”.
• Make it is “Mountain of Peace” and have joint research.
• India's Point of View/ Army's of View

• First Demarcate /Delineate and then Demilitarize

• PAK’s Point of View

• First demilitarized
According to Indian Army,
At present we are in strategic advantage.
Any agreement should accompany strong penalty and some International guarantee.
3) SIR CREEK ISSUE
SIR CREEK ISSUE

- Origin Of Dispute
- Before independence between state of Sind and state of Kutch.
SIR CREEK ISSUE

• 1)1914 Map
  • As per the map Creek comes under Pak’s sovereignty. However, there was a problem in 1914 agreement.
• Why- It had 2 contradictory clauses/ Paragraph

• Paragraph 9 -According to which boundary is east of the creek towards Gujarat this is known as green line.

• Paragraph 10 -water body to be divided from the mid channel.
SIR CREEK ISSUE

- 2) 1925 Map
  - It divides the boundary from the “mid channel red line” India accepts this map.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What Is urgency To Solve Matter?</td>
<td>As per <strong>UNCLOS</strong> all International water dispute to be solved by <strong>2009</strong>, after which UN can declare it as International water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Answer</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>• What is the Loss?</td>
<td>• Both will lose access to the ocean resources.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question

• What is the bigger issue—“Humanitarian issue related to Fishermen”.

Solution

• It is an officially reported that India and Pakistan were almost on the verge of the resolution. Ground work was done but because of Mumbai terror attack it could not materialize.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Solution</th>
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</table>
| • What is India's Position? | • Follow “Thalweg Principle”  
• Principle of international law according to which water bodies to be divided from the “Mid Channel”. |
The principle applies only for navigator water and not for marshy and lands.
INDIA'S POSITION-

It becomes navigable only during high tides.
INDIA-AFGHANISTAN
ALEXANDER THE GREAT
ALEXANDER THE GREAT

- “May God keep you away from venom of Cobra, teeth of tiger and revenge of Afghan”.

AFGHANISTAN

1) Afghanistan is known as “Graveyard of Empires” even the fall of Alexander Empire started from Afghanistan.
2) Disintegration of USSR.
3) Decline of US hegemony call started from Afghanistan.
It is said that Afghanistan is a place where even Angels fear to tread in it is also said that no one can come out of Afghan Quagmire.
IMPORTANCE OF AFGHANISTAN FOR INDIA
Importance Of Afghanistan For India.

1) Geo Strategic

2) Geo Economic

3) Geo Political
1. Conventional war against Pakistan.
1) GEO STRATEGIC

2. Proxy War (against Pakistan in Balochistan)
1) GEO STRATEGIC

3. India and Pakistan are having proxy war in Kashmir there is a need to change the theatre of War from Kashmir to Afghanistan.
WHAT IS PAK OBJECTIVE WITH AFGHANISTAN

• To Gain “The Strategic Depth”
• Means-
  • To control any government in Afghanistan so that it does not allowed India presence and specifically military presence in Afghanistan.
  • Pakistan objective is to have “puppets government” in Afghanistan.
WHAT IS PAK OBJECTIVE WITH AFGHANISTAN

- Any puppets government in Afghanistan is detrimental to India's security interest.
- It will become a safe haven for anti India terror groups, India will be most vulnerable.
- Regarding India is it is said that India suffers from Panipat syndrome.
2) GEO ECONOMIC

1. Afghanistan is transit route it is also known as “round about of Asia”.
2) GEO ECONOMIC

2. India's access to Central Asia and Russia and its resources market. There is a huge mineral wealth in Afghanistan then a transit route for gas. (Tapi pipeline)
2) GEO ECONOMIC

3. It is also located at Golden Crescent (“Opium Trade”).
3) GEO POLITICAL

• 1. It is a place to project India's soft power as well as India's hard power.

• Afghanistan and Central Asia has always been the place of “Great Games” because of its resources.
• Afghanistan is also called heart of Asia (MOHD IQBAL)
WHAT GREAT GAMES?

1. There was a great game between British Empire and Russian Empires.
2. Great Games between USA and USSR after the end of cold war, great games has become more complicated.
• Why -
  • Many Players
Players in Afghanistan

Players
- USA, Russia, China, India, Pakistan, Iran, Turkey

Non-State Actors
- Taliban, IS Khorasan province (ISKP), Al-Qaeda, TTP, Baloch Nationalist

Haqqani Network
- Pro Pakistan Groups
USA MOTIVES AND ACTIONS
1. It is said that one who controls The Central Asia will control the world because of its resources
CENTRAL ASIA

2. To Weaken Russia
3. To check the rise of China
CENTRAL ASIA

4. To fulfill its interest vice a Versa India
5. Opium Trade
6. To control Iran
RUSSIA'S MOTIVE

• 1. Islamic militancy in Caucasus region.
RUSSIA'S MOTIVE

- 2. Russia's dependence on Central Asia. Russia does not want to see USA in Afghanistan.
RUSSIA'S MOTIVE

• Hence what Russia will do
  • 1) engagement with Pakistan.
RUSSIA'S MOTIVE

- Why Pakistan Can Control Taliban.
- 2) Russia can prevent
  a) Talibans anger or support for Islamic insurgents.
RUSSIA'S MOTIVE

- 3) Russia is playing tit for tat what US doing in Syria, Russia doing in Afghanistan.
RUSSIA'S MOTIVE

• 4) Russia can convince USA that there is no peace in Afghanistan without corporation of Russia, it can force USA to end the sanctions.
IRAN'S INTEREST
1. Iran is not willing to see US controlling Afghanistan
2. Iran also keep USA engage in war with Afghanistan.
3. Iran and Pak can work together to hedge Iran from anger of Taliban.
IRAN'S INTEREST

4. By supporting Taliban Iran also gains leverage on USA.
5. At present Taliban is not only player, The Other player is ISKP there is a greater threat from ISKP than Taliban. Hence, it is the best time to earn the Goodwill of Taliban.
INDIAN INTEREST
INDIAN INTEREST

1. India wants “Pro India Government” in Afghanistan and prevent emergence of “pro Pakistan government”
2. At present India aims at “Capacity Building” of Afghan government.
1. Training of Afghan forces both military and police.
• 2. Economic support for developmental aid 3.1 billion-dollar.
3. Participation of SCO, heart of Asia and talks with USA and China.
• Since Afghanistan is a strategic concern for India.

• India has entered into the strategic partnership with Afghanistan in 2011.
COMPONENTS OF STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

• 1. It is based on comprehensive security.
• it means economic support and supporting the defensive capabilities
Actions By India

1. Financial Support
2. Training.
COMPONENTS OF STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

• It is to be noted that India is the first country with which Afghanistan has entered into strategic partnership, even before USA (with USA IT entered in 2012).

• This shows the importance Afghan government gives to India.

• It is a recognition that India is stabilizing force not the spoiler.
PAKISTAN'S INTEREST
PAKISTAN'S INTEREST

1. Policy w.r.t Afghanistan is known as a Policy to Gain Strategic Depth.
Pakistan's Interest

What Does Policy to Gain Strategic Depth Imply?

1. Controlling the government in Afghanistan
2. Eliminate India's Presence
<table>
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<tr>
<td>• Why Strategic Depth?</td>
<td>• Extreme sense of Insecurity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What is Pakistan's weakest nerve?

- **Durand Line** – Pashtuns are artificially divided between Pakistan and Afghanistan and Aspire for creating greater Pashtun Stan.
- Or at least inclusion of region in Afghanistan.
- Pakistan also fear India playing role in feeling insurgency in Balochistan.
PAKISTAN MOVES-

- Pakistan knows that none of the government in Afghanistan can overlook India in long term.

- Hence Pakistan takes the support of proxies to put pressure on government in Afghanistan.
PAKISTAN MOVES-

• Pakistan has brought China into the scene to replace Afghanistan's dependency on India. Pakistan’s game plan in Afghanistan is a game of single move.

• It’s sole objective is to eliminate India as a player.
Q. Discuss the emerging security scenario in Afghanistan? What should be India's approach in dealing with the challenges emerging from India's Northwest? Does India needs pivot to Northwest?
Historical challenges to Indian security came from the Northwest (Khyber Pass).

Unfortunately India suffers from Panipat syndrome (C Raja Mohan).

India needs to be far sighted, the sooner we realize the emerging storm from Afghanistan better it is.
What Is The Storm Emerging in Afghanistan?

What Is The Storm Emerging in Afghanistan?

2. Countries under the Civil War.
What Is The Storm Emerging in Afghanistan?

3. Afghanistan is at present a failed state.
4. The influence of the present government of Afghanistan is limited to Kabul.
What Is The Storm Emerging in Afghanistan?

5. Government of Afghanistan is able to continue on the life support system provided by USA.
6. There is a huge dissatisfaction in Afghanistan because of the huge corruption, disunity and failure of the government to prevent terrorist attack and loss of life.
7. It may happen that the ordinary people may think that it is a better if Taliban rules.
8. Reports suggest that 40% of the territory under the control of the Taliban are under different warlords.
9. In recent year the terrorist attacked especially on Indians have increased primarily conducted by haqqani network located in Quetta, Balochistan and it is considered as variable of ISI.
10. Taliban security scenario become more threatening
After winters Taliban is known as “Spring Offensive.”
11. It is good that Trump's new South Asia policy has some favorable features for India. USA may be present in Afghanistan for longer time as present administration does not support the declaration of exit date like Obama.
What Is The Storm Emerging in Afghanistan?

12. Trump administration has also criticize Pakistan as “Poster Boy of Terrorism”.
13. Trump administration has appreciated India's role as a stabilizing force and want India to do more.
According to Trump,
India earns billions of dollars in trade with USA and should be doing more in Afghanistan.
India has welcome the new South Asia policy, however India should not be overwhelmed.

India needs to be cautious, our policy in Afghanistan should not be dictated by Washington.
India should not overlook the trend of US-Pakistan relations. India should not overlook the transgression by the USA from its stand on Pakistan in the past.

Still the deep state in USA looks at Pakistan as a preferred partner over India.
• **US decision** to increase the military involvement may use some extra time to India to strategize itself.

• However India cannot outsource its security to USA and kept on paying the bills.

• We should not forget US propensity to talk with Good Taliban done by Pakistan.
What India Should Do?

1. Overcome “Panipat Syndrome”.

1. Overcome “Panipat Syndrome”.
What India Should Do?

2. Overcome the Inertia
What India Should Do?

3. As India will lose time, room for maneuverability will decrease.
4. India needs to use its leverage on USA to show some concrete actions against Pakistan.
5. India needs to invest its energy in Iran.
What India Should Do?

7. India can continue for capacity building of present government of Afghanistan
8. India should revive its old contacts with the provincial leaders.
What India Should Do?

9. India should try to open the channels of “dialogue” with all power centers.
10. India should not have “Antagonistic approach” towards Taliban.
India should seriously think about its military footprints in Afghanistan, this is the way we can give sleepless Nights to Pakistan experience of Sri Lanka. IPKF mission should not stop us from taking initiative in Afghanistan.

we should not forget that IPKF was poorly planned. We can look at India's intervention in East Pakistan.
First India has to decide whether it wants to rely only on soft power or it will go for display of hard power.

Second India news to decide which for what Role, It is looking for itself in military terms.

At present India has not even sent its Army to protect its Embassy or its investments.
• India has been kept out of even the role of peacekeeping because of PAK's comfort.
• It is to be noted that India has nurtured the ambition to be recognized as great power. With the status of "Great Power Comes Great Responsibility".
• Reliance on soft power is suboptimal use power. Situations like Afghanistan are opportunities.
India’s Afghanistan policy can be called as friendly power doing heavyweight lifting, and India maintaining low profile. It’s like outsourcing India’s security to other countries, initially to Russia but now to USA.

The policy is fine because, its low risk however policy is not viable in long run.

In a situation Afghanistan comes under some enemy power, it will create existential threat for India. The present scenario is very different for what it was even in the beginning of the century.

Afhan government suffers for internal factionalism, legitimacy crisis beacue of competition and failure to contain terrorism. At present, India’s making strategic bet on Afghan government.
• Taliban itself is a **fragmented force.**
• There is rise of Islamic state of Khorasen province(ISKP)
• Russia objectively **aligned with Taliban**
• **Iran supports Taliban**
• **USA remains unpredictable.**

Incase some unfriendly power **comes to Afghanistan.** It will became spring board for terrorist activities against India.
There is likely to be bewildering twists to Afghan situations. It is unlikely that game will end soon.

India should play the game, not just by showering financial support but by deploying the skill of political manuovuring.

C. RAJA MOHAN
Afghanistan is a tough country and only those willing to fight on multiple fronts will be able to preserve their leverage. Even when boots on ground isn’t an option still India has to take strategic approach.

India does have soft power, but India should ask a simple question to itself—Whether soft power is enough.
Happymon Jacob

Article – For a **look northwest policy**

India's **most formidable challenge** comes from **NorthWest** and India is **losing geopolitical standing here**.

- Grand geopolitical transition is taking **place but India seems clueless**.
- New Delhi is **disappointingly quiet**.
- Just by **securing border** we will not be **survive scourge of terrorism**.
- Iran is a game changer, China has **become a stakeholder**
India’s policy suffers from compulsive bilateralism.

India needs to take regional approach.

Even India needs sustained dialogue with Pakistan.

Remedies of region lies in the region not in the capital of western countries.

India needs its own pivot to “North west policy.”
WHAT IS THE CURRENT STATUS OF RELATION-

- Good
WHAT IS THE TREND WITH INDIA-

• There is no continuity in Bangladeshi relations.

• It is only good when Awami League is in power and bad when other party Bangladesh national party is in power.
WHAT IS THE TRADE WITH CHINA

- Both the parties have consensus to have good relations with China.
- It is to be noted that both the parties prefer China despite the fact China opposed creation of Bangladesh and India supported creation of Bangladesh.
WHAT IS THE TRADE WITH CHINA

• India has problem with all neighbours with exception of Bhutan.

• In case of Bhutan also winds of change started flowing.
Common Problems All Neighbours

1. Big and small Neighbour Syndrome
Common Problems All Neighbours

2. India's Hegemonic Acts
Common Problems All Neighbours

3. Pending disputes - Boundary and Water
Common Problems All Neighbours

4. Involvement in Ethnic Issues
5. They look at China as external balances.
Common Problems All Neighbours

6. China has bigger pockets
Until very recently there was nothing to inspire the neighbour.

- India in terms of rate and economic growth nor governance.
- In fact the record of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka was much better in case of human development.
SPECIFIC PROBLEMS (INDIA AND BANGLADESH)

1. It is said that India should forget history and Bangladesh should forget geography.
<table>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Question</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Why India Should Forget History?</td>
<td>India wants Bangladesh to be permanently obliged because of India's role in their Independence.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Bangladesh is a country located inside India.
3. Bangladesh thinks that India's dependency on transit is a huge leverage, it has to get concession from India.
MAIN FLAW OF INDIA'S APPROACH TOWARDS BANGLADESH

• 1. Lack of understanding of Bangladesh.
• India should not forget that Islamic fundamentalism was more entrenched in East Pakistan then in West Pakistan.
• Even Muslim League originated in Dhaka.
MAIN FLAW OF INDIA'S APPROACH TOWARDS BANGLADESH

• 2. India should not forget that even in Liberation war all sections were not against Pakistan.
MAIN FLAW OF INDIA'S APPROACH TOWARDS BANGLADESH

• It was the domestic politics which was manipulated by India which led to the creation of Bangladesh.
• The pro-India section is actually in minority. Within few years Bangladesh has established good relations with Pakistan.
• The pro-India faction led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman became weak after Assassination of M Rahman.

• All those who came to power kept on emphasis the Islamic identity rather than secular identity.
• After M Rahman, Zia ur Rehman came to power who was founder of Bangladesh Nationalist party.
• He define Bangladeshi nationalism initially equal Bengali nationalism (initial basis works language).
• From Bengali Nationalism they made it Bangladesh Nationalism.
• Bangladeshi nationalism based on Islamic identity.
• After Zia ur Rehman, Army captured the power.
• Bangladeshi Army had tilt towards Pakistan.
• Army generals started using Islamic cards to legitimize the army rule. General Irshad who ruled the country for long, promoted the Islamic forces.
• He re-established links with Pakistan and China during his time Bangladesh became a place for ISI to carry on anti India activities.

• In 2001 Bangladesh had strongly opposed US invasion on Afghanistan and has expressed her support for Osama Bin Laden.
• There is also increasing influence of ISIS.

• India has always paid attention towards Pakistan and overlooked the strategic threat that may emerge from the eastern border.
• There was a time when both Myanmar and Bangladesh became soft bed for the terrorist of Northeast.

• The growing islamization is a biggest threat for India from Bangladeshi.

• In the past there have been many incident of violence against minorities in Bangladesh.
When such incident take place it is responded by violence against minorities in India, this vicious cycle of communal violence can have serious implication for the security. Bangladeshi society is getting polarized.
So far the only strongest card India has is the present government.
India should not forget that the present government is also pro China.
Thus it is the challenging time for India.