Background

• Geographical and Geoeconomical importance.
• Strategic relationship = Long termed objectives of foreign policy is aligned in single orientation between countries involved.
• This term doesn’t apply to use for every country.
• It signifies that two countries has deeper realtions for longer period of time.
• Boundary of Bangladesh: 4000 km +long and porous borders- issues related to it.
• Can provide accessibility to North East- reduce transit time adn can reduce dependence on Siliguri corridor(chicken neck).
• From Bangaldesh Perspective
  - India’s hegemony (economic+military)
  - 54 rivers flows from India to Bangaldesh, India is upper riparian adn can regulate waters.
  - Surrounded by 3 sides
Emerging Scenario In Bangladesh

1. Growing radicalism.
Emerging Scenario In Bangladesh

2. Internal conflicts especially after Shahbagh Movement.
3. Present government of Bangladesh lacks legitimacy because entire opposition boycotted the elections. Elections are due.
4. Anti Incumbency factor will work because they are already in power for the last two consecutive terms.
CONCERN FOR INDIA

• Sheikh Hasina is the only leader which is pro India.
WHAT INDIA SHOULD DO?
Why India Should Do /India's Concern

1. It should not be become safe haven for terrorist groups of North East.
2. Arrived at understanding over “Illegal Immigration” from Bangladesh.
Why India Should Do /India's Concern

3. India need Permanent Transit Right to overcome its dilemma of Chicken Neck.
4. Bangladesh the market for Indian goods and investment.
5. Bangladesh is a bridge between south and southeast Asia. Thus, has importance in India's act east policy.
Why India Should Do / India's Concern

6. Bangladesh is a transit corridor to bring gas from Myanmar.
7. It is important for India’s sub regional initiative of BIMSTEC.
## What We Should Do And Has Done?

<p>| 1. Land boundary agreement | 2. 5 million US dollar line of credit to Bangladesh | 3. Duty free, quota free access to most of the commodities | 4. Additional 500 million US dollar for defence purchase | 5. In 2011 prime minister Manmohan Singh entered into long term cooperative agreement with Bangladesh |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>What We Should Do And Has Done?</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Present government has entered into defence cooperation agreement.</td>
<td>7. Corporation in civil nuclear commerce.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Providing access to thermal power to deal with its energy crisis</td>
<td>9. SEZ’s-Special Economic Zones.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WHAT BANGLADESH WANTS

• 1. Water - Agreement on Teesta water
WHAT BANGLADESH WANTS

• 2. Corporation in handling Rohingya Crisis.
WHAT BANGLADESH WANTS

• 3. Addressing the adverse Balance of Trade.
1. India should enter into the water agreement with Bangladesh as early as possible.
WHAT INDIA SHOULD DO

2. It is better if you do agreement because it can strengthen the position of Sheikh Hasina.
WHAT INDIA SHOULD DO

3. We should not forget that the present government has taken zero tolerance approach towards the terrorist group they have handed over Ulfa- Militants entered into extradition and legal assistance treaty.
WHAT INDIA SHOULD DO

• 4. Supported India's position with respect to Pakistan sponsored terrorism and boycotted Islamabad summit.
DOES IT MAKE SENSE FOR INDIA TO GO FOR Teesta Agreement
DOES IT MAKE SENSE TO GO FOR TEESTA AGREEMENT?

- 1. India can go for a deal. In exchange of t.w.a. if we can get permanent transit rights to reach northeast the deal it's worth.

- In case of BNP comes to power bi and we will not be cooperating with India, would rather try to make politics out of it. We will lose the opportunity for transit.
DOES IT MAKE SENSE TO GO FOR TEESTA AGREEMENT?

2. As far as the water requirement of west Bengal is concerned government can look for various options.

The biggest problem in India is lack of proper water management. We have to go for rainwater harvesting and interstate river linking.
MAJOR IRRITANTS IN INDIA AND BANGLADESH
MAJOR IRRITANTS IN INDIA AND BANGLADESH

1. Water issue-
   - There are 54 common rivers India has agreement only over two Ganga and Teesta.
MAJOR IRRITANTS IN INDIA AND BANGLADESH

2. The dispute emerge between India and east Pakistan over the construction of Farakka Barrage to fulfill the requirement of Kolkata Port and City.
MAJOR IRRITANTS IN INDIA AND BANGLADESH

- In 1996, a 30 year agreement on sharing of Ganga water happened at the time Sheikh Hasina was prime minister of Bangladesh.

- Deve Gowda was Indian prime minister, Gujral Finance Minister and Jyoti Basu cm of Bengal.
Deve Gowda
Prime Minister

Gujral Finance
Minister

Jyoti Basu CM
of Bengal.
MAJOR IRRITANTS IN INDIA AND BANGLADESH

• BNP has criticize the agreement as it was based on outdated data.

• Ground situation didn't approve in Bangladesh.

• Agreement is valid for 30 years that is expire in 2026.
MAJOR IRRITANTS IN INDIA AND BANGLADESH

3. Teesta-
• In 1984, India and Bangladesh entered into the water agreement.
• However, the agreement is over sharing 75% of the water at present, India share is 39% and Bangladesh share is 36%.
| 50% share in the remaining water share of both will be finally | India Share - 39% plus 12.5% | Bangladesh Share 36% + 12.5% | this will make their share roughly equal. |
• As per international norms whatever Bangladesh is getting at present is fine.

• Why-
  • The total strength of the river in India and its catchment area is many times more than in Bangladesh.

What Is The Problem?
• Bangladesh has a real problem of water deficit. Bangladesh continues to be an agrarian economy.

• Thus, whatever Bangladesh is getting the most sufficient.

• It is also one of the factors for illegal immigration.

What Is The Problem?
WHAT INDIA SHOULD DO

• 1. Follow Gujral Doctrine
WHAT INDIA SHOULD DO

• 2. India should go for TWA for indirect gains.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>GAINS</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Transit agreement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. It may check illegal immigration to some extent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. India wants water sharing agreement on Brahmaputra with China. India can set an example for China.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WHAT INDIA SHOULD DO

• 3) India can work with Bangladesh to force China for agreement over Brahmaputra as Bangladesh may have more leverage on China and it is also an opportunity to show people of Bangladesh as to which country they can bank on.
WHAT INDIA SHOULD DO

• 4) Illegal Immigration
• (Article Carnegie Foundations) approximately 40 million Bangladeshi they are present in almost every state.
WHAT INDIA SHOULD DO

4) Illegal Immigration

- Have voters id card participate in election besides about there is a pressure on Indian resources, resentment against outsiders threaten communal harmony and we create internal security threats.
1. **Push**- Factor in Bangladesh and **Pull**- Factory in India (India's Mexico problem).


3. Corruption Among the Law Enforcement Agencies.

4. Vote Bank Politics.

5. Poor Border Management.
What Is The Solution?

2. Check Corruption
1. DIALOGUE WITH GOVERNMENT OF BANGLADESH

- What Is The Problem?
- Dialogue is not possible because Bangladesh did not recognise the problem.
2. CHECK CORRUPTION

- What Step Government Has Taken.
- Government has built a boundary wall. It is having Electric Wires, it is based on Israel's wall in the West bank.
PROBLEMS

• Not as per international norms. As there is a huge population density and requirement of no man land is not fulfilled. Wall can create the difficulty but cannot kill the determination.

• They are coming at the cost of their live and wall does not make sense when the large border is porous.
SOLUTION

1. Give work permits

2. Since we are unable to stop the only option is to regularize.
   - It will protect even these people from harassment, address corruption.
   - It will build India's soft power when India already has open border with Bhutan and Nepal.
• India is a secular country should not discriminate on the grounds of religion.
INDIA – NEPAL
According to professor SD MUNI “India and Nepal are lodged in each others intestine”. Relation of “Roti-Beti”
INDIA – NEPAL

• This shows the closeness between the two countries India and Nepal have all reasons to have closest relation.

• India Nepal relation is relation of “Roti and Beti”.
INDIA – NEPAL

• There is a civilizational connect from Lumbini to Bodhgaya and from Pashupatinath to Kashi Vishwanath.

• India and Nepal share common terrain, common culture.
• They are linked by marriage and mythology.
WHAT IS THE CURRENT STATE OF RELATION?

• Unfortunately the relations have never been good.

• Nepal is the second country after Pakistan which held that its relations with China are higher than Everest.
WHAT IS THE WEAKNESS OF INDIA'S NEPAL POLICY

• Biggest problem is closeness.

• Closeness if not handled with sensitivity creates more problems.

• In reality India does not have a Nepal Policy.
Question

- How enable policy is a subset of our China Policy.
• We always see people through the prism of China and even in the age of “complex interdependence” we tend to look Nepal China relation with "Zero Sum Approach".

• It shows nothing but lack of confidence which give room to Nepali politicians to play China card.
• Our policy or approach in Nepal resembles Pakistan's approach in Afghanistan.

• The way Pakistan wants strategic depth in the similar manner India wants to micro manage Nepali affairs.
• India wants whosoever rule in Nepal, should be completely controlled by India.

• Thus India's insecurity results into a lack of sound policy towards Nepal.
Pandit Nehru who talked about Panchsheel, non interference in Domestic Affairs and Non Alignment. Had no hesitation in declaring on 6\textsuperscript{th} December 1958 in Indian parliament that India security would have priority over Nepal sovereignty, he openly held that we cannot tolerate Nepal following policy of equidistance, Nepal shall not be allowed to have an intimate relations with another country.
• However India could not ensure Nepal moving towards China.
ATTITUDE OF NEPALI ELITES

• They call Nepal "Yam" between two large boulders.

• They want to take the advantage of their unique location between the two Asian giants- the elephant and dragon besides about there are many "Fundamental Problems" in way India deals with Nepal.
FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS" INDIA WITH NEPAL

• 1. Nepal is politically unstable and has extremely fractured politics.
• If there is political stability and manageable factions only then, it would be easy for any country to deal with Nepal.
2. Lack of professionalism on the part of India-
A) Most of the ambassadors have been from UP and Bihar. They have family ties and hence they are unable to get the right perspective of the ground level situation.
LACK OF PROFESSIONALISM ON THE PART OF INDIA

B) Since India feels extreme insecurity, it avoid leaders having base in the grass root and go for pliant person who can be puppet and who are in power because of India support.
3. There are multiple stakeholders in India Nepal Policy. Example different ministers, pressure groups etc. One of the major pressure groups influencing the Policy of Nepal is RSS.
FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS" INDIA WITH NEPAL

• 4. India often disappointed because it is unable to fulfill the promise. It is said that “India promises and China delivers”.
5. When India deals with Nepal it overlooks the protocol. Example 1950 treaty was signed by prime minister of Nepal but from India side, India's ambassador signed.
FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS" INDIA WITH NEPAL

• 6. Nepal has certain grievances against India.
NEPAL HAS CERTAIN GRIEVANCES AGAINST INDIA

1) Intervention in their domestic affairs even in constitution.
NEPAL HAS CERTAIN GRIEVANCES AGAINST INDIA

2) India does not allow Nepal to pursue independent foreign policy especially with respect to China.
3) India is a big bullying brother. Uses muscular policy when Nepal tries to take Independent Decisions.
Question

• Discuss How Domestic Situation In Nepal Has Created Policy Dilemma For India?
1. Extremely factionalized and unstable domestic politics has always created dilemma for India.

2. We can discuss the dilemma in different phases.
Different Phases.

I Phase 1950

II Phase 1960

III Phase 1970 And 1980

IV Phase 1990
I PHASE 1950

- Power Equation In Nepal 1950
  - 1. King - *King Tribhuwan* - Put in captivity by Ranas.
  - 2. PM - Rana - Real Centre of Power.
I PHASE 1950

- Power Equation In Nepal 1950
- 3. Nepali congress wanted Constitutional Monarchy, Parliamentary Democracy (also participate in Indian National Movement) friends of Indian leaders).
CHALLENGES - CHINA.

- So India needed to do 1950 Treaty with Ranas. People loved the king and were unhappy with Rana. India to prevent opposition of Nepali people helped king to escape in Delhi, Rana become unhappy.

- N- Congress + King met in Delhi and constitution was found and it became Constitutional Monarchy.
II PHASE - 1960

- King Mahindra came to power.
- He was not satisfied with status of constitutional monarch.
- He ended the constitution, restored the monarchy with real powers.
II PHASE- 1960

- Ended "Parliamentary System" and introduced Panchayati Raj. It should not be confused with Gandhi's Democratic Decentralization.
II PHASE- 1960

- It was an elite controlled system where he had direct control because Indian leaders had relations with the leaders of Nepali congress.
- He never trusted India.
- Hence he started engagement with China.
II PHASE- 1960

- He went to the extent of importing from China violating 1950 treaty.
- He even proposed that Nepal should be zone of peace - means Nepal should be declared a neutral state. India’s opposition to this was projected as India does not respect the sovereignty of Nepal.
III PHASE- 1970 AND 1980

- **King Birendra** replace Mahindra he continued policies of Mahindra throughout 1970 and 1980
- Nepal kept on changing constitutions for example going back to parliamentary democracy and again monarchy.
III PHASE- 1970 AND 1980

- By this time Nepal’s anti-India rhetoric became stronger. It even developed relations with Pakistan. Because of political instability there was lack of governance, mass poverty which all resulted into the beginning of Jan Andolan in 1990.
IV PHASE- 1990

- Jan Andolan -I - People started protest in August the poor law and order situation.
V PHASE- 21st CENTURY

• In 2001, there was a palace conspiracy, prince dipendra killed all family members.

• Including himself it has resulted into King Gyanendra coming to power.
V PHASE - 21st CENTURY

- He didn't enjoy legitimacy in the eyes of the people.

- He started developing more and more disputes with parliament.
V PHASE- 21st CENTURY

- From mid 1990 another force started developing in Nepal that is Maoists.

- Maoists now started Jan Andolan-2.
V PHASE- 21st CENTURY

- By this time China started supporting Maoists.
- Nepal again developed the three power center.
  1. King
  2. Democrats
Nepal again developed the three Power Centre

1. King
2. Democrats
3. Maoists
Political instability in Nepal was dangerous for India and hence India had to intervene.

It is a matter of fact there cannot be any solution of the domestic politics in Nepal without India's interference.
V PHASE- 21st CENTURY

- Ultimately India was able to get agreement among the political parties of Nepal in 2005 in New Delhi.

- The agreement resulted into the process of formation of New constitution by setting up the New constituent assembly.
V PHASE - 21st CENTURY

- Up till now Nepal has four formal constitution and two interim constitutions.
- The New assembly was elected in 2008 with 601 members.
- Assembly was to finish its task within 2 years.
V PHASE - 21st CENTURY

- That is why 2010 it could not finish it work despite four extensions. Ultimately SC of Nepal intervened dissolve the assembly and directed for the elections of the New assembly.
- The second assembly was constituted in 2013 November.
- In the first assembly Maoists Dominated.
However Maoists got divided between two fractions.

1. Communist Party of Nepal
   Led by Kaml Dahal Prachanda.

2. Unified Marxist Leninist
   Led by KP Oli

3. Nepali Congress
   Led by Sushil Koirala.
Kamal Dahal Prachanda.

KP Oli

Sushil Koirala.
• Nepali congress got the largest seat. Communist party of Nepal came third while UML came second.

• Assembly was to complete its work by January 2015 however they were not in a position to finalize.
Only after April Earthquake because of criticism by international donors that they produce the constitution in September 2015 resulting into political earthquake.

A New movement was started by Madhesis and Tharus
WHAT WAS THE RESPONSE OF INDIA TOWARDS CONSTITUTION?
RESPONSE OF INDIA TOWARDS CONSTITUTION

- India only held that we take note that Nepal has a constitution not the constitution.

- On the other hand international community have congratulated Nepal.
RESPONSE OF INDIA TOWARDS CONSTITUTION

- All Nepali elite joined hands for the creation of constitution which marginalized the Madhesis and Janijatis.

- Before the pronouncement of constitution India has provided huge earthquakes relief.
PM Modi had visited Nepal and addressed Nepalese parliament and gave his opinion on the constitution

Constitution should look like “Boquet of flower” he presented the CDs of Savidhan Sabha".
GRIEVANCES OF MADHESI
The bottom layer

The plains of Madhes cover 22 of Nepal’s 75 districts, 17% of the country’s area, and are home to over 50% of its population. The land, a narrow strip running along Nepal’s southern border with India, is fertile and has a concentration of industries – yet, the region feels deeply discriminated against by Kathmandu.

**Surkhet** and **Udayapur** districts have a mixed population and characteristics, though with distinct Madhesi features.
Constitution In At Marginalization

1. Provinces on Ethnic Line
2. Representation in Upper House
3. Lower House
4. Citizenship Laws
1. PROVINCES ON ETHNIC LINE

• Madhesis Demand Provinces on Ethnic Line and two Madhesis provinces, constitution creates the longitudinal province which has reduced Madhesis of minority and divided the population among different provinces.
2. REPRESENTATION IN UPPER HOUSE

• Madhesis wanted representation in proportion to the population but constitution give equal representation to all states.
A. Reduce the number of seats to be elected by proportional representation.
3. LOWER HOUSE

B. Reduce the number of seats from plains out of the total seats to be elected by simple majority. One of the 165 seats 100 for hill region 65 for Terais region despite the fact population in 50 % in Terais.
A. No constitutional posts for naturalized citizen only citizen by decent shall be eligible.
4. CITIZENSHIP LAWS

B. No citizenship by descent to the children of Nepali women marrying foreigner. They are eligible for citizenship by naturalization. Government of India expressed its dissatisfaction, sent foreign secretary to bring necessary amendments there was no point in it though.
• India should have pursued “Silent Diplomacy”.
• It appears that government of India had no leverage which resulted into Madhesis movement and India imposing undeclared blockade.
Nepal is a Landlocked Country and Blockade of the Landlocked Country in normal situation is against the international norms this is not the first time in their use the blockade strategy.
Rajiv Gandhi Government also used it when Nepal imported arms from China.
Map of India and Nepal with Border Crossings
WAS THERE ANY USE OF BLOCKADE?
WAS THERE ANY USE OF BLOCKADE?

- No- It didn't work because China provided necessary commodities on goodwill and India lost the goodwill of Nepal.
WAS THERE ANY USE OF BLOCKADE?

- It provided credibility to the view that India is bullying big brother as a result of blockade Nepal got closer to China started discussing alternative transit routes through China declaring friendship higher than Everest.
• At that time Nepal talks about transit through China but it is not feasible.
Why

1. Distance
2. Terrain
3. China will never open Tibet to the rest of the world.
PRESENT STATUS

- Ultimately the government of Nepal started the process of amendment of the constitution the present proposal seems to be insufficient satisfy Madhesis.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Leader since</th>
<th>Leader's seat</th>
<th>Seats won</th>
<th>Popular vote</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Swing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khadga Prasad Oli</td>
<td>CPN (UML)</td>
<td>July 2014</td>
<td>Jhapa-5</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>3,173,494 (PR)</td>
<td>33.25% (PR)</td>
<td>▲ 9.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sher Bahadur Deuba</td>
<td>Nepali Congress</td>
<td>7 March 2016</td>
<td>Dadeldhura</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>3,128,389 (PR)</td>
<td>32.78% (PR)</td>
<td>▲ 7.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushpa Kamal Dahal</td>
<td>CPN (MC)</td>
<td>May 1999</td>
<td>Chitwan-3</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1,303,721 (PR)</td>
<td>13.66% (PR)</td>
<td>▼ 1.55%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Issues Or Conflicts

1) 1950 Treaty
2) Hydro-Electricity
3) Kala Pani Dispute
1) 1950 TREATY

• **Background**-
• China's expansionist designs

• According to Mao, five Himalaya kingdoms are the five fingers or digits of China that is Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Tibet, Arunachal Pradesh.
WHAT ARE THE FEATURES OF TREATY

1. India recognizes Nepal as a sovereign state.
2. National Treatments to each other citizen in terms of employment including in Public Sector Employment.
3. India as a Big Brother has relinquished its rights to seek Public Sector Employment in Nepal.
WHAT ARE THE FEATURES OF TREATY

4. Nepal will give primacy to India in Infrastructure Development, Hydropower and Business Opportunities.
WHAT ARE THE FEATURES OF TREATY

5. Freedom of Movement.
1) 1950 TREATY

- Problems in Treaty
- Treaty has been a major bone of contention between India and Nepal. There is no problem in the treaty, problems is in the secret letters exchange with the treaty.
“SECRET LETTERS”

- 1) Both the countries shall not tolerate any act of aggression against each other in such case they will go for effective consultation and will take all necessary steps.
2) Nepal shall not import arm from any other country without permission of India. It can do so only when India is unable to fulfill the requirement of Nepal.
1. It was against the sovereignty of Nepal
2. Treaty was signed by Ranas and hence Lacks Legitimacy.
3. Whatever benefits Nepal gets from India is like a “Drop In The Ocean” and on the other hand India gets disproportionate benefits.
WHAT INDIA SHOULD DO?

• India should ask Nepal to abrogate the Treaty.
WHY TREATY HAS LOST RELEVANCE?

• Nepal has number of times imported arms from China. Nepal has developed closeness with China.

• The treaty provides the basis for carrying on anti India agenda and blackmail India.
WHY TREATY HAS LOST RELEVANCE?

• Nepal will never revise the treaty nor abrogate it.

• Nepal does not have the capacity to absorb such huge number of Nepalis working in India.
2) HYDRO- ELECTRICITY

- 1. Nepal potential is 83000 mw
- 2. Feasible potential -40000 mw.
- Present capacity and production is 800 mw.
2) HYDRO- ELECTRICITY

- 3. Nepal imports electricity from India.
- 4. Nepal suffer from power cuts 16 hour a day minimum.
- 5. Nepal is reluctant to work with India on production of electricity.
1. India plans large scale dams and Nepal is in Earthquake Zone.
2. India insist on monopoly over Power Management.
3. India insist Nepal should give primacy to India whereas Nepal wants open tender inviting other countries for better price.
Under Modi Government India and Nepal enter into power training arrangement which includes joint investment development marketing setting up of infrastructure transmission lines.
• Modi's Mantra for Nepal is “HIT”

(Highways Information Ways and Transmission Lines).
3) KALA PANI DISPUTE

- Triangular land on the tri junction of India Nepal China (Tibet).
- It comes on the route of Mansarovar.
- Since 1962 India has a Military Post.
3) KALA PANI DISPUTE

- Nepal claims the territory under China pressure.
- As per Treaty of Sagauli 1816 river kali is a natural boundary.
- The land in the west is Indian territory and the east is Nepal.
3) KALA PANI DISPUTE

- If we take origin points of the river Kali from the tip of the Kalapani.
- Kalapani becomes India's territory.
- However, according to Nepal, the origin of Kali should be including lipguard tributary coming from Tibet, then it becomes Nepal's territory.
WHAT INDIA SHOULD DO?

- As a big brother India should recognize it as an Nepali territory, subject to the condition Nepal is ready to give territory on permanent lease to India.
According to Shyam Saran, physical proximity creates positive bonding but there can be problems because of proximity.

There is criticism against India’s big brotherly attitude but at same time there exists sentiments of deep attachment, Despite India’s role in Madhesi crisis and known inclination of present PM towards China yet he follows the convention of first foreign visit to India.

The joint statement released during Oli’s visit shows that there’s shift towards pragmatism.

The two sides have committed in work together to take relationship to new heights. The two sides also have agreed to expand the cooperation in hydro power, hence we can see that there is scope for improvement in relations.
Views of C. Raja Mohan

- Instead of demanding India first policy, India must express support for Nepal first policy. India must not allow itself to be sucked in polarised politics of Nepal.

Situation in Nepal

- Present PM Oli has stated that he will follow policy of equidistance from both the neighbours.
- What should India do there is no need to be overly concerned or becoming too complacent. Nepal can’t overlook India even when they produce electricity with China, they will have to sell to India.
• Besides geography, people to people contacts, cross cultural links are great cementing factors.

• India wants to stop Nepal from falling into trap of China’s charm offensive, but at the same time India needs to work on its own strength, India should improve its track record in the implementation of the projects.

• In the age of going Interdependence, every country will go for multiple alignments.
MAJOR ISSUES

1. Ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka
MAJOR ISSUES

2 Grievances of Tamil Minorities In Sri Lanka
3. Fishermen
4. Sri Lanka not singing FTA in Service
• India Sri Lanka Policy

• It is like sailing on 2 Boats
  • Boat Number 1 - Tamil Boat
  • Boat Number 2 - Sinhala Boat
It is like sailing on 2 Boats

- Boat Number 1
  - Tamil Boat
- Boat Number 2
  - Sinhala Boat
India cannot neglect Tamils in Sri Lanka because of domestic politics as well as protecting its strategic interest in Sri Lanka.
BOAT NUMBER 2- SINHALA BOAT

- A. They will always dominate in Sri lanka politics. Sri Lanka is strategically important considering its location in Indian ocean.

- It is like a Static Ship.
BOAT NUMBER 2- SINHALS BOAT

• B. Distrust towards Tamil because there was fear of secessionism at the Time of Independence.
WHAT IS THE CONSEQUENCE OF INDIA'S POLICY?

• Neither gained the full trust of Tamilians nor Sinhalese.
WHAT IS CHINA'S ADVANTAGE IN DEALING WITH SRI LANKA?

• China can look at the island from purely strategic perspective there is no domestic determinant
ETHNIC CRISES IN SRI LANKA
ORIGIN OF CRISIS-

• Sri Lanka was also a British colony and like all other places, Britishers played divide and rule.

• Britishers always favoured the minorities to divide the rising spirit of nationalism.

• Majority is bound to challenge the colonialism, insecurity of minorities can be manipulated.
ORIGIN OF CRISIS-

- Britishers started promoting Tamil in Sri Lanka, Tamil were more adaptive towards English language than Sinhalese.

- They were in dominant position in education and employment.
INTRODUCTION OF SRI LANKA

- Tamils are concentrated in the north and north eastern.

- Primarily dominating the business. Tamils in Sri Lanka can be classified into two categories-
Tamils in Sri Lanka can be classified into two categories-

2. Indian Tamils - Those who migrated during British Rule.
The southern and central Sri Lanka is dominated by Sinhalese, primarily agriculturalist.

Such countries where ethnic communities geographically concentrated are more vulnerable to the challenge of secessionism. Britishers had given overrepresentation to the Tamil in Sri Lanka parliament.
AFTER INDEPENDENCE

- Like bitterness against muslims because of their closeness with British in India.
- There was bitterness against Tamilians in Sri Lanka.
AFTER INDEPENDENCE

- Sri Lanka politicians pursued majoritarian politics.

- Sinhalese politicians competed against each other to attract the majority.
WHAT'S THE BROUGHT MANY CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

• 1. Original Sri Lanka adopted **Parliamentary System** which is favorable to minorities gradually nature of constitution started changing.

• Position of **President** started becoming stronger. Sri Lanka becomes a semi presidential form of government.
CITIZENSHIP ACT 1948

• It made citizenship status for the Indian Tamilians very difficult. Many Tamilians lost their citizenship or nationality.

• In order to be recognized as a citizen, Person has to produce documents to show that his grandfather also born in Sri Lanka.
CITIZENSHIP ACT 1948

• Most of the people didn't have any document to prove their status.

• It is to be noted that the act of Sri Lanka Government was in the same year when United Nation Adopted Declaration of Human Rights (UNHDR).
CITIZENSHIP ACT 1948

- According to which all persons will have right to nationality.

- Government of Sri Lanka has not learned from the example of Hitler towards minorities.
• It had created refugee crisis in India and ultimately government of India had to intervene.
• Sri Lanka took it as interference in domestic affairs.
• The purpose of Sri Lankan politicians was to make Tamilians politically insignificant.
Citizenship issue has been resolved when India Sri Lanka enter into 3 agreements progressively-

1.1954

2.1964

3.1974
Only in 2007 all persons could get citizenship. India has also accepted so called “Indian Tamil as Indian citizens”.
4) LANGUAGE POLICY

- Official language act 1956 they declared Sinhalese as the only official language even.
- English will not be the official language.
- The purpose was to marginalized Tamilians in education and employment.
4) LANGUAGE POLICY

• Once again India got involved India propose the formula that is three language formula Sinhalese as 1st official language Tamil as 2nd and English as 3rd language.

• It become the basis of Sinhalese politicians to project India does not respect sovereignty of smaller nations.
4) LANGUAGE POLICY

- India has used its neighbours and force government of Sri Lanka to make changes in the language,
- At that time Bandaranaike father of Kumaratunga who was the PM, he agreed only on principles.
- He was “Assassinated” for that.
RISE OF JAYWARDENE

• He was rightist who made language a political issue, organize the protest movement came to power and started concentrating powers in the office of president.

• He started taking more coercive measures against Tamilians.
RISE OF MILITANCY

- Up till now Tamil movement was peaceful Tamil leaders were looking for peaceful constitutional reforms. The prominent leader was S. J. V. Chelvanayakam.
INDIA IN 1970-

• In 1971 India intervened in east Pakistan liberated Bangladesh this has increased apprehension among sinhalese politicians.

• India also incorporated Sikkim 1975 as a state in India.

• India's neighbourhood policy during the time of Indira Gandhi was more muscular.
INDIA IN 1970-

• This was the time when USA Nixon administration started using non state actors to topple USSR.

• India also started the use of non state actors realizing that political pressure may not work.
• By this time there was emergence of many militant organisation like LTTE, TULF and others.

• Young Tamilians were getting frustrated with the political movements. India started supporting this organisation.
• They also started getting financial support from the rich Tamil diaspora in western countries.

• These militant organisation started competing against each others. LTTE emerged as strongest.

• It had created humanitarian tragedy.
“OPERATION POOMALAI 1987”

- Rajiv Gandhi Government sent humanitarian aid through navy, Sri Lanka navy didn't allow it so IAF dropped aid.
- Sri Lanka considered it as a violation of its sovereignty.
- Because of India, Sri Lankan strategy of imposing blockade become futile.
RAJIV GANDHI

• Jayawardene Accord 1987

• Also known as India Sri Lanka Accord

• Sri Lanka realised that so long India supports LTTE.

• It is not possible to defeat them.
Jayawardene was extremely shrewd politician and Rajiv Gandhi was not.

When India gave the proposal for mediation and resolution and he accepted the proposal.

He knew that he can trick Rajiv Gandhi and there is no better opportunity better than this to create differences between LTTE and Govt. of India.

India entered accord on behalf of LTTE
India Sri Lanka accord had two dimensions

1. Strategic
2. Domestic
• At that time India didn't have good relations with USA.
• USA had its naval base in Deigo Garcia (Indian Ocean).
• USA wanted to bring Sri Lanka under its influence considering its strategic importance.
STRATEGIC

- Jayewardene was also willing to enter into agreement with USA hence India imposed condition on Sri Lanka.

- As per the accord or fact Sri Lanka shall not allow the navy of any third country to use its port.
STRATEGIC

- Sri Lanka will not allow the presence of the military, intelligence personnel of any other country without India's consent.
DOMESTIC

- It is to be noted that LTTE did not participate in the accord.
- India participated on behalf of them.
- India give following formula.
DOMESTIC

- 1. Provincial Autonomy (Devolution of Power)
- Note- Not supported by LTTE and others Tamil group.
<table>
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<th>WHY</th>
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<td>1. LTTE was fighting for separate state.</td>
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<td>2. Tamil politician wanted true federation.</td>
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<td>3. Three languages formula.</td>
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• India had taken the obligation to ensure LTTE observe the ceasefire. In the meantime government of Sri Lanka had to bring necessary amendment.
• There is a lot of criticism of “13th Amendment” in Sri Lanka because it is seen as imposed by India. Sri Lankan politicians talk about "Home-grown Solutions".
WHAT WAS INDIA'S MISTAKE?

• India should have mediated. India should not have taken the responsibility of the imposition of the accord.

• LTTE was not a party and hence under no obligation to observe the ceasefire what was the pre conditions for amendment”. 
In order to ensure Implementation of agreement India propose.

- A) Sri Lankan forces to go to barracks.
- B) India will send “Indian Peacekeeping Forces” to ensure LTTE observe ceasefire.
What India Should Have Done?

1. Even when India was for peace keeping it should have been UN peacekeeping.
What India Should Have Done?

2. IPKF mission poorly planned. Forces were not consulted. Even Indian high commission in Sri Lanka warned against such actions.
What India Should Have Done?

3. Peacekeepers were sent in haste. Since they were peacekeepers they could not carry lethal weapons/offensive weapons.
Question

• How War Started Between LTTE And Peacekeepers?
WAR STARTED BETWEEN LTTE AND PEACEKEEPERS

• There was an “act of violence” against Tamil communities in the southern part.

• It give opportunity to LTTE to use arms.

• LTTE was not happy with Indian formula.
WAR STARTED BETWEEN LTTE AND PEACEKEEPERS

• Sri Lankan forces were in barracks. Indian peacekeepers became target.
• They didn't even had proper maps.
• Ultimately Sri Lanka government got what it wanted that is the conflict between LTTE and India.
What Was The Lesson Learnt?

1. It was a huge embarrassment.

2. It shows the weakness when policymaking is centralized in one person or institution.
India's Policy Since Them

1. Up till EELAM War - 4
2. Eelam War 4
1. UP TILL EELAM WAR-4-- HANDS OF POLICY.

- India was working behind the curtains, lead was given to Norway.
2. ELAM WAR 4

• Rajpaksha came to power with the promise to end the militancy.
INDIA'S ROLE

• Sri Lanka would not have won without India support.
1. India provided useful intelligence information.
India's Role

2. Working with Sri Lankan navy to stop the delivery of arms
India's Role

3. India provided non lethal weapons. Though China provided lethal weapons.
• On What Condition India Support?.
ON WHAT CONDITION INDIA SUPPORT

• On the assurance that government of Sri Lanka will address Tamil grievances.
ATTITUDE OF SRI LANKAN GOVERNMENT AFTER WAR

• They didn't co-operate with India and ultimately India Realized, it have no leverage on bilateral level.

• Hence, India started working with International Community at UN Human Rights Council {UNHRC}.
ATTITUDE OF SRI LANKAN GOVERNMENT AFTER WAR

• Still India continued with the approach of sailing on two boats.
• India ensures that the resolution is not too harsh.
• Why- Sri Lanka strategic importance show India does not have free hand like China.
• Fails to Satisfy Both.

• Present State Of Relation.

• Change of government in both the countries.

• Improvement in the relations but they continue to be fragile.
WHAT ARE TAMIL GRIEVANCES
WHAT ARE TAMIL GRIEVANCES?

1. Genuine inquiry on the war crimes by both Srilankan army as well as LTTE.

Srilanka govt. has setup LLRC (lesson learnt and Reconciliation Commission) under pressure of international community.

Objections were raised against this commission SL govt is reluctant even to implement the recommendation of commission. International community requested Srilanka to setup Hybrid court.
WHAT ARE TAMIL GRIEVANCES?

2. Credible information about missing persons.

Tamil population came down from 20% to 9%.
WHAT ARE TAMIL GRIEVANCES?

3. Northern province continues to be heavily militarized like a fort.
WHAT ARE TAMIL GRIEVANCES?

4. Extremely slow process of releasing the acquired land which is necessary to restart the livelihood.
What are Tamil Grievances

- Tamils can’t live a normal life, highly militarised scenario. Under pressure govt. returning land but very slowly.
- No concrete Rehabilitation and resettlement plan of large number of internally displaced persons.
- Not fully implemented the aid which India had given for reconstruction of houses.
WHAT ARE TAMIL GRIEVANCES?

5. Huge dissatisfaction with political reforms. The government in northern province is like Delhi government that is no power on land, no power on police.
WHAT ARE TAMIL GRIEVANCES?

6. No bill can be introduced without consent of Governor. Purposefully Sri Lankan government has been appointing retired military generals as Governors.
Why India couldn’t give complete support to Tamils?

• Fear of Tamil aspirations, Tamil aspiration becoming much greater to extent of secessionism even from Indian peninsula.
• India’s problem in Kashmir
• Tamils are in minorities and Sinhalese are in majority. Hence, govt. has to be dominated by Sinhalese. Considering India's geo political interest we can’t leave govt. of Sri Lanka in any situations.

Why India didn't; give whole hearted support to Sinhalese?

• This is to put pressure on Sinhalese Govt in case they overlook India’s national interest.
• India can play Tamil card.
Since Govt changes in both countries, Modi govt. enjoys full fledged support in lower house.

Present Govt is free from coalition pressure, as there is no party from Tamil Nadu.

Govt. gave priority to geo political and strategic perspective. PM Modi visited SL twice during last tenure.


PM Modi became first PM to visit Jaffna. During his 2nd visit also, he visited even the Hindu temple in Anuradhapur.

In Second term, During first foreign visit, Modi went to Sri Lanka and talked about solidarity against terrorism.

Change in SL govt as well, Overly china tilted Rajapaksha was replaced by Sirisena led govt.
CURRENT STATUS

- SL has become an important country in China’s MSR (Maritime Silk Route) project. Since China is a permanent member in UNSC, SL would like to maintain good relations with China to prevent any action of UNSC with respect to Human rights violations in SL.

- Srilanka has handed over Hambantota port to China as a part of Debt Equity Swap on lease for 99 years. Understanding Indian reservations, it has restricted China’s action to commercial operations.

- So far, Srilanka hasn’t approved the FTA in services in India. Not only SL has good relations with China, it continues to deepened partnership with Pakistan.
• At present even Srilankan Tamil aren’t much satisfied with Indian action.
• India hasn’t been successful so far in forcing govt. of Sri Lanka to take necessary measures to address Tamil grievances.
There have been increasing incidents of detention of Indian fishermen by Sri Lankan Navy.

They have been detained and also have been incidents where SL navy opened fire on fishermen causing loss of life.

The actions of Sri Lanka are in complete disregard to,

**Article 73** - UN convention on laws of seas (UNCLOS), according to which shooting of fishermen trespassing the maritime boundaries is strictly prohibited.

**Article 143** of UNCLOS – According to which any action taken to check the transgression should protect the human rights for all stakeholders. Sri Lankan actions are also in violation of agreement between India and Sri Lanka known as practical arrangement on fishermen issue.
As per practical arrangement

- No arrest of fisherman within 5 nautical miles of maritime boundary.
- Releasing fisherman on humanitarian grounds.

Why is there’s a problem

- Problem is linked to settlement of maritime boundary. India and Srilanka has two maritime agreements,
- 1974 agreements- It settles the boundary in Bay of Bengal region in palk strait region. The agreement has recognised kacchatheru Island on Srilankan territory.
WHAT IS THE PROBLEM?

- Kacchatehvu island was territory of princely state of raja of ramnad in sate of Tamilnadu.
- Indian fisherman have been fishing around the island, known as Historical waters.
- There’s lack of good marine resources near coastal region, and hence they are tempted to go further.
- Govt. hasn’t taken proper steps to create awareness or to install GPS system in the boats.
The political parties in Tamil Nadu don’t recognise the legality and the legitimacy of act of New Delhi, transferring the territory to Colombo.

Late Jayalalitha had filed PIL in SC, the decision remains pending.

1976 Agreement

It settles the maritime boundary in Gulf of Mannar (west side). It’s not be noted that settlement was made when emergency was imposed in the country, opposition was behind bars and govt. in Tamil Nadu was dissolved.
INDIA- CHINA
IMPORATANCE

• 1. Biggest challenge for India's foreign policy makers.
2. Relations have gone beyond bilateral dynamics.
• India and China are strategic partners since 2003
• 1. Challenging unilateralism and creation of multipolar world order.
FOCUS OF STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

• 2. Cooperation in Multilateral Institutions like WTO, IMF, Climate Change Negotiations.
WHAT IS THE CURRENT STATE OF INDIA CHINA RELATIONS.

• India and China are nowhere near to the Modi vision- "from inch to mile".
WHAT SHOULD BE INDIA'S POLICY TOWARDS CHINA?
3 Schools Of Thoughts

1. Idealist School
2. Realist School
3. Pragmatic School
1. Idealist School

- Rabindranath Tagore
- Pandit Nehru
1. IDEALIST SCHOOL

- Rabindranath Tagore, Pandit Nehru talk about Asian century where India and China are the two pillars.
Realist School

Sarder Patel
2. REALIST SCHOOL - SARDER PATEL

- He warned Pandit Nehru that China is irredentist country (Land Grabbing).
- China always had expansionist culture.
- India should not neglect its difference.
2. REALIST SCHOOL - SARDER PATEL

- According to the realist school, Himalayas is not big enough to accommodate the 2 Asian giants.

- From realist point of view the only way to deal with China is to remain prepared for war.
3. Pragmatic School

C. Raja mohan

Shyam Saran
3. PRAGMATIC SCHOOL

- China is both challenge and opportunity.
- Hence India should pursue the policy of "containment" as well as "engagement".

- For China the formula is engagement wherever possible containment wherever necessary.
Overview Of Policy
I PHASE- NEHRU POLICY –”POLICY OF APPEASEMENT”.

• It is not that Nehru didn't know that China has expansionist plans.

• However, Nehru thought appeasement will be a better way because India's capability of defence was limited.

• India opted out of bloc politics and preferred to go for non alignment.
I PHASE- NEHRU POLICY –"POLICY OF APPEASEMENT”.

• Nehru has Took hindi-chini bhai bhai approach.
• Made no efforts for external balancing, it brought India into state of humiliating defeat.
BOOK—"PROTRACTED CONTEST".

- India-China-
- John Graver- Book- "Protracted Contest"

Nehru overestimated the value of India initial help to China to the extent that he ignored the fundamentals of the relations between the 2 neighbors.
BOOK—"PROTRACTED CONTEST".

• India never fully recovered from the shock of 1962 war.
• It was a huge loss of status among developing world.

• International community appreciated the radical approach of China rather than the timid status-quoist position of India.
Examples Of India's Extra Ordinary Support For China

1. India became the first non communist country to recognize communist China.
Examples Of India's Extra Ordinary Support For China

2. India opposed USA's resolution branding China as “Aggressor in Korean Conflict”.
Examples Of India's Extra Ordinary Support For China

3. India kept on insisting for China's membership in UNSC.
WHAT IS THE PRESENT SITUATION?

India-China Relations
WHAT IS THE PRESENT SITUATION?

- China outmaneuver India in south Asia, establishing strong ties with all south Asian neighbours.
- China’s two ocean strategy where China aims to contain India in both western pacific as well as Indian ocean.
- India China conflict have not been resolved.
WHAT IS THE PRESENT SITUATION?

- It can be resolved only when India accepts China's Hegemony in South Asia and became China’s junior partner or China leaves south Asia to India.
WHAT ARE CHINESE PRESSURES ON INDIA

• China was major obstacle in the path of India’s attempt to get Masood Azhar recognised as terrorist at global level. But now, this issue has been resolved.
• China is major obstacle in India’s entry in NSG as well as UNSC.
• India–china bilateral trade has now reached to unsustainable level of imbalance around $52 billion, China doesn’t make any attempt to address India's concerns.
• Chinese plans to construct multiple number of dams on Brahmaputra may emerge as a major area of confrontation.
• China’s CPEC corridor given clear indication that China doesn’t consider POK as disputed territory.
• China keeps on asserting its claims on Arunachal Pradesh and use its economic heft to influence donor agencies like Asian development bank etc.
• US-China trade war also creates another set of challenges on economic front.
II PHASE - FROM 1962 TO 1990

- This phase is known as phase of cold peace.
- There have been attempts to break the ice but no change happened.
Since the end of cold war, we have witnessed the emergence of "Complex Interdependence".

Since the end of cold war India has emerged as an ideal "Swing State" for US administration.
• Hence in context of rising, China, USA started engaging India.

• The imperatives of NEP and the continuing relation between USA and Pakistan force India not to overlook China.
INDIA'S POLICY TOWARDS CHINA AFTER END OF COLD WAR
One of the major initiative of government of India in the field of foreign policy has been “look east or act east policy”.

One of the major objective of look east policy its containment of China by working with like minded countries to ensure the rise of China remains peaceful.
At present there is a strategic convergence between USA's, indo pacific policy, Japan's greater Asia pacific and India's Act east policy.

India's look east policy has been an evolving concept.
Phases

Phase I – Narasimha Rao
Phase II – Atal Bihari Vajpayee.
Phase III – Narendra Modi
PHASE I

- It was started during the time of Narasimha Rao with the major focus on economic dimensions. It focus on south east Asian countries.
PHASE II

• Under VAJPAYEE.

• It developed - Two Dimensions.
Two Dimensions

1. Domestic
2. Strategic
PHASE II

1. **Domestic** - Look east through North East.

2. **Strategic** - It will not be just focus on economic diplomacy but India will go for strengthening defence partnership.
PHASE II

• Now the focus was not just on South East Asia but also on East Asia like Japan, South Korea.
• Pokharan II or operation shakti: defence minister of India in a secret letter to US president mentioned China’s threat, a reason behind Nuclear testing.
• In 2003, India china entered into strategic partnership during Vajpayee’s visit as US preferred Pakistan as frontline state in war against Taliban.
PHASE III - ACT EAST POLICY

- Announced in 2014 at India-ASEAN summit in Myanmar.
- Foreign minister held that act east policy will focus on three c's-
  - Culture
  - Commerce
  - Connectivity
Gradually act east policy has been expanded to Asia pacific.

Besides strengthening relations with south Korea, Japan, Vietnam, government is reviving links with Mongolia, pacific islands, Australia, New Zealand.
PHASE III - ACT EAST POLICY

- The another unique feature of Act east policy is the focus on Maritime Diplomacy.

- India has released “New Maritime Doctrine” where it has assumed the role of "Net Security Provider".
India has come out of its reluctance and has become a part of the New quadrilateral which was originally proposed by Japan (Security Diamond).
• Above analysis show that India is going for both-internal as well as external balancing vis-a-vis China and it seems that India's balancing acts are going in India's favor.
The way Doklam crisis was diffused, in BRICS summit, China has addressed India's concern related to transnational terrorism and China has given some indirect indications that it may be open for changing the track of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor and to look for the possibility of convergence between China's OBOR and Indian Act East.

Action on Masood Azhar.
INDIA - CHINA

- Jeff Smith - Book - "Cold Peace: China India Rivalry in 21st Century".
According to Jeff Smith, there are 6 T’s (Territory, Tibet, Taiwan, Third Party, Threat Perception, Trade).
INDIA - CHINA

- Jagan Nath Panda - Book - "India China relation Politics of Resources, Identity and Authority in a Multipolar World Order"

- India China relations are multi layered polygonal, too complex to be determined by any theory.
According to scholars the biggest reason for “Security Dilemma” between India and China is the unresolved boundary (border) dispute.

Even the leaders for the both country recognise that it is the most complex left over issue of the history.
1. INDIA CHINA BORDER DISPUTE
SIGNIFICANCE

• This dispute has not only resulted into “1962 War” but also a permanent state of distrust which impacts the prospects of "Asian Century".

• It is to be noted that India and China have been civilizational states living in peace for centuries, it is unfortunate that within few years of them becoming nation-state, they have gone for war with each other.
• According to Rabindranath Tagore, India China should look at "Past" not the recent past but the old past. He expected that India China border shall emerge the transitional zones for the exchange of ideas rather than "Hot-beds" for rivalry.
ORIGIN OF THE DISPUTE
There is a dispute between India and China War 3 Sector

1. Western Sector
2. Middle Sector
3. Eastern Sector
1. WESTERN SECTOR

- India v/s China of occupying 38000 square miles of Indian territory since 1962 (Aksai-Chin).
1. WESTERN SECTOR

- It is to be noted that an additional 2170 square miles have been given to China by Pakistan (known as Sakshgam Valley)- Part of Gilgit Baltistan and situated on the route of Karakoram Highway.
NOTE

• In 1963 agreement between China and Pakistan

• China had placed a clause according to which the ultimate status shall be determined by the final settlement of the status of Kashmir.
2. MIDDLE SECTOR

- There are disputes over certain pockets. Sikkim was the most disputed region.
- In 2003 China accepted Sikkim as Indian territory.
- Dispute of present is on few pockets in Uttarakhand and Himachal.
3. EASTERN SECTOR

- China accused India of occupying 19000 square miles of Chinese territory (Arunachal Pradesh).
FACTORS LEADING TO THE 1962 WAR

- The present boundaries of India have been determined by the Britishers in context of expansionist Russia.
- They wanted to consolidate the boundaries of British India and to create buffer zone.
- Britishers have called conference in shimla in 1919.
OUTCOME OF SHIMLA CONFERENCE 1919

- In the conference, there was representatives of British India, representative of emperor of China and representatives of Tibet.
BRITISH VIEW ON TIBET
• Britishers accepted China sovereignty of Tibet but divided into two lines-
  • 1. Inner Tibet
  • 2. Outer Tibet
Britishers accepted China sovereignty of Tibet but divided into two lines:

1. Inner Tibet
   - Full Sovereignty of China.

2. Outer Tibet (Arunachal Tawang Region)
   - Chinese sovereignty but Autonomy to Tibet.
In the conference representative of China left in the middle and Britishers entered into the agreement with the representative of Tibet with respect to the demarcation of boundary in eastern sector.

The boundary line is known as Mac Mohan Line.
• Tibet had no power to enter into an agreement and it is a Colonial Boundary.
• British tried to settle the bounding but China never responded.
• Britishers proposed two maps-
  • 1. Johnson Line
  • 2. MC Mohan Line
BOUNDARY ON WESTERN SECTOR

• 1. JOHNSON LINE
  • As per this “Aksai-Chin” shall be Indian territory.
BOUNDARY ON WESTERN SECTOR

2. MC MOHAN LINE-
   - As for this time it shall be Chinese Territory.
Britishers were open for China accepting any of the line does it shows that it has been a disputed territory. It is difficult to resolve Aksai-Chin issue because this is not inhabited region.
According to China, it is an extension of the Tibet plateau and according to India extension of Ladakh Plateau.
IMPORTANCE OF AKSAI CHIN FOR CHINA
It is the only all weather route connecting the 2 restive provinces-

1. Tibet
2. Xinxiang
**WHAT IS THE IMPORTANCE OF TIBET FOR CHINA**

| 1. It is strategic location which Connect South Asia, Central Asia and North East Asia. | 2. Water Resources. | 3. Forest wealth of Oil and Gas. |
PANCHSHEEL AGREEMENT 1954

- Since boundary was not settled, there was apprehension that it may result into conflict with China.
- Pandit Nehru preferred the resolution of conflict in a peaceful way.
- The agreement was basically on Tibet.
PANCHSHEEL AGREEMENT 1954

• Britishers had special trading rights in Tibet.
• Panchsheel agreement India has accepted Chinese sovereignty over Tibet and has given up the special trading rights as a confidence building measures (CBM).
• they agreed to follow five principles in their conduct.
PANCHSHEEL AGREEMENT 1954

- Nehru was criticized because India didn't gain anything except “Verbal Assurance”, India should have bargained.
RESPONSE OF PANCHSHEEL AGREEMENT IN INDIA

1. China should have recognized Indian sovereignty over A.P./NEFA.
RESPONSE OF PANCHSHEEL AGREEMENT IN INDIA

2. On Aksai Chin.
3. At least Nehru should have forced China to accept Kashmir as India's Territory.
• It is to be noted that China sees IOK as disputed and not POK.

• India came to know that China is building a road across Aksai-Chin known as “Karakoram Highway” in the year 1957.
• In 1959 India granted asylum to Dalai Lama.
• According to China, he could not have escaped without India's support.
• China accused India of violating "Panchsheel".
• China also accused India and USA working together to support insurgency in Tibet.
• Against China's road construction,
• Nehru ordered setting up of Indian military post in Aksai-Chin region to assert India's sovereignty.
CHINA'S RESPONSE

- It became necessary for China to teach lesson to India.
According to China, two factors were responsible for the 1962 war.

1. India's interference in Tibet
2. Nehru forward Policy
WHY WAR HAPPENED?

• According to Indian establishment,
• China’s expansionist strategic culture.
• However the reality is war happened because "India was not prepared for war".
Impact Of War

1. Loss in Indian prestige.
2. Loss in India's confidence.
India And China Relations Since 1962 War

1. China promoted Pakistan as a proxy to contain India.
2. In 1979 Vajpayee visited China but same day China invaded Vietnam and India was friend of Vietnam and so it was embarrassment to stay in China.
3. **Deng Xiaoping** - China started the process of internal reforms and adopted the policy of "Peaceful Rise" between 1981 to 1987.
India And China Relations Since 1962 War

8 rounds of talks took place between Military Personnel. It is assumed that China had a proposed "Package Deal".
• If India accept Aksai-Chin- China's territory China will accept A.P. India's territory.

• India however insisted that it will not go for “Package Deal” but will go for proper settlement throughout the disputed territory.

• India should have accepted the package deal.
PRESENT ATTITUDE OF CHINA

• Not interested in the package deal now China puts greater claims on Arunachal pradesh

• Why -
  • Over a period of time big gap has emerged between the powers of India and China. Now China thinks it can take even the Arunachal pradesh.
4. 1988 Rajiv Gandhi visit it was successful in changing climate of the relations, border talks again started note in 1987. India gave the status of state to Arunachal Pradesh in response there was Chinese comparison in sundorongche valley in AP.
India And China Relations Since 1962 War

5. 1993 Narasimhha Rao's visit resulted into agreement on peace and tranquility on borders. It is for this reason LAC is a peaceful border.
6. 2003 Vajpayee visit the two countries agreed for formulation of "Guiding Principles" and "Political Parameters" for resolution of border dispute for framing the guiding principles. A mechanism of special representative started.
INDIA-CHINA
2003 VAJPAYEE'S VISIT
1. Resolution will be fair and from the Position of Equality
2. Demarcation will be in accordance to Geographical Features.
THEME OF GUIDING PRINCIPLES

3. Consideration to views of population settled will be taken into consideration.
Resolution Three Stages

1. Formulation of Principle (Completed)
2. Exchange of Map (Completed)
3. Formal Agreement (Pending)

PENDING FROM CHINA'S POINT OF VIEW
INDIA'S APPROACH

• Earliest resolution

• Why -
  • According to PM Narendra Modi the biggest reason for trust deficit.
China's point of view

• Complex left over from the history, resolution will not be easy.
CHINA'S POINT OF VIEW

• 1. Tibet Factor
  • China feels if matter is resolved, India will have free hand in Tibet.

• Why-
  • Trust Deficit
2. China wants to resolve only when China has definite edge over India. Power differential is growing very fast.
7. So far China seems to have interested only for maintaining peace and tranquility on borders hence in 2013 during Manmohan Singh visit, India-China entered into another agreement known as BDCA.
PURPOSE OF BDCA AGREEMENT

• In recent past there have been incident of incursion. So the agreement is to ensure that it does not deteriorate the relations because it will advantage to USA.
What was Deng’s approach?

- Peaceful rise known as 24 characters policy of Deng known as “Hide strength and bide time”.
- He wanted China to focus on international development. For internal development, peaceful periphery was important.

Type of internal development China can take?

- Much of Chinese land is wasteland. There is a scarcity of water. Per capita availability of agricultural land is 1/3\(^{rd}\) of Global average.
- Hence China can’t go for agrarian based development.
- To deal with poverty and unemployment, the option China had, was to go for manufacturing sector.
- China needed external investment, technology as well as market to develop its manufacturing sector.
IMPACT OF MANUFACTURING SECTOR

• China’s economy is too much dependent on global economy, export led growth, that’s why China project itself as champion of globalisation.

• China will be affected by any global shock more than India

• Hence the showdown of chinese economy is one of the way, USA has to contain China. China can’t have economy based on domestic consumption.

• If it increased wages, the cost of Chinese goods will increase. Hence china would require new markets where it can utilise its foreign reserves which create new markets for its products and which give better returns.

• OBOR project is China’s response to containment.
WHAT IF CHINA’S NEW NORMAL(SLOW DOWN) CONTINUES

• China is already suffering from pressure cooker syndrome.

• Massive corruption in Communist party.

• Huge resentment in China.

• It will weaken the legitimacy of Communist party in China.

• Hence communist party is strengthening its control.
What will be approach of China to handle domestic discontent

- China will go for raising populist nationalist sentiment. Hence, China will not mind going on a short border war with India. Hence, there is huge possibility of conventional war between the two.

Views of MK Narayanan

- Article- cross signals from Himalayas
- Understanding China’s mind is important. It tends to be in eclectic, contextual, relational, it leans towards systematic content and history.
- Thinking is convoluted, methodology obtuse.
- China’s assertiveness is rooted in its’ strategic insecurity, perceived sensitivity to domestic tensions.
China’s approach

- China constantly flaunts its exceptionalism, uniqueness.
- Its revivalist at present, China’s dwindling between Mao’s utopianism and Deng’s realism, resulting into Philosophical vacuum, thus leaning excessively towards nationalism.
- Its to be known that Sun Tzu, China’s strategic thinker has also mentioned that one should appear strong when one is weak and should appear weak when one is strong.
- What’s the status of strategic security
  China is contained towards eastern part because of pressure of US navy throughout western pacific. It includes the navies of western allies.
• Emerging strategic partnership between India, Japan, Vietnam, USA and Australia.

• Chinese lifeline i.e. Chinese export and supply of energy can be stopped by Indian Navy at Andaman and Nicobar (China’s Malacca dilemma).

• Australian navy in sundra strait.

• USA at Diego gracia (beneath Maldives)

• French naval bases in both Pacific and Indian ocean (Reunion islands) & mayotte resply.

• The domination of Indian Navy in Indian ocean. Naval bases of France, USA, Japan in Dijibouti.
• Towards the western side, China’s security is vulnerable because of presence of India.

• For China, the land component of OBOR is more important than the maritime component.

• CPEC is necessary to overcome Malacca dilemma. It will connect China to Gwadar port in Pakistan. China is also developing another port Jiwani, near to Gwadar.

• India has defence partnerships with countries of Gulf. India has special naval cooperation with Oman-Thumrait Airbase.

• While China is developing its own string of pearls.
String of Pearls

- Henan island in south china sea.
- Sondia port in Bangladesh.
- Kyowkpyo port in Myanmar.
- Canal thorough Isthumus of Kra,
- Hambantota port in Sri Lanka.
- Recently purchased Island in Maldives.
WHAT ARE CHINA’S RESPONSE

• Asserting its sovereignty over south china sea.

It connects western pacific with eastern Indian ocean.
• It is considered as second Perisan Gulf, considering the presence of huge oil and gas reserves.
• It’s one of the busiest ocean. The traffic is 3 times of what passes through suez canal.
• Its represents the 50% share of global oil trade.
• GDP of $ 5 trillion.
Importance for India

• From the perspectives of trade and economic integration Asean region is most importantly for India.
• The only regional organization with which have free trade agreement in goods and services.
• 55% of indian exports passes through south china sea.
• Hence, India has natural stakes in ensuring free lanes of communication.
• China goes for 2 ocean strategy, containing India in South China sea as well as Indian ocean.
WHAT CHINA IS DOING WRT SOUTH CHINA SEA

- It wants it to convert south china sea into “China’s lake”
- Wants to convert international water into its territorial waters.

HOW?
Laying historical claims on water.
- Reclaiming new islands.
- China is also developing Naval and Air bases on these Islands.
- China is also increasing its presence in all countries of south asia.
What India should do

• Requires a mix of politics, can be called as conagement (containment + engagement).
• Compulsion of complex interdependence.
• India’s aware of the attraction of USA, Japan, Australia towards China’s economy.
• Engagement will give opportunity to India to strengthen its own capabilities.

Why containment
• It’s a common sense. No country should be allowed to gain hegemony.
• There’s need to maintain balance.
  - Through internal as well as external balancing
INTERNAL BALANCING

1. Improving the defence preparedness.

2. Maintaining the credible deterrence.

3. India also need to take diplomatic initiatives to regain ground in its neighbourhood.

EXTERNAL BALANCING

1. India needs to work with like minded countries – USA, JAPAN, AUSTRALIA, VIETNAM, MONGOLIA, SOUTH KOREA.
• India has greater advantage in maritime domain and is in slight disadvantage in the Eurassian region.

India’s approach in Eurasia

• Continuing strategic engagement with Afghanistan
• Strengthening partnerships with countries of central Asia - connect central Asia.
• India has historical, cultural linkages with central Asia, prior to USSR disintegration, India held embassies as well as deep relations with Central Asian countries. Rao knew the compulsions but domestic factors forced India to limit its influence.
• As Taliban gained power in Afghanistan, insurgency in Kashmir increased, India realised the significance of this region.
• US war on terrorism gave an opportunity to rebuild the link with Afghanistan as well as central Asian state.
• India is set to have acquired its first air based outside India as Fakroor, Tajikisatn. India also wanted another base as Ayni.
• China kept increasing its influence in the region with the formation of SCO. India was initially reluctant to be part of SCO, as US considered as asian Nato. China and Russia’s attempt to counter US in Asia.
• After murmurs of US withdrawl from afghanistan, India joined SCO to counter China and increase its influence in the region.