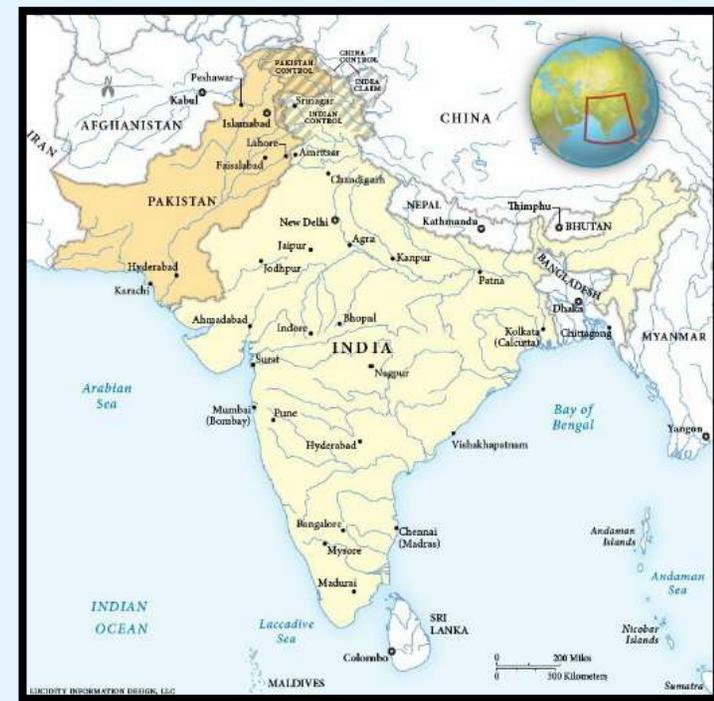


Great Decisions 2020

Jan 22, Class 2: India and Pakistan and Kashmir conflict



Coffey's grounds

1. India is on the rise to Modi's credit
2. But his landslide win based on Hindu nationalism is problematic for democracy and Kashmir
3. Pakistan also big and nuclear, and angry
4. Both long-term strategic to U.S.
 - a) India as ally to balance China
 - b) Pakistan as ally in Afghan & anti Russia
5. U.S. needs to foster stronger tripartite relations

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Trump Repeats Offer To "Help" On Kashmir Ahead Of Talks With Imran Khan

PM Imran Khan On Time Magazine's Pakistan Rejoices

Published 1 day ago on January 21, 2020
By EurAsian Times



Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan on Monday was on *Time Magazine's* cover with four other world leaders and expectedly, Pakistanis were delighted.



Jeff Bezos rode in an electric Amazon rickshaw to show off the company's new fleet in India

Donald Trump To Coincide His Visit To India, Pakistan In Ending February?

Published 24 mins ago on January 22, 2020
By EurAsian Times

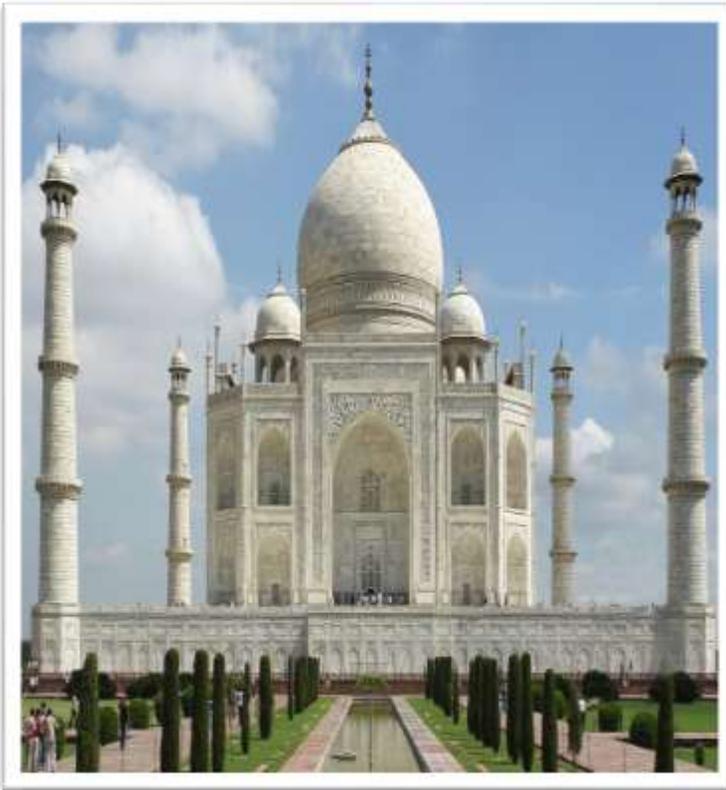
Will US President Donald Trump plan his visit to India and Pakistan together? Donald Trump is expected to visit India on February 24 and 25 on his maiden visit as the President of the United States while he has also assured PM Imran Khan to visit Pakistan, soon.

India, **berated** in earlier days, now **praised**

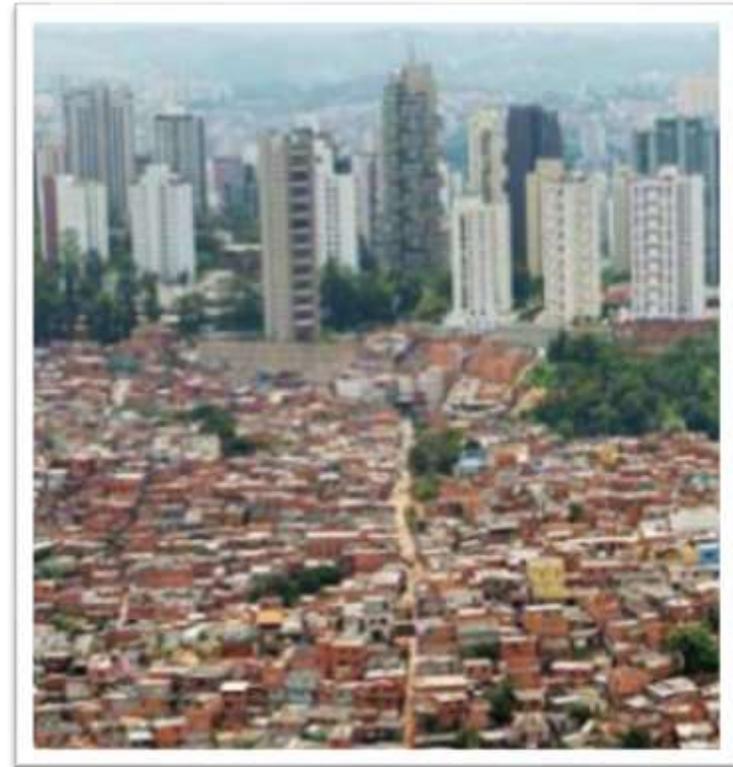
'One British official defined his countrymen's task in the early 1870s as 'the introduction of the essential parts of European civilization into a country densely peopled, grossly ignorant, steeped in idolatrous superstition, unenergetic, fatalistic, indifferent to most of what we regard as the evils of life and preferring the response of submitting to them to the trouble of encountering and trying to remove them'." (JM Roberts, *A History of Europe*, 1997, page 379"

"[T]he biggest story from our era will be what has happened ... [in India].... [T]he Mumbai Consensus ... based on the idea of a democratic developmental state, driven not by ... exports, but ... on growing levels of consumption and a widening middle class. A consensus based ... on the idea that through international integration, nations could diversify, pursue their strengths, and realize together the benefits of larger global markets." Lawrence H. Summers, former President Obama's top economist and former President of Harvard University

Dual images of India's dual economy



Taj Mahal: monument to India's achievements & past wealth



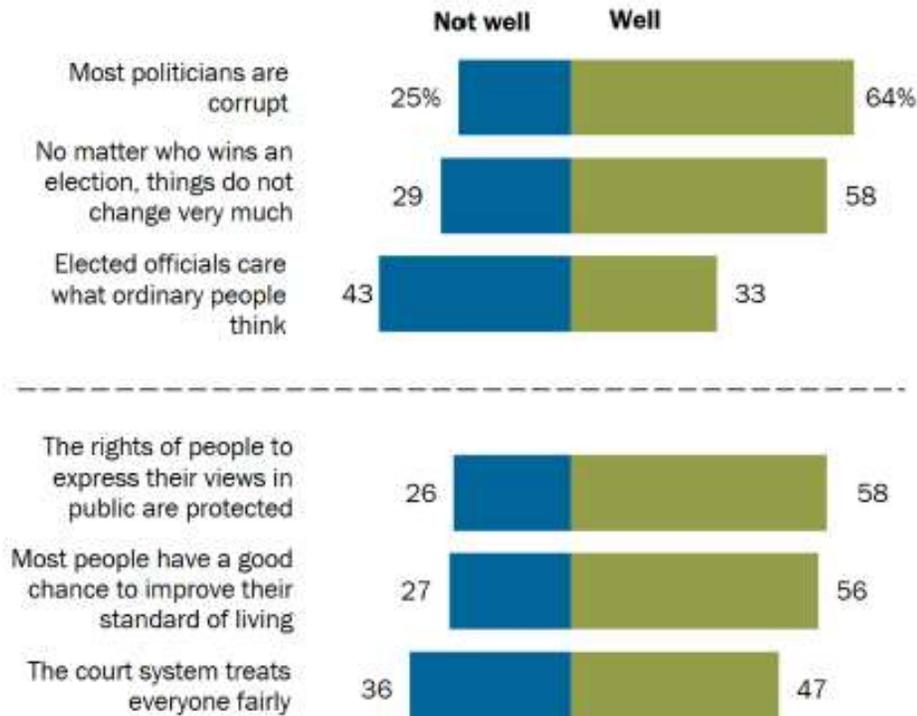
Mumbai: monument to India's modernization and dualistic economy of slums

For **1850** years out of **2000** years, **India** was the richest country in the world and had the biggest economy in the world

India: PEW 2018 polls

Indians say politicians are corrupt but that Indian democracy allows freedom of speech

The statement ___ describes India ...



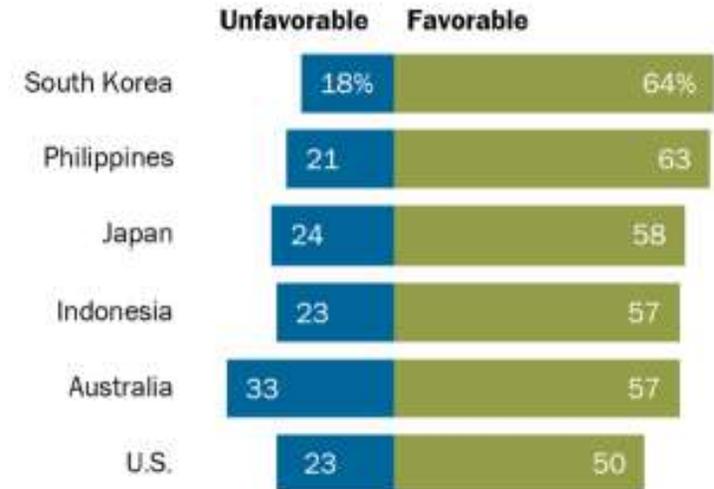
Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey conducted among Indian adults from May 23-July 23, 2018. Q34a,b,c,e,f,g.

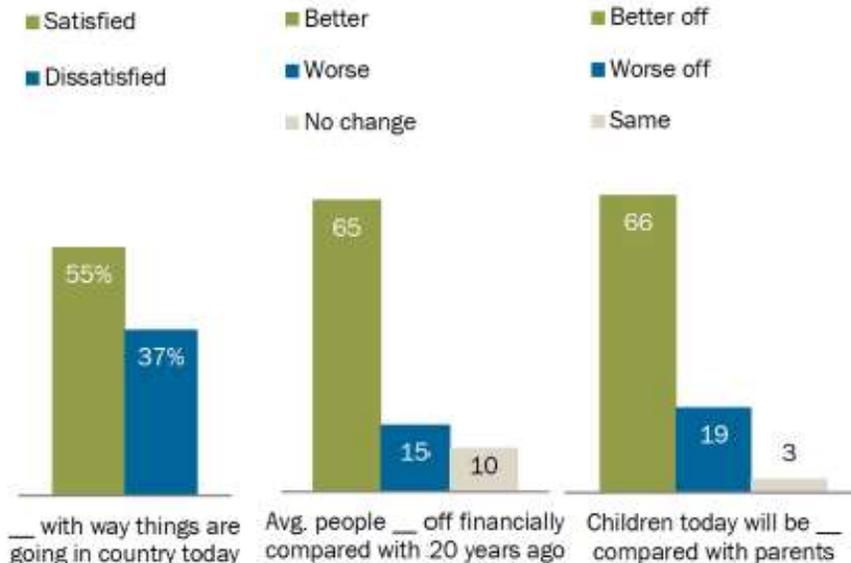
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

India seen positively around Asia-Pacific and the U.S.

Views of India



Most Indians are satisfied with direction of country and economic gains, optimistic for today's children



Comparison of India & Pakistan

	India	Pakistan
Languages	Hindi & English	English & Urdu
English speakers	12%	49%
Religion		
Hinduism	80%	2%
Islam	14%	96%
Christianity	2%	2%
Area (mil sq mi)	1.27 (7th)	0.34 (33rd)
Population (mil)	1,350 mil. (2nd)	213 (5th)
GDP 2019 (PPP)		
Total (\$trillion)	\$11.3 (3rd)	\$1.2 (24th)
Per capita (\$)	\$8,400 (119th)	\$5,900 (133rd)
HDI (2018) rank	129	152

China GDP/capita soared to double India's despite India's rapid growth

India & Neighbors GDP Per Capita & Growth Rates

(PPP, international \$)

Country/region	1980	2000	2020	1980-2000	2000-2020
China	310	2,916	20,984	11.9%	10.4%
India	559	2,026	9,027	6.7%	7.8%
Pakistan	896	2,710	6,016	5.7%	4.1%
Bangladesh	500	1,367	5,453	5.2%	7.2%
World Median	2,415	6,090	14,894	4.7%	4.6%

Source: IMF, World Economic Outlook, Oct 2019, on 1/21/2020, www.imf.org

- India's growth much faster than Pakistan & Bangladesh
- But Pakistan & Bangladesh grew faster than world median
- However, India, Pakistan & Bangladesh still below world median

India is changing its image

■ Past

- Fatalism and contentedness
- Romanticized self-sufficient village life
- Land of saints and beggars
- Non-aligned, balancing power, but tilted to Soviet Union
- Refrained from taking major positions
- Aspiring to center in contrast to China's "Middle Kingdom"

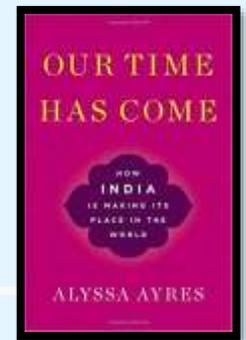


■ Present

- Larger role – leading power
- Attaining primacy in the Indian Ocean
- Global leader in climate change
- Prominent voice of the global South



Has India's time come?



- Over past 25 years, India has vaulted into ranks of world's emerging major powers (BRICS)
- Long plagued by endemic poverty, since 1990s, has grown and now matters geopolitically
- India will soon overtake China as the world's most populous and edge past France and Britain to become 5th economy
- In next 25 years India "could be part of the biggest story of our era" - \$10 trillion economy, just behind China and U.S., as well as third largest military, world's largest middle class and be "the workforce of the world"

Alyssa Ayres, *Our Time Has Come – How India Is Making Its Place In the World*, Oxford, 2018



India's demographic dividend:

Workforce grows as China's & others shrink

Area	Population aged 20-64 (millions)			
	2015	2070	1960-2015	2015-2070
			% Change	
India	737	1,002	246%	36%
China	929	596	200%	-36%
Japan	71	44	42%	-38%
S Korea	33	21	190%	-38%

Source: United Nations (2015). World Population Prospects: 2015 Revision



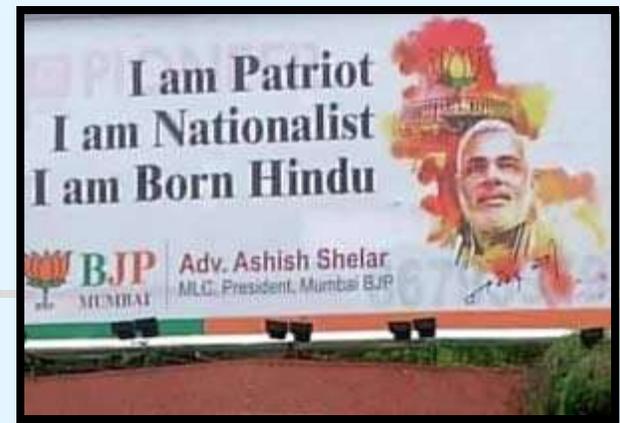
History of conflicts over Kashmir

(In PEW surveys about 90% in both India and Pakistan say "The situation in Kashmir" is a very big or moderately big problem)

- At partition of India in 1947, Kashmir became a disputed territory, now separately administered by India, Pakistan, and China
- Neither India nor Pakistan has recognized areas claimed by the other
- Have fought several wars over the territory
- Indo-Pakistani War of 1947 established the boundaries of today, with Pakistan holding one-third of Kashmir, and India one-half, with a dividing line set by UN
- Indo-Pakistani War of 1965 resulted in a stalemate and UN-negotiated ceasefire



But Modi's Hindu Nationalism is worrisome



- Modi's BJP party dominates, and India may become a one-party state unless Congress Party revives
- Traditional Nehru-Gandhi dynasty of elites doesn't appeal to the rising younger generation
- Modi has dual image: Hindu nationalism and dynamic leader of development
- Modi's recent take-over of Kashmir roils Pakistan and China
- Pakistan, hopefully, has evolved from corrupt military-run dictatorship, to leadership under Imran Khan,



Pakistan – A plagued past but improved prospects



- Muslim-majority state of 200 mil. born out of partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947
- Faced both domestic political upheavals and regional confrontations
- Two wings broke apart in 1971 when the Bengali-speaking east wing seceded with help from India to become Bangladesh
- Development hampered by Islamist violence and economic stagnation, and fraught relations with its key neighbours India and Afghanistan
- China is building a major project at Gwadar and supporting
- Now under new and more promising leadership of Imam Khan

The saying goes that most countries have an army, but Pakistan's army has a country.





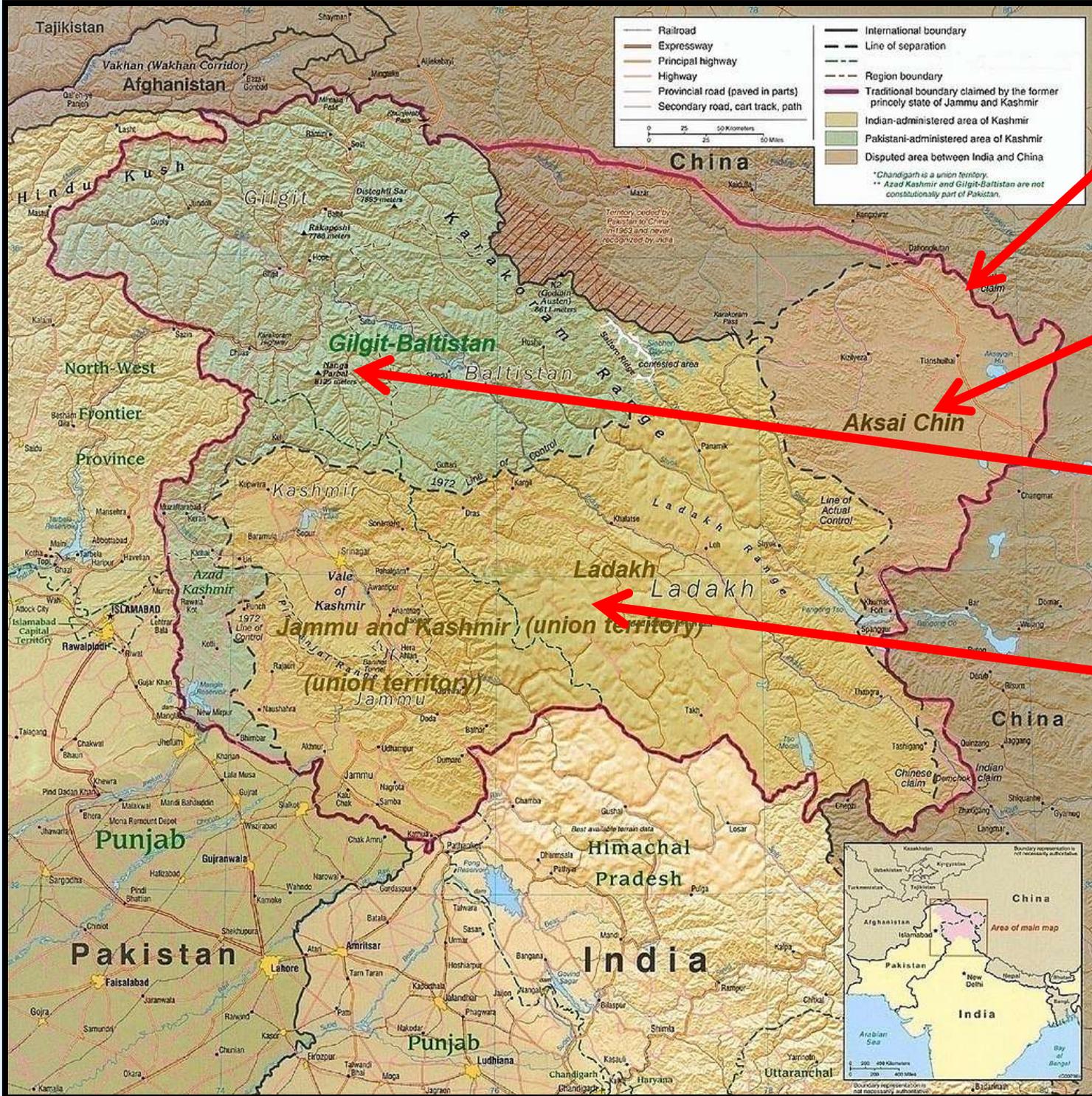
Why India & Pakistan? Geopolitical Pivot of 21st Century!

Why Modi acted in Kashmir: BJP politics or Strategic Opportunism?

- Maybe Modi was just pandering to his BJP party's hard-line Hindu nationalism
- However, it may have been capitalizing upon a window of opportunity when a long-desired move was not made because of fear of US and global opposition now was deemed feasible by Modi
- U.S. and world now seems to take more of a restrained role towards foreign policy: e.g. toward Israel and Golan Heights, Russia in Crimea, Hong Kong protests ...
- This likely made the long and enduring task of revoking Kashmir's special status somewhat easier for Modi.

Source: Ahaan Bagwe, Program on National Security at the Foreign Policy Research Institute, fpri.org/article/2019/09/modis-grand-strategy-in-kashmir/





Traditional Kashmir boundary

Disputed India & China

Pakistan area, 6 mil.

India area, 7 mil.



India, Pakistan and Kashmir Dispute: Summary & Conclusions

- Both big, nuclear and strategic to U.S., but long-term rivals are now embroiled in a dispute over Kashmir
- India strategic because largest democracy and counter to China
- Pakistan strategic because of instability, borders with Afghanistan, growing ties with China, and hostilities to India
- India fundamentally different today than in 1990-has converted from Nehru-Gandhi elitism, socialism and complacency to more energetic capitalistic development and growth under Narendra Modi's Hindu nationalism
- Pakistan - a dubious ally because of long dictatorial military rule, harboring Afghanistan terrorists, hiding Osama bin Laden, financial ties to China, but now under more promising PM Imran Khan
- **The Great Decision:** How strategic are they to U.S. priorities? Should U.S. side with India or Pakistan or keep out of Kashmir dispute?



Discussion questions

1. Both possess nuclear weapons; a miscalculation could lead to disaster. Despite previous failed efforts to reach a resolution, why has this not been deemed a crisis priority by the world community? If you were mediating such a negotiation, what proposals would you consider?
2. What should India do to meet the rising tide of population growth and demands by young aspirants for a "better life"?
3. What problems confront U.S. in its relationship with Pakistan? What solutions might be proposed to bridge the gap between them?
4. Can UN play a more constructive role in bringing feuding parties to the negotiating table than it has in the past? What are your suggestions?
5. Is it in the best interest of the U.S. to keep strong relations with President Modi, despite his recent actions? Should U.S. take into special consideration the opinions of Indian-Americans?
6. Do you agree that some blame must be on Trump administration for not having ambassadors for either India or Pakistan? How can U.S. restore trust and a good working relationship with both nations?

What's YOUR Opinion (Ballot Questions)

3. In your opinion, India is more of a... Partner Enemy Neither Don't know
4. In your opinion, Pakistan is more of a... Partner Enemy Neither Don't know
5. With regards to the Jammu-Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan, the U.S. should... Support India Support Pakistan Support Jammu-Kashmir self-determination The U.S. should stay out of the dispute
- 6a. Which do you think is a more likely outcome in the dispute between India and Pakistan over Jammu-Kashmir? War between India and Pakistan Diplomatic agreement between India and Pakistan
- 6b. In your opinion, what is the most likely outcome of the Jammu-Kashmir dispute? India dominated Jammu-Kashmir region Pakistan dominated Jammu-Kashmir region Return to autonomous region Not sure
7. How important is the India and Pakistan dispute in global affairs? Very important Somewhat important Not too important Not at all important

10 key Points of video #2, **India and Pakistan**

1. **Question:** Can Modi deliver on popular Hindu nationalism promises, or will he weaken India's secular democracy?
2. Modi led a resurgence of nationalism and helped reinvent India
3. Kashmir explosive issue – potential nuclear conflict
4. Modi has spurred economic growth, but much poverty persists, and corruption and red tape hinder future progress
5. China - increasingly competing with India & bolstering Pakistan
6. Despite competition, China and India have common interests
7. Recently, India has risen rapidly but still lags China
8. During Cold War non-aligned India leaned more to Russia than U.S., but relationship improved after Cold War
9. Trump more transactional than strategic toward India
10. Issue: Will Modi be a reliable U.S. partner?

Can Modi deliver on popular campaign promises, or will his Hindu nationalism threaten India's secular democracy?

- **Great Decision:** With an unprecedented parliamentary majority behind him, can India president Narendra Modi deliver on the economic promises that carried him to power, or will his strident brand of Hindu nationalism threaten the world's largest secular democracy?
- India is a very important and fast-rising country
- Very old civilization with all kinds of religions
- In 1975 India established a secular democratic republic
- Some felt that Nehru-Gandhi dynasty was against Hindus
- RSS member murdered Gandhi
- Modi has been a member of RSS
- This bolstered his support by Hindus



Modi led a resurgence of nationalism and helped reinvent India from Gandhism

- Created a new Hindu nationalism, like many other leaders around the world
- Yet, while he emphasizes Hindu nationalism, not expected to undermine democracy or economic development
- National Congress Party of Gandhi dynasty dominated politics for decades
- But now has now faded as its policies backfired - now very weak
- Modi's success has also been due to the weakness of Congress party



Kashmir explosive issue – potential of India and Pakistan nuclear conflict

- India and Pakistan have fought three wars and suffered much terrorism over Kashmir
- Kashmir at time of independence, primarily Muslim and had a special autonomy
- UN mandated that Kashmir could decide who to align with, but India reneged on the agreement
- Modi's Aug 2019 revocation of Kashmir's independence has rekindled strife



Modi's policies have spurred economic growth, but much poverty persists

- Despite recent rapid growth of 7%, even faster than China, India still has 250 million in poverty living on less than \$2 per day
- Modi has two opposing directions: Hindu nationalism vs. economic development
- Growth in India has not been shared - some are very poor ("eat rice out of a rat's body") and some extremely rich
- Some of growth has trickled down but not adequately to reduce poverty



Corruption and red tape remain major roadblocks to greater progress

- What was called the “license raj” a legacy from UK colonization, inhibits growth
- It’s very difficult to start and conduct business in India
- Corruption has seeped into every facet of government – especially at the local level



China is increasing competition with India and bolstering Pakistan

- There's increasing conflict and competition in Pakistan-China-India triangle
- China also is challenging India in Maldives, Sri Lanka and now has a foothold in Pakistan next door
- Also there's increasing trade competition with China
- China views Pakistan as a long-term strategic partner
- China is developing a \$60 bil economic corridor in Pakistan
- China sees Pakistan-India tension to their advantage as it occupies Indian troops keeping them away from Chinese border



Despite competition, China and India have common interests

- Both are huge markets and have large trade potential
- Share a common border and want peace in region
- U.S., China, and India will continue to compete in the South China Sea
- But Sri Lanka gives China another foothold in India's backyard



Recently, India has risen rapidly but still lags China

- India has been an economic bright spot-some expecting it to eventually displace China
- India emphasizes services (e.g. Bollywood is world's largest movie producer)
- But China has much better infrastructure and a much more stable government policies and rules
- India's labor market is highly controlled
- India still lags China's development



Rocky Cold War history of U.S. and India: Non-aligned India leaned more to Russia

- India is a very large country which gives it more independence
- India and U.S. regarded each other with suspicion during the Cold War's
- U.S. wasn't certain which way, India would go
- India claimed to be non-aligned but that didn't necessarily mean neutrality – they would deal with which ever offered the best terms
- In fact, Indira Gandhi leaned more toward Russia than toward U.S.



U.S. and India relationship improved after Cold War ended

- U.S. had long sought India to ally India with the U.S.
- India had a socialist system that tended toward Russia
- President Clinton wanted a closer relationship with India and made a very successful visit to India
- U.S. needs India as a balance to China and needs to give special attention
- Obama designated India as a major defense partner - a unique relationship



Trump more transactional than strategic toward India

- Trump has focused on trade, investment and visa requirements as opposed to defense and security
- Trump is also concerned about immigration from India
- Trade wars give India anxiety
- **The Great Decision: Will Narendra Modi India be a reliable partner in this dangerous and strategic region of the world**



National Opinion Ballot: India and Pakistan

1. Is India more of a Partner Enemy Neither Don't know
2. Is Pakistan more of a Partner Enemy Neither Don't know
3. In Jammu-Kashmir dispute, U.S. should... Support India
 Support Pakistan Support Jammu-Kashmir self-determination
 Should stay out of the dispute
4. Which do you think is a more likely outcome in dispute over Jammu-Kashmir?
 - a) War between India and Pakistan Diplomatic agreement between India and Pakistan
 - b) India dominated Jammu-Kashmir region Pakistan dominated Jammu-Kashmir region Return to autonomous region Not sure
5. How important is the India and Pakistan dispute in global affairs?
 Very important Somewhat important Not too important
 Not at all important

Suggested Readings

- Prakash, Gyan. *Emergency Chronicles: Indira Gandhi and Democracy's Turning Point*. 456 pp. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019. *Emergency Chronicles* provides the first comprehensive account of this understudied episode in India's modern history. Gyan Prakash strips away the comfortable myth that the Emergency was an isolated event brought on solely by Gandhi's desire to cling to power, arguing that it was as much the product of Indian democracy's troubled relationship with popular politics.
- Crabtree, James. *The Billionaire Raj: A Journey Through India's New Gilded Age*. 386 pp. Danvers, MA: Tim Duggan Books, 2018. India is the world's largest democracy, with more than one billion people and an economy expanding faster than China's. James Crabtree's *The Billionaire Raj* takes readers on a personal journey to meet these reclusive billionaires, fugitive tycoons, and shadowy political power brokers.
- Guha, Ramachandra. *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*. 944 pp. New York, NY: Ecco Press, 2008. Taking full advantage of the dramatic details of the protests and conflicts that helped shape the nation, politically, socially, and economically, Guha writes of the factors and processes that have kept the country together, and kept it democratic, defying the numerous prophets of doom.
- Cohen, Stephen P. *The Idea of Pakistan*. 367 pp. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2004. To probe beyond the headlines,

10 Key Points: Notes on #2: India and Pakistan and Kashmir conflict

1. Will India become a one-party state & spark war with Muslims?
2. Modi's duality: uncompromising Hindu ascetic in traditional garb vs. brilliant strategist and development expert
3. Indian society: more aspirational and assertive; less deferential
4. Modi's landslide casts doubt on future of Congress Party and democracy
5. Modi's Hindu nationalistic defiance may lead to Kashmir clash
6. Pakistan's new government inherits financial stress & corruption
7. Pakistan's Khan making progress but now faces Kashmir crisis
8. India grows but must increase priority on education and health
9. Paradoxically, massive hunger in India yet a grain exporter
10. India could be U.S.'s greatest hope in Asia, but still not capitalized upon

Modi won by a historic landslide in India's 2019 national elections

- A record 67% 900 million voters cast their ballots
- Million polling stations managed by 10 million election officials
- 30 political parties secured places
- Prime Minister Modi and his BJP had a huge majority
- BJP - hardline, right wing, promoted Hindu nationalism while proposing vast welfare programs that have strong populist appeal



Will India become a one-party state and spark war with Muslims?

- Embracing Hindu culture that marginalizes and endangers minorities?
- What will this mean to majority - Muslim Pakistan ?
- August 2019, in a stunning strike against Muslim - majority Kashmir Muslims were:
 - Stripped of their limited political autonomy
 - Placed under military rule
 - Confined to their homes
 - All communications to the outside world cut off for months
- Pakistan's prime minister, Imran Khan was enraged



Modi's duality: uncompromising Hindu ascetic in traditional Indian garb vs. brilliant strategist

- High unemployment, a spate of farmer suicides and deadly assaults on Muslims and Dalits
- Bungled attack on Pakistan
- Catastrophic currency change
- Affiliations with RSS - paramilitary Hindu zealots
- RSS 1000-person massacre in Gujarat in 2002 caused U.S. revoke Modi's visa until restored when he became prime minister in 2014
- Modi's close aides have become ruthless enablers and enforcers - million ethnic Bengali Muslims face deportation from Indian Northeast



Indian society has become more aspirational and assertive and less deferential

- Rising social groups are resentful of privileges of elite and expressing this resentment with voting
- Elite - English-speaking, well educated, more cosmopolitan and secular in outlook
- Nehru, India's first prime minister symbolized these traits
- Indian National Congress Party of Nehru and Gandhi, who led the long, nonviolent campaign against British colonialism, dominated Indian politics for decades



Modi's landslide raises doubt about future of Congress Party and democracy

- Plagued by increasingly weak leadership, lost in a landslide
- Rahul Gandhi, son, grandson and great-grandson of Indian prime ministers, led Congress party into its debacles
- Dynasticism may be the death of Congress party
- Eager strivers for advancement are 200 million Dalits (formerly "untouchables")
- Young Indians don't "want a handout, they want a hand up"
- India's political viability as a democracy requires a balance of power among parties
- Some question whether democracy in India was ever fully accepted



Modi's Hindu nationalistic defiance leads Kashmir explosiveness

- Modi acted on Hindu nationalist demands that Kashmir Muslims be stripped of their political autonomy
- He defied India's Constitution and UN
- UN stills recognizes Kashmir as territory in dispute with Pakistan and not legally Indian
- China claims and occupies an area in the eastern edge of Jammu and Kashmir
- China, India and Pakistan are nuclear armed



Pakistan's new government takes charge under financial stress and corruption

- New Prime Minister Khan, best known as cricket star, inherited a bankrupt and corrupt country with largest deficits in its history
- Khan put blame on a “mafia” of traditional politicians
- Disclosures by Panama Papers led to jailing of politicians
- Pakistan politically unstable ever since founding
 - Long periods of military rule
 - Several wars with India
 - Loss of territory to what became Bangladesh in 1971



Pakistan's Khan making progress but now faces Kashmir challenge

- Imran Khan, born a rich ethnic Pashtun family, is an Oxford graduate
- He led Pakistan to its first cricket World Cup title by defeating England in 1992
- In July, Pakistan finally arrested founder of a militant group blamed for terror attacks in Mumbai, India in 2008 that killed 160, including 6 Americans
- Then came August 5 Indian seizure and political conversion of Muslim Kashmir
- Khan now faces challenge of keeping Pakistani hotheads and military under control



India grows but must increase priority on education and health

- India population now 1.36 billion and growing vs. China steady or shrinking at 1.41 billion
- India average age is 27 vs. 38 in China
- India 2019 GDP shrank from a very rapid 8.7% to a good 5%
- In May 2019, after the Indian election, Trump ended India's preferential tariff status, making Indian imports more expensive in the U.S.
- India could learn from China, where good basic education and primary health care have spurred the economy
- India has one of the lowest government expenditures on healthcare in the world at about 1% of GDP



Paradoxically, massive hunger in India yet grain exporter

- India is self - reliant in the production of food grains
- World's second - largest producer of both wheat and rice and the largest exporter of rice
- But home to largest number of malnourished people in the world
- Obviously, hungry lack resources and aid to obtain food
- Pakistan's economy is smaller and less diverse than India's
- But, by social measures, such as poverty and longevity, Pakistan on a par with India



Trump's U.S., Modi's India and Kahns Pakistan still a work in progress

- Trump's 2019 actions against India on trade and related economic issues have unsettled some Indians
- Past U.S. focused on strategic partnership with India and on Indian Ocean
- But US-India relationship has not always been smooth
- Indira Gandhi, was close to Soviet Union
- India was perceived as hostile to U.S. and too pro-Moscow during the Cold War
- India-US. relations improved somewhat after Indira during the administrations of Clinton, Bush II and Obama



India could be U.S.'s greatest hope in Asia, but still not capitalized upon

- Some anticipated “The India Dividend - Washington’s Best Hope in Asia ”
- But now rather than long-term strategic cooperation, U.S. is ignoring issues such as curtailing:
 - Expansion of Chinese influence
 - India’s rogue nuclear weapons
- Due to U.S. diplomatic vacancies, dearth of expertise and efforts on foreign affairs under Trump and Pompeo
- India could be U.S.'s greatest hope in Asia, but the potential not yet capitalized upon

