

Conference Booklet



9th

South Asia Conference

CULTURE AS A FACTOR IN REGIONAL
COOPERATION IN SOUTH ASIA

(NOVEMBER 26-27, 2015)

idsa

INSTITUTE FOR DEFENCE
STUDIES & ANALYSES

रक्षा अध्ययन एवं विश्लेषण संस्थान



9th South Asia Conference

on

CULTURE AS A FACTOR IN REGIONAL COOPERATION IN SOUTH ASIA

(November 26-27, 2015)

Organised by

idsa

INSTITUTE FOR DEFENCE
STUDIES & ANALYSES
रक्षा अध्ययन एवं विश्लेषण संस्थान

**Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses
New Delhi**

CONTENTS

About IDSA	5
About South Asia Dialogue	7
Concept Note	9
Conference Programme	13
Profiles of Participants & Abstracts	17
Coordination Team	81
Contacts	88

ABOUT IDSA

The Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) is a non-partisan, autonomous body dedicated to objective research and policy relevant studies on all aspects of defence and security. Since its inception, IDSA has served as a forum to debate important aspects of national and international security. Its mission is to promote national and international security through the generation and dissemination of knowledge on defence and security-related issues.

IDSA was established as a registered society in New Delhi on November 11, 1965. The initiative for setting up the Institute came from then Defence Minister Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, who was one of the Institute's founding members. Over the last fifty years, IDSA has played a crucial role in shaping India's foreign and security policies, including with respect to nuclear weapons, military expenditure, and conventional and non-conventional threats to India.

IDSA has a well-qualified multi-disciplinary research faculty drawn from academia, defence forces and the civil services, and which represent a diversity of views. Research at the Institute is driven by a comprehensive agenda and by the need to provide impartial analyses and policy recommendations. IDSA's journals, monographs, briefs, and books are the principal mediums through which these analyses and policy recommendations are disseminated.

Research Centres

- East Asia
- West Asia
- South Asia
- Military Affairs
- North America
- Internal Security
- Europe & Eurasia
- Strategic Technologies
- Non-Traditional Security
- Nuclear and Arms Control
- Southeast Asia and Oceania
- Defence Economics & Industry
- Africa, Latin America, Caribbean & UN

ABOUT SOUTH ASIA CONFERENCE

The South Asia Conference is organised by the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. The annual South Asia Conference is an endeavour of the institute to bring together experts from all the neighbouring countries and discuss issues of contemporary relevance in an increasingly interdependent South Asia.

The countries in the South Asian region not only share common socio-cultural and linguistic heritage but also many features of governance structures and face similar challenges. IDSA's South Asia conferences have attempted to engage policy makers, academics, civil society actors and young professionals in the conferences on key concerns with the objective to achieve sustainable peace and security. This year the 9th South Asia Conference is being held on the theme of *Culture as a Factor in Regional Cooperation in South Asia*.

Previous South Asia Conferences have dealt with the following issues.

- Economic Cooperation for Security & Development in South Asia
- Changing Political Context in India's Neighbourhood and Prospects of Security and Regional Cooperation
- South Asia 2020: Towards Cooperation or Conflict?
- The Common Challenge of Terrorism in South Asia and Prospect of Regional Cooperation
- Cooperative Security Framework for South Asia
- Prospects for Stability and Growth in South Asia
- India & South Asia: Exploring Regional Perceptions
- The Role of Media in Promoting Regional Understanding in South Asia

CONCEPT NOTE

Culture as a Factor in Regional Cooperation in South Asia

Most states in South Asia are multi-cultural in character. In the post-colonial phase of their existence, they were confronted with the twin problems of state and nation building. While the former involved building institutions of governance the latter necessitated efforts to achieve unity in diversity. States seeking to construct a monolithic identity amalgamating diverse linguistic, religion and ethnic identities faced the challenge of integrating the minorities. In view of the overlapping cultural spaces cutting across state borders, such homogenisation efforts led to spilling over of ethnic conflicts across states. The borders thus became new frontiers of such contested identities- national versus sub-national. It was natural, therefore, for discourses on interstate relations to be enmeshed in arguments in favour of, and against, pluri-cultural national identities. Recognition of plurality was often misconstrued as shedding of sovereignty to other states which housed same ethno-linguistic and cultural communities. While in many cases such geo-cultural continuity and commonality have led to inter-state tension and conflicts, there is distinct possibility of culture playing an integrative role and creating and propelling regional integration in South Asia or at least playing a positive role in contributing to bilateral relations.

As South Asian states are pushing for regional integration, culture has emerged as a force to connect, to build relations and heal the ruptures created by history and politics. As cultural actors challenge the territorial limits that nation-states impose on culture, they engender new possibilities of states caving in to their demands and using their borders as bridges rather than barriers. William Van Schendel in his path breaking work titled as *The Bengal Borderland: Beyond*

State and Nation in South Asia identifies the beginnings of such a change when he argues that “territoriality is being re-scaled by states that should be seen as active partners in global restructuring and not as passive victims of deterritorialisation”. However, it may take a long time for such process to mature in the region as the nation states in South Asia continue to be apprehensive of cultural connectivity across states which is perceived to be 'deterritorialising' the process of construction of exclusive nation-states.

Nevertheless, there are several developments which signal a movement in that direction. The nation-states in South Asia in spite of their exclusive nation building projects, are succumbing to the process of globalisation and revolution in the information technology that has propelled emergence of the new media. Cultural contacts and social interactions no more require state sanctions and visas; rather the netizens have been able to dilute the exclusivity that they imbibed through their political socialisation and textbook education. Television channels, movies and visits by cultural troupes have contributed to the cultural connectivity even across ethno-cultural groups.

Even if culture has so far been used in South Asia sparingly and cautiously as a foreign policy tool, the use of culture as a connecting tool is quite noticeable in recent years. There are efforts today to jointly produce movies especially in the India Pakistan context; effort is also being made to make people to people contact part of bilateral as well as regional agenda. Recently Tagore's 150th birth centenary was celebrated by India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka and Nazrul's 113th birth anniversary were jointly celebrated by India and Bangladesh. The old Buddhist tourism circuit is being revived to link up with Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan and the wider world. Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and India are taking steps to celebrate their common cultural heritages. There are many in Pakistan who are trying to revive, re-

establish and reinvent their past socio-cultural connectivity with India. In the words of Yousef Lapid and Fredrich Kratochwil in their book *The Return of Culture and identity in IR Theory* write, “The forces disposing states towards particularism, however, sometimes confront others disposing them towards collectivism”. Therefore, it can be argued that “culture” is staging a comeback in inter-state and regional politics and it could help states to overcome years of mutual mistrust and push the process of regional integration forward.

The 9th South Asia Dialogue being hosted by IDSA seeks to focus on how India and its South Asian neighbours perceive their common cultural heritage and to what extent inter-state cultural linkages will help the nation states establish a new of trust and understanding and help construct a new regional identity. Some of the questions this conference aims to look at are:

Does culture play any role in international relations and does it matter as a tool of foreign policy?

What role can culture play in the region in building trust and understanding?

How do the South Asian countries look at the common historical and shared cultural experiences?

How can cross-cultural ties be built across states?

Can culture help in forging a regional identity and foster regional cooperation?

PROGRAMME

Day One: Thursday, November 26, 2015

0930-1000: Registration and Tea

1000-1030: Inauguration

Chair: Amb Jayant Prasad, Director
General, IDSA

Keynote: Dr Karan Singh,
Speaker: Member of Parliament, Rajya Sabha

1030-1045: Tea Break

**1045-1300 Session I: Cultural Profile of South Asia
and Foreign Policy**

Chair: Amb Virendra Gupta

(15 minutes each for speakers)

- Speakers:
- *Culture, Cultural Productions and South Asian Spaces* - Prof Partha S Ghosh, ICSSR Fellow, IDSA
 - *India-Nepal Relations: Has Cultural Commonality Helped?* - Dr Sudhindra Sharma, IDA, Kathmandu
 - *Culture as a Foreign Policy Tool: India's Experience in South Asia* - Dr Smruti S Pattanaik, Research Fellow, IDSA
 - *Culture as a Foreign Policy Tool: Pakistani Perspective* - Dr Rubina Saigol, Lahore, Pakistan

1300-1400 Lunch

1400-1730 **Session II: Culture as a Soft Power:
Can it further Regional Cooperation?**

Chair: Amb Suresh Goel, Former DG,
 Indian Council for Cultural Relations

(15 minutes each for speakers)

- Speakers:
- *Can Cultural Diversity and Cultural Commons be Harnessed to Further Regional Cooperation?* - HE Sayed Mossadeq Khalili, Deputy Minister of Culture, Afghanistan
 - *Using Cultural Commons in Regional Cooperation: Bhutanese Perspective* - Mr Kunzang Delek, Chief Archivist National Archives and Library, Bhutan
 - *Can Heritage further Regional Cooperation in South Asia? Sri Lanka's Experience* - Dr Sarala Fernando, Sri Lanka
 - *Role of Media in Promoting Soft Power in South Asia* - Mr Shyam Tekwani, Asia Pacific Centre for Security Studies, Hawaii
 - *Culture and Regional Cooperation in South Asia: Bangladesh's Experience* - Lt Gen M Akbar Fazle, Bangladesh
 - *Culture and Regional Cooperation: Pakistani Perspective* - Mr Raza Rumi, Columnist and Writer, Scholar in Residence at Ithaca College

Day Two: Friday, November 27, 2015

0930-1000 Tea and Registration

1000-1230 Session III: Culture, Identity and Politics and its Impact on Bilateral Relations

Chair: Amb P Stobdan, Senior Fellow, IDSA
(15 minutes each for speakers)

- Speakers:
- *Distant Neighbours: Could People and Culture Build Bridges between Afghanistan and Pakistan* - Mr Aref Dostyar, Afghanistan
 - *Bhutan-India Relations: Does Culture Matter?* - Mr Sangay Chopel, Centre for Bhutanese Studies, Thimphu
 - *The Dilemmas of Relatedness: India and Sri Lanka* - Dr Pradeep Jeganathan, Sri Lanka
 - *Folklore and Evolution of National Identity in the Maldives* - Dr Abdul Rasheed Ali, Dean, Maldives National University
 - *Cultural Symbols as Resistance and the Making of the Bengali Identity* - Prof Sonia Nishat Amin, Department of History, Dhaka University

1230-1345: Group photo & Lunch

1345-1600 Session IV: Culture, Identity and Politics and its Impact on Bilateral Relations (continued)

Chair: Ms Ajeet Cour, President, Foundation of SAARC Writers and Literature

(15 minutes each for speakers)

- Speakers:
- *Civilisational and Cultural Linkages in South Asia: Continuities and Discontinuities* - Prof S D Muni, Distinguished Fellow, IDSA

- *New Constitution and Identity Politics in Nepal* - Prof Krishna Hachhethu, Tribhuban University, Kathmandu
- *Ethnic Diversity and Cultural Hegemony in Bangladesh: Imperatives for more Inclusive National and Regional Identities* - Prof Prashanta Tripura, Department of Economics and Social Sciences, BRAC University, Bangladesh
- *Does Religion Triumph Culture in Identity Formation? The Arabisation of Maldives and its Regional Implications* - Dr Azra Naseem, University of Dublin, Ireland
- *Culture, Identity and Politics: Pakistan's Experience* - Dr Yaqoob Bangash, Pakistan

1600-1730 Session V: Roundtable discussion on Way Forward

(05-07 minutes each for speakers)

Chair: Prof Muchkund Dubey

- Speakers:
- Ms Ajeet Cour
 - Amb Suresh Goel
 - Dr Ashok K Behuria
 - HE Sayed Mossadeq Khalili, Afghanistan
 - Dr Yaqoob Bangash, Pakistan
 - Dr Pradeep Jeganathan, Sri Lanka
 - Dr Sudhindra Sharma, Nepal
 - Mr Kunzang Delek, Bhutan
 - Prof Sonia Nishat Amin, Bangladesh
 - Dr Abdul Rasheed Ali, Maldives

1715-1730: Vote of Thanks by Dr Smruti Pattanaik, Research Fellow, IDSA and Coordinator of the Conference

Profiles of Participants
&
Abstracts

1000-1030: Inauguration

Chair: Amb Jayant Prasad, Director
General, IDSA

Keynote: Dr Karan Singh,
Speaker: Member of Parliament, Rajya Sabha

KARAN SINGH



Born heir apparent (Yuvaraj) to Maharaja Hari Singh and Maharani Tara Devi of Jammu and Kashmir, Dr Karan Singh was catapulted into political life at an early age of eighteen when, in 1949, he was appointed Regent by his father. Thereafter he was head of the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir as elected Sadar-i-Riyasat and lastly as Governor.

In 1967, Dr Karan Singh was inducted as a member of the Union Cabinet headed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. He was the youngest person ever to become a Central Cabinet Minister in India. He is now a member of the Rajya Sabha (the Upper House of Parliament) from Delhi and Chairman of its Ethics Committee. Dr Karan Singh was also Chancellor of the Jammu and Kashmir University, the Jawaharlal Nehru University and the Banaras Hindu University. Among his many accomplishment, he was the President of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Chairman of the Central Sanskrit Board, President of the Authors Guild of India, the Commonwealth Society of India, the Delhi Music Society, the India International Centre. He was Ambassador of India to the United States. He was awarded Padma-Vibhushan, a high civilian award by the President of India in 2005.

Dr Karan Singh is an author of distinction, having written a number of books on political science, philosophical essays, travelogues and poems in English. With his deep insight into the Indian cultural tradition, as well as his wide exposure to Western literature and civilisation, Dr Karan Singh is recognised as an outstanding thinker and leader in India and abroad. He is a renowned orator, and has lectured in five continents on philosophy and culture, politics and environment, education and Vedanta.

JAYANT PRASAD



Jayant Prasad is Director General, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi. He was India's Ambassador to Afghanistan, Algeria, Nepal, and the UN Conference on Disarmament, Geneva. At headquarters, in the Ministry of External Affairs, he served as Special Secretary (Public Diplomacy), and Head of the Americas and the Multilateral Economic Relations Divisions. He was Rapporteur of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, Geneva (1986-87), Fellow at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University (1998-99), member of U.N. Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters (2005-07), and Visiting Scholar, Center for the Advanced Study of India, University of Pennsylvania (2014-15). Before his 37-year public service career, he was lecturer in history, St. Stephen's College, University of Delhi, after completing his studies at Modern School, St. Stephen's College, and Jawaharlal Nehru University.

Session I

Cultural Profile of South Asia and Foreign Policy

Thursday, November 26, 2015

1045-1300

Session I: Cultural Profile of South Asia and Foreign Policy

Chair: Amb Virendra Gupta

(15 minutes each for speakers)

- Speakers:
- *Culture, Cultural Productions and South Asian Spaces* - Prof Partha S Ghosh, ICSSR Fellow, IDSA
 - *India-Nepal Relations: Has Cultural Commonality Helped?* - Dr Sudhindra Sharma, IDA, Kathmandu
 - *Culture as a Foreign Policy Tool: India's Experience in South Asia* - Dr Smruti S Pattanaik, Research Fellow, IDSA
 - *Culture as a Foreign Policy Tool: Pakistani Perspective* - Dr Rubina Saigol, Lahore, Pakistan

VIRENDRA GUPTA



Ambassador Virendra Gupta retired as High Commissioner of India in South Africa. He joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1977. He has served earlier as Director General, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi and as High Commissioner of India in Dar-es-Salaam (1998-2001) and Port of Spain (2001-05). He was also posted at Indian Missions in Kathmandu, Lagos, Permanent Mission of India to the United Nations, New York (where he served as Rapporteur of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid), Tel Aviv and Cairo in various capacities. At headquarters, he has dealt with wide-ranging issues including international security, Southern Africa, disarmament, trade and investment promotion, energy security and multilateral affairs. He is married and has two children. His hobbies include Golf and Bridge. After his retirement, he has been actively following strategic developments in the immediate neighbourhood and commenting on national and international issues in the media.

PARTHA S GHOSH



Prof Partha S Ghosh is an ICSSR National Fellow at the IDSA, New Delhi. Till recently he was a Senior Fellow at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi. Earlier, he was Professor of South Asian Studies at the School of International Studies, JNU, New Delhi. He was Visiting Professor, OKD Institute of Social Change and Development, Guwahati; Humboldt Fellow, Heidelberg University; Ford Visiting Scholar at University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; and Visiting Fellow, CPR, New Delhi, Visiting Professor at the MSH, Paris, Bordeaux University, and University of Heidelberg. Previously he was Research Director at the ICSSR, New Delhi. His areas of interest are South Asian politics, migrations, ethnicity and domestic politics-foreign policy interface.

Some of his recent publications are: *Politics of Personal Law in South Asia* (Routledge, 2007), *Unwanted and Uprooted: A Political Study of Refugees, Migrants, Stateless and Displaced in South Asia* (Sanskriti, 2004), *Ethnicity versus Nationalism: The Devolution Discourse in Sri Lanka* (Sage, 2003). He has written many research articles in eminent professional journals, and also many newspaper articles. His forthcoming book is: *Migrants, Refugees and the Stateless in South Asia* (New Delhi: Sage, 2016). Ghosh was the Editor of *India Quarterly*, the flagship journal of the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi.

CULTURE, CULTURAL PRODUCTIONS AND SOUTH ASIAN SPACES

Partha S Ghosh

Four words in the title, 'Culture', 'Cultural Productions' and 'Spaces' sum up the essence of this paper. Since South Asia means much more than its mere geopolitical and regional constructs connote, and since it had its origin before these constructs were even brought into being and even if the South Asian regional mechanism SAARC fails the concept would continue to thrive gives salience to the cultural factor that this paper tries to address. The two partitions of the region, those of 1947 and 1971, have merely resulted in the creation of three states but the overall cultural fabric of the region though mauled to some extent has not been rent asunder. In some significant senses it has actually been strengthened through cross-border migrations and recall of memories by migrants and refugees or by all those who fell victims to communal wrath. Cross-border migrations indeed are not confined to mere conflictual processes they are routine in the region. In the process not only cultures of respective communities have got influenced but they have also resulted in cultural productions in the form of literature, music, drama, cinema and various other art forms. In this paper we would try to show how this cultural space called South Asia is a constant variable and why it is important for the constituent units of the region to underscore this element to make South Asian regionalism meaningful.

SUDHINDRA SHARMA



Dr Sudhindra Sharma is Executive Director at Interdisciplinary Analysts, a research and consulting firm based in Kathmandu, Nepal with which he has been associated since 1996. He was awarded Docent in Development Studies at the University of Helsinki in February 2009. A Sociologist by training he completed his PhD from the University of Tampere, Finland in 2001 and Masters from Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines in 1992. He has been a visiting researcher at the Center for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) Delhi, Institute of Asian Studies, Bangkok, Center for Contemporary Theory, Baroda and German Development Institute, Bonn. He has made several contributions to the policy papers brought out by the Institute of Development Studies, University of Helsinki. Besides the long term impact of foreign aid in developing countries, he is interested in the sociology of religions. Sharma is also interested in quantitative social science research and has co-authored several tracker or longitudinal opinion surveys in Nepal and Afghanistan. Since February 2010 Sudhindra Sharma has been Adjunct Professor of Sociology at Nepa School of Social Sciences and Humanities.

INDIA-NEPAL RELATIONS: HAS CULTURAL COMMONALITY HELPED?

Sudhindra Sharma

Nepal, like India, is a culturally and linguistically plural society and where over 80 per cent of the population is Hindu. While Nepal was, until some years back a unitary Hindu Kingdom, and has recently been declared to be a democratic federal republic, modern India has been a democratic federal republic since its existence.

Ironically since Nepal and India share cultural and linguistic commonalities, the official discourse in Nepal until recently posited itself as being different from India. Since India was a federal, secular republic, the rulers of Nepal up until recently posited Nepal as a unitary Hindu Kingdom. India, in official Nepali discourse was a pervasive, encompassing albeit threatening entity, the difference, with who needed to be constantly reiterated so as to clearly delineate one's own identity. It is through this process of contrasting oneself from the pervasive 'Other' that is India that then helped chart out Nepal's own distinctive identity in the recent past. Delineating one's distinctiveness went hand in hand with an assertive and assimilative cultural linguistic policy of promoting Nepali language as the lingua franca. Just as in the case of official identity, this policy too has been challenged and weakened in recent years.

The events that transpired in southern Nepal in September and October 2015 shows the complex relationship between Nepal and India - a relationship which has been made more so by sub nationalism associated with Tarai-Madhes. This paper focuses on this incidence and explores the extent to which cultural commonality has helped or not helped in Nepal India relations.

SMRUTI S PATTANAİK



Dr Smruti S Pattanaik is a Research Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis (IDSA), New Delhi. She holds PhD in South Asian Studies from the School of International Studies, JNU. Her area of specialisation is identity politics, security issues and civil-military relations in South Asia.

She was Visiting Professor on as ICCR's India Chair in the Centre for Contemporary Indian Studies, Colombo University in 2013. She received Asia Fellowship in 2004 and follow up grant in 2007 and was Visiting Asia Fellow at the Department of International Relations, Dhaka University. She was earlier a Kodikara fellow at the RCSS; Colombo, postdoctoral fellow at Centre for International Relations and Research (CERI) in Paris in 2008 and visiting fellow at International Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) in 2011. She has lectured on India's foreign policy and South Asia at the Colombo University, Sir John Korelawala Defence University, Asia Centre in the University of Melbourne, University of Karachi, University of Peshawar, Jahangirnagar University and University of Dhaka.

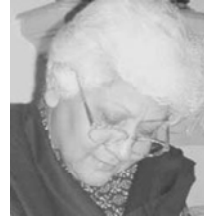
Dr Pattanaik has published more than 50 articles in various journals, has contributed more than 20 chapters in edited books, and delivered lectures on security issues both in India and abroad. She is the author of "Elite Perception in Foreign Policy: Role of Print Media in influencing Indo-Pak relations, 1989-99" (2004) and has edited two books, "South Asia: Envisioning a Regional Future" (2011), "India-Bangladesh relations: Historical Imperative and Future Direction (2012)

CULTURE AS A FOREIGN POLICY TOOL: INDIA'S EXPERIENCE IN SOUTH ASIA

Smruti S Pattanaik

Culture plays an important role in a nation states political life. It represents the diversity within the country and provides an identity to the nation state. It helps in projecting soft power of the state and create an image of a country to the outside world. Culture remains a contested subject in South Asia. While the redrawing of geographical boundary after the partition divided people; the construction of national identities drew new boundaries as the states engaged themselves in building exclusive national identities that rejected commonality. The nation building projects of the states were coupled with restrictions on travel and people to people contact. For India, culture as a foreign policy tool in the neighbourhood had limited appeal and often perceived with suspicion. India took steps to project culture as a foreign policy tool in the 1980s when festival of India was held in various countries of the world except its immediate neighbourhood. This could be based on two reasons; first, cultural similarities with its neighbours could mean that there was no requirement for familiarisaion or show case India's culture in South Asia, second, the exclusivity of national identity construction in the neighbouring countries could mean the space for Indian cultural diversity had less takers. However, there has been a metamorphic change in South Asia. With the assertion of diverse identities, the states are increasingly looking at themselves as multi-religious and multicultural. Space for using culture as an instrument of foreign policy is opening up in the region.

RUBINA SAIGOL



Dr Rubina Saigol received her PhD in Education and Development from the University of Rochester and her MA in Development Psychology from Columbia University. She is currently an independent researcher based in Lahore and has authored and edited several books and papers in English and Urdu on education, nationalism, the state, ethnicity, feminism and human rights published nationally and internationally. Some of her publications include, 'Knowledge and Identity: Articulation of Gender in Educational Discourse in Pakistan'; 'Symbolic Violence: Curriculum, Pedagogy and Society'; 'Enemies Within and Enemies Without: The Besieged Self in Pakistani Textbooks', 'A Tale of Two Communities: Textbook Representations of 1857'. Dr Rubina Saigol has conducted teacher training workshops on human rights and gender equality in all the four provinces of Pakistan.

CULTURE AS A FOREIGN POLICY TOOL: PAKISTANI PERSPECTIVE

Rubina Saigol

Culture and foreign policy appear to exist at the opposite ends of a spectrum. Foreign policy implies a conscious, planned, written, administrative and managerial document prepared by bureaucrats and politicians to serve their interests. Culture on the other hand suggests an organic, evolving, multiple and diverse set of practices, beliefs, customs, traditions, styles and conventions of living, dressing, eating, dancing, singing, as well as social arrangements. Culture is a complex and diverse concept, while policies are sterile frameworks formulated by technocrats and officials. Culture is heterogeneous, malleable, layered and belongs to a people. It is deeply intertwined with local political economies and relations of power. It is articulated differently depending on time and place. Policy is fixed, often rigid, assumes homogenisation, denies diversity and represents specific interests at specific points in time. Culture belongs to the people and policies to the state.

It is a cliché to say that people across cultures and countries should find commonalities, similarities, convergence and try to locate a syncretic culture across religious and ethnic divides. Pakistan has immense diversity and there are layers upon layers of culture and sub-culture. One single foreign policy cannot encompass the interests and preoccupations of different people. A centrist and monolithic foreign policy, designed ostensibly for the people, is an instrument of ruling class policing. The gulf between a technocratic vision of an administered world and the peoples' aspirations for peace, bread and land is wide. Policies of the state negate and denigrate the cultures of the people.

Session II

Culture as a Soft Power:
Can it further Regional
Cooperation?

Thursday, November 26, 2015

1400-1730

Session II: Culture as a Soft Power: Can it further Regional Cooperation?

Chair: Amb Suresh Goel, Former DG,
Indian Council of Cultural Relations

(15 minutes each for speakers)

- Speakers:
- *Can the Cultural Diversity and Cultural Commons be Harnessed to Further Regional Cooperation?* - HE Sayed Mossadeq Khalili, Deputy Minister of Culture, Afghanistan
 - *Using Cultural Commons in Regional Cooperation: Bhutanese Perspective* - Mr Kunzang Delek, Chief Archivist National Archives and Library, Bhutan
 - *Can Heritage further Regional Cooperation in South Asia? Sri Lanka's Experience* - Dr Sarala Fernando, Sri Lanka
 - *Role of Media in Promoting Soft Power in South Asia* - Mr Shyam Tekwani, Asia Pacific Centre for Security Studies, Hawaii
 - *Culture and Regional Cooperation in South Asia: Bangladesh's Experience* - Lt Gen M Akbar Fazle, Bangladesh
 - *Culture and Regional Cooperation: Pakistani Perspective* - Mr Raza Rumi, Columnist and Writer, Scholar in Residence at Ithaca College

SURESH GOEL



A veteran officer with 35 year in diplomatic service of India, Ambassador Suresh K Goel has spent more than 10 years of his career in South East Asia including China. As Ambassador of India to Laos from 2006-10 when he also worked actively on India-ASEAN partnership. He also has personally been witness to evolution of ASEAN as the most important regional organisation in South East Asia. He learnt Chinese at the then Nanyang University.

He served in China from 1988-91 and played an active role in the newly emerging relationship between India and China beginning with the visit of then Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1988.

He served in the Permanent Mission of India in New York from 1991-95 where he coordinated and contributed to developing Indian positions on peace and security related issues. He was Indian Representative on the C-34 dealing with all matters relating to Peace Keeping Operations. He was also Indian representative to the C-24 dealing with decolonisation. He also represented India on the Committee against Apartheid and Special Political Committee dealing with Palestinian issues. He was also the point person for Indian engagement in negotiations on UN reforms including both GA revitalisation and Security Council reforms.

He retired in 2013 as Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs and Director General of the Indian Council of Cultural Relations.

SAYED MOSSADEQ KHALILI



HE S Mossadeq Khalili is a PhD in Architecture and Conservation from the ESPHE, Sorbonne, France. He completed his Master Degree in Cultural Heritage management and Historical Monument Conservation (Earthen Architecture) - 2010 from Grenoble Architecture University, France. He was appointed as Deputy Minister of Information and Culture in April 2011. As Deputy Minister, he provided guidance & advice on developing strategies and policies for preservation of cultural heritage, infrastructure development, restoration of historical monuments, visual art, cinema, theatre, music, libraries, institutional development, reform & capacity building. Earlier he was Cultural Heritage Preservation Advisor to MoIC, April 2010-April 2011. He was Director of Madanjeet Singh Center of UNESCO for Preservation of Afghanistan Cultural Heritage from April 2010-April 2011 where he developed different phases of cultural heritage awareness trainings, taught cultural heritage conservation subjects at UMCPACH and trained over 300 Staff of MoIC on conservation of heritage in all over Afghanistan. He was a Lecturer at Kabul Polytechnic University from 2007-2010. Prior to that he was Editor In chief of *Kanon Olgo*, *Ofuq* and *Kishti Noh* newspapers from 2003-2007. He has participated and represented Afghanistan in various conference and international forums. Apart from Dari which is his native language; he is fluent in several languages including Pashto, English, French and Urdu.

CAN CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND CULTURAL COMMONS BE HARNESSSED TO FURTHER REGIONAL COOPERATION?

Sayed Mossadeq Khalili

Afghanistan all through the history has experienced great cultures such as Zoroastrian, Buddhist arts and culture that later merged with Greek culture, existence of Khorassani and Indian civilisation and also the Gandhara art and cultures. With the emergence of Islamic civilisation this country was enriched with arts, culture and architecture of the periods of Ghaznavid, Ghorid and specially Timorid.

All these have contributed to diversity in Afghanistan which is multilanguage, multicultural and multiethnic country, which is a land of the homogenisation of different cultures many inhabitants are bilingual or trilingual. Afghanistan has never been inhabited by only one ethnic group, but various ethnic groups like the Hazaras, Tajiks, Pashtuns, Uzbeks and other Iranian and Altaic groups. Religion is a common thread that binds all these people. Islam is followed by almost all Afghans and it dominates much of their personal, political, economic and legal lives.

However, in spite of externally induced polarisation Afghans have always believed in building a plural Afghanistan. After decades of devastating war; Afghanistan has resumed cultural activities that could be a binding factor to build post-civil war relationship. Afghanistan can benefit from the existing cultural diversity of the SAARC members and try to build broad relationship with the countries of the region based on the power of culture and common historical heritage. The paper will deal with three major segments. The first part will focus on cultural diversity of Afghanistan and how to use the diversity to build a strong and stable Afghanistan. The second section will deal with the cultural diversity of South Asia and in the third section the paper will focus on how to forge regional cooperation using common cultural denominators.

KUNZANG DELEK



Mr Kunzang Delek is Chief Archivist, in the National Archives Division, National Library & Archives, Department of Culture, Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs, Royal Government of Bhutan (RoGB). For the past 28 years he is serving the government of Bhutan in various capacity. He earlier served as Deputy Chief Archivist, Senior Archivist and Archivist in the National Library and Archives and Sr Librarian, in the National Library of Bhutan, RoGB. He was Vice Principal, in the Royal Academy of Performing Arts, National Commission for Cultural Affairs; Researcher, Research & Programme Officer, in the Special Commission for Cultural Affairs, and served as a teacher, in the college of Language & Cultural Studies, Ministry of Education, Royal Government of Bhutan. Mr Delek has done his Masters in Archival Informatics from Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He has done his graduation in Moralogy from the Institute of Moralogy, Reitaku University, Japan and BA (Hons. Dzongkha) in Literature and Buddhist Philosophy from the College of Language & Cultural Studies, Semtokha, Bhutan

USING CULTURAL COMMONS IN REGIONAL COOPERATION: BHUTANESE PERSPECTIVE

Kunzang Delek

This short paper will attempt to explore cultural and spiritual homogeneity in the South Asian region from a Bhutanese perspective. It will trace and identify notable cultural and spiritual heritage common to many countries in South Asia and examine in what ways it holds the potential for a friendlier and harmonious region. The paper will look at this subject primarily from the Buddhist heritage perspective – how Bhutan relates to other South Asian countries from a Buddhist spiritual and cultural heritage point of view, and by extension, how other South Asian countries look at Bhutan and one another from this perspective. If there is one common ancient heritage that runs through all South Asian countries and links them all to this day, it is Buddhist cultural and spiritual heritage. For example, the legacy of Lord Buddha across many South Asian countries 2,500 years after he lived and taught in the region could become a strong uniting factor. The present-day Nepal's Prince Siddhartha, who attained enlightenment in the present-day India, spread the light of wisdom across other countries, including Bhutan, through his disciples and followers through the centuries. How do we retrace the path the light of Buddhism has taken to find our common roots?

SARALA FERNANDO



Ambassador Sarala Fernando holds a B.A. (First Class) from the University of Peradeniya, Maitrise d'Etudes Modernes from the University of Caen, Master of International Public Policy from Johns Hopkins (SAIS) and a PhD from the University of Colombo.

Having joined the Sri Lanka Foreign Service in 1975, her diplomatic postings have included Washington, New York, Nairobi and as Ambassador in Thailand (with concurrent accreditation to Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam), in Sweden (with concurrent accreditation to the Nordic and Baltic countries), and as Permanent Representative to the United Nations in Geneva (with concurrent accreditation to the Holy See). She retired as Additional Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2007. She was consultant to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2008 and Director General of the Bandaranaike International Diplomatic Training Institute from 2008-2011.

Based in Colombo, her research interests include South Asia, Sri Lanka-India relations, National Heritage, Public Diplomacy. She was a Fulbright Professional Scholar at the USC Centre for Public Diplomacy in 2011-12. She is the editor and joint publisher of two coffee table books, *Gardens of Lanka* (2009) and *Sri Pada, Peak Heritage of Lanka* (2011). She also edited *Maritime Heritage of Lanka, Ancient Ports and Harbours* (2013) published by the Central Cultural Fund and National Trust, Sri Lanka.

CAN HERITAGE FURTHER REGIONAL COOPERATION IN SOUTH ASIA? SRI LANKA'S EXPERIENCE

Sarala Fernando

Sri Lanka and India share a special relationship as witnessed by chronicles, ancient inscriptions and other archeological evidence. The pattern of the linkages shows a dynamic of thrusts towards a common destinies and impulses for separate development.

India-Sri Lanka bilateral relations benefit from extensive studies on issue of identity, linguistic, religion and ethnic, while less has been done on the nature of economic interactions. In colonial times, the economic interests of Madras and Ceylon had been coordinated and after independence, there came a separation and prioritising of the Island's interests. How far this trend can be taken is a challenging prospect. As the forces of globalisation push for increasing integration, from where will the counter-thrust take inspiration? What will be the fate of the building of a "bridge" between Sri Lanka and India, espoused at different times by governments from both sides? Can public diplomacy help by "listening" and promoting exchanges in education and the arts through institutions like the SAARC Cultural Centre in Colombo and the Indian Cultural Centres in Colombo and Jaffna?

National Heritage encompasses both tangible and intangible assets and values. The younger generations are drawn to the protection of nature and its sustainable use. As the new Buddhist University arises in Sanchi, let us remember this message of the Buddha from the Indian subcontinent thousands of years before the modern environmental movement arose in the West.

SHYAM TEKWANI



Mr Shyam Tekwani is Associate Professor at the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies, Honolulu, where he directed the Comprehensive Security Responses to Terrorism (CSRT) course. As Course Director, he was responsible for overseeing the counter terrorism course designed for senior military and government civilian equivalents in security-related positions. Tekwani has nearly 20 years of research and teaching experience in the subject areas of Terrorism/Political Violence and Asian Security Relations and have written extensively on Media, Identity Politics, and New Media.

Tekwani has published on new media technologies and the communication strategies of violent non state actors. He is the editor of the book *Media and Conflict Reporting in Asia* (2008). Some of his other publications include *Online Networks of Terrorist Groups and their implications for Security: A Case Study of Sri Lanka's Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam* (2007); *Embedded Journalists – lessons from the Iraq War* (2005); *The Internet in the 2004 Sri Lankan Elections* (with Randy Kluver, 2007); *Two Indias: The Role of the Internet in the 2004 National Elections* (with Kavitha Shetty, 2007); *The Media, Information Revolution and Terrorism in Southeast Asia* (2004); and *The Tamil Diaspora, Tamil Militancy, and the Internet* (2003). Currently, he is working on a book manuscript, *Serendip to Sri Lanka*, on the Tamil Tigers and the Country's Ethnic Conflict.

ROLE OF MEDIA IN PROMOTING SOFT POWER IN SOUTH ASIA

Shyam Tekwani

In the Soft Power 30 ranking of 30 countries around the world, based on a new composite index that measures and compares the resources that determine a country's soft power, no country from South Asia occupies a spot. Of the 66 metrics across six categories, Culture and Digital would arguably be, in the South Asian context, the prominent factors that provide further opportunities for influence in shaping a foreign policy that forges a regional identity and fosters regional cooperation.

Media, as the truism goes, do not just report news, they also form opinion - and that, in turn, shapes events ('The CNN Effect'). While media retains its importance as an instrument of influence despite its lacklustre role in promoting regional understanding and cooperation, non-state actors are taking a larger role in shaping events as the digital revolution further accelerates the diffusion of power. More and more of the world is playing out online. In this era of communication and globalisation, any effective pursuit of foreign policy cannot be confined to the print and broadcast media alone. Clearly, in this new and evolving context, soft power - the ability to achieve objectives through attraction, and persuasion - is ever more crucial to the effective conduct of foreign policy and ultimately influencing regional relationships. While observers note that India has "strong cards in the arena of soft power", soft power in South Asia has almost always been synonymous with its most prominent manifestation, India's colourful cinema, Bollywood.

In examining the role of traditional and social media and the components of the 'arena of soft power' this paper outlines the challenges of harnessing the use of soft power toward greater regional understanding, cooperation and integration.

M AKBAR FAZLE



Lieutenant General Mollah Fazle Akbar, NDC, PSC was commissioned in the Corps of Artillery, Bangladesh Army in 1976. In his long service career, beside the regimental appointments; he served in different capacities as the Brigade Major of two Infantry Brigades, Staff Officer in Directorate General of Forces Intelligence (DGFI), Grade One Staff Officer (Training & Operations) in an Infantry Division, Assistant Defence Adviser at Bangladesh High Commission in India and Colonel Staff in an Infantry Division. He was also Director of Military Operations and Director of Artillery in General Staff Branch, Army Headquarters, first Sector Commander of Bangladesh Sector in Liberia, UNMIL (United Nations Mission in Liberia), Director General (DG) of Directorate General of Forces Intelligence (DGFI) and Commandant in the national Defence college (NDC). General Akbar was the 'Colonel Commandant of the Regiment of Artillery' of Bangladesh Army from March 2010 to February 2015.

He attended a number of courses both at home and abroad. Lieutenant General Akbar earned Bachelor of Science degree in War Studies from Baluchistan University, Pakistan and obtained Bachelor of Arts degree from University of Dhaka, Bangladesh. He completed Masters in Social Studies (MSS) in Political Science from University of Dhaka and Masters of Business Administration (MBA) from Royal University, Dhaka. He did his M.Phil. from National University of Bangladesh. At present he is pursuing Ph.D as research fellow of Bangladesh University of Professional (BUP), Dhaka.

CULTURE AND REGIONAL COOPERATION IN SOUTH ASIA: BANGLADESH'S EXPERIENCE

M Akbar Fazle

There are very few regions that have as rich and varied cultural heritage as South Asia. There is distinct possibility of culture playing an integrative role and creating and propelling regional integration in South Asia and contributing to bilateral relations. As South Asian states are pushing for regional integration, culture has emerged as a force to connect, to build relations and heal the ruptures created by history and politics.

Bangladesh is a country where colourful festivals are held throughout the year like the *Pahela Boishakh*, *Pahela Falgun/Basanto Utshob*, *Nobanno* (Harvesting Month), *Paush Parbon*, *Mehendi Utshab* which also have resonance not just across the border but glimpses of it can be felt within the region as ethno-cultural overlaps transcends the geographical boundary. The importance of cultural connectivity cannot be minimised. It strengthens people-to-people contacts. It also reinforces foreign policy objectives of the government. And if one of these objectives is to create a better political climate in the region, we need to harmonise cultural diplomacy with civil society efforts.

Culture as a "Soft Power" is a more accurate representation of lived realities. The future of South Asian integration lies in a strategic use of soft power to promote values which are beneficial for the region as a whole. For this purpose culture will become an important variable since it enables us to bypass an impersonal government and focus on values which define our very existence.

RAZA RUMI



Raza Ahmad Rumi is a Pakistani policy analyst, journalist and an author. He has been a leading voice in Pakistan's public arena against extremism and human rights violations. With solid policy experience through his work for Government of Pakistan and the Asian Development Bank (as Governance Specialist), Rumi joined journalism in 2008. Since then, he has been an editor at *The Friday Times*, Pakistan's foremost liberal weekly paper. He also worked in broadcast media as a leading commentator and hosted talk shows at *Capital TV* and *Express News*. Rumi was Director at Jinnah Institute, a public policy think tank and Executive Director of Justice Network- a coalition of NGOs. Rumi's writings are archived at www.razarumi.com. His recent book 'Delhi by Heart' was published by Harper Collins (2013). Raza has also authored several papers on governance, security, justice, arts and culture. In March 2014, he survived an assassination attempt in which his driver lost his life. Within weeks, he left Pakistan. Since then he has been affiliated with New America Foundation, and the United States Institute of Peace. He is also a visiting fellow at National Endowment for Democracy, Washington DC and Berkley Centre for Religion Peace and World Affairs at the Georgetown University. He is currently teaching at Honors Program, Ithaca College.

CULTURE AND REGIONAL COOPERATION: PAKISTANI PERSPECTIVE

Raza Rumi

A key impetus in South Asia remains shared cultures and folk ethos. However, the rise of nation states - India, Pakistan and Bangladesh - has impacted how history is viewed and how the common threads of culture are hostage to national security narratives. Pakistan's consistent efforts to reject its pre-Independence past and India's revisionist narratives have undermined the prospects of building peace through cultural exchanges. Yet, popular cinema, television entertainment and music remain powerful media to foster a sense of shared South Asian identity. This paper will trace the evolution of national trajectories in India and Pakistan with some focus on Bangladesh and probe into the way 'culture' is understood by the respective states. After a review of key historical moments, the paper will highlight the ruptures that have taken place thereby denuding the sense of a regional identity. At the end the paper will list a few opportunities and how India and Pakistan can build on the existing literary and cultural networks despite the rise of extremist movements in the two countries.

Session III

Culture, Identity and Politics and its Impact on Bilateral Relations

Friday, November 27, 2015

1000-1230

Session III: Culture, Identity and Politics and its Impact on Bilateral Relations

Chair: Amb P Stobdan, Senior Fellow, IDSA
(15 minutes each for speakers)

- Speakers:
- *Distant Neighbours: Could People and Culture Build Bridges between Afghanistan and Pakistan* - Mr Aref Dostyar, Afghanistan
 - *Bhutan-India Relations: Does Culture Matter?* - Mr Sangay Chopel, Centre for Bhutanese Studies
 - *The Dilemmas of Relatedness: India and Sri Lanka* - Dr Pradeep Jeganathan, Sri Lanka
 - *Folklore and Evolution of National Identity in the Maldives* - Dr Abdul Rasheed Ali, Dean, Maldives National University
 - *Cultural Symbols as Resistance and the Making of the Bengali Identity* - Prof Sonia Nishat Amin, Department of History, Dhaka University

P STOB DAN



Ambassador (Prof) P Stobdan was born in Ladakh and is a distinguished academician, diplomat, author and foreign policy/national security expert. Ambassador P Stobdan has been India's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Kyrgyzstan since until 2012.

Ambassador Stobdan has earlier served as diplomat in Central Asia. He was formerly with the National Security Council Secretariat (NSCS). He also served Director and Professor at the Centre for Strategic and Regional Studies (CSRS) in Jammu & Kashmir. He is the Founding President of the Ladakh International Centre, Leh. Currently, Ambassador is a Senior Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. His recent book *Central Asia: Democracy, Instability and Strategic Game in Kyrgyzstan* was published in 2014. He has also published an Occasional paper *India and Bhutan: The Strategic Imperative* in 2014. Ambassador is a leading columnist for Indian Express and other national dailies

AREF DOSTYAR



Mr Aref Dostyar is currently pursuing Master of Arts in International Peace Studies from the University of Notre Dame, Kroc Institute, Indiana. He completed his Bachelors degree in Political Science and Economics University of Lucknow Lucknow, India in 2009. He is the Chairperson of the Board of Directors, Afghans for Progressive Thinking, Kabul, Afghanistan. He also acted as leadership facilitator, in the Management and Leadership Academy in Kabul and Faizabad, Afghanistan. He speaks in the weekly radio program as a guest speaker in the The Killid Radio Station, Kabul. He is also a Leader for International Programs, Heritage Institute of Languages. He was recipient of Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) fellowship in 2006 and is currently pursuing his studies on Fulbright Foreign Student Program Scholarship. His essay "Leading Peace with Information and Strategy in Afghanistan: Beyond Intractability" was published by university of Colorado in 2015. He has also written on "Intercultural Understanding in the Workplace" published in India. His radio program has focused on "Afghans for Progressive Thinking: vision, activities, and impacts". He is fluent in Dari/Farsi and also have working knowledge of Spanish, Urdu and Hindi.

DISTANT NEIGHBOURS: COULD PEOPLE AND CULTURE BUILD BRIDGES BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN

Aref Dostyar

This paper examines the role of people and culture in building peace between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Throughout their history, the relationship between the two countries has been based on blame, mistrust, and fear. The two countries are often perceived and understood by themselves and to an extent by the rest of the world as enemies of each other, a perception and an understanding which have only deteriorated since 2001. A distant relationship between the close two neighbors have adverse effects on regional peace, cooperation, and stability in a globalised world where connectivity and communication linkages are driving force in bilateral relations.

While governments have made numerous attempts, although failed ones, to better the relationship between the two countries in the recent years, civil society and the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan have not done enough. This paper argues that Afghanistan and Pakistan share much of the same culture which has the potential to play a constructive role in overcoming the challenging fluctuations in the relationship of the two countries with lasting friendships. The cross border ethnic relations can be harnessed to have a stable Afghanistan by using culture as a foreign policy tool rather than the security centric approach that has dominated the relations between the two. Afghan and Pakistani civil societies and people can act together to bridge the perception gap that exist between their countries. Furthermore, it recommends the respective governments and the International Community to invest more in joint cultural activities between these countries and utilize culture as a key foreign policy tool.

SANGAY CHOPHEL



Born in the highlands of Bhutan, Sangay Chophel works as a researcher at the Centre for Bhutan Studies and GNH Research, a premier think tank organization based in Thimphu. He is also the head of Publication Unit of the Centre and co-editor of the Journal of Bhutan Studies. He holds MA in International Development from Nagoya University, Japan. He is the author of a number of articles, such as “Culture, Public Policy and Happiness”, in Journal of Bhutan Studies, Vol.26, Summer 2012; “Does Democracy promote Social Capital? Evidence from Bhutan”, in Journal of Bhutan Studies, Vol. 29, Winter 2013; and “Export Price of Electricity in Bhutan”, forthcoming article, among others.

BHUTAN-INDIA RELATIONS: DOES CULTURE MATTER?

Sangay Chopel

India is a key development partner of Bhutan. Being enclosed between two giant neighbours, India and China, it is in the interest of a small country like Bhutan in maintaining friendly relations with the neighbouring countries in order to safeguard its sovereignty and security. Therefore, the promotion of cooperation and maintenance of peace and security with neighbours has always been a priority in Bhutan's foreign relations. Regional cooperation can be analysed from many fields. However, this paper will examine the impact of culture on Indo-Bhutan relations. With the advent of Buddhism in the 8th century, introduced by the great Indian tantric master Guru Rinpoche, Buddhism has had a pervasive influence in the cultural life of Bhutanese people. Even some of the choices people in Bhutan make are dictated by cultural norms. Drawing from historical sources and relevant qualitative data, how cultural exchanges and common values have shaped economic and political relations between the two countries will be explored in this paper. The changes that are seen in media and religion, among others, due to cultural exchanges will also be discussed. Emerging challenges that may occur in Indo-Bhutan relations from the viewpoint of culture will be presented, and suggestions will be offered.

PRADEEP JEGANATHAN



Pradeep Jeganathan is Professor of Sociology, Shiv Nadar University, Delhi NRC, India. Previously, he was a Senior Research Fellow at the International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Colombo and McKnight Professor of Anthropology and Global Studies, at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. Educated at Royal College, Colombo, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harvard University and the University of Chicago, he has authored and edited four books: *Unmaking the Nation* (1995), *Subaltern Studies XI* (2000), *Living with Death* (2007) and *At the Water's Edge* (2002). His research interests focus on violence, survival and colonial history.

THE DILEMMAS OF RELATEDNESS: INDIA AND SRI LANKA

Pradeep Jeganathan

This presentation is a presentist, Sri Lankanist account of the relatedness of Sri Lanka and India. My perspective will be embedded in 'culture,' taken as a structure of meaningful feelings, and I will examine three key 'moments' in that structure: The idea of the origins of the Sinhala people, and allied idea of Buddhist conversion, the immigration of 'Indian' or 'plantation' Tamils to Sri Lanka, and the idea of Ravan of the Ramayan. Clearly, this is not be a historiographic account, but a presentist account, of how, by taking three exemplars, we can sketch out key debates in inter-state relations, become deeply imbricated in culture.

ABDUL RASHEED ALI



Dr Abdul Rasheed Ali is the Dean of the Faculty of Art of the Maldives National University. He assumed this post in 2009, and is in his second consecutive term as Dean. As Dean, Abdul Rasheed Ali undertakes important responsibilities including functions of academic and administrative management of the Faculty. Prior to his appointment as Dean, Abdul Rasheed Ali has held several academic and professional positions in the area of Education and Higher Education in the Maldives. He has been involved in teaching for over 20 years in the areas of Education, Teaching and Learning, and Dhivehi Language related disciplines. As Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Education (2001-2009), Abdul Rasheed Ali undertook the responsibilities of teaching Dhivehi language, Dhivehi Language Arts, Curriculum Studies and Advanced Study Skill, as well as designing courses including designing Dhivehi Diploma Degree and Masters and Journalism Degree courses, writing books, and designing teaching and learning material in these areas. In addition, he actively participated in Faculty Committees. During the same period, Abdul Rasheed Ali held position of the Head of Department of In-service and Regional Development and Head of Research and Development Unit. Also, he was Acting Dean, Faculty of Arts, Maldives College of Higher Education, (Jan-Oct 2009), Acting Dean: Faculty of Education, Maldives College of Higher Education, (Oct-Dec 2005).

FOLKLORE AND EVOLUTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE MALDIVES

Abdul Rasheed Ali

If folklore is everything that is not formally taught, then the role of folklore in political decision making at national and international level can go beyond the formal rules of engagement in foreign policy. Folklore composes of all cultural, behavioural and linguistic norms that are deeply embedded in the local and national strata of the society that influence our national identity. My paper presents a story about the evolution of national identity in the Maldives through a lens of folklore and its role in shaping our societal value structure at local level to influence the national identity structure of the Maldives. My focus is on culture of language and how origins and evolution of language in the Maldives have shaped its political society through time. Historically, the culture of language has been influenced by 'multicultural' and 'multi-dimensional' factors. However, more importantly, the culture of language has been closely tied to the value structure of the society-people appreciate the culture of language to a higher level and hence, how we appreciate language influences our political choice significantly.

SONIA NISHAT AMIN



Prof Sonia Nishat Amin is currently Chairperson and professor in the department of History in the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh. She completed her PhD from the University of Dhaka in 1994. She did her Master in History from the university of Dhaka and Masters in Sociology from the Northeastern University, Boston, Mass., USA. She has written several articles in various national and international journals on the issues of women and identity politics. Her monograph on “The World of Muslim Women in Colonial Bengal” was published by E. J. Brill in 1996. She is a member of Bangladesh Itihash Samiti, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh and Bangla Academy. She received “Atahar Hossain Gold Medal” for the best research book on women's studies in 1997, awarded by the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh. She was a visiting fellow at the Cornell University's South Asia Program in 1998, Commonwealth Academic Staff Post-doctoral Fellowship at SOAs in 1999-2000, Writer in residence at the ‘Sanskriti Praisthan’, New Delhi in 2002, Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Social Studies, the Hague in 2005, Member *Itihasa Sangsad*, West Bengal, India and Arthur Lynn Andrews Chair at Department of History, University of Hawaii, Manoa, USA in August 2009-January 2010.

CULTURAL SYMBOLS AS RESISTANCE AND THE MAKING OF BENGALI IDENTITY

Sonia Nishat Amin

Many exogenous and indigenous factors have contributed to the making of Bengali identity in the region that is now Bangladesh. Some indigenous cultural signifiers such as the Bengali language or celebrations of *Pahela Baisakh*, were perceived as threats to the colonising agenda of the Pakistani regime. Bengalis in their turn, came to see these as sites of resistance. However even after the birth of Bangladesh, the founding principles of the country which included a secular Bengali identity, began to erode, especially after 1975. But the resistance to this erosion and the reiteration of identity also continued unabated.

From February 2013, a spontaneous movement gathered momentum at Shahbagh, Dhaka, protesting the 'lenient' life imprisonment sentence meted out to the war criminal Quader Mollah. This movement, led by a sizable proportion of the youth, was a reiteration of the demand for justice. But beyond the visible layer of a demand for the maximum punishment (death penalty), it also marked a quest for their identity forged during the Bangladesh Liberation War.

The Shahbagh Movement was characterised by the intensive and incessant use of cultural symbols. It is my intention to discuss the movement from this perspective and assess the quest for Bengali as well as secular identity. This quest will impact the emergent psyche of the youth and their stand on communal harmony, relations to other societies and cultures.

Session IV

Culture, Identity and Politics and its Impact on Bilateral Relations (Continued)

Friday, November 27, 2015

1345-1600

Session IV: Culture, Identity and Politics and its Impact on Bilateral Relations (continued)

Chair: Ms Ajeet Cour, President, Foundation of SAARC Writers and Literature

(15 minutes each for speakers)

- Speakers:
- *Civilisational and Cultural Linkages in South Asia: Continuities and Discontinuities* - Prof S D Muni, Distinguished Fellow, IDSA
 - *New Constitution and Identity Politics in Nepal* - Prof Krishna Hachhethu, Tribhuban University, Kathmandu
 - *Ethnic Diversity and Cultural Hegemony in Bangladesh: Imperatives for more Inclusive National and Regional Identities* - Prof Prashanta Tripura, Department of Economics and Social Sciences, BRAC University, Bangladesh
 - *Does Religion Triumph Culture in Identity Formation? The Arabisation of Maldives and its Regional Implications* - Dr Azra Naseem, University of Dublin, Ireland
 - *Culture, Identity and Politics: Pakistan's Experience* - Dr Yaqoob Bangash, Pakistan

AJEET COUR



Ajeet Cour, well-known Punjabi fiction writer, is the spirit behind the Foundation of SAARC Writers and Literature, and Academy of Fine Arts and Literature. A visionary who launched, for the first time, the idea of cultural connectivity for peace in the SAARC region, way back in 1986. She has been working tirelessly since then, for these Track II initiatives, resulting in the inclusion of 'culture' in the SAARC Charter, and FOSWAL honoured as 'SAARC APEX BODY'. She is author of 21 collections of short stories, novelettes and novels, nine creative translations of fiction and poetry, over 20 edited works, and numerous articles as an Accredited Journalist. She writes in Punjabi, but is widely translated into several Indian and foreign languages. Ajeet Cour's forte lies in the passion and commitment she brings to bear on everything she takes up - from creative writing to cultural activism, from preservation of environment and historical heritage to empowerment of marginalised women. She has been a Visiting Scholar, lecturing in several universities on 'Punjab, Punjabi Culture, Punjabi Literature' and on 'Indian Cultural Heritage', in India, Stockholm, Gottenburg, Copenhagen, Budapest, Athens, School of Oriental Studies in London, Istanbul, Cairo, Peredeniya University in Sri Lanka, Jahangirnagar University and University of Dhaka, Bangladesh, etc. Recipient of several national and international awards, including Sahitya Akademi Award and Padma Shri, she is one of the '1000 Women Peace Crusaders Across the Globe' for Collective Nobel Peace Prize.

S D MUNI



Professor S D Muni, a Professor Emeritus of Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, is also presently Hon. Distinguished Fellow, at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi. He was until recently, a Visiting Research Professor at the National University of Singapore, Institute of South Asian Studies. He was also India's Ambassador to Lao PDR (1997-1999). In 2005, the Sri Lankan President bestowed on him 'Sri Lanka Ratna', the highest Sri Lankan civilian honor for a non-national. At Jawaharlal Nehru University he held the prestigious Appadorai Chair of International Relations and Area Studies. He was the founder Editor of Indian Foreign Affairs Journal (2005-2008) and South Asia Journal (1990-94) (Sage, India).

A founder Executive Member of the Regional Centre of Strategic Studies, Colombo, Prof. Muni was nominated to India's first National Security Advisory Board in 1990-91. Author and editor of about two dozen books, Professor Muni has published 125 research papers and articles in various academic journals of repute. Some of his recent publications include *India and China: The Next Decade* (New Delhi, 2009.); *India's Foreign Policy: The Democracy Factor*, (New Delhi, 2009), *The Emerging Dimension of SAARC* (New Delhi, 2010); and *Resurgent China: South Asian Perceptions* (2012).

CIVILISATIONAL AND CULTURAL LINKAGES IN SOUTH ASIA: CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES

S D Muni

South Asia's civilisational and cultural linkages cover varied and diverse areas ranging from religion, languages and ethnicity to music, food habits, and social moorings. These linkages have evolved gradually transiting through centuries of deep and diversified engagements amongst its people. These linkages have also been shaped and reinforced by geography, environment, economies and political moves.

The continuities of these linkages are powerfully manifest in various walks of national and social lives of the people of South Asia. External invasions and internal turbulence within and between the South Asian countries have tried to dent and erode these linkages but their roots are considerably deep to face these pressures with fortitude and resilience.

The biggest damage however done to these linkages is by the imposition of political sovereign boundaries on them, particularly by the withdrawing British Empire. These boundaries drawn, at times arbitrarily, hastily and maliciously have continued to politically hammer civilisational and cultural bonds. Aspirational and identity implosions within each of the South Asian countries have created artificial and avoidable fault lines between these bonds and many a new found insecurities and nationalisms. Such discontinuities may however melt away as and when the South Asian countries find their internal confidence and strength. If these countries fail to do so, they will be torn apart internally and within the region.

KRISHNA HACHHETHU



Prof Krishna Hachhethu is Professor of Political Science and a faculty member of Central Department of Political Science, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal. He is author of one dozen books, including *Party Building in Nepal* (2002), *Nepal in Transition* (2008), *State Building in Nepal* (2009), and has credit of publishing more than five dozen articles in books and journals published in Nepal and abroad. He was a visiting scholar at Oxford University in 2005. He is former member of High Level Commission of State Restructuring of Nepal. Prof. Hachhethu is country coordinator of South Asia Democracy Study network. He has experiences of working with international organisations, i.e. International IDEA, DEFID, UNDP, NORAD on several subjects like democracy, political party, governance, election, state restructuring etc.

NEW CONSTITUTION AND IDENTITY POLITICS IN NEPAL

Krishna Hachhethu

For a multicultural state like Nepal, 'democracy with differentiated citizenship' could be a better approach for a participatory nation building process. But the new constitution of Nepal, promulgated on 20 September 2015, partly and loosely address the question of transformation of social identity into political power. It largely inherits the previous constitution of 1990 in adopting the principle of 'democracy with equal citizenship' and upholds the Panchayat model of nation building through the assimilation of social diversity into the fold of the hill high castes' culture, which is infamously criticised as Brahmanbad.

It allows to continue the supremacy of Khas Nepali language and subordination of other linguistic groups; secularism is limited in conformation to protection of sanatan dharma; and national icons are taken from the Hindu and hill symbols. The provision of citizenship ignores open border with India and a long tradition of cross-border marriage which places the Madheshis, peoples of non-hill origin, in disadvantageous position.

In addition to transformation of Nepal from a monarchical to republican state, the new constitution is different from the previous 1990 constitution on two major subjects: establishment of federalism and adoption of mixed electoral system. Such changes however are channeled to retain the domination of the hill high castes. The transformation of social identity of *Janajati* and *Madheshi* into political constituency/power is largely remained as an unaccomplished goal until Nepal adopts the principle of 'democracy with differentiated citizenship' and accommodative process of nation building. In this context the cultural diversity would hardly find a place in Nepal's foreign and regional policy.

PRASHANTA TRIPURA



An academic and development professional, taught ten years at the Department of Anthropology at Jahangirnagar University and then worked fulltime for about the same period for CARE and UNDP combined; have been consulting since the second half of 2012 alongside part-time teaching. His areas of research and professional interest cover a large ground spanning ethnicity and nationalism, development, local governance, the environment, linguistic diversity, multilingual education and literature. He is fluent in English, Bangla, and first language Kokborok. He is also Part-time faculty, Department of Economics and Social Science, BRAC University, Dhaka since September 2013. He has done his Masters in Anthropology from the University of California, Berkley.

ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND CULTURAL HEGEMONY IN BANGLADESH: IMPERATIVES FOR MORE INCLUSIVE NATIONAL AND REGIONAL IDENTITIES

Prashanta Tripura

Bangladesh is home to at least 45 ethnic minority groups (as per unofficial estimates) that account for less than 2 per cent of the total population of the country. Living in scattered pockets in different parts of the country, with significant concentrations in areas along or near international borders, most of these groups have ethnic kinsfolk across the border in India and/or Myanmar. While the majority of these ethnic minorities self-identify as 'indigenous peoples', this is an identification that remains hotly contested in Bangladesh. Officially, they are now referred to as 'tribes, minor races, ethnic sects and communities', which are terms that were introduced through a new clause appended to the existing article on national culture in the country's constitution, as part of its 15th amendment undertaken in 2011. Taking such factors into account, this paper examines the extent to which the cultural and linguistic diversity represented by the ethnic minorities of Bangladesh are accommodated within the dominant notions relating to national culture and language. It is argued that the forms of cultural and linguistic hegemony that prevail in Bangladesh are the results both of different strands of narrowly conceived nationalisms and of a colonial legacy that continues to operate within South Asia as a whole. Democratisation and decolonisation of hegemonic cultural categories are presented as an important precondition for a future South Asia that is more at ease with cultural diversity both within and across national boundaries.

AZRA NASEEM



Dr Azra Naseem is PhD in International Relations from the University of Dublin. She has graduated from Griffith College, Dublin and has done her masters in international relations from the Dublin City College. Her PhD focussed on Understanding of politico-religious and social power networks that form, shape and produce societal organisations and systems. At present she is a postdoctoral fellow at School of Law & Government Dublin City University. She was a part time lecturer in the Griffith College Dublin from 2006-10 and lectured on Media Law and Ethics. She is a freelance writer & commentator on Maldivian socio-political affairs based in Dublin, Ireland.

DOES RELIGION TRUMP CULTURE IN IDENTITY FORMATION? THE ARABISATION OF MALDIVES AND ITS REGIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Azra Naseem

Cultural ties between India and Maldives precede the independence of both countries by centuries. Indian cultural influences, especially which of its film industry, remain widespread and strong throughout the islands of Maldives. Tens of thousands of Maldivians travel to India every year, and thousands of Indian expatriates have made the Maldives their home. Despite the long history of close cultural and political relations, and regardless of the geographical proximity of the two countries, the influence of some Arab states-especially Saudi Arabia-on the Maldives in the 21st Century has become stronger than India-Maldives cultural ties have ever been. This paper explores reasons for, and implications of, the rapid 'Arabisation' of Maldivian culture and what the presence of an 'Arabised' Maldives means to regional cooperation and security.

YAQOOB BANGASH



Dr Yaqoob Khan Bangash is a historian of Modern South Asia. His current research interests lie in the emergence of Pakistan as post-colonial state, with broader interests in decolonisation, modern state formation, formation of identities, and the emergence of ethnic and identity based conflicts. His DPhil thesis was on the accession and integration of the princely states in Pakistan which has been published from Oxford University Press as 'A Princely Affair: Accession and Integration of Princely States in Pakistan, 1947-55' in 2015. He is currently working on a monograph on the imagination of Pakistan as a country after its creation, using the debates of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (1947-56) as the basic primary material. He is also the official historian of Forman Christian College, and working towards a history of the College to be published in 2015. He has published in *South Asia Research* and the *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, and has written articles for two edited volumes. He also regularly writes for *The News*, *The Express Tribune* and other news media. Dr Bangash completed his BA from the University of Notre Dame, IN, USA, and his DPhil from the University of Oxford. Currently, Dr Bangash is head of Humanities and Director at the newly created Centre for Governance and Policy at the Information Technology University, Lahore, Pakistan

CULTURE, IDENTITY AND POLITICS: PAKISTAN'S EXPERIENCE

Yaqoob Bangash

Culture is often an important, yet contested, part of a country's identity. In the case of Pakistan, it is even more challenged since Pakistan was supposed to be based on an 'ideology.' With several ethnicities becoming a part of Pakistan in August 1947 it was natural that all these ethnic, linguistic and regional identities would not sit well with a monolithic ideology and identity. Hence, conflict has been natural, sharp, and destabilising.

Focusing primarily on the first decade after independence, this paper assesses how Pakistan negotiated the multiple identities it inherited, how its culture was resultantly engineered, and the political and social ramifications of such policies. Investigating government policies and actions, the debates in the Constituent Assembly, newspaper reports, and other sources, this paper shows how the conflict over culture and identity of Pakistan has caused it several existential and practical problems. The paper argues that Pakistan needs to develop a multi-layered and diverse sense of identity and culture, especially through educational reform and a reengagement with its past. Its politics also need to be refashioned along a more grounded and pluralistic mode, so as to ensure more diversity and inclusion. Only then will Pakistan emerge as a self confident and self-assured nation.

Session V

Roundtable discussion on
Way Forward

Friday, November 27, 2015

1600-1730

Session V: Roundtable discussion on Way Forward

(05-07 minutes each for speakers)

Chair: Prof Muchkund Dubey

- Speakers:
- Ms Ajeet Cour
 - Amb Suresh Goel
 - Dr Ashok K Behuria
 - HE Sayed Mossadeq Khalili, Afghanistan
 - Dr Yaqoob Bangash, Pakistan
 - Dr Pradeep Jeganathan, Sri Lanka
 - Dr Sudhindra Sharma, Nepal
 - Mr Kunzang Delek, Bhutan
 - Prof Sonia Nishat Amin, Bangladesh
 - Dr Abdul Rasheed Ali, Maldives

MUCHKUND DUBEY



Muchkund Dubey, currently President of the Council for Social Development, New Delhi, has Master's degree in economics from Patna University and studied economics in Oxford and New York Universities. Has a D.Litt degree (Honoris Causa) from the University of Calcutta. He started his career as a lecturer in economics and later joined the Indian Foreign Service. He served as the High Commissioner of India to Bangladesh and the Permanent Representative of India to UN Organisations in Geneva. He also worked in the UN and UNDP for five years. He retired from the Foreign Service after serving as the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. He then joined the Jawaharlal Nehru University as Professor, where he taught for close to eight years.

Prof Dubey has written a large number of papers, chapters of books and articles on international security and disarmament matters, international development cooperation, world order issues, and social and economic development in India. He has also edited and co-edited a number of books and is the author of two books "Unequal Treaty: World Trading Order after GATT" (1966) and "India's Foreign Policy: Coping with the Changing World" (2013).

ASHOK K BEHURIA



Dr Ashok K Behuria is a Fellow and Coordinator of the South Asia Centre at IDSA. He is a Ph. D. in International Relations from the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. He has worked on "India-Pakistan Relationship during the Eighties" for his Ph.D. He joined IDSA in 2003 and before that he was working as Assistant Director at International Centre for Peace Studies, New Delhi. Dr Behuria has also been Editor of International Studies, the prestigious research journal from Jawaharlal Nehru University and has been in the Editorial Boards of Journal of Peace Studies and Strategic Analysis, the flagship journal from IDSA. He has taught at University of Delhi and Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi. He is a close observer of developments in the South Asian neighbourhood and has been awarded the prestigious K Subrahmanyam Award for excellence in strategic studies for his work on Pakistan in 2009. He has published many research articles on strategic issues related to Pakistan, India-Pakistan relations, Sri Lanka, Nepal and South Asian security environment in Indian and foreign journals. He has edited several books on South Asia and continues with his research on internal politics in Pakistan, India's engagement with the neighbourhood, regional security, and inter-state cooperation.

Coordination Team

NIHAR NAYAK



Dr Nihar Nayak is an Associate Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi, India. Before joining the IDSA, he worked as Research Associate at the Institute for Conflict Management, New Delhi. His area of expertise are Nepal, Maoist/Left wing extremism in South Asia, small arms, conflict management and peace building and cooperative security in South Asia. His doctoral thesis was on "Non Governmental Organisations and Multinational Corporations: A Study of Civil Society Responses to Foreign Direct Investment in India in the 1990s" at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Dr Nayak was Visiting Fellow to International Peace Research Institute (PRIO), Oslo, Norway, as part of IDSA-PRIO bilateral programme from June 6 to July 7, 2006 and July 2007. The project title is "Organisation and Recruitment in Rebel Groups in South Asia." He did a special course on Peace Research in International Summer School from Oslo University in 2007. He has been visiting Faculty to the Center for the Study of Nepal, Faculty of Social Science, Banaras Hindu University in 2011. Dr Nayak has publications both in national and international journals.

PRIYANKA SINGH



Dr Priyanka Singh is Associate Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. She holds an Honours degree in Political Science from Lady Shri Ram College for Women, University of Delhi and a PhD from University of Lucknow. Her Ph.D thesis was titled "Indo-US Relations in the Last Decade - 1990-2000: Shifting Paradigms." Her broader research interests include Indo- US relations and US engagement in Pakistan, though currently she is focusing on Pakistan occupied Kashmir. She compiles and edits IDSA's monthly newsletter, *PoK News Digest*. She is the co-editor of "Proliferation and the Emerging Nuclear Order in the Twenty First Century" (Academic Foundation, New Delhi, 2009) and "Saving Afghanistan," (Academic Foundation, New Delhi, 2009). She was a contributing author to IDSA's project report titled "Pakistan occupied Kashmir: Changing the Discourse" (May 2011). Her select publications include: "The Diamer Bhasha Dam in Gilgit Baltistan: Concerns for India", Strategic Analysis, Volume 36 (4) July/August 2012, "Growing American Interest in Pakistan occupied Kashmir", IDSA Strategic Comment, July 17, 2012 and "Pakistan occupied Kashmir on the Periphery", Strategic Analysis, Volume 37(1) Jan/Feb 2013; American Strategy in Afghanistan: Dilemmas, Miscalculations and Outcomes, Strategic Analysis 38 (3) May/June 2014; Whither Aid? Future of US Assistance to Pakistan, Journal of Defence Studies, 5 (4) October 2011; Army: The be-all or end-all of Pakistan Politics, Strategic Analysis, 39(3) May/ June 2015.

GULBIN SULTANA



Ms Gulbin Sultana is a Researcher with the South Asia Centre in Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. She completed her B.A (Hons) and Masters in Political Science from Indraprastha College, Delhi University. She has done her M.Phil on "India's Naval Support to Sri Lanka and the Maldives" from South Asian Studies Division of School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. She has also done PG Diploma in Human Rights. Before joining IDSA, she worked with the National Maritime Foundation and the United Service Institution of India. She closely observes politico-economic developments in Sri Lanka and has travelled widely in Sri Lanka as part of her research at IDSA. Some of her latest published work include: "Assuring Security to Sri Lanka" in SD Muni & Vivek Chadha (ed) Asian Strategic Review 2014; "Silver Lining in India-Sri Lanka Relations" in Indian Foreign Affairs Journal, January-March 2015; and "An Unholy Alliance of Politics and Radical Islam in Maldives", in Aakrosh-Asian Journal on Terrorism and Internal Conflicts, October 2015.

YAQOOB-UL HASSAN



Dr Yaqoob-ul Hassan is a Researcher with South Asia Centre in Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi, where he looks at the developments in the Pak-Afghan region. He completed his PhD from Jamia Millia Islamia and his thesis is titled "Pakistan-US Relations after 9/11: An Analytical Study". Before that, he studied Political Science for his Master's degree in the University of Kashmir. He was a Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Istanbul University, Turkey, where he worked on a paper titled "Clash of Islamic and Secular Identities: A Comparative Study between Pakistan and Turkey". His areas of interest include International Relations, South Asia, and Political Islam.

MANZOOR AHMAD BHAT



Manzoor Ahmad Bhat is a Research Assistant at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. He has done his MA in Peace and Conflict Studies and M.Phil in International Studies from Academy of International Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia. His M.Phil dissertation focused on Pakistan's Kashmir Policy and its impact on the nature of politics there. He followed it up with a PhD on the comparative study of Kashmir policy of India and Pakistan and the resulting formation of Kashmiri political identity. Apart from this he has been writing on issues of politics and conflict in the leading Urdu and English dailies of Jammu and Kashmir.

ASHISH SHUKLA



Ashish Shukla is a Research Assistant at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. His area of specialisation is Pakistan. He has recently submitted his PhD thesis "Army as an Institution in Pakistan: A Case Study of the Musharraf Regime" to the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi. He holds a Masters in Political Science from Banaras Hindu University (BHU), Varanasi, and M.Phil in South Asian Studies from JNU, New Delhi. Mr. Shukla has published research papers and articles on a variety of themes in journals of national and international repute.

CONTACTS

Name	Office	Mobile
Smruti S Pattanaik Research Fellow & Coordinator	91-11-26717983 Extn: 7214	9810991723
Gulbin Sultana Researcher	91-11-26717983 Extn: 7336	9971094557
Yaqoob-ul Hassan Researcher	91-11-26717983 Extn: 7339	7838632346
Manzoor Ahmad Bhat Researcher	91-11-26717983 Extn: 7234	9718181254
Ashish Shukla Researcher	91-11-26717983 Extn: 7234	9958552716
Ameeta Narang Conference Cell	91-11-26717983 Extn: 7202	9871844607
Aparna Krishna Manager, Communications & Outreach	91-11-26717983 Ext. 7204	9899802660
Accommodation IDSA Guest House Shri Nirdosh Tirkey	91-11-26146656 Intercom: 9000	9810890685



Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses

No. 1, Development Enclave, Rao Tula Ram Marg

Delhi Cantt., New Delhi - 110 010

Tel.: 91-11-2671-7983 Fax: 91-11-2615-4191

E-mail: contact.idsa@nic.in Website: <http://www.idsa.in>