



CONFERENCE BOOKLET

17th Asian Security Conference

**Asian Security:
Comprehending the Indian Approach**

(February 11-13, 2015)

Organised by



INSTITUTE FOR DEFENCE
STUDIES & ANALYSES
रक्षा अध्ययन एवं विश्लेषण संस्थान

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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 Yashwantrao 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, representing 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 media through which these analyses and policy recommendations are disseminated.

The IDSA website offers indepth insight into the working of the Institute with a user friendly interface. Regular updates on the events at IDSA can be found in the Media Briefs and IDSA News pages.

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CONCEPT NOTE

The shift of power to Asia in the 21st century with its imminent economic rise has amplified the security challenges that the continent faces within the larger rubric of international relations. Key concerns include major power rivalries, tensions over disputed territories, freedom of Sea Lanes of Communications (SLOCs), security dilemmas connected to military modernisation, the robustness of regional institutional mechanisms, intra-state conflicts and last but not the least, the perspectives of major actors like Russia, China and India on Asian regional order: whether they view it as purely competitive or cooperative-competitive. Historically, Asia has been an important geographical cusp in the pathway of civilisations. Arabia, the Ottoman Empire, the Mongols, the Chinese empires, India, Ceylon, etc, have played major roles in the fight for territory, resources and the spread of ideas and religion. Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Confucianism, Zoroastrianism, etc., have been major religious influences, while mathematics, science, astronomy, the printing press, gun powder, the wheel, etc., draws their origin to Asia. Asian cultures and civilizations have been instrumental in the conceptualization and operationalization of the strategic cultures and military modernisations of other civilizations. The extreme forms of competition that precluded the colonial period, and the meeting of Asia and the West led loose new forces of military modernisations, especially naval technologies with faster ships, and the idea of sea dominance. The colonial period was critical for the formation of an Asian idea of difference as most of the countries were either colonized or suffered from deep seated anxieties due to their contact with the West, memories that continue to shape ideas and foreign policies to this day.

India emerged from colonialism with a solid sense of national identity. The leaders of the Indian freedom movement expressed attractive visions of the kind of state India should become. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was a firm believer in the universal principle of global

interconnectedness, and saw India as deeply rooted in this sense of universalism, both ideationally and physically. Jawaharlal Nehru, while supportive of Gandhian universalism, chose to carve a path of non-alignment, as a direct response to the systemic distribution of power at that time, the US and the USSR, though ideationally, he was drawn to Soviet socialism rather than American capitalism. Nehru aspired to carve a unique foreign policy for India, where as a proponent of non-alignment, India would establish its own foreign policy priorities and agendas, devoid of super-power structural rivalry. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, India's first Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister, firmly advocated a strong Indian state duly based on defence of its own borders with a keen strategic sense of its neighbours, especially China.

India's approach to foreign policy and international relations has, over the years, been propelled by ideas drawn from the leaders of the Indian freedom movement, their aspirations for India, as well as its own experiences and engagements with the world since its independence. While many strategic analysts, both in India and abroad, accuse India of lacking a strategic culture or strategic thinking, a deep foray into Indian foreign policy behavior reveals that India does have a strategic culture where it closely monitors the external environment and debates on the efficacy of the use of military power in addressing external threats. Over the years, some of the major developments in India's economic and foreign policy have been the 1991 economic reforms that opened up the Indian economy to globalisation, the 1998 nuclear tests, its space program, and its growing role in Asian multilateralism. Areas that have emerged as of priority to India are its strategic partnerships with major powers, cyber, space and energy security, terrorism, nuclear safety and security, the Indian Ocean region, the US 'pivot' and the rise of China. In this backdrop, it is critical to discuss and assess whether India has reached a stage of power acquisition that equips it with system 'shaping capabilities and intentions'. This discussion should emerge from the fact that India has showed the potential to shape and mould

the international system, and it aspires to a larger system shaping role in the future.

Based on this conceptual prop, the 17th Asian Security Conference (ASC) will focus on the theme, "**Asian Security: Comprehending the Indian Approach**". Given the overall focus on Asia with its increased prosperity, and the rise of major Asian powers in the context of decreasing resources, naval competition, American presence, and quest for prestige, the conference will deliberate on India's strategic role and preferences in shaping Asian Security. The conference will focus not only on what India's approach has been but also what should be India's future proactive approach towards shaping Asian security.

The key thematic questions that will weave together the multiple interactive sessions of the conference are:-

- What role can India play in shaping the structural and normative parameters for Asian security?
- What are India's strategic preferences and choices for Asia's security future?
- How do the major powers of Asia and the United States view India's role towards cementing Asian security?
- Has India transcended its regional role as a South Asian power to the broader regional context of Asia?
- What are the key scenarios that emerge from the 17th Asian security conference that India will have to respond to in the next 10 to 15 years?

The conference will be divided into eight interactive sessions

Session I: Asian Regional Order

This session will critically analyze whether India possesses a systemic set of ideas, both practical and theoretical, that articulate its national interests. Most importantly, this session will identify the strategic vision/visions that India aspires to in projecting itself onto the Asian stage. This will involve factors like national identity, power, sovereignty,

norm building, and multilateralism. Based on this, the session will discuss India's approach to Asian regional order, whether India is an observer of that order or aspires to be a key actor in the management of the regional order. The session will deliberate on whether it is possible for India and other major powers of Asia to create a collective security framework which would assume responsibility for Asian security.

Session II: India and Strategic Partnerships: Impact on Asian Security

One of the major foreign policy mechanisms that India has adopted over the years is to cement strategic partnerships with major countries to work towards international security. Countries with whom India has strategic partnerships include US, China, Russia, Indonesia, Japan, Australia, Vietnam, South Korea, Iran, Afghanistan, ASEAN, to name but a few. According to a report by the Foundation for National Security Research, New Delhi, India has a priority listing in strategic partnerships, scored in 90 points, with Russia coming on top, followed by US, France, UK, Germany and Japan.

Session III: Asian Economies and Resource Competition

Asia has emerged as one of the most economically vibrant regions on the global economic stage. The economic rise of China, Japan, India, ASEAN, etc, is driving global economic growth. China, India and Japan are the world's second, third and fourth largest economies predicted to grow further by 2050. The G-20 has emerged as one of the largest economic blocs with a capacity to fund economic development across the world. With the economic rise of Asian countries, there are simultaneous challenges. The momentum for Asian economic integration is rather slow with challenges remaining for the emergence of common visa regime, currency and trade policies. Security challenges like transnational crime (drugs and small arms), terrorism, resource competition, tensions in the high seas and territorial disputes could dampen robust economic cooperation.

Session IV: The Rise of China

The rise of China has changed the geopolitics of Asia. It has created both opportunities and challenges. China's economic growth is driving economic and infrastructural developments in Asia. Simultaneously, its military modernization, growing assertiveness over disputed territories, competition over resources, etc, is posing a security challenge to countries in Asia. On the one hand, India aspires to deeper engagement with China, both politically and economically. On the other hand, China's assertiveness over its border dispute with India and territorial claim on one of the Indian states in the Northeast is posing a major security challenge.

Session V: Maritime Security in Asia

When one talks about maritime security in Asia, the Indian Ocean comes to the fore given the rise of the Asian economies, their demand for raw imports, and the export of the finished products. Moreover, given the American military engagements in Afghanistan and Iraq, the Indian Ocean has taken centre stage for Western military supplies. Increasing importance of choke points such as the *Straits of Hormuz*, the Malacca Straits, the *Bab-el-Mandeb* in the Persian Gulf, etc., calls for a larger Indian role as a regional security provider. Maritime security in this regard would mean ensuring freedom of the SLOCs: a global public good, managing naval competition, and fighting piracy near the coast of Somalia.

Session VI: Space, Cyber, Biological, Chemical, and Nuclear Security in Asia

One of the foremost quests by Asian powers is to establish and strengthen Asian security mechanisms in order to deal with nuclear, cyber and space issues. The perils of nuclear terrorism, safety of nuclear weapon sites, cyber-terrorism and cyber-hacking and a militarised space have grave implications for Asia with five nuclear weapons states (China, India, Russia, Pakistan, North Korea) and two with overt/covert nuclear weapons capability (Iran and Israel).

This posits the nuclear security threshold and the much repeated stability/instability paradox. China, Japan, Russia and India are key actors in space. Space is and will emerge as one the most vital global commons. With cyber emerging as the critical means of communication, thereby compressing space and time, and with it, creating security challenges like cyber terrorism and hacking, Asia is vulnerable as one of the biggest users of cyber space.

Session VII: Major Strategic Regions of Asia

Geo-politics, as ever before, has proved hard to be precisely defined. Yet, as the term has been revisited and refined over the years, geo-politics has much to do with the relation of politics (power) to geography. Geo-politics assumes the primacy of states, existing military-economic competition, and ways to cement interest based cooperation. To operationalise this, strategy is the key factor, thereby bringing in the element of 'geo-strategy' implying the strategic significance of a particular region to a state's strategic interests. Moreover, it is pertinent to emphasise the tendencies of cooperation/competition that reverberate between China and India in the various Asian strategic regions.

Session VIII: Future trends and Scenarios emerging from the 17th Asian Security Conference

Based on the papers presented in the 17th ASC, as well as the main speeches, the last session will identify the key trends from each session, and then focus on three or four main drivers that could impact Asian security and India's approach in the next few years (2015-2030). It will creatively formulate three or four plausible scenarios and present the findings in this last session.

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

DAY 1: Wednesday, February 11, 2015

0930h-1000h:	Registration & Tea
<u>1000h-1045h:</u>	<u>Inaugural Session</u>
Welcome Remarks	Deputy Director General, IDSA Brig Rumel Dahiya (Retd)
Inaugural Address	Admiral R K Dhowan, PVSM, AVSM, YSM, ADC, Chief of Naval Staff,
Vote of Thanks	Deputy Director General, IDSA Brig Rumel Dahiya (Retd)
1045h-1115h:	Tea
<u>1115h-1315h:</u>	<u>Session I - Asian Regional Order</u>
Chairperson:	Nalin Suri
Namrata Goswami	India's Strategic Approach to Asia: The Key Questions for the Conference Discourse
Arndt Michael	Panchsheel-Multilateralism and Competing Regionalism – The Indian Approach towards Regional Cooperation and Regional Order in South Asia, the Indian Ocean, the Bay of Bengal, and the Mekong-Ganga
Santishree Pandit	India as the norm-builder and norm contributor of Asia and the World
S D Muni	How India is viewed as a regional actor in Asia
1315h-1400h:	Lunch

<u>1400h-1600h:</u>	Session II - India and Strategic Partnerships: Impact on Asian Security
Chairperson:	Kanwal Sibal
Phunchok Stobdan	Geopolitics and India-Russia Strategic Partnership
Holli Semetko	Framing US-India Relations
Vo Xuan Vinh	India's Strategic Partnership with Vietnam A Perspective from Vietnam
Satoru Nagao	The Japan-India Strategic Partnership will be New Hope for Asia
1600h-1615h:	Tea
<u>1615h-1800h:</u>	Session III - Asian Economies and Resource Competition
Chairperson:	Charan Wadhva
Rajat M Nag	Development through Connectivity
Sinderpal Singh	Debating Physical Connectivity between India and ASEAN: Economics vs Security
Prem Mahadevan	The Impact of Terrorism and Organized Crime on Asian Economies: Implications for India
Brahma Chellaney	Sharpening Competition over Natural Resources in Asia

DAY 2: Thursday, February 12, 2015

0930h-1030h:	Special Address
Chairperson:	Amitabh Mattoo
Barry Gordon Buzan	Rising Powers in the Emerging World Order: An Overview, with a Reflection on the Consequences for India
1030h-1045h:	Tea

<u>1045h-1300h:</u>	Session IV - The Rise of China
Chairperson:	Chandrasekhar Dasgupta
Madhu Bhalla	India-China relations: the return of the sub-region
Pang Zhongying & Rupak Sapkota	China-India relations: Objectives and Future Priorities
Gordon Chang	China's Military Modernisation and Impact on India
D S Rajan	China and its Territorial Disputes: Increasing the Security Dilemma
1300h-1400h:	Lunch
<u>1400h-1600h:</u>	Session V - Maritime Security in Asia
Chairperson:	Anup Singh
Gurpreet Khurana	Indian Maritime Doctrine and Asian Security: Intentions and Capabilities
David Brewster	The Bay of Bengal: the Indo-Pacific's New Zone of Strategic Competition
Abhijit Singh	India's Security Role in Maritime-Asia
Francis Kornegay	Deciphering Oriental Mysteries of Silk, Pearls & Diamonds: Maritime Dimensions of India's Strategic Dilemmas in the Changing Asian Power Balance
1600h-1615h:	Tea
<u>1615h-1815h:</u>	Session VI - Space, Cyber, Biological, Chemical, and Nuclear Security in Asia
Chairperson:	V Siddhartha
Sean Costigan	Emerging Risks in Cybersecurity: Anticipating Change and Building Resilience
Ranjana Kaul	India's Approach to Space Security
Animesh Roul	Chemical and Biological Dimension of Jihadi Terrorism
Rajiv Nayan	The Emerging Asian Nuclear Order

DAY 3: Friday, February 13, 2015

0930h-0945h:	Tea
<u>0945h-1300h:</u>	Session VII - Major Strategic Regions of Asia
Chairperson:	C Uday Bhaskar
Smruti Pattanaik & Ashok Behuria	India's Regional Strategy: Balancing Geopolitics with Geoeconomics in South Asia
Micha'el Tanchum	India in the new Central Asian Strategic Landscape: Opportunities for Deeper Partnerships and New Alliance Formations
Simon Xu Hui Shen	China's dream and its implications on South Asia
Shankari Sundararaman	Dynamics of Change in India-Southeast Relations: Beyond Economics to Strategic Partnership
1300h-1400h:	Lunch
<u>1400h-1545h:</u>	Session VIII - Future Trends and Scenarios
Chairperson:	B K Sharma
Boris Volkhonsky	Strategic Trends in Asia: Future Directions
Samuel Rajiv	Strategic Trends and Scenarios 2025: Policy Options for India
Shruti Pandalai	Decoding India's Agenda: New Ideas and Emerging Trends in Asian Security
1545h-1600h:	Tea
<u>1600h-1645h:</u>	Valedictory Session
Chairperson:	Rumel Dahya
Valedictory Address by Deputy National Security Advisor India, Dr. Arvind Gupta	
Vote of thanks	by Conference Coordinator

Profiles of Participants

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Abstracts

Inaugural Address

ADMIRAL R K DHOWAN



Admiral R K Dhowan, PVSM, AVSM, YSM, ADC is an alumnus of the National Defence Academy, the Defence Services Staff College and the Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, USA. His illustrious career began with being adjudged the 'Best Cadet' and winning of the coveted 'Telescope' during his sea training onboard INS Delhi. He was commissioned in the Navy on 01 January 1975 and went on to bag the 'Sword of Honour' for his course. Consequent to earning his Watchkeeping Certificate on the erstwhile Delhi (the legendary Cruiser of the Indian Navy), his first tryst with navigation came when he was appointed the commissioning navigator of the minesweeper, Bhavnagar. With the induction of the Sea Harrier jump-jets into the Navy, he was selected to undergo the Sea Harrier Direction Course at Yeovilton, UK. His tenures at Indian Naval Air Squadron 300 and the aircraft carrier *Vikrant* shaped the future of direction specialisation in the Navy. Important staff assignments held by him at Naval Headquarters during his illustrious career include Deputy Director Naval Operations, Joint Director Naval Plans, Assistant Chief of the Naval Staff (Policy and Plans) and Deputy Chief of Naval Staff, Integrated Headquarters, Ministry of Defence (Navy). The Admiral commanded three frontline warships of the Western Fleet - the missile corvette Khukri, the guided missile destroyer Ranjit and the indigenous guided missile destroyer Delhi. He commanded the Eastern Fleet as Flag Officer Commanding Eastern Fleet. Besides serving as Indian Naval Advisor at the High Commission of India, London, he served as Chief Staff Officer (Operations) of the Western Naval Command (based at Mumbai) and the Chief of Staff at Headquarters Eastern Naval Command (based at Visakhapatnam) and subsequently had the distinction of commanding his alma mater, the National Defence Academy, as the Commandant. The admiral assumed charge as the Vice Chief of the Naval Staff in August 11 and was promoted to be the 22nd Chief of the Naval Staff on 17 April 2014.

Welcome Address

RUMEL DAHIYA



Brig Rumel Dahiya, SM (Retd) is Deputy Director General at the Institute for Defence Studies & Analyses. He is also Coordinator of the Military Affairs Centre and Managing Editor of the Journal of Defence Studies. Brig. Dahiya is an Indian Army veteran with extensive command and staff experience spanning 32 years, including in counter-insurgency operations. He previously served as a Defence Attaché to Turkey, Syria and Lebanon, and with the Indian Military Training Team in Bhutan. He also served with Military Operations Directorate of the Indian Army and Net Assessment Directorate at Integrated Defence Staff. Brig Dahiya is a graduate of the National Defence College and Defence Services Staff College. He was awarded the Sword of Honour and Gold Medal at the Indian Military Academy at his commissioning. Brig Dahiya completed his MSc and MPhil in Defence and Security Studies, MSc in Disaster Mitigation, Post Graduate Diploma in Human Rights. His expertise is on net assessment, India's Defence and Security Policies and West Asia.

Session I

Asian Regional Order

Wednesday, February 11, 2015

1115h-1315h

Chairperson

NALIN SURIE



Nalin Surie trained as an economist and completed his Masters from the Delhi School of Economics in 1972. He joined the Indian Foreign Service in July 1973.

He has served in Indian missions in Hong Kong, Brussels, Dar-es-Salaam, Thimphu, New York (as Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN), as Ambassador in both Warsaw and Beijing and High Commissioner to the United Kingdom. At headquarters he has served both in the Department of Economic Affairs (Ministry of Finance) and the Ministry of External Affairs. In his latter assignments included, on separate occasions, Head of the East Europe and East Asia Divisions and as Secretary (West).

Nalin Surie is a seasoned diplomat who has extensive cross-sectoral experience on issues ranging from China, Eastern Europe, The European Union, Africa, Latin America, Canada, IBSA and the UN. During his career he also focused on India's external economic relations and the international economy. He retired from the Indian Foreign service in August 2011 and is the current President of The Association of Indian Diplomats.

NAMRATA GOSWAMI



Dr. Namrata Goswami is currently Research Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, India. She has also been a Senior Fellow at the Congressionally Funded United States Institute of Peace (USIP) in Washington DC, where she explored long-term India-China-US scenarios in order to craft sustainable security frameworks to enable unimpeded human development and security. She was co-lead and editor of two IDSA sponsored works on long-term trends, *Imagining Asia in 2030*, and *Asia 2030: The Unfolding Future*. Her research focus at IDSA includes ethnic conflicts, conflict prevention, management and resolution. Dr Goswami completed her doctorate from Jawaharlal Nehru University in 2005 on the topic "Just War Theory and Humanitarian Intervention: A Comparative Case Study of East Pakistan and Kosovo." Dr Goswami was a Visiting Fellow at the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway from 2007 to 2010, a Visiting Fellow at La Trobe University, Melbourne in 2009, and a Visiting Fellow at the South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, 2010. In 2012, Dr Goswami has been awarded the Fulbright-Nehru Senior Fellowship and the Jennings Randolph Senior Fellowship. She has published a number of articles, books and research papers.

INDIA'S STRATEGIC APPROACH TO ASIA: THE KEY QUESTIONS FOR THE CONFERENCE DISCOURSE

Namrata Goswami

India's approach to foreign policy and international relations has, evolved over the years, tracing its roots to ideas of non-alignment, strategic autonomy to strategic engagement. While many strategic analysts, both in India and abroad, accuse India of lacking a strategic culture or strategic thinking, a deep foray into Indian foreign policy behavior reveals that India does have a strategic culture where it closely monitors the external environment and debates on the efficacy of the use of military power in addressing external threats. That India tends to give priority to dialogue over the use of military power in foreign policy does not mean that it does not have a strategic culture; it just means that the strategic preferences are different from the normal understanding of how Great Powers behave. In this backdrop, it is critical to discuss and assess whether India has reached a stage of power acquisition that equips it with system 'shaping capabilities and intentions'. This discussion should emerge from the fact that India has showed the potential to shape and mould the international system, and it aspires to a larger system shaping role in the future. This paper will lay out the broad theme of the conference as well as identity the key questions.

ARNDT MICHAEL



Dr Arndt Michael is currently the Coordinator of the Colloquium Politicum at the University of Freiburg and lecturer at the Department of Political Science, Chair for International Relations, University of Freiburg. He is a jurist and political scientist whose main areas of expertise include International Relations Theory, India's Foreign Policy, South Asian Regionalism, and European Foreign and Security Policy. Since 2005, he has been a research fellow at the Arnold Bergstraesser Institute for Socio-Cultural Research in Freiburg, Germany. He has conducted extensive field work in India and he taught at the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi, in the frame of a DAAD short-term lectureship from January to May 2012. He has published on various aspects of Indian domestic and foreign policy and presented and lectured at various universities and institutions in and outside Germany. His book India's Foreign Policy and Regional Multilateralism received the Arnold-Bergstraesser-Award 2012 for Political Science (University of Freiburg, Germany), the Cecil B Currey Book Award 2013 from the Association of Third World Studies (ATWS, USA) and the Gisela Bonn Award 2013 from the German-Indo-Society (Deutsch-Indische-Gesellschaft, Stuttgart).

PANCHSHEEL-MULTILATERALISM AND COMPETING REGIONALISM - THE INDIAN APPROACH TOWARDS REGIONAL COOPERATION AND REGIONAL ORDER IN SOUTH ASIA, THE BAY OF BENGAL, THE INDIAN OCEAN AND THE MEKONG-GANGA

Arndt Michael

India's growing international clout is currently not reflected in India's approach towards regional cooperation. India is a member in four regional multilateral organisations or initiatives: in its immediate neighbourhood, India was a founding member of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in 1985. In the east, India was a co-founder of the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (*BIMST-EC*) in 1997. With regard to the Indian Ocean, India is a member of the Indian Ocean Rim Association (*IORA*, formerly known as the Indian Ocean Rim - Association for Regional Cooperation, *IOR-ARC*) since 1997. And with the Mekong-Ganga Cooperation Initiative (*MGC*), India joined a grouping of riparian countries of the respective rivers in 2000. The paper argues that Indian foreign policy has been instrumental in determining the institutional design, norms and scope of these four organisations. However, there are specific recurring patterns in the processes leading to the founding of all four organisations and their respective evolution. These patterns display special idiosyncrasies of Indian foreign policy, i.e. India has left a specific imprint on all four organisations. This imprint is based upon a set of Indian foreign policy determinants (called the "*cognitive prior*") which allow to deduce a contradictory approach towards regional multilateralism. Due to the insistence on the institutional implementation of the *Panchsheel*-principles, these four organisations have very little to no chance of independent acting, and progress in agreed-upon sectors of cooperation. Common features of these institutions are institutional minimalism, a lack of financial and personnel capacity and a strict binding of these institutions to the Ministry of External affairs.

SANTISHREE PANDIT



Dr Santishree Pandit is a Professor at the Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Pune, India. She teaches International Relations Theory and Indian Foreign Policy, among other papers at the University. Prof Santishree, in the past, also taught at Goa University. She obtained her PhD degree on *Parliament and Foreign Policy in India: The Nehru Years* from the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India, and completed her Postdoctoral Diploma in Peace and Conflict Studies at Uppsala University, Sweden. She was a Fellow at Centre for South Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison; Salzburg Seminar, Austria; and Director, International Centre, University of Pune, April 2001-July 2007. She was a member in India's National Committee on Reconciliation from 2005-2007. She has a vast experience of successfully undertaking various academic projects on foreign policy and strategic studies. *Cultural Diplomacy in South East Asia: The role of Buddhism as an Ideology in Foreign Policy* is one of her most recent projects. In 2004, she received the Wisetex Award for Women Leaders in the Next Decade.

INDIA AS THE NORM-BUILDER AND NORM CONTRIBUTOR OF ASIA AND THE WORLD

Santishree Dhulipudi & Rimli Basu

The nature of international relations has changed dramatically in the decades following the end of the Cold War. Manifestation of these changes consists of not only new economic, social and political dependencies – commonly subsumed under the heading of “globalisation”, but also the rise of the so-called new regional powers (such as Brazil, China and India), the strengthening of non-state actors, and the greater influence of international and regional institutions such as the United Nations. One of the most impressive trends observed is the growing importance of regions in global politics, where traditional norms of International Relations are getting more played than in the global field. Incidentally, thus, if norm building is a political concept, having political implication, then norms and order ought to be investigated from a value-based perspective. Critical theory, incidentally does not take institutions and social power relations for granted but calls them into question by concerning itself with their origins and how and whether they might be in the process of changing. Going by this hypothesis, it can be argued that India always questioned the institutions strictly in terms of western model. Universal norms were always there in the Indian sub-continent, which in fact, attest the fact that India was always a norm-builder.

While dealing with norms, the argument of domestic and international norms always makes its presence. Another norm that this paper will deal with, is the Buddhist conception of the '*middle path and non-attachment*' in India's non aligned foreign policy. NAM [Non Alignment Movement], LEP [Look East Policy], and the current AEP [Act East Policy], thus all basically follow that same original Indian philosophical thrust.

S D MUNI



Prof S D Muni is currently a Distinguished Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi and a Visiting Research Professor at the Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore. He was India's Special Envoy to the Southeast Asian countries on UN Security Council Reforms (2005-06) and served as India's Ambassador to Lao PDR (1997-1999). In 2005, the Sri Lankan President bestowed on him the 'Sri Lanka Ratna', the highest civilian honour for a non-national. He superannuated from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, in 2006 and had held the Appadorai Chair of International Relations and Area Studies. He has been the founder Editor of *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, Cambridge University Press, *India and South Asia Journal*, Sage India. He served at Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi, as Director of Research. He is also 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. He addressed the UN Ad hoc Committee on Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace at Socci (then USSR) in 1985. Prof Muni's recent publications include *The Emerging Dimension of SAARC* (2010); *India's Foreign Policy: The Democracy Factor*, (2009); *India and China: The Next Decade* (2009) and *China's Strategic Engagement with the New ASEAN* (2002).

HOW INDIA IS VIEWED AS A REGIONAL ACTOR IN ASIA

S D Muni

Asian perceptions of India as a regional strategic player have been undergoing significant transformations since the past two decades and more. It all started with the change in India's economic policy and drive for integration with the Asian and global economies, set in motion during the early Nineties. This was strategically buttressed by its decision to break the self-imposed nuclear dilemma and declare itself as a nuclear weapon state through series of explosions in May 1998. It is acknowledged that by 2030, India would be the third largest economy after China and the US and may emerge as the second largest by 2050. India's economic rise has also enabled it to build on its military capabilities, with a growing emphasis on naval strength. As a result, major Asian countries are engaging India as a strategic partner. In view of India's geostrategic location and its present and potential capabilities, the US expects India to play the role of a "net security provider" in the Indian Ocean region. Even smaller countries like Singapore started looking towards India as a balancer in Asian strategic structure where China has been emerging as a major player. For the countries of Southeast Asia, India's democratic resilience and its hugely enriched cultural soft power makes it a benign and attractive partner for strategic engagement.

The positive side of India's regional strategic role in Asia however gets tempered as we move from one Asian sub-region to another with various caveats and constraints. Though capable, India is seen as a reluctant player, which is punching much below its weight. India's chronic delivery deficit that flows out of its slow and complex decision making processes is resented extensively, denying India the strategic advantage it is capable of harnessing in Asia. India's emphasis on retaining its strategic autonomy while engaging with the great powers and ideological adherence to the principles of sovereignty and non-interference makes it an odd player out in the region.

Session II

India and Strategic Partnerships: Impact on Asian Security

Wednesday, February 11, 2015

1400h-1600h

Chairperson

KANWAL SIBAL



Ambassador Kanwal Sibal joined the Indian Foreign Service in July 1966, eventually serving as Foreign Secretary (2002-3). He served in Paris, Dar-es-Salaam (Deputy High Commissioner), Lisbon and Kathmandu (Deputy Chief of Mission) before serving as ambassador to Turkey, Deputy Chief of Mission in the US (with rank of ambassador) and ambassador to Egypt, France and Russia. He has 41 years of diplomatic experience.

He was member of India's National Security Advisory Board from November 2008 to November 2010. He was President of the Association of Indian Diplomats from March 2010 to March 2011. He is on the Advisory Board of the Vivekanand International Foundation, New Delhi.

He participates in several Track-2 dialogues and international seminars.

He is a Board Member of the New York based EastWest Institute.

He is an Editorial Consultant to The Indian Defence Review and Foreign Affairs Editor of Force- two prominent defense and security related publications.

Ambassador Sibal writes regularly for national journals and periodicals on international affairs, with over 250 Op-Eds and other articles to his credit.

He has received the high distinction of Grand Officier of the Ordre du Merite from France.

P STOBDAN



Ambassador P Stobdan is a distinguished academician, diplomat, author and national security expert. He began his career as a security analyst in 1989 at the Institute for Defence Studies & Analyses (IDSA), where he reached to the topmost academic position of Senior Fellow in 2005. Ambassador Stobdan is a specialist on Asian affairs covering Central Asia and Inner Asia, including Xinjiang, Tibet, Myanmar and the Himalayan region. He has written extensively on a wide range of security-related subjects in a number of professional journals on strategic affairs, books and newspapers both in India and abroad. He served in Central Asia twice, as Director at the Embassy of India, Almaty (1999 and 2002) and Ambassador at the Embassy of India, Bishkek (2010-2012). He has also served as Joint Director in the Indian National Security Council. Between October 2006 and November 2007, he was Director of the Centre for Strategic and Regional Studies at the University of Jammu. He is a member of the India International Centre, New Delhi.

GEOPOLITICS AND INDIA-RUSSIA STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

P Stobdan

Russia, in its geopolitical form, has remained the most critical component in India's strategic calculus. The extent of Russian Empire during the 18th and 19th century 'great-game' touched the northern periphery of India. Interestingly, in the 20th century, most Indians viewed the USSR's grip of power over the vast stretch of Eurasian landmass as a positive historical phenomenon with enduring security implications for India. These historical geo-strategic underpinnings led to the genesis and evolution of "India-Russia Strategic Partnership" which dates back to the Soviet era. The geopolitical and geo-strategic context of the US interests in Pakistan during the Cold War drew India and the Soviet Union closer. The Sino-Soviet rift followed by Sino-India conflict in 1960s added impetus for the Indo-Soviet strategic alignment. When the Sino-Pakistani axis became firmer in 1960s, the context of strategic understanding between the two deepened further culminating into signing of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation in 1971.

For India, maintaining the longstanding time-tested partnership with Russia became imperative for its foreign and security policy as it heavily depended on weapons supplies from Russia. However, the bonds between the two have undergone a rapid change as the main spirit and rhythm of the old ties inevitably watered down in more than one way. This paper will highlight the India-Russia Strategic Partnership in a geostrategic perspective and analyse the emerging trend of divergent policies pursued by Russia and India in broader geopolitical scenarios. The paper will argue that the ongoing standoff between the West and Russia could lead to realignment of geo-politics and global economy. The paper will underline that even though neither Russia nor India figure high on each other's foreign policy priorities any longer, a genuine sense of moral obligation, the high level of mutual trust and comfort factor will continue to nurture the partnership.

HOLLI A SEMETKO



Holli A Semetko, MSc PhD (The London School of Economics & Political Science) MBA (Emory), was Asa Griggs Candler Professor of Media and International Affairs and Professor of Political Science at Emory University in Atlanta, where she served as Vice Provost for International Affairs (VPIA) from 2003 to early 2013. She was a Nehru Fulbright Scholar in 2013-14, based in Mumbai, and now serves as visiting professor at IIT-Bombay and IIT-Roorkee. With over 100 publications, her research on influence, attention and campaigns in international contexts extends from the US, UK, Germany, Turkey and the European Union (EU), to India, China and South Korea. Dr Semetko spent 8 years as Professor and Chair of Audience and Public Opinion Research at the University of Amsterdam where she obtained over 1.5 million Euros in research grants, launched and served as founding board chair of the Amsterdam School of Communications Research (ASCoR) where she remains an honorary professor. She held fellowships from Harvard University's Shorenstein Center for the Press, Politics and Public Policy, and the German Marshall Fund of the United States. An award-winning scholar, Dr Semetko received the Samuel H Beer Dissertation Prize and the MSc in political sociology with distinction at the LSE. An advisor to The Carter Center China Program, Dr Semetko serves on a number of non-profit boards and consults internationally. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, Emory's Center for Ethics, and the Academy of International Business.

FRAMING US-INDIA RELATIONS

Holli A Semetko

Over the past century, the constantly evolving field of information technology brought more opportunities for elites to influence public opinion at home and abroad. From the press to radio and eventually 24/7 cable and satellite television, issues that were once in the purview of the highly educated came to reach larger audiences in record time. Yet power remained projected by established news media with established political players at the table.

The highly orchestrated state visits, strategic dialogues and expert conferences so common in the past continue to remain important today. However, they now occur against a rapidly moving backdrop that has upended the power of elites to frame the issues as easily as they had done in the past. Instead, the power of individuals with hand-held devices to generate alternative perspectives through new social media platforms has ended business-as-usual for the establishment.

This new media context actually facilitates one recommendation made by Namrata Goswami that came out of a conference on *The US India Relationship: Cross-Sector Collaboration to Promote Strategic Development* (2014:316): "The best way for shaping attitudes lies with a greater number of societal interactions among individuals, so that Indian and American voters better grasp how the relationship benefits their lives on a daily basis." In this spirit, I argue that we need to expand the concept of US-India relations to include a broader range of groups, individuals and initiatives within this new global mobile media environment. While business ties and foreign direct investment (FDI) are one important aspect of bilateral relations, so too are the projects for sustainable development—often described under the umbrella of corporate social responsibility (CSR). India's diaspora in the US is another important group. The career trajectory of Reserve Bank of India (RBI) Governor Raghuram Rajan is one example; the high rate of Indian start-ups in the US is another.

Vo XUAN VINH



Dr Vo Xuan Vinh is the Head of Politics and International Relations Department, Institute for Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences (VASS), Hanoi. He defended his PhD thesis on 'ASEAN in India's Look East Policy'; that was published in 2013. He had a two month course research in Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) and his Sapru House paper titled "Vietnam-India Relations in the Lights of India's Look East Policy" was published in 2012. He has undertaken research on India's Look East Policy, the process of ASEAN Community building, East Sea/South China Sea disputes, and politics of Thailand and Myanmar. He has presented his research papers in national and international conferences in Vietnam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Thailand and India. He has also contributed articles in international journals. He has just finished a two year project on Myanmar's Reforms. He is now conducting research on Myanmar's democratisation process, ASEAN community building and India's engagement in Asia-Pacific.

INDIA'S STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP WITH VIETNAM

A PERSPECTIVE FROM VIETNAM

Vo Xuan Vinh

In 2007, during the state visit of Vietnam's Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung to India, Vietnam and India agreed to upgrade the comprehensive cooperation established in 2003 between the two countries to a strategic partnership. The strategic partnership encompasses bilateral relations in the political, economic, security, defence, cultural, scientific and technological dimensions and steers their cooperation in regional and multilateral fora.

Among countries with whom India has strategic partnerships, according to a report by the Foundation for National Security Research (New Delhi, India) in 2011, Vietnam as an India's strategic partnership was not listed as priority one. The priority listing belongs to Russia, followed by the US, France, United Kingdom, Germany and Japan. In India's Look East Policy launched in the early 1990s which, according to Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in this keynote address at special leaders dialogue of ASEAN Business Advisory Council in 2005, 'was not merely an external economic policy, also a strategic shift in India's vision of the world and India's place in the evolving global economy', Vietnam however is regarded as a trusted and privileged strategic partner and an important pillar of the policy (Indian Prime Minister's Statement to the media during state visit of General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam, November 20, 2013). From author's perspective, strategic partnership with India however has a significant position among Vietnam's strategic ones. As a result, the strategic relations between the two countries have been deepened in all fields of cooperation for nearly ten years. This paper will focus on examining the progress of India-Vietnam strategic partnership since 2007 in comparison with several Vietnam's comprehensive strategic partnership and strategic partnership in some fields of cooperation, namely political, defence and economic.

SATORU NAGAO



Dr Satoru Nagao is currently a Lecturer at the Gakushuin University, Tokyo. He is an Associate with the Tokyo Foundation and is also a Research Fellow at the Japan Forum for Strategic Studies. Formerly, he was a Research Fellow at the Ocean Policy Research Foundation, Japan, where he had lead the *Indo-Japan Maritime Security Dialogue Project* in 2012. He is an expert on strategic affairs and has written a PhD thesis about India's military strategy, the first of its kind in Japan. He was a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Research Institute for Oriental Cultures at Gakushuin University. His research has been extensively India focused and he has published on various topics like *Nine Questions of India's Nuclear Strategy: Implications for Japan-India Relations* from Institut für Strategie- Politik- Sicherheits - und Wirtschaftsberatung (ISPSW), Berlin, Germany; *India will be the key for Japan-US alliance: From the aspect of Security Studies* from Wilson Centre, USA; *India's Military Modernisation and the Changing US-China Power Balance*, East West Centre, USA and *Why Japan Needs India as Security Provider?: The View from the Current Asian Scenario*, the United Service Institution of India.

THE JAPAN-INDIA STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP WILL BE NEW HOPE FOR ASIA

Satoru Nagao

One of the salient features of India's foreign policy is that it has many "Strategic Partners" including Japan, US, Australia, Vietnam, ASEAN, Indonesia, South Korea, China, Russia, Afghanistan and Iran. The fact that many countries want to be India's strategic partner bears testimony to India's growing popularity in the world. However, having 'several strategic partners' might be an interesting point to analyse. What is India's real intention? From the aspect of security, it might be clear that having several strategic partners reflect India's threat perception. The strategic partners including Japan, US, Australia, Vietnam, Indonesia and ASEAN are connected to China's assertiveness. And Afghanistan and Iran are countries situated around Pakistan. Russia is an influential country in the north bordering with both China and Pakistan. Except China, it looks like India wants to cooperate with these countries as strategic partners because China and Pakistan are "potential threats" for India.

With Sinzo Abe as the prime minister of Japan, the Japan-India relationship is on a higher scale. Significantly, India's new prime minister Narendra Modi chose Japan as the first "major country" for a state visit last summer, and the Japanese have reasons to believe that India value their association.

This paper will evaluate the importance of Japan-India strategic partnership based on wider defence aspects including geostrategic location. In this presentation, three important factors underlying this analysis are discussed i.e. "Current Security Situation in Asia", "What can Japan-India Defence Cooperation Do for Asia's Security", and "Why Japan Trust India as Security Provider". After analysing these three factors, I will conclude by suggesting my ideas to improve Japan-India defence cooperation as an important aspect of strategic partnership.

Session III

**Asian Economies and
Resource Competition**

Wednesday, February 11, 2015

1645h-1800h

Chairperson

CHARAN WADHVA



Charan D Wadhva is former President and Chief Executive and Professor Emeritus/ Research Professor at the Centre for Policy Research (CPR), New Delhi, India. He was in active service at the CPR during 1987-2007. He has been Visiting Professor at the Indian Institute of Management (IIM), Ahmedabad during 2006-07 and 2007-08. He had served as Professor of Economics and Marketing at the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad during 1970-87. He also held the Reserve Bank of India Chair Professorship in Economics at that Institute. He has also been invited as Guest Faculty at the Management Development Institute, Gurgaon (Haryana); the Foreign Service Institute of the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi and several other institutions. He was the first Director and Chief Executive of the Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER), New Delhi. He served as a Member of the National Security Advisory Board, Government of India during 2002-03 and 2003-04. He has also served/is currently serving on the Governing Boards/Planning Boards/Board of Studies (and constituent bodies) of corporations and educational institutions. These include: Electronics Trade and Technology Development Corporation (A Government of India enterprise); the Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi; Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi; Jawaharlal Nehru University; Jamia Millia Islamia University New Delhi; North East Hill University, Shillong (Meghalaya); Guru Gobind Singh Indraprastha University; Deen Dyal Upadhyay College (University of Delhi); Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak (Haryana) and the Centre for Strategic and Simulation Studies of the United Services Institution of India.

RAJAT M NAG



Rajat M Nag is currently a Distinguished Fellow at the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER), New Delhi, India. Formerly, he was the Managing Director General of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in Manila from 2006 to 2013 and has held several other top positions at the ADB. He is internationally well known for his intellectual leadership, extensive operational experience, and in-depth knowledge of development issues, particularly in infrastructure financing, public-private partnerships, and regional cooperation. His research interest is in working to enhance regional cooperation and integration in Asia. He holds engineering degrees from the Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi, and the University of Saskatchewan in Canada. He also has Masters Degrees in Business Administration from Canada and in Economics from the London School of Economics. He is also a Senior Fellow at the Emerging Markets Forum, Washington DC in USA; a Visiting Professor, Strategy and Developmental Issues, in the Asian Institute of Management, Manila, Philippines; and Emerging Markets Institute, Beijing.

DEVELOPMENT THROUGH CONNECTIVITY AND CHALLENGES

Rajat M Nag

Asia's ongoing economic and social transformation has captured the global imagination. No doubt, the transformation has been dramatic and the center of gravity of the world's economic power is shifting eastwards. In this journey, Japan (starting in the late 1950s, early 1960s), the Newly Industrialising Economies of Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong (in the 1970s), China (in the late 1970s/early 1980s), some ASEAN countries (in the 1980s) and India (in the early 1990s) have been principal actors. Asia's rapid rise over the past four decades and its increasing influence in the global economy has prompted many to say that the 21st century belongs to Asia and could indeed be dubbed as the "Asian Century". However, the "Asian Century" cannot be taken as a given, as if the region were on auto-pilot, and the future simply a linear extrapolation of the recent past.

For instance, regional cooperation in South Asia has lagged significantly behind South East and East Asia. Intraregional trade in the South Asian region, for example, amounts to about 5 per cent of its total trade compared to 55 per cent in the South East and East Asian region. While greater institutional convergence through the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS), ASEAN and ASEAN+3 have helped, greater physical connectivity within that region has been a major contributory factor. Drawing on this experience, the paper outlines the various physical connectivity options linking India's East and Northeast states with neighboring countries and beyond. It argues for development of hardware and software aspects of road, railways, air and maritime links to enhance Regional Cooperation and Integration in South Asia. To be noted is that China is increasingly financing large infrastructure projects (the reborn Silk Route, both over land and Maritime), and also in bilateral and multilateral institutions (both existing and new, AIIB/BRICS). India's response has to be strategic.

SINDERPAL SINGH



Dr Sinderpal Singh is currently a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore. His research interests include the links between India's domestic politics and its foreign policy, India-ASEAN relations, India's engagement with the Asia-Pacific/Indo-Pacific region as well as International Relations Theory. His book, *India in South Asia: Domestic Identity Politics and Foreign Policy from Nehru to the BJP* was published by Routledge UK in 2013 and looked at the role of domestic identity construction in framing India's foreign policy in the South Asian region. He has also published articles on Indian foreign policy in journals like India Review, South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies and Contemporary Southeast Asia. He has a PhD from the University of Wales, Aberystwyth where he undertook his doctorate with the award of the prestigious EH Carr Fellowship.

DEBATING PHYSICAL CONNECTIVITY BETWEEN INDIA AND ASEAN: ECONOMICS VS SECURITY

Sinderpal Singh

The issue of physical connectivity between India and ASEAN, more specifically of the land connectivity between India's Northeast Region (NER) and its ASEAN neighbours has occupied an important space in the discourse of India-ASEAN relations more recently. India's Look East Policy (LEP), seemingly a clear statement of its commitment to build stronger economic, political and strategic ties with the member states of the ASEAN, is often regarded as a significant shift in the Indian foreign policy. One recent aspect of this venture has been a somewhat ambitious project to upgrade the physical links between India's NER and mainland Southeast Asia keeping trade and wider economic aspects in mind. However, it is also perceived that the Indian trepidations about its NER, serving as its land border with Southeast Asia, play significant role; and therefore, a relatively porous border between India and Myanmar is occasionally viewed more as a liability than an opportunity. This paper seeks to understand the debate related to building closer land connectivity between India and ASEAN. It outlines the deep tension between different stakeholders in this debate and the manner in which economics and security have been utilised in various ways by them to justify their varying positions. With special focus on the securitising discourse employed by parts of the Indian state, it also illustrates how such perceptions impact on building closer relations between India and the countries of Southeast Asia.

PREM MAHADEVAN

Dr Prem Mahadevan is a senior researcher with the Global Security Team at the Center for Security Studies (CSS), Zurich. He specialises in the study of intelligence systems and sub-state conflict, and is responsible at the CSS for tracking geopolitical trends and jihadist terrorism in the Indo-Pacific region. Mahadevan completed his undergraduate degree in War Studies from King's College London, followed by postgraduate and doctoral degrees in Intelligence Studies. He has advised Indian government agencies on counter-terrorist operational management, provided political risk assessments to the private sector, and has been consulted by the Swiss federal government, EUROPOL and NATO Headquarters on emerging security challenges. He has authored two books: *The Politics of Counterterrorism in India*, and *An Eye for An Eye: Decoding Global Special operations and Irregular Warfare*, in which he examined the role of intelligence and commando raids in combating cross-border terrorism. He also has many publications as chapters in books, papers in peer reviewed journals and security analyses for the CSS.

THE IMPACT OF TERRORISM AND ORGANISED CRIME ON ASIAN ECONOMIES: IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIA

Prem Mahadevan

Terrorist attacks upon India are not merely intended to harm the country's economy; they were originally prompted by the growth dynamics of its very economy. Development is not a means of preventing such attacks, whose root causes lie across the border. The 'core issue' is the fragile and failing state of Pakistan whose security establishment has been deflecting its domestic militancy onto a convenient foreign target. India is a collateral victim in the Pakistani process of institutional and societal decay – a victim that has been compelled for two decades to negotiate over the status of its own territory due to extraneous strategic agendas. Although terrorism by itself has little capacity to harm India's rise, failure to respond effectively to terrorist attacks, at the levels of both internal and external security, would harm investor confidence in the long-term. India cannot wait for Pakistan to implement a course correction which, in any case, is unlikely to occur as long as foreign powers seek Pakistani cooperation for their own narrowly-defined security objectives. Instead, Indian counterterrorism needs to focus on strengthening police infrastructure and training. Simultaneously, efforts must be made to leverage India's economic weight for the purpose of isolating Pakistan. Lastly, New Delhi needs a method of retaliating to cross-border terrorism while remaining below the nuclear threshold. In this regard, it might be helpful to remember that terrorism covertly conducted under a nuclear umbrella can also be covertly combated under a nuclear umbrella.

BRAHMA CHELLANEY



Brahma Chellaney is a Professor of Strategic Studies at the Centre for Policy Research. He has served as a member of the Policy Advisory Group headed by the Foreign Minister of India. Before that, Professor Chellaney was an adviser to India's National Security Council until January 2000, serving as convener of the External Security Group of the National Security Advisory Board. A specialist on international security and arms control issues, Prof Chellaney has held appointments at the Harvard University, the Brookings Institution, the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies and the Australian National University. He has authored several acclaimed books including *Water, Peace, and War: Confronting the Global Water Crisis*; *Asian Juggernaut: The Rise of China, India, and Japan*; and *Water: Asia's New Battleground*. *Asian Juggernaut* became an international bestseller that has been translated into several languages and *Water: Asia's New Battleground*, originally published in September 2011, won the 2012 Bernard Schwartz Award.

SHARPENING COMPETITION OVER NATURAL RESOURCES IN ASIA

Brahma Chellaney

At a time when Asia is at a defining moment in its history, it is facing important challenges relating to natural resources. Asia, given its land and population size, is a resource-poor continent. Yet it has remained the world's economic locomotive since the 1990s. Without addressing its resource challenges, Asia cannot continue to spearhead global economic growth. Its resource crunch indeed has stirred geopolitical tensions by intensifying competition over strategic resources, with the competition extending to the resources in other continents, especially Africa and Latin America. More ominously, the resource competition has triggered a resurgence of territorial disputes in Asia. A balance between rights and obligations is at the heart of how to tame Asia's sharpening resource competition and achieve harmonious, rules-based relations between states. To be sure, any inter-country arrangement's comparative benefits and burdens should be such that the advantages of resource cooperation outweigh the duties and responsibilities, or else the state that sees itself as a loser may walk out or fail to comply with its obligations. Without improved inter-country relations and better trust, Asia's hydropolitics, for example, will remain grating. Asian economies cannot sustain their impressive economic growth without addressing their resource, environmental, and security challenges-and no single country can do it alone.

Special Address

Thursday, February 12, 2015

0930h-1030h

Chairperson

AMITABH MATTOO



Amitabh Mattoo is Professor of Disarmament and Diplomacy at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Honorary Professor of International Relations at the University of Melbourne and Founding Director of the Australia India Institute at Delhi. Prof Mattoo has been a member of the National Security Council's Advisory Board, Member of the National Knowledge Commission, and Vice Chancellor of the University of Jammu. He has held visiting appointments at Stanford University, University of Notre Dame and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He has been awarded the Padma Shri for his contribution to Education and Public Life.

BARRY GORDON BUZAN



Prof Barry Gordon Buzan is Emeritus Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics and honorary professor at the University of Copenhagen and Jilin University. Until 2012 he was Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at the LSE. Buzan sketched the Regional Security Complex Theory and is therefore together with Ole Wæver a central figure of the Copenhagen School. From 1988 to 2002 he was Project Director at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI). From 1995 to 2002 he was research Professor of International Studies at the University of Westminster, and before that Professor of International Studies at the University of Warwick. During 1993 he was visiting professor at the International University of Japan, and in 1997-8 he was Olof Palme Visiting Professor in Sweden. He was Chairman of the British International Studies Association 1988-90, Vice-President of the (North American) International Studies Association 1993-4, and founding Secretary of the International Studies Coordinating Committee 1994-8. From 1999 to 2011 he was the general coordinator of a project to reconvene the English school of international relations theory, and from 2004-8 he was editor of the European Journal of International Relations. In 1998 he was elected a fellow of the British Academy, and in 2001 he was elected to the Academy of Learned Societies for the Social Sciences. Recent books include: *South Asian Insecurity and the Great Powers* (1986, with Gowher Rizvi and others); *An Introduction to Strategic Studies: Military Technology and International Relations* (1987); *The Logic of Anarchy : Neorealism to Structural Realism* (1993, with Charles Jones and Richard Little); *Identity, Migration, and the New Security Agenda in Europe* (1993, with Morten Kelstrup, Pierre Lemaître, Ole Wæver, et al.).

RISING POWERS IN THE EMERGING WORLD ORDER: AN OVERVIEW, WITH A REFLECTION ON THE CONSEQUENCES FOR INDIA

Barry Gordon Buzan

This talk starts from the assumption that the increasing diffusion of power (aka 'the rise of the rest') is leading towards an international system/society in which there will be no superpowers, several great powers and a lot of regional powers. The US will become simply *primus inter pares* amongst the great powers, and China will not become a superpower. Compared to the past two centuries of West-centred dominance, the global power structure will become increasingly de-centred. Because all of the great powers are now capitalist, and share a lot of primary institutions such as sovereignty, territoriality, nationalism, international law, diplomacy, the global market, human equality, and suchlike, this emergent order will have a relatively narrow ideological bandwidth. It is highly probable that this power structure will be more regionalised, but the exact shape of this regionalism remains open. There will be some economic regionalisation, but no abandonment of the global economy. Yet the great powers will be diverse in terms of political structure, culture, and level of development.

India, like China, wants to have both developing country and great power status, using the former to avoid taking the responsibilities for the latter. Also like China, India is loud in its criticisms of the Western order and its calls for multipolarity, but lacking in ideas about alternatives, and having no detailed plan about how a multipolar order should work. Both countries have weak foreign and security policy-making processes that are highly susceptible to domestic politics, making their behaviour autistic. In a more regionalised world order, what is India's region? Is that stage to be the Indian Ocean basin, as in Curzon's vision, or is it to be an all-Asia super-region containing three local great powers? How will India consolidate its claims to great power status while continuing to seek developing country exemptions?

Session IV

The Rise of China

Thursday, February 12, 2015

1045h-1300h

Chairperson

CHANDRASEKHAR DASGUPTA



Mr Chandrasekhar Dasgupta, an alumnus of Delhi University had an illustrious diplomatic career as an officer with Indian Foreign Service officer from 1962 until his retirement in 2000. As Distinguished Fellow at TERI he is engaged with research on Climate Change and other global environmental issues. During his diplomatic career Mr Dasgupta held several important posts, including Ambassador to the EU, Belgium and Luxembourg, Ambassador to China; Additional Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Ambassador & Deputy Permanent Representative at the United Nations, New York; High Commissioner in Tanzania; High Commissioner in Singapore.

As an Advisor to the Indian delegation for COP meetings since 2002, Mr Dasgupta has been among the country's top climate change negotiators and is also member of the Prime Minister's Council on Climate Change and a member of CESCR. His interests include international affairs, modern history and global environmental issues. He is also a member of the EU Round Table and a life-member of the Institute of Defence Studies & Analyses and the United Services Institute. He writes regularly for *The Telegraph* on foreign policy and national security issues. In 2008, Mr Dasgupta was awarded the *Padma Bhushan* in recognition of his distinguished service in the field of Civil Services.

MADHU BHALLA



Dr Madhu Bhalla is a Professor at the East Asian Studies Department, University of Delhi, since 2005. Prior to joining her current position she was in the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India, from 2000-2005. She also had small stints in several colleges in Punjab and Delhi, India and Ontario, Canada. She was awarded PhD by the Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, for her thesis titled *Americans and Chinese: A Study of Culture and Power, 1930s and 1940s*. She mastered in War Studies, Foreign Policy and American Studies in Canada and in Chinese Studies in the Jawaharlal Nehru University. Her primary areas of research interest are Chinese politics, Foreign Policy, Political Economy and Research Methodology. She, in the past, has received the NOCL Fellowship for Scholars of Sinology in Beijing; Bernath Dissertation Award by the Society for Historians of American Foreign Policy (SHAFR), American Historical Association; Queen's Award and the MacLaughlin Award by Queen's University, Kingston, Canada and also the University Award by the Jawaharlal Nehru University. She has also worked on independent projects like China and the Indian Ocean and EU and Asian Security. Besides, She has published extensively in peer reviewed journals and newspapers and lectured important strategic and international studies institutions in India and abroad. She is also a member of the IDSA, New Delhi.

INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS: THE RETURN OF THE SUB-REGION

Madhu Bhalla

In the current context, India-China relations have gone beyond bilateral issues to regional and global ones as well. While both countries have to deal with territorial issues, new issues which are a fallout of regional and global changes and the rising expectations of two powers on the rise also seek attention. Some of these demand long term commitments to cooperation and dialogue to secure interests at the global and regional level some, closer home, test the ability of both to manage narrower national interests which could spiral out of control and some speak to the aspiration of both to contribute public goods to the international community. The complexity of the relationship indicates a maturing of the relationship through policy initiatives in some areas and management and need based institutionalisation of interactions in others.

Belying the stability of the relationship, however, is the reality of a "trust deficit" which constrains the relationship in real ways. A deconstruction of the "mistrust deficit" indicates that even as both countries find space for cooperation on global agendas security issues in the sub-continent and the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) will define the nature of the relationship. The holding pattern of dialogues on irritants in trade and security notwithstanding, the absence of any serious negotiation on the future of Tibet and the settlement on the border, China's political and military investment in Pakistan, its denial of the sources of terrorism in South Asia and the fallouts of the more recent development of a Chinese policy on South Asia and the IOR will continue to detract from cooperation in bilateral affairs, lending the relationship a strong element of competition and extending the "trust deficit" rather than decreasing it.

PANG ZHONGYING



Dr Pang Zhongying is a Professor of International Relations at School of International Studies, Renmin University in Beijing, China. He has been the founding Director, Centre for the Study of Global Governance at School of International Studies in the same University. Pang graduated from China's Nankai University with BA in economics, UK's University of Warwick with MA in Politics and International Studies, and China's Peking University with PhD in International Relations. He served in the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS) and the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia. He was also a Professor of International Relations and Director of Global Studies Institute at Nankai University. His research interests are global issues, global governance, global economy, international institutions, and diplomacy. He has been invited and awarded to conduct his research as a visiting fellow or professor at many prestigious academic centers across the world such as the East Asian Institute at the National University of Singapore, Brookings Institution in USA, Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation at the UK's University of Warwick and the Centre for Strategic Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. His latest publications include *Global Governance: Views from China* (ed., 2006), *Assessing the Diplomatic Power of China* (2007), and *China-West Cooperation* (2008), *China's Non-intervention Question* (2009), *IPE in China* (2011), *China and Global Governance* (2011).

RUPAK SAPKOTA



Rupak Sapkota is a young dynamic professional with strong interpersonal skills and experience in high-level public relations and diplomacy. In his current position as a PhD candidate in International Relations at Renmin University of China, he has been heavily involved in the research activities in China-South Asian issues.

Before enrolling in the prestigious Renmin University of China, Sapkota was pursuing research at the Shandong University in China. He holds a Master's Degree in International Relations from the Shandong University in China. His dissertation in Masters program entitled "Prospects of Nepal- China- India trilateral cooperation: A perspective from Nepal" was rewarded as an excellent dissertation. He obtained his Bachelor Degree in Political Science and Major English from the Tribhuvan University, eldest and prestigious University of Nepal. His other affiliations include as General Secretary, Nepal Institute for Strategic Analyses (NISA) and Columnist (International Affairs), 'Naya Patrika' Daily Newspaper.

CHINA-INDIA RELATIONS: OBJECTIVES AND FUTURE PRIORITIES

Pang Zhongying and Rupak Sapkota

China and India have long been described as geostrategic 'rivals' sharing a history of armed conflicts (such as continual border tussles and a war break in 1962) and contentious bilateral issues: sorting from territorial disputes and divergent political ideologies, to difference on Tibet or nuclear doctrines. China and India have made series of serious attempts but unfortunately the border issue remains a constant source of tension in the Sino-Indian relationship. The last six decades, the major challenge confronting India-China relations has been to build mutual trust. This trust deficit created by both sides has delayed the improvement of other dimensions of the relations.

On the contrary of inheritance legacy of China-India relations, with a different perspective, from the 21st century's first decade, both countries are experiencing high economic growth and bilaterally economic interdependence. Parallel developments between two countries have turned into an interesting opportunity to cooperate in several sectors. The recent new fresh initiatives, in which China sponsored and India participated, as a part of multilateral diplomacy in non-Western institutions such as AIIB, New Silk Road, BICM etc, both China and India are stretching to rebuild the world economic order. The common social, environmental and security threats that China and India are facing are forcing them to have to work together for bilateral, regional and global solutions. What is hindering cooperation between China and India is lack of mutual strategic trust, historical disputes and 'perceived threat' of China by India. As two emerging Asian giants with enormous increasing international interests and influence, how China and India handle their relationship will be crucial for both the countries, and the regional and global peace and prosperity in near future.

GORDON G CHANG



Gordon G Chang is the author of the famous book *The Coming Collapse of China*, published in 2001. He also authored *Nuclear Showdown: North Korea Takes on the World*, published in 2006. He contributes to *forbes.com* as well as the blogs at *World Affairs Journal*. He lived and worked in China and Hong Kong for almost two decades, most recently in Shanghai, as Counsel to the American law firm Paul Weiss and earlier in Hong Kong as Partner in the international law firm Baker & McKenzie. His writings on China and North Korea have appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the *International Herald Tribune*, *Commentary*, *The Weekly Standard*, *National Review*, and *Barron's*. He has spoken at Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Penn, Princeton, Yale, and other universities and at The Brookings Institution, The Heritage Foundation, the Cato Institute, RAND, the American Enterprise Institute, the Council on Foreign Relations, etc. He, in the past, has also briefed the National Intelligence Council, the Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department of USA, and the Pentagon. He has also spoken extensively to investors, industry and media groups. Outside the United States, he has spoken in Beijing, Shanghai, New Delhi, Taipei, Hong Kong, Seoul, Singapore, Tokyo, The Hague, London, Ottawa, Toronto, and Vancouver. He also served two terms as a trustee of Cornell University.

CHINA'S MILITARY MODERNISATION AND IMPACT ON INDIA

Gordon G Chang

China is rapidly building what its generals and admirals hope will be the world's largest and most capable military, and India could be their first target. Already the Chinese are threatening the Indian republic, even though Beijing calls it a "strategic partner."

The buildup of the Chinese navy is the most obvious danger posed by Beijing's military modernisation. China's ships are increasingly operating near India's shores, and they are docking at Pakistani and Sri Lankan berths. That, of course, makes New Delhi nervous. Moreover, the strengthening of China's strategic nuclear forces is of deep concern in the Indian capital. Yet the real danger is political in nature. While President Xi Jinping was visiting India in September 2014 and speaking words of peace and cooperation, Chinese troops were intruding deep into Indian-controlled territory in Ladakh, the disputed territory high in the Himalayas. There are reasons to believe that Xi did not authorise the provocation and was embarrassed by it. Analysts like to say that Xi, who became China's ruler in November 2012, has taken effective control of the People's Liberation Army, but that may not be true. Flag officers appear to form the core of his political support and therefore can act with impunity, doing what they want. The military has become a political power in its own right. Yet Chinese officers, despite everything, face a hard constraint. The Chinese economy is stumbling badly, probably growing only in the low single digits, much slower than Beijing claims. The Chinese central government will not be able to afford all of the PLA's contemplated programs, at least over the long term. The flag officers of the People's Liberation Army are certainly ambitious, but they are running up against the limits of what is possible in their country. If they see a window of opportunity closing, they might act while they can, either on India's borders or near its shores. At this moment, Indian planners have to be concerned about a falling China as well as a rising one.

D S RAJAN



D S Rajan is a former Director in the Government of India with senior level postings abroad (Hong Kong, Tokyo and Beijing) for about 20 years under the Ministry of External affairs. He is a qualified Chinese and Japanese linguist, fluent in speaking both the languages as well as an analyst of China and East Asian affairs for more than five decades as of now- about 38 years with the Government of India serving with distinction and about 13 years post-retirement. He is presently Distinguished Fellow of the Chennai Centre for China Studies.

CHINA AND ITS TERRITORIAL DISPUTES - INCREASING SECURITY DILEMMA IN ASIA

D S Rajan

The People's Republic of China (PRC) has been able to formally settle its land border disputes with most of its neighbours; what remains is resolution of its boundaries with two nations- India and Bhutan. On maritime borders, the PRC's disputes with ASEAN nations in South China Sea and with Japan in East China Sea continue. A new dimension to unresolved disputes is being seen ever since national security interests began to dominate China's external line in 2008; the demands on China imposed by this 'core interest'-based foreign policy course for making no compromises on all issues concerning the country's territorial sovereignty, have resulted in its territorial assertiveness which is giving rise to fears among the neighbouring nations about PRC's intentions.

Japan and ASEAN nations facing an assertive China, are looking towards the US and countries like India, as security balancers in the region while at the same time not willing to sacrifice the benefits of their economic ties with China. India, in the face of a rising China, is rebalancing its regional diplomacy by strengthening partnership ties with China-wary nations like Japan and Vietnam as well as the US, while at the same time paying attention to economic ties with China. The PRC, on its part, is now trying to cool down the temperature by shifting to somewhat soft foreign policy formulations – New Type of Major Power Relations, Friendly Neighborhood policy etc.

Asian Nations are searching for a regional security architecture in which a militarily strong China does not dominate. They, in particular, face the question whether or how to involve in such an exercise the US, a power challenging China through its Asia-Pivot policy. At the same time, they are being compelled to take into account the likely negative impact of such efforts on their ties with the PRC.

Session V

Maritime Security in Asia

Thursday, February 12, 2015

1400h-1600h

Chairperson

ANUP SINGH



Vice Admiral Anup Singh (Retd), former Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Eastern Naval Command, was commissioned in the Indian Navy on 01 July 1973. During his career, he commanded four ships of different classes, viz. Indian Naval Ships Matanga, Veer, Ranvir and Delhi. In the case of two of these ships, he was also selected to commission them. These were: the INS Veer, a first of the new project missile vessel from the Soviet Union and INS Delhi, the first indigenously designed and indigenously built Destroyer of 6700 Tons displacement. For INS Veer, he spent a year under training in the erstwhile USSR and for the Delhi, he oversaw the final stages of her construction at the MDL, for nearly a year before commissioning.

At the pinnacle of seagoing assignments was the command of the Western Fleet, i.e. Flag Officer Commanding Western Fleet. He held this prestigious operational appointment in 2006-07, wherein he led Operation SUKOON, the evacuation of civilians from war-torn Lebanon, in July 2006, moving his fleet repeatedly in and out of Beirut, Lebanon (under war) to Larnaca, Cyprus. Important assignments ashore included Director of Naval Plans (Force Structure and Defence Budget Planning); Director of Personnel (Human Resource Development and Management); Assistant Controller of Warship Production/ Acquisitions and Carrier Projects; Chief Instructor (Navy) at the Defence Services Staff College; Chief of Staff, Western Naval Command; Assistant Chief of Naval Staff (Air); Deputy Chief of Naval Staff; Deputy Chief of Integrated Defence Staff; and finally as the Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Eastern Naval Command from August 2009 to October 2011.

GURPREET KHURANA



Captain Gurpreet S Khurana (PhD) is the Executive Director of the National Maritime Foundation, New Delhi. Indoctrinated into high-intensity naval operations as Midshipman in 1987, during Operation Pawan (IPKF) off Sri Lanka/ Trincomalee port. Commissioned as Sub Lieutenant in July 1988. He, in March 1990, while serving onboard INS Trishul, was involved in the de-induction of the IPKF troops. He was Awarded Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief (West) Commendation in 1993 for mine-hunting operation. Specialised in Ship's Diving in 1993. As a Lieutenant, commanded Torpedo Recovery Vessel (TRV-72) at Bombay (1993-95). Specialist operational appointments in Indian Navy include Missile Warfare Officer and Executive Officer of three missile corvettes (1997-2000). As Missile Gunnery Officer of INS Khukri in 1999, participated in Operation Vijay (seaward operations during Kargil Conflict). He commissioned Fast Attack Craft (FAC) INS Tarmugli in March 2002 at Port Blair (A&N Islands) as its first Commanding Officer after taking over the ship from GRSE, Kolkata for the Indian Navy. Led a Andaman and Nicobar Command (ANC) flotilla on a overseas deployment to Phuket (Thailand) and coordinated patrols with Indonesian Navy. From 2009 to 2013, while appointed at Indian Navy's Maritime Doctrine & Concept Centre (MDCC), Mumbai, co-authored *INDIAN MARITIME DOCTRINE-2009*. He was awarded the Navy Chief's Commendation in 2009. Formulated strategic guidance for the Navy and operational concepts. Invited for guest lectures by Army War College (AWC), Mhow for Army Higher Command Course and the College of Air Warfare (CAW), Secunderabad. He has also authored Indian Navy's first ever Handbook on '*LAW OF MARITIME OPERATIONS*' (in three volumes).

INDIAN MARITIME DOCTRINE AND ASIA SECURITY: INTENTIONS AND CAPABILITIES

Gurpreet Khurana

India has always been aware of the salience of maritime-military power to meet its national objectives. However, notwithstanding the vision of its policymakers to develop a navy in consonance with India's geographical location and disposition, and its attendant stakes in the maritime realm, India found itself constrained to do so by the prevailing continental insecurities and the Cold War geopolitics. In recent decades, the radically altered environment and attendant opportunities have led India to begin fructifying its maritime vision in terms of reviving the development of its maritime-military power. A concurrent imperative lies in articulating the principles governing the employment of such programme, which was manifested in the Indian Maritime Doctrine, 2004, that was later revised in 2009. This paper explores the key imperatives for India to articulate a maritime-military doctrine. It examines the salient provisions of the Indian Maritime Doctrine 2009 in context of the emerging security environment in Asia and its applicability to India's emerging role as a security provider in the region's maritime space. It also attempts to identify the new attendant challenges for India in terms of regional geopolitics and its own capacity.

DAVID BREWSTER



Dr David Brewster is a Distinguished Research Fellow at the Australia India Institute, University of Melbourne. His areas of interest are Indian strategic affairs and Indian Ocean security. He is also a Visiting Fellow, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University; and a Fellow with the Royal Australian Navy Sea Power Centre. He is the author of *India as an Asia Pacific Power* and *India's Ocean: India's Bid for Regional Leadership* as well as numerous other publications on India and Indian Ocean security. His current research focuses on Bay of Bengal as a strategic region and India-China security relations in the Indian Ocean.

THE BAY OF BENGAL: THE INDO-PACIFIC'S NEW ZONE OF STRATEGIC COMPETITION

David Brewster

The Bay of Bengal, although with a huge population, growing economic potential and the world's most important trading routes, has long been neglected and has not been given the strategic attention that is focused on East Asia, West Asia or the Middle East. Only few, even now, perceive the states around the Bay of Bengal as constituting a 'region'. Since the end of World War II, geographers, academics and diplomats preferred to cut the Bay in two, drawing a sharp line between 'Southeast Asia' and 'South Asia'. These mental maps and divisions may have made more sense in the last century but they make much less now as deep historical interconnections across the Bay reassert themselves.

The area is poised to become a new cockpit of economic development in Asia and currently we are also seeing a scramble among China, India and Japan to build 'connectivity' and stitch the region together while others will better connect the region to the world. The new linkages between southern China and India in particular could have a transformative impact on the region and perhaps on the entire Indo-Pacific.

Like the South China Sea, its Pacific 'twin', the Bay of Bengal is also a key transit zone between the Indian and Pacific Oceans and the main route for trade in energy to East Asia. This gives ample reasons for an unprecedented jostle among major powers for influence in the region. Therefore, the Bay of Bengal is also assuming a new strategic importance.

This paper looks at the implications of a growing understanding about the Bay of Bengal as a coherent strategic region together with its prospects to become a new locus for economic development in Asia.

ABHIJIT SINGH



Cdr Abhijit Singh is a Research Fellow at the IDSA, New Delhi, and a serving officer in the Indian Navy. He is an expert on maritime and littoral security. His project at the IDSA is regarding "The Indo-Pacific – Towards a Comprehensive Maritime Security Architecture". Commissioned in the Executive Branch of the Indian Navy in July 1994, he is a specialist in Gunnery and Weapons Systems and has served onboard frontline ships. During his tenure with the Flag Officer Doctrines and Concepts, he was actively associated in the formulation and articulation of naval doctrines and operational concepts. As the Officer-in-Charge of the Indian Navy's History Division in 2008, he was involved in the preparation of the third volume of the Indian Naval History - "Transition to Guardianship". Prior to joining the IDSA, he was a Research Fellow at the National Maritime Foundation (NMF) for three years where he wrote extensively on littoral security and geo-political events in West Asia and South Asia.

INDIA'S SECURITY ROLE IN MARITIME-ASIA

Abhijit Singh

Amid the ongoing structural shift in global economic and military power towards Asia, the growing demand for India to play a larger role in the Asian security affairs has resulted in a sharp rise in the Indian Navy's (IN) contribution to regional maritime security efforts. The navy is experiencing a relative expansion in its benign and diplomatic functions, wherein it is the favoured instrument of policy in India's maritime neighbourhood. But, even as it has improved maritime cooperation with regional navies, the Indian navy faces an acute paradox. The nation's coastal and regional security needs are increasingly in competition with its larger strategic interests in the wider Indo-Pacific region.

In the fast-changing strategic environment, the Indian navy's responses appear driven primarily by its coastal security threats, non-traditional challenges in the near-seas, and the rise of China as an Indian Ocean power. Beijing's maritime activism in the Indian Ocean – marked by omnipresent anti-piracy taskforces, increasing investments in maritime infrastructure, and a growing PLA-N footprint – has complicated India's maritime calculus, keeping security attention focused squarely on the Indian Ocean. It has also created an urgent imperative for New Delhi to preserve its geopolitical influence in the Indian Ocean Region.

The announcement of the 'Act-East' policy has led to an expectation of an expanded Indian role in the security affairs of the Pacific. But, unfortunately, an absence of critical combat capabilities and a disinclination for strategic power projection in the 'far-seas', have kept the Indian navy from practically extending its operational limit beyond the Eastern and Western Indian Ocean. For Indian maritime planners, the critical challenge is to formulate creative strategies and approaches that balance between tactical aims and strategic objectives and help establish narrative dominance in the nautical realm.

FRANCIS KORNEGAY



Francis Kornegay, Jr, is Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Global Dialogue, University of South Africa. He is one of South Africa's renowned students of global geopolitical and strategic trends. He is also a long-term analyst of global South, emerging power dynamics and the US foreign policy. He is currently working on *From Global Hegemony to Global Community: Critical Reflections on a US foreign policy predicated on 'nation-building at home'*. A graduate of the University of Michigan, he has a Masters in African Studies from Howard University and a Masters in International Public Policy from SAIS, Johns Hopkins. He is a former Congressional Black Caucus staffer serving under Charles Diggs and Walter Fauntroy. He has written extensively on the subject. Kornegay is also Global Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars and co-editor of *Laying the BRICS of a New Global Order: From Yekaterinburg 2009 to eThekweni 2013*.

DECIPHERING ORIENTAL MYSTERIES OF SILK, PEARLS & DIAMONDS: MARITIME DIMENSIONS OF INDIA'S STRATEGIC DILEMMAS IN THE CHANGING ASIAN POWER BALANCE

Francis Kornegay

This paper attempts to discern an evolving Asian Balance of Power in its trans-continental and maritime dimensions in relation to India's approach to optimising its security interests. This involves factoring in India's complicated geopolitical positioning and the strategic dilemmas this poses for Delhi in establishing India's strategic latitude. As such, maritime strategy emerges as a critical factor in this calculus in terms of the importance of the Indian Ocean. It has taken into account here the Indian doctrinal and capability dimensions influencing its approach to the Indian Ocean interacting with its continental domain and issues of competitive pressures generated by other actors and concerns relating to regional security architecture. Exploring this interplay of factors involves analysing the interlinked dynamics of China's rise as mainland Asia's regional hegemon and global economic actor and America's readjustment under the Barack Obama administration of the US global posture focusing on an Asia 'pivot'. Sino-American interdependence and *coopertition* with its attendant regional dimensions forms the backdrop of the transitioning global strategic environment. India's approach to its strategic dilemmas is complicated by unique geopolitical constraints that advantage China as first among equals in the greater Asia power equation. Whereas India and China are simultaneously natural 'coopertitionists,' India remains strategically undermined by the 1947 partitioning of the Raj. This is at the root of its strategic vulnerability with the Indian Ocean serving as its main escape-hatch from Sino-checkmate on the Asian chessboard. India can overcome this predicament by prioritising regional integration; and focusing on the criticality of controlling the Indian Ocean SLOCs as a complement to mainland strategy and tactics of geopolitical positioning.

Session VI

**Space, Cyber, Biological,
Chemical, and Nuclear
Security in Asia**

Thursday, February 12, 2015

1615h-1815h

Chairperson

V SIDDHARTHA



Dr V Siddhartha served, on invitation of the Secretary General of the United Nations, over 2007-09 as a member of the Experts Group in New York of the Committee on UN Security Council Resolution 1540. Upon returning, Siddhartha served in 2009-10 with the Principal Scientific Adviser to the Government of India as Scientific Consultant (Advanced Technologies). Over 2010-12 Dr V Siddhartha was a Distinguished Fellow of the Centre for Air Power Studies, New Delhi. An Emeritus Scientist in DRDO, he retired in 2004 after working directly with four Scientific Advisors to the Raksha Mantri over nearly twenty years. Dr Siddhartha has been twice Consultant to the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, on export control and S&T issues in international security, and on the Indian WMD Act, 2005. Dr Siddhartha has also served with the United Nations Environment Programme in Geneva.

Dr Siddhartha served for some time as Secretary of the Science Advisory Council to the Prime Minister. Dr Siddhartha is a Visiting Faculty of the Department of Geopolitics of Manipal University; Senior Associate of, and Adjunct Faculty at, the National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore and founder-member of the Institute of Social and Economic Change in that city. He is a member of the Aeronautical Society of India, and of the United Service Institution of India, as also of several technology associations and bodies. He has served on the Editorial Board of the journal *Current Science* of the Indian Academy of Sciences. Dr Siddhartha has a Ph.D. from the Imperial College of Science & Technology, London, and he graduated in mechanical engineering from IIT, Madras.

SEAN COSTIGAN



Sean S Costigan is a consultant on technology and security. He is Senior Advisor for Emerging Security Challenges at the Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes. He has held research and executive appointments at Harvard University, the Council on Foreign Relations, Columbia University, Center for Security Studies ETH Zurich, The New School, University of Calcutta, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He teaches cybersecurity and related courses at the NATO School and consults for corporations, foundations and government. His most recent book, *Cyberspaces and Global Affairs*, is available in English and Chinese.

EMERGING RISKS IN CYBERSECURITY: ANTICIPATING CHANGE AND BUILDING RESILIENCE

Sean Costigan

The incessant drive to connect myriad aspects of our increasingly digital economics creates, as a by-product of perceived and real efficiencies, new vulnerabilities that allow for enterprising actors to potentially wreak havoc on a wide scale. In effect, the “attack surface” of our information technology-dominated society is vastly increasing yet fundamental, long-standing insecurities and vulnerabilities are just now coming to light. As the virtual and physical worlds merge, policy and law lag behind technological development, creating new feedbacks and risks. India and the United States share many commonalities, not least of which are vibrant democracies, dependence on IT as a key medium of exchange and economic driver and, unfortunately, many vulnerabilities that are ripe for exploitation. While the recent Sony hack has brought attention to state-sponsored acts of terror in cyberspace, many in the security professions remain in denial about state-sponsored cyber terrorism. Their critiques typically fall into three main groups, each of which has the benefit of appearing to be based on sound reasoning. This paper examines the global technological trajectories and emerging risks pertaining to cybersecurity with an eye towards improving outcomes in an Asian context..

RANJANA KAUL



Dr Ranjana Kaul is a partner in Dua Associates, a leading law firm in India. She specialises in the area of aviation and aerospace law and regulations. Her practice area primarily addresses issues related to corporate law including joint ventures and M&A. She advises clients in infrastructure (aviation, aerospace, oil & gas, non-conventional energy and mining) and education sectors, contracts, foreign exchange regulations, company law and intellectual property rights. She has served as Counsel for the State of Maharashtra in the Supreme Court of India and as Counsel for the Union of India in the High Court of Delhi. Dr Kaul holds an LLM from the Institute of Air & Space Law, Faculty of Law, McGill University, Canada; Doctorate from University of Poona and Bachelors in Law degree from the University of Delhi in India. Dr Kaul has published papers, participated in various national and international conferences on law of outer space. She is regularly consulted on issues related to application of international aviation and space law regimes to India's domestic legal regime, including national security aspects. She is regularly invited to speak to restricted audiences on issues related to outer space, global security and national security. She also has a number of publications to her credit. Ranjana Kaul has served as Member of the Delhi State Women's Commission. She serves on the Board of Trustees of Community Aid & Sponsorship Programme, an NGO which promotes education of underprivileged children and of the Linda Morse Balpanchayat Trust which promotes child rights. She has been the recipient of the Nicholas Matessco Matte Prize 2004, Faculty of Law, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, The Charles Wallace Trust Award 1990, U.K., the Icchalkaranji Prize 1973, University of Poona and Sir Purshottambhau Wad Prize 1973, University of Poona.

INDIA'S APPROACH TO SPACE SECURITY

Ranjana Kaul

Outer Space and cyber space systems have been critical in enabling modern warfare, through strike precision, navigation, communication, information gathering etc. Undoubtedly, outer space-cyberspace is the new combined military high-ground of the 21st century. It is no coincidence that aspiring powers are building space programmes at the same time that they are building advanced cyber programmes. Space and cyberspace both break the historical constraint of domination through control of physical territory. Therefore, while there is a general common interest to work cooperatively and peacefully, inevitably there has also been militarisation in both the domains.

Dominance in outer space and the mastery of cyber space are now acknowledged as primary tools in the quest for global economic power. Specifically, in context of outer space, every country around the world understands the seminal importance of safe, secure and sustainable access to, and use of outer space, its natural resources, including the celestial bodies and the Moon. This understanding of the outer space environment also necessarily includes the freedom from space-based threats, the physical and operational integrity of manmade objects in space and their ground stations, as well as security on Earth from threats originating in space.

Asia hosts four major space powers: Russia, India, Japan and China; and several other regional space powers as well. This paper explores the concept of a 'common Asian Space Code' based on seeming points of convergence and divergence among the Asian space powers. In this context, the paper focuses on India's approach on ensuring continued access and use of outer space, within the framework of the international space law regime, as much as the ability to leverage its indigenous capability to strengthen national and regional security within geopolitical constraints.

ANIMESH ROUL



Mr Animesh Roul is the Executive Director and Co-founder of Society for the Study of Peace and Conflict, a Delhi-based independent policy research group. Mr Roul specialises in counterterrorism, radical Islam, terror financing, armed conflict and issues relating to arms control and proliferation in South Asia. Recently coauthored a book "*Indian Mujahideen: Computational Analysis and Public Policy*" (Springer, 2013), Roul has been contributing regularly for Terrorism Monitor, the CTC Sentinel, Jane's Intelligence Review, Militant Leadership Monitor, and CBW Magazine and Defense & Security Alert, among others. He holds a Master of Philosophy degree from the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, and has a master's degree in Modern Indian History. Roul has been associated with BioWeapons Prevention Project (BWPP), Geneva, as a lead author for India and Pakistan Country Reports for BioWeapons Monitor since 2010. He is also a network member of Chemical Weapons Convention Coalition (CWCC), The Hague.

CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL DIMENSION OF JIHADI TERRORISM

Animesh Roul

The threat emanating from the New age Islamic Jihadis in Asia who believe in the prophecies in Islamic holy texts, apocalyptic struggle and other millenarian aspect of ultimate destruction of the world, has increased manifold during the last decade. This has actually increased the possibility that these violent actors might employ weapons of mass destruction/ disruption including chemical and biological weapons to achieve their goals. This impending situation has attracted a renewed attention in both policy and government establishment.

The looming fear is no more based on imagination or speculation. The changing jihadi strategy for weapons of war and as result of credible evidence of their focus to seize or acquire and willingness to use these weapons to inflict mass fatality or injury, make this urgent for policy discourse.

Even though no terrorist group so far has achieved success in employing chemical or biological weapons, the realistic aspect is that various terrorist groups have been seeking to acquire these materials and know-how. Ample evidence suggests groups like Al-Qaeda and Islamic State are more than capable of using chemical and biological weapons or material targeting civilian population or military. These religious extremists whether in Pakistan or in Syria want to take over the State and its military arsenal and industries. This situation has increased the spectre of a chem/bio terrorism scenarios in multitude.

The paper aims to discuss these re-emerging Chem/Bio terrorism scenarios examining the available evidence (both past and present) on how Islamic jihadists rationalise the weapons of war and enemy targets. While identifying potential perpetrators of Chem/Bio weapons, it would discuss motivational aspect, accessibility and possible use of these weapons by Islamic terrorist groups.

RAJIV NAYAN



Dr Rajiv Nayan is a Senior Research Associate at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi. He has been working with the Institute since 1993, where he specialises in export control, non-proliferation, and arms control. Rajiv was a Visiting Research Fellow at Japan Institute of International Affairs, Tokyo, where he published his monograph - *Non-Proliferation Issues in South Asia*. He was also a Visiting Fulbright Scholar at the Center on International Cooperation, New York University. He holds a PhD and a Master of Philosophy in Disarmament Studies and a Master of Arts in International Relations from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. In his doctoral dissertation, he studied implications of the Missile Technology Control Regime for the Indian security and economy. He has published his papers in academic journals, and as chapters of books. He has contributed articles to numerous newspapers. He is a member of the governing council of the International Export Controls Association, hosted by University of Georgia in Washington DC, and a member of the Export Controls Experts Group and Multilateral security governance in Northeast Asia/North Pacific of the Council for Security Cooperation in Asia Pacific (CSCAP). He is also in the Executive Council of the Indian Pugwash Society. He is an Indian partner of Fissile Materials Working Group (FMWG) which is a Washington-based group of Non-Governmental Organisations active on nuclear security. He was also a Member, Regional Network of Strategic Studies Centers/ Weapons of Mass Destruction/ Border Security Working Group.

THE EMERGING ASIAN NUCLEAR ORDER

Rajiv Nayan

The stability of the Asian order is dependent on its nuclear order, which has an element of uncertainty; and if it goes unmanaged, may cause instability in the general Asian order. The emerging nuclear Asian order is multipolar and multilateral in appearance, but is centred on the first Asian nuclear weapon country, China. Generally, China is considered the source of security concern and proliferation. The emerging Asian nuclear order, at times, appears as shaping the international nuclear order because all the new and even suspected/potential nuclear weapons countries are from Asia. In reality, the old nuclear powers, which are located outside Asia, still possess more than ninety percent of the world's nuclear weapons stockpile.

The emerging Asian nuclear order is without an Asian security architecture. Interestingly, Asian nuclear politics is regulated in multiple Asian institutions and fora through the Asian nuclear regime. Actually, the international institutions and regimes as well as the countries located outside Asia are predominantly managing the Asian nuclear order. As the Asian order is China-centric and many affected countries do not have capabilities to reform the order or check and balance China, these countries prefer that countries like the United States remain active in Asia. Extended deterrence is the most visible manifestation of the alliance between the Asian countries and the United States. A possibility of nuclear weapons or radiological materials falling into the hands of non-state actors, which is a new constituent of the emerging Asian nuclear order, is normally regarded as a low probable- high consequences threat. This new source of instability of the Asian order has seen Asian countries participating in existing Asian institutions and fora, yet the idea and the inspiration for nuclear security to counter nuclear terrorism are coming from the global fora and institutions such as the Nuclear Security Summit process and the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Session VII

Major Strategic Regions of Asia

Friday, February 13, 2015

0945h-1300h

Chairperson

C UDAY BHASKAR



Commodore (Retd) C Uday Bhaskar, former Director IDSA, New Delhi retired from the Indian Navy in early 2007 after 37 years of service. Currently, he is a Visiting Fellow at the National Maritime Foundation which he also formerly headed from July 2009 till July 2011. The Commodore was also associated with the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) from 1990 where he served as the Deputy Director (1996-2004) and later headed the Institute till late 2005. Subsequently, he was appointed Member-Secretary of the Government of India Task Force on 'Global Strategic Developments' - a report submitted to the Prime Minister of India. Cmde Bhaskar is Editor, Maritime Affairs; and is on the Editorial Board of *Contemporary Security Policy*. He has edited books on nuclear and international security related issues and has contributed over 60 research articles to journals in India and abroad. He is a guest lecturer at the Indian National Defence College and other military colleges. He is a Life member of the United Service Institute (USI) and is also Chairman, Middle East Institute at New Delhi. The Commodore is on the Governing Council of the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) and the Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS), as also on the Advisory Panel of the India Habitat Centre (IHC) in New Delhi. Commodore Bhaskar is also a columnist for Reuters and the Dainik Jagran.

SMRUTI S PATTANAIK



Dr Smruti S Pattanaik at present is a Research Fellow at the IDSA. Her area of specialisation is South Asia. Her current research project is titled as "*India's 'Near abroad': What Ails its Neighbourhood Policy*". Dr Pattanaik has been a recipient of many international fellowships. She was a visiting Asia fellow (Asian Scholarship Foundation, Bangkok) at the Department of International Relations, Dhaka University in 2004. In 2007, she was also selected for a follow up study grant by the Asian Scholarship Foundation to research on politics of identity in Bangladesh. She was also awarded the Kodikara fellowship in 1999 (RCSS, Colombo). As a Postdoctoral Fellow at MSH (Fondation Maison des Science de l'Homme), and the Centre for International Relations and Research (CERI, Science Po), Paris she conducted research on "*Broadening Consensus in Fighting Religious Militancy/terrorism: Can Democracy in Pakistan Ensure regional stability*". In addition, she was a visiting Fellow (September-October 2011) at the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO) and worked on "*Afghanistan: Need for a Regional Approach*". She was a Visiting Professor on ICCR's India Chair at the University of Colombo for a semester in 2013. She was selected to attend the Symposium on East Asian Security (SEAS) Program conducted by the US State department and USPACOM in 2011.

ASHOK K BEHURIA



Dr Ashok Behuria is the Coordinator of South Asia Centre at IDSA. He specialises in Politics and Society in Pakistan, including Internal Political Dynamics and Ethno-Cultural Diversity; India-Pakistan Relations and Kashmir; Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity. He joined International Centre for Peace Studies (ICPS) in 1996 and Worked as Assistant Director. He has written a number of research articles, monographs and commentaries on various issues in international politics. He is currently working on Ethno-cultural and Sectarian Diversity in Pakistan. Dr Behuria was K Subrahmanyam Fellow (Honorary, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi, India (March 2009-March 2010); Editor, *International Studies*, Quarterly Research Journal published from School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India (December 2008-December 2009). He is presently a member of the editorial board of Strategic Analysis. He has written extensively on the subject.

INDIA'S REGIONAL STRATEGY IN SOUTH ASIA: BALANCING GEOPOLITICS WITH GEOECONOMICS

Smruti S Pattanaik & Ashok K Behuria

Geography informs the foreign policy of any country and defines its strategic outlook. Among the major strategic regions in Asia, India's security and economic interests straddle Central Asia, West Asia and Indo Pacific among its expanded neighbourhood as India strives to play a larger global role. However, the most significant priority area in terms of security and geopolitics is its immediate neighbourhood; i.e. the South Asian region. While it redrafted the treaties that British India had signed with Nepal and Bhutan; its prime concerns remain the role of external power in the region and their impact on the geopolitics. Non-alignment became a major tool to keep the country away from great power rivalry and provide it with strategic space to conduct its foreign policy. India accepted Pakistan as a state that was opposed to the geostrategic unity of the region. However, some states of South Asia especially those ruled by authoritarian regimes saw India as a threat to their regimes. They tried to challenge India's preeminence in the region and attempted to engage external powers to undermine the geo-strategic unity that India wanted to preserve. In the post-cold war period, India's approach has seen a shift – the neighbours from being a security liability are now considered as economic opportunity and India is now ready to provide its neighbours a stake in its growing economy. India adopted three parameters which grew out of its geopolitical imperatives and tried to balance these with geoeconomics. First, by signing bilateral treaties; second, by partnering with the neighbouring countries in maintaining security by providing training, conducting joint exercises and forging common stance on security issues related to maritime domain and terrorism; third, by using economic outreach by providing developmental aid and build infrastructure that will help economic integration and greater access to its markets. However, competing regionalism that one witnesses now, may require India to adopt new strategies towards the region.

MICHA'EL TANCHUM



Dr Micha'el Moshe Tanchum is a fellow in the Asia and Middle East Units in the Hebrew University's Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace. He earned his doctorate at Harvard University where he was also a fellow in Harvard's Institute for Strategic Studies and its Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. Dr Tanchum teaches in the Departments of Middle Eastern History and East Asian Studies as well as the Faculty of Law at Tel Aviv University. In addition to his research on Islamist movements in Asia, Dr Tanchum conducts research on geo-strategic issues in Central Asia, South Asia, and the South China Sea. His article "*India's Not-So-Splendid Isolation in Central Asia: The Impact of Strategic Autonomy in an Emerging Asian Regional Architecture*," appeared in *Harvard Asia Quarterly*. His article "Securing Kazakhstan as a China-to-Europe Corridor: A New Eurasian Imperative for the Kazakhstan-NATO Partnership" appears in the current issue of *Caucasus International*. Most recently, his article "Bangladesh as an Indo-Pacific Energy Power" was featured as the cover story of Bangladesh's PROBE weekly news magazine.

INDIA IN THE NEW CENTRAL ASIAN STRATEGIC LANDSCAPE: OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEEPER PARTNERSHIPS AND NEW ALLIANCE FORMATIONS

Micha'el Tanchum

During 2010-2013, India experienced a series of strategic setbacks across Central Asia, a region critical for India's energy, trade and security needs. In 2014, new conditions emerged in the region creating opportunities for New Delhi to improve its strategic relations with Central Asian Republics (CARs). This paper will analyse the consequences of the unprecedented concern in several CARs about China's increasingly dominant economic presence as well as the CARs' heightened threat perception about a resurgence of Islamist militancy in the wake of ISAF's 2014 Afghanistan withdrawal. The paper will examine how New Delhi may deepen its strategic partnerships with the CARs as well as with which international actors it may form effective counterbalancing alliances that will make India central player in the emerging Eurasian regional architecture.

SIMON XU HUI SHEN



Graduated from University of Oxford and Yale University, he is one of the few international relations scholars originating from Hong Kong who earned both international recognition and local prominence. As one of the most prolific scholars in the rank of associate professorship, he has published more than 70 academic articles and publications including 13 articles in leading SSCI journals such as *China Quarterly* (twice), *China Review*, *Journal of Contemporary China*, *Pacific Affairs*, *Pacific Review*, *Asian Survey*, among others. Invited to serve as visiting fellows by leading global think tanks like the Brookings Institution and the University of Warwick's Center of Globalisation and Regionalisation, his scholarship on contemporary anti-Western Chinese nationalism and its online format has gained worldwide attention and made him one of the most interviewed Hong Kong scholars by overseas media. In the domestic society he is regarded as one of the most representative scholars in the younger generation due to his active participation in public affairs as a public intellectual and a think tank. Despite his young age, he has served as a part-time member of the Central Policy Unit of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, is appointed to serve in various official consultation committees by the government and was invited as a member of the official delegation to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the People's Republic of China in Beijing.

CHINA'S DREAM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON SOUTH ASIA

Simon Xu Hui Shen

One striking feature of Chinese Dream is on China's ambition of making her own rules of game at diplomatic and strategic level. China no longer "hides its capabilities and bides its time", and is also reluctant to passively wait for "making use of situations" and employ the "Peaceful Rise" ideology. On the contrary, China appears to be confident enough now to proactively create her desirable "situation" in international realm for her own sake. While China still calls for building up the "community of mutual destiny", questions like how China will act, if she has conflicting interests with her neighbours, has not been addressed by Wang Yi, China's Foreign Minister. In this context, the potential impact of China's more assertive and ambitious global plans, as backed by the discourse of "Chinese Dream" to regional geopolitics is particularly noteworthy. For background understanding, perhaps one of the most telling cases in point is China's "unilateral" establishment of the Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) at East China Sea on November 23, 2013. Although China reiterated that the world's first ADIZ, which requires foreign aircrafts to declare before entering into the area around the stated territorial air, has been initiated by the United States as a kind of justification for her such act, this in fact does not fit the international law. Furthermore, the United States rebutted China's act by claiming that their establishment has been endorsed by neighboring countries in advance (which is open to question till now) and should thus be seen as an act by a "status quo defender"; China, in other words, is a "status quo challenger", as its ADIZ accordingly consequentially promotes unilateralism in the region. One of the big projects under Chinese Dream is building a new maritime silk road. The project assumes Sri Lanka to play a key collaborative role with China so that China will have a more significant strategic presence in Indian Ocean. Hence, how this will specifically stir up the South Asian geopolitics, particularly when Sri Lanka has become less accommodating to China's needs after her recent presidential election, is one pressing issue to be studied.

SHANKARI SUNDARAMAN



Professor Shankari Sundaraman is Professor of Southeast Asian Studies and the current Chair at the Centre for Indo-Pacific Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. She joined the Jawaharlal Nehru University in 2003. Prior to this, she worked as a Research Officer and Research Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) from 1997 to 2003. She also worked for an independent think tank ECASPIIL in Chennai from 1996 to 1997. She received her doctorate from the Jawaharlal Nehru University in 1996 in Southeast Asian Studies, where she wrote her PhD dissertation on the International Dimensions to the Cambodian Conflict. She was a Visiting Fellow at the Asia-Pacific College of Diplomacy (APCD) at the Australian National University (ANU), Canberra from May to July 2005, where she worked on the trilateral relations between India, Indonesia and Australia. She was also a Visiting Fellow at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta in 2006-2007 as an Asia Fellow, under the ASIA Fellows award which was coordinated by the Asian Scholarship Foundation, Bangkok and funded by the Ford Foundation. During the course of this fellowship, her research was on the Effects of Globalisation on Separatist Conflicts in Indonesia. She is the author of several journal articles, chapters in books as well as a book titled *Cambodia: The Lost Decades*. She has been a columnist with a national daily, The Asian Age, in which she wrote a four year running column titled "Another Asia" focusing on national and regional issues in Southeast Asia from 2009-2013. She writes a monthly column for the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), New Delhi. She is currently co-editing a book on India-Indonesia Relations titled '*India and Indonesia: Regional Powers and Global Politics*'.

DYNAMICS OF CHANGE IN INDIA- SOUTH EAST ASIA RELATIONS: BEYOND ECONOMICS TO STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

Shankari Sundararaman

Geopolitics in its basic sense is the use of geography to study political relations among states in the international system. Geo-strategy, on the other hand, while falling under the larger context of geopolitics focuses on the options that states have in planning their engagement with other regions, by identifying both the immediate and the long term goals of a nation's foreign policy. While there have been several phases to India's relations with Southeast Asia, such as during the de-colonisation phase and the tensions with the region during the Cold War, it is only after the Cold War that India's relations with the region emerged as a critical plank of its foreign policy.

From the early nineties, however, there has been a significant shift which today is in its third decade. This shift was dictated by major changes in India's economic policy domestically which altered its foreign economic policy as well. Opening up of the Indian economy following the 1991 currency crisis paved the way for the foundations of India's economic integration with the Southeast Asian region. While this integration remained the basis on which the relations with Southeast Asia was enhanced, it has currently moved beyond this to cover a more comprehensive integration that looks at the possible areas of integration at the political, defence and security levels too. For India, this shift is more recent, in the sense that it has begun to articulate its interest in being a more involved player in the regional dynamics shaping the wider Indo-Pacific. There is a growing emphasis on security issues that are emerging due to the shifting balance of power projections - relating to the rise of China and the US rebalancing. The ASEAN countries themselves are going through a phase of uncertainty in this altered regional transition that is affecting its core cohesive identity. Both bilaterally and multilaterally, India will remain critical to the region in the years to come.

Session VIII

Future Trends and Scenarios

Friday, February 13, 2015

1400h-1545h

Chairperson

B K SHARMA



Maj Gen BK Sharma (Retd) is Deputy Director Research and Head of Centre for Strategic Studies and Simulation (CS3) at the United Service Institute of India (USI), New Delhi. He is also member of Academic Council of National Defence College, New Delhi, affiliated with Madras University. He was commissioned in Indian Infantry in 1976. He was awarded AVSM, SM and bar to SM by the President of India for courage and exceptional devotion to duty. He holds double degree of M Phil and is pursuing PhD in Geopolitics in Central Asia. He is a graduate of Defence Services Staff College, Higher Command, Army War College, Mhow and National Defence College. He attended a course in International Peacekeeping in Santiago (Chile) in 2000. He has tenanted prestigious command, instructional and staff appointments, notably, Senior Faculty Member at National Defence College; Command of a Mountain Division on the China border; Brigadier General Staff of a Corps; Principal Director Net Assessment at HQ Integrated Defense Staff, Assistant Secretary at the Chiefs of Staff Committee, Ministry of Defence, Defense Attaché in Embassy of India in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, and UN Military Observer in Central America. As a UN military observer he was involved in demobilisation and disarming of CONTRAS in Nicaragua. He has rich operational experience in conventional warfare and counter terrorism operations. He specialises in Net Assessment, Scenario Building and Strategic Gaming He conducts strategic games for the National Defence College and Higher Command Courses of the Army, Navy and Airforce.

BORIS VOLKHONSKY



Dr Boris Volkhonsky is head of the Asian section at the Russian Institute for Strategic Studies, Moscow. His main areas of research and analysis are internal politics of India and Pakistan; regional problems of South Asia; geopolitical power games in the Indian Ocean, South and Southeast Asia and Indo-Pacific. From 1982-97, he was Research Fellow, lecturer, and Associate Professor at the Institute of Asian and African Studies, Moscow State University. From 1990-94, he was lecturer in Sanskrit and Hindi languages at Russia State University for the Humanities. From 1999 to 2008, he was correspondent and special correspondent at *Kommersant Publishing House* (foreign desk at *Kommersant Daily* and special correspondent at *Kommersant-Vlast weekly*). Since 2010 to present, he has been a political commentator at Radio Voice of Russia (English board and Asian board). Dr Volkhonsky is PhD (Linguistics) from Moscow State University, Institute of Asian and African Studies. Amongst the scholarships he has received are from the Vidyalankara Campus, University of Sri Lanka; the Central Institute of Hindi, New Delhi, India; the South Asia Program and the Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics, Cornell University, USA. He has Proficiency in English, Hindi, Sinhala and can also speak and write in Sanskrit, conversational Urdu and Italian.

STRATEGIC TRENDS IN ASIA: FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Boris Volkonsky

The year 2014 has become pivotal in the geopolitics of Eurasia and hence, the world in general. Among the most notable factors which are destined to have a long-lasting effect on the situation on the continent are the rise of China; new developments within the BRICS group, most notably, the decision to establish the BRICS Development Bank and the September summit of Shanghai Cooperation Organisation in Dushanbe which removed all obstacles for the SCO enlargement with countries like India and Pakistan (also, later, Iran and Afghanistan) acquiring full membership.

The three factors may look unrelated, but in essence, they constitute the rise of the alternative center of power presenting a challenge to the unipolar world order the West has been trying to preserve since the collapse of the Soviet block in early 1990s. Quite obviously, the challenges coming from the emergence of this new center (or, centers) of power could not go unnoticed in the West. The notorious "pivot to Asia" was declared in late 2011 by the then US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in the anticipation of the new role of China as the first global economy, and aimed at lining up Asian countries having problems in their relationship with China in order to make them serve as American proxies with the purpose to contain China.

Russia's actions in the aftermath of the Ukrainian crisis might have appeared to be reactive in nature, but they reflect the long-felt need to relocate the focus of Russia's economic and political interests to Asia. For attaining these objectives, a new quality of integration in Asia is vital which would enable to overcome the existing geographic and geopolitical barriers hindering cooperation in the continent. In this context, the main tendency to be expected in the nearest future in Asia is the clash between the integration processes in the interest of all regional powers, and the attempts by the non-regional players to impede the process by resorting to the time-tested strategy of proxy confrontation.

S SAMUEL C RAJIV



S Samuel C Rajiv is Associate Fellow, Nuclear and Arms Control Centre, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. Prior to joining IDSA in 2006, he worked at the publication India's National Security Annual Review from 2002-2005 and was a Visiting Research Scholar at the BEgin-SAdat (BESA) Centre for Strategic Studies, Israel during 2005-06. The Iran nuclear issue and India-Israel ties are among his current research interests. His refereed journal articles include 'Politicised Safeguards: Iran-IAEA Contentions, Drivers, Policy Implications (*Strategic Analysis*, September 2014); 'In Pursuit of a Chimera: Nuclear Imbroglio between Sanctions and Engagement' (*Strategic Analysis*, November 2012); 'The Delicate Balance: Israel and India's Foreign Policy Practice' (*Strategic Analysis*, January 2012); and 'India and Iran's Nuclear Issue: The Three Policy Determinants' (*Strategic Analysis*, September 2011). Rajiv has also published Op-Eds in The Business Standard, Jerusalem Post, Dainik Jagran, as well as on platforms like ISN, ETH Zurich. Rajiv was awarded the IDSA President's Award for Excellence for the years 2013 and 2014.

STRATEGIC CONTENTIONS AND SCENARIOS 2025

S Samuel C Rajiv

The paper primarily focuses on three key strategic contentions that have bedeviled Asian security. These are territorial and maritime disputes (India-China; India-Pakistan; South China Sea; East China Sea), nuclear concerns (Iran, North Korea, proliferation networks, nuclear security) and transnational threats (piracy, drug trafficking and irregular warfare).

The paper then examines key variables that have affected the framework of the strategic contentions under consideration. These include assertive foreign policy practices on issues relating to territoriality and sovereignty; military modernisation and attendant security dilemmas; regional security deficits coupled with issues relating to the nature of the political dispensations in states of concern, particularly so as regards to the unresolved nuclear contentions in West and East Asia; the impact of weak and failed states and resultant political instability on issues relating to transnational threats like piracy and drug trafficking; and a combination of factors fuelling irregular warfare including deliberate state policy, and governance and developmental deficits coupled with historical/ethnic/religious grievances among others.

Three alternate scenarios are then attempted on the basis of the trends associated with the drivers under examination. These are Strategic Flux; Ascendant Brinkmanship; and Armed Conflict. The final section briefly notes possible policy options for India vis-à-vis the three scenarios.

SHRUTI PANDALAI



Shruti is a media professional understanding India's policy challenges at IDSA. She has been a Television Journalist - a News Anchor and Senior Correspondent - with TIMES NOW, a 24 hour English News network by the Times of India group, since its inception till 2009. Part of the core editorial team, she tracked both national politics and international affairs.

An academic sabbatical led to her pursuing an MA in International Studies and Diplomacy at SOAS, University of London. Here, International Security, Diplomacy, South Asian area studies were her key research interests. Her research paper at SOAS investigated "*the role of the media as an agenda setter*" in the process of policy formulation and has evolved into a larger project at IDSA. This project looks at the Role of Media and Perceptions in India's Strategic Thought and Practice. The Rise of New Media and its Impact on National Security is also a theme she works on currently. Great power politics, India's neighbourhood relations and scenario forecasting are her other key research interests.

She has presented papers on her work in international conferences, being part of emerging leaders' fora, organised by international think tanks like the New America Foundation and The Centre for Policy Research and The India-China Institute, New York.

She is a frequent commentator on strategic issues in both national and international media and contributes to Times of India, Foreign Policy Magazine, Asia Times Online and Reuters (The Expert Zone Blog).

DECODING INDIA'S AGENDA: NEW IDEAS AND EMERGING TRENDS IN ASIAN SECURITY

Shruti Pandalai

This paper will conceptualise and encapsulate the broad determinants of India's approach to Asian security and the emerging trends for the foreseeable future. This involves understanding how New Delhi puts 'India First' as it manoeuvres the complex web of regional and global relations, how well India manages its domestic and economic concerns and how it consolidates its own ideas of national power and agency in international *realpolitik*. Conceptually, India's strategic approach has followed three broad trends: 1) revitalising India's Strategic Partnerships with major powers and gaining recognition as a rising global player (2) Reclaiming the South Asian neighbourhood as a strategic asset and reprioritising relationships to boost India's role as a regional power and 3) a renewed thrust on economic diplomacy independent of strategic compulsions. Simply put, it means a departure from *moralpolitik* to national interest in India's strategic thinking. This significant shift is already in play but depends on a number of high impact drivers:

- a) The China Factor- This coupled with the growing asymmetry of power, and the keeping in check the balance of economic interdependence and strategic competition, will put clear constraints on India's options .b) The Indo-US relationship is increasingly seen as central to conceptualising an Indian security strategy where China looms large. However this is dependent on maintaining momentum of the relationship which often falls victim to deadlocks on nuclear, defence and economic cooperation agreements. The recent fallout in US-Russia relations, may also put India in a tight spot in the future. c) Acting East : India has invested in robust relationships with Japan, Vietnam, Singapore, South Korea and Australia to facilitate the creation of a new security architecture. This paper attempts to investigate the above external and internal factors that influence India's approach to asian security and will identify emerging trends that are deliberated during the conference.

Valedictory Session

ARVIND GUPTA



Dr Arvind Gupta is the Deputy National Security Advisor, Government of India. Earlier, he was Director General, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) from 2012 to 2014. He holds a PhD in International Relations from Jawaharlal Nehru University and MSc in Physics from Delhi University. He was Visiting Member at the Tata Institute for Fundamental Research (1974-76) and served at the Oil & Natural Gas Commission (1976) and at the State Bank of India (1976-79) before joining the Indian Foreign Service in 1979. He retired in 2013 having worked in the Ministry of External Affairs in different capacities and served in diplomatic missions in Moscow, London and Ankara. Prior to his current position, he held the Lal Bahadur Shastri Chair on National Security at the IDSA from 2008 to 2011. Earlier he was Joint Secretary at the Indian National Security Council Secretariat from 1999 to 2007. During his tenure at the NSCS he dealt with a wide range of international and national security issues and participated in the various working groups and task forces set up by the NSC. He also worked with the Kargil Review Committee. He has several publications to his credit including three books, several edited volumes and a number of academic publications. He has been a member of several task forces on issues such as space security, climate change, cyber security and nuclear disarmament.

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