



## *12<sup>th</sup> South Asia Conference*

*on*

# *India's "Neighbourhood First" Policy: Regional Perceptions*

*28-29 January 2020*

*Venue: Auditorium, IDSA*

*Organised by*

*Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA)*

*Profiles of Participants*  
&  
*Abstracts*

## **Shri Rajnath Singh**

Hon'ble Raksha Mantri  
Government of India,  
& President,  
Institute for Defence Studies  
and Analyses, New Delhi



Shri Rajnath Singh completed his MSc Physics from Gorakhpur University UP. He worked as a lecturer of Physics at K.B. Post-Graduate College Mirzapur, UP. He became the RSS karyavah (General Secretary) of Mirzapur city in 1972. He also remained the organizational secretary of ABVP Gorakhpur division from 1969 to 1971. He entered politics in 1974 and in 1977, he was elected as an MLA in the Uttar Pradesh Assembly. He was elected MLC for Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council in 1988 and became Education Minister in 1991. During his tenure as Education Minister in UP, he established some landmarks by introducing the Anti-Copying Act and Vedic Mathematics in the syllabus. He became a member of the Rajya Sabha in 1994. On November 22, 1999, he became Union Surface Transport Minister. During this period he got the opportunity to initiate the NHDP (National Highway Development Programme), a dream project of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

On October 28, 2000, he became Chief Minister of UP and was twice elected as MLA from Haidargarh constituency in Barabanki. On May 24, 2003, he became Union Minister of Agriculture and subsequently for Food Processing. During this period he initiated a few epoch-making projects like Kisan Call Centre and Farm Income Insurance Scheme. He also embarked on 'Bharat Suraksha Yatra' which covered several States taking up the cause of increasing terrorist activities and threats to internal security. He laid emphasis on issues of public interest like spiralling prices of essential commodities, farmers' grievances and other national issues. He has also written a book on Unemployment its Reasons and Remedies. He became the BJP National President on December 31, 2005, a post he held till December 19, 2009. In May 2009, he was elected MP from Ghaziabad in Uttar Pradesh. On May 26, 2014, Shri Rajnath Singh took oath as the Union Minister of India and worked as Union Minister for Home Affairs till 30 May 2019. On May 31, 2019, Shri Rajnath Singh was allocated portfolio of Union Minister for Ministry of Defence.

## **Shri V. Muraleedharan**

Hon'ble Minister of State for External Affairs  
Government of India



Shri V. Muraleedharan, born on 12 December 1958 in Kanuur District of Kerala to Shri Gopalan Vannathan Veetil and Smt. Devaki Namballi Vellam Velli, was sworn in as a Union Minister of State on 30 May 2019 by the President of India. Shri V. Muraleedharan officially took charge as Minister of State for External Affairs and Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs on 31 May 2019. After graduating in English Language and Literature from Government Brennen College, Thalassery, Kerala, Shri Muraleedharan started his journey as an activist in socio-political affairs which vastly enriched his experience. He held various positions such as Vice Chairman of Nehru Yuva Kendra (under Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, Government of India) from 1999-2002 and Director General, from 2002-2004. In April 2018, Shri Muraleedharan was elected to Rajya Sabha from Maharashtra. In June 2018, he was nominated as Member to the Standing Committee on External Affairs. In June 2018, he was also appointed as a Member to the Consultative Committee for the Ministry of Railways. In December 2018, he was appointed as a Member of the Committee on Rules.

## **Ambassador Sujan R. Chinoy**

Director General  
Institute for Defence Studies  
and Analyses, New Delhi



Ambassador Sujan R. Chinoy is the Director General of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi. A career diplomat of the Indian Foreign Service from 1981-2018, he was India's Ambassador to Japan and Mexico.

A specialist with over 25 years of experience on China, East Asia and the Asia-Pacific, he served in Indian Missions in Hong Kong, Beijing, Riyadh, Shanghai and Sydney. He also served as India's representative to the First Committee at the United Nations in New York. At Headquarters, he served as Director (China) as well as Head of the Expert Group of Diplomatic & Military Officials tasked with CBMs and boundary-related issues with China. He also served on the Americas Desk and as Officer on Special Duty (Press Relations). On deputation for four years with the National Security Council Secretariat under the Prime Minister's Office, he worked on internal and external national security policy and anchored strategic dialogues with key interlocutors around the world.

He is fluent in English and Chinese (Mandarin), and conversant in French, Spanish, German, Japanese, Arabic, Urdu and French-Creole.

He schooled at the Rajkumar College (Rajkot), read English Literature at the Maharaja Sayajirao University in Vadodara and gained his Master of Business Administration from Gujarat University. He has an advanced Diploma in Chinese (Mandarin) from the New Asia Yale-in-China Chinese Language Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

## **Vice Admiral Shekhar Sinha (Retd.)**

Member  
Executive Council,  
Institute for Defence Studies  
and Analyses, New Delhi



Vice Admiral Shekhar Sinha served in the Indian Navy for over four decades and retired in April 2014. He is a Naval Pilot with vast experience of flying from aircraft carriers. He is a Flying Instructor. He has held command of four warships including a guided missile destroyer. In the Flag rank he has held command of Goa Area, Western Fleet, HQ Integrated Defence Staff and Western Naval Command. He has, been Flag Officer Naval Aviation, Asst Chief of Naval Staff (Air), Controller Personnel Services, Deputy Chief of Integrated Defence Staff ( Jt. Operations & Perspective Planning and Force Development). He has been conferred upon with two Gallantry awards by the Honourable President of India. He has been a leading Strategic Analyst. Admiral Sinha is Member of Executive Council of IDSA, Governing Council of USI, PPF and ICWA & Chairperson of Board of Trustees of India Foundation.

# *Session I*

*Conceptual Framework of India's  
"Neighbourhood First" Policy*

*Tuesday, 28 January 2020*

*10:45 AM-01.00 PM*

## **Ambassador Kanwal Sibal**

Former Foreign Secretary  
Government of India



Ambassador Kanwal Sibal, with 41 years of experience in diplomacy, is a former Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. He has been Ambassador to Turkey, Egypt, France and Russia, besides his stint as Deputy Chief of Mission in Washington with ambassadorial rank. He was a member of India's National Security Advisory Board from 2008 to 2010. He is on the Board of the New York based East-West Institute and member of the Executive Council of the Vivekananda International Foundation. He is an adviser to the US-India Strategic Partnership Forum. He is also Chairman of the Forum of Strategic and Security Studies. He is an Editorial Consultant to The Indian Defence Review and is Foreign Affairs Editor of Force. He was President of the Association of Indian Diplomats in 2011. He has written more than 500 Op-Eds and other articles for major national journals and periodicals on international affairs. He was made a Grand Officer of the Ordre National du Merite by the French President in 2004. In 2017 he received the Padam Shree award from the President of India. He has been decorated by Russian Foreign Minister on behalf of the Russian Foreign Ministry for Contributions to International Cooperation. His book of poems "Snowflakes of Time" has been published by Bloomsbury in 2016.

## Conceptual Framework of India's "Neighbourhood-First" Policy

*Ambassador Karwal Sibal*

India, as is the case with all countries, attaches priority to relations with neighbours. The goal is to have a stable and peaceful neighbourhood based on non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for their sovereignty, partnership in their economic development and building connectivity.

India, by virtue of its size, looms large in the region. It is accused of a big brotherly attitude by some of its neighbours, largely for domestic political reasons by local elites in these countries. Its smaller neighbours seek to balance India's weight by drawing in external powers in the sub-continent, in particular, China whose increasing presence in the region impinges seriously on India's security. With its Belt and Road Initiative, the China challenge in our neighbourhood has taken on a new dimension. India is confronted with the dilemma of respecting the foreign policy choices of neighbouring countries and yet acting diplomatically to secure its own interests.

India and its neighbours have civilizational, cultural, linguistic, religious and ethnic commonalities. If this provides a strong foundation for intimate ties, it also generates identity as well as ethnicity related issues for the smaller neighbours, which complicates ties at the state level.

India was partitioned on the basis of religion, with the result that the religious divide has not been overcome even now, which explains the sponsorship of terrorism by Pakistan against India by jihadi groups.

Pakistan's endemic hostility towards India has driven a hole in India's "neighbourhood first" policy. SAARC has not reached its potential as a result. The Indian subcontinent remains the least integrated region as compared to others. India has therefore sought to develop BIMSTEC as an alternative framework for its "neighbourhood first" policy.

India does not seek to impose its will on its neighbours or demand strict reciprocity. It is generous to them within its means and the openness others show in strengthening bilateral ties.

## **Ambassador Abdul Ghafoor**

Foreign Secretary  
Government of the Maldives, Male



Ambassador Abdul Ghafoor Mohamed is the current Foreign Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Maldives. He was Permanent Representative of Maldives to the United Nations from September 2009 to February 2012. He was also head of external relations, Tree Top Hospital, Hulhumale, Maldives from May to September 2018 and was a part time lecturer of political science and International Relations in the Maldives National University from July 2016 to April 2018. He has also been the deputy High Commissioner of Maldives in Malaysia in 2006, to Sri Lanka in 2005, Councilor, High Commission of Maldives in Sri Lanka in 2003 and Director (Maldives), SAARC Secretariat, Kathmandu Nepal from 1997 to 2000.

## **Major General Vetsop Namgyel**

Ambassador of Bhutan to India  
Government of Bhutan



Major General Vetsop Namgyel was commissioned from the Indian Military Academy in December 1972. He joined the Royal Body Guards and was appointed as Aide-de-Camp (ADC) to His Majesty The Fourth King in 1974. After his promotion to the Rank of Colonel in 1989 he served as Principal ADC and Military Secretary to His Majesty The Fourth King as well as a senior member of the Royal Secretariat. He was awarded the highest military medal Druk Yugel in 2004 and promoted to the Rank of Major General in 2005. He received the prestigious Druk Thuksey (Heart Son of Bhutan) Medal from His Majesty The King in 2010. Major General Vetsop Namgyel has been serving as Bhutan's Ambassador to India since January 2009.

## **Ambassador Munshi Faiz Ahmad**

Former Chairman

Bangladesh Institute of International  
and Strategic Studies (BISS), Dhaka.



Ambassador Munshi Faiz Ahmad obtained BA (Hons.) and MA degrees in Political Science from the University of Dhaka in 1975, 76 respectively. He served as a Class One officer in the Bangladesh Bank from October 1976 to February 1979. He joined Bangladesh Civil Service (Foreign Affairs) in March 1979. In a long diplomatic career spanning over thirty three years, he served in Bangladesh missions in China, Hong Kong, UK, Qatar, USA and Singapore in different capacities. Notable among these are his assignments as Consul General in New York and Deputy Permanent Representative at the Bangladesh Permanent Mission in New York with the rank and status of an Ambassador (2001-2003), as High Commissioner in Singapore (June 2003-July 2007), and Ambassador in Beijing (August 2007-October 2012). As Ambassador to China he was also concurrently accredited to DPRK and Mongolia. During his diplomatic career, Ambassador Ahmad has participated in many international conferences/seminars and represented Bangladesh in many negotiations as a member/head of Bangladesh delegations. He served as Chairman, Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BISS) from March 2013 to December 2019.

## **India's "Neighbourhood First" Policy: Perspective from Bangladesh**

*Ambassador Munshi Faiz Ahmad*

All countries big and small have their own neighbourhood policies, whether or not it is so called. "Geo-Politics" is a very commonly used term in international relations. Simply put it is the geography and the politics of interstate relations. Geography is the constant and politics is the variable. Neighbourhood is critically important because of the 'Geography' which also means shared history and culture that dictates the politics in many ways. When any country formulates its neighbourhood policy, it works on two levels: 1) general principles and aims and 2) existing reality, comprising past and current relations and a vision of the future with each individual neighbour. A country's neighbourhood policy has to contend with the counterpart policies of each neighbour. This could see countries involved in conflict, competition or cooperation. However, as I believe in the ultimate aim of diplomacy or international relations as peace, stability and cooperation, resulting in shared and inclusive progress and prosperity, I hope that countries should strive towards complementary neighbourhood policies as opposed to conflicting or confrontational ones. Relations between and among states have many important aspects like political, security, economic, financial cultural, connectivity infrastructural or physical -institutional or G to G, B to B as well as P to P. However, all these are likely to have special importance in terms of relations between and among neighbours.

When India outlines its "Neighbourhood First Policy", our obvious reaction is one of hope. Hope for steadily strengthening cooperation and friendship. Prime Minister Modi's tenet of "Sabko Sath-Sabko Bikas" greatly encourages such hope. However, it is necessary for us to look more closely at the details of our relations to understand better the current state of relations between these two neighbours – Bangladesh and India. While leaders on both sides agree that we are enjoying the best relations ever, since Bangladesh's war of liberation and early days after the liberation. It is important to understand how we have arrived where we are, what we have achieved in our relations so far, and where progress has not been satisfactory, what are the current challenges and how we can address them? All said and done, we have arrived at a promising plateau from where to mount a new climb to higher levels of cooperation and friendship.

## **Dr. Shaida Mohammad Abdali**

Former Afghan Ambassador to India  
Government of Afghanistan



Dr. Shaida Mohammad Abdali is the former Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan to the Republic of India. He was also the non-resident Ambassador of Afghanistan to Nepal, Bhutan and the Maldives. He has, an M.A. in Strategic Security Studies from the National Defense University of the United States, and a PhD from the School of International Studies, on Afghanistan's engagement with India and Pakistan: A study of political stability and economic cooperation, 2001 - 2014, which he pursued at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU). He formerly served as the Deputy National Security Advisor and Special Assistant to the former President of Afghanistan, H.E. Hamid Karzai. Ambassador Abdali provided the President with policy and oversight advice on national security issues. In 2001, President Karzai appointed him as his Personal Secretary.

Ambassador Abdali was awarded the High State Medal of Wazir Mohammed Akbar Khan in 2014 by President Karzai for his tireless and dedicated services as Deputy National Security Adviser (2009-2012), Special Assistant to the President (2001-2008), as well as for his hard efforts to further promote and expand Indo-Afghan relations as Ambassador of Afghanistan to India (2012-2018). The other awards Ambassador Abdali has received includes a certificate of appreciation by the Afghan Senate and parliament for his devoted public services as Afghan Ambassador to India in 2014; a medal for his contribution in the convening of the Constitutional Loya Jirga (Grand Assembly) in 2004; an Afghan Presidential Certificate of Appreciation in 2005 and the Achievement and Excellence Award in 2007. Internationally, he has been honoured with the CCI Technology Education Excellence Award in 2014 for initiating and promoting education ties between India and Afghanistan; the Honorary Texan Award in the United States of America; the World Green Diplomacy Award in New Delhi in 2013; a Gold Medal for fostering diplomatic relations between Afghanistan and India by Amity University; and a Life Time Achievement Award by the Lions International Club.

In 2015, Mr. Abdali received an Outstanding Achievement Award as the Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan to India from National Defense University, US. He is the author of the book titled "Afghanistan, Pakistan and India: A Paradigm Shift."

## **Afghanistan's Perspective on India's "Neighbourhood First" Policy**

*Dr. Shaida Mohammad Abdali*

Afghanistan appreciates India's generous assistance in various areas including political, economic, security, educational, and cultural over the years. India's principled position to strengthen state to state relationship has been highly appreciated, unlike some of our neighbors trying to sideline and undermine the Afghan State/Government by establishing ties with non-state actors. This is the most damaging fact that certain states in the region are dealing with war elements, as part of state policy. India is well positioned to work multilaterally with like-minded partners and the United Nations (e.g. Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy) to counter such behavior, find durable solutions, and further nurture the norm of state to state relationship at the regional and global level. The "India Way" needs to change from slow delivery on commitments to fast delivery on commitments. Chabahar is a case in point. India can and should do a lot more in Afghanistan by investing in major connectivity infrastructure projects, including additional highways, railways, airports, as well as energy pipelines that enable our two nations to connect with Central Asia (a source of energy and market for consumer goods) as part of India's Connect Central Asia Policy.

"Neighbourhood First Policy" (NFP) is basically to strengthen regional connectivity, shared prosperity and economic cooperation in South Asia. Much has been achieved since 2014, but much more could be achieved if the available regional potential is fully realized. There are a number of unresolved geo-strategic, geo-economic and geo-political disputes within the region. Regional economic rivalry is causing provocative economic initiatives rather than accommodative economic initiatives. The lack of proper rail and road infrastructure, and state and non-state sponsorship of terrorism and drug trafficking add to the problem.

## *Session II*

*Economic and Development Cooperation*

*Tuesday, 28 January 2020*

*02.00 PM-04.00 PM Chairperson*

## Dr. Sanjaya Baru

Former Media Advisor to Prime Minister  
Currently Distinguished Fellow,  
Institute for Defence Studies  
and Analysis, New Delhi.



Dr. Sanjaya Baru is Distinguished Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies & Analysis, New Delhi. He has been editor of India's major financial newspapers, *The Economic Times*, *Financial Express* and *Business Standard*. He was Media Advisor to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Director for Geo-economics and Strategy, International Institute of Strategic Studies, London. He was professor of economics at University of Hyderabad, Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations and the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, Singapore. He was Secretary-General, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry. He was member of India's National Security Advisory Board in 1999-2001 and member of the Governing Board of the Centre for Policy Research. He is Founder-Trustee, Forum for National Security Studies, India. He was also member India-ASEAN Eminent Persons Group in 2010. His publications (Books) include *The Strategic Consequences of India's Economic Rise*, *India and the World: Essays on Geo-economics and Foreign Policy*, *The Accidental Prime Minister: The Making and Unmaking of Manmohan Singh* and *1991: How PV Narasimha Rao Made History* and *The Bombay Plan: A Blueprint for Economic Resurgence* (2018).

## **Professor Sachin Chaturvedi**

Director General  
Research and Information System  
for Developing Countries  
(RIS), New Delhi.



Professor Sachin Chaturvedi is Director General at the Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS), a New Delhi-based Think-tank. He was Global Justice Fellow at the MacMillan Center for International Affairs at Yale University. He has done his Ph.D. in Economics on 'India-Singapore Trade Relations' from Ambedkar University. He works on issues related to development economics, involving development finance, SDGs and South-South Cooperation. He has also worked on trade, investment, technology and innovation linkages with special focus on WTO.

He has authored / edited 13 books, apart from contributing chapters in edited volumes and publishing several research articles in various prestigious journals. He has served as a Visiting Professor at the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU). He had been a Developing Country Fellow at the University of Amsterdam (1996) and Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Advanced Studies, Shimla (2003), and Visiting Scholar at the German Development Institute (2007). He is also on the Editorial Advisory Board of IDS Bulletin, Sussex, UK.

## India's Development Cooperation with Neighbouring Countries

*Professor Sachin Chaturvedi*

India's development cooperation approach is based on the strong edifice of 'Development Compact' which includes the five modalities viz. capacity building, grant, lines of credit, trade and technology transfer.

India has allocated more lines of credit (LoC) (concessional financing) to the neighbourhood than ever before. India's policy of "Neighbourhood First" focuses on creating mutually beneficial, people oriented, regional frameworks for stability and prosperity in the region. Recently, India also launched initiatives including 'New Development Partnership' with Afghanistan and India-Nepal New Partnership in Agriculture. Projects in roads, inland waterways, ports, space-based applications, capacity building and energy are also being implemented with our partners in the neighbourhood.

Recently, India and Nepal jointly inaugurated South Asia's first cross-border petroleum products pipeline from Motihari in India to Amlekhgunj in Nepal and the second Integrated Check Post (ICP) at Jogbani Biratnagar. India also successfully launched the first-ever South Asia Satellite (SAS) in order to boost communication and improve disaster-resilience links in the region. Initiatives for broadening people to people contact have also increased.

India has also signed many bilateral agreements with neighbouring countries to enhance connectivity and energy trade. These include the coastal shipping agreement for direct sea movement of containerized/bulk/dry cargo signed between India and Bangladesh and an agreement on the use of Chittagong and Mongla Ports for transshipment of goods to and from India. India and Nepal have also signed an agreement on Electric Power Trade, Cross-Border Transmission Interconnection and Grid Connectivity. Apart from this, India and Afghanistan established a direct air freight corridor recently.

However, there are several issues that are of key significance as India moves ahead in the region. First and foremost is to accelerate the new efforts of timely completion of quality projects that India is undertaking across the neighbouring countries. Second is to bring in the scope for impact assessment of the development projects. India may need to firm up methodologies for the same, in consultation with the partner countries. That is how to take this out of G2G framework and implement them, across others in the P2P framework.

## **Professor Bishwambher Pyakuryal**

Chairman

Institute for Strategic and  
Socio-Economic Research (ISSR), Kathmandu



Professor Bishwambher Pyakuryal taught Economics at Tribhuvan University for thirty-nine years. He holds Masters degree and Ph.D. in Economics from Tribhuvan University and Masters in International Affairs majoring in Development Studies from Ohio University, USA. As a Senior Fulbright Scholar he completed Post-Doctoral Research in Economics from the University of Maryland at College Park, USA. Professor Pyakuryal has been professional Associate at the East-West Center, Honolulu; a Scholar-in-Residence of the Rockefeller Foundation in Italy; and a visiting scholar at the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) in Washington, D.C. Professor Pyakuryal is also a Fellow at South Asia Network for Environmental Economics and Development (SANDEE).

Professor Pyakuryal was the Nepalese ambassador to Sri Lanka and the Maldives until August 2019. He was the Chairman of Nepal Industrial Development Corporation (NIDC); a member of the board of Nepal's central bank (Nepal Rastra Bank); a member of Trade Advisory Committee headed by the Prime Minister; a member of the advisory board of the Office of Auditor General; a Chairman of High-level Public Expenditure Commission of the government of Nepal; a Commissioner of the Independent South Asian Commission on Poverty Alleviation of SAARC. He was also a Commissioner of Electricity Tariff Fixation Commission.

He is a member of the editorial advisory board of the South Asian Economic Journal published by Sage and development Cooperation Review by RIS, New Delhi. Professor Pyakuryal has written co-authored and edited thirteen books and published research articles in accredited national and international journals and has worked as an international consultant to the World Bank, IFC, ADB, UNDP, UNCTAD, UNFPA, ESCAP, IUCN, IPPF, WHO, CIDA, ICEG, EU, The Asia Foundation; IRIS Center, U.S.A; UN/APCAEM; DFID; SDC; ILO; FAO; and IFPRI.

## Emerging Trends in India-Nepal Development Cooperation

*Professor Bishwambher Pyakuryal*

Development is in transition. Countries that have achieved in increasing their levels of national income, reduce poverty, improve health and education and yet such gains have not been distributed equally. Studies have revealed, both vertical and horizontal inequalities have generated extreme exclusion and marginalization. It necessitates economic policy to target equality as well as growth. Although globalization connects global market, it has increased inequality at different levels with numerous political backlash, making the international cooperation task, a big challenge. Nepal's geo-political landscape reflects multi-polarity engaged with multi-stakeholder dealings at multilevel. Nepal-India bilateral relation in this context is unique in the sense that economic interdependence is not found elsewhere with other SAARC member countries.

Our study conducted on Indian Aid Policy to Nepal reveals that Indian aid to Nepal has the built-in quality of wider coverage with human face. The Indian cooperation history of economic development which started immediately after Nepal established diplomatic relations with India on 17 June 1947 shows, India supported the investments in large-scale infrastructure development projects at Nepal's request. The recent trend in Indian aid history shows that India has now shifted towards smaller projects that directly benefit to the people. However, looking at the establishment of Trauma Centre and a number of large projects such as Optical Fibre Project, Manmohan Memorial polytechnic Projects, a balanced approach has been taken by the Indian Government for initiating small and big projects. A positive socio-economic impact has been visualized even with large projects. In most of such projects, it is visible that the transfer and adoption of technology have facilitated Nepal's absorptive capacity by generating employment and increasing income.

## **Ambassador Sudhir Vyas**

Former Secretary, Government of India  
& Former Ambassador to Bhutan



Ambassador Sudhir Vyas retired in 2013 as Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, after over 36 years as a Diplomat with the Indian Foreign Service.

Ambassador Vyas graduated with a B.Tech degree in Engineering from the Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur in 1975, and was selected to join the Indian Foreign Service in 1977. In the course of his career, he has served as Ambassador of India to Germany (2009-2011), to Bhutan (2005-2009) and to the UAE (2003-2005); as Deputy High Commissioner in Pakistan (1999-2003) and Tanzania; and in various other positions at the Permanent Mission of India to the United Nations at New York; as well as our Embassies in Nepal, Algeria and Egypt.

At the Ministry of External Affairs in New Delhi, he has held Secretary-level positions dealing with India's bilateral relationships with Europe, Canada, Africa and Latin America, and India's Economic Relations; and earlier, at Head of Division Level, with SAARC and India's northern neighbours.

## **“Neighbourhood First”: Economic and Development Cooperation with Bhutan**

*Ambassador Sudhir Vyas*

If there is one bilateral relationship in India’s neighbourhood that provides substantive content to the term “strategic partnership” it is with Bhutan. The paper traces, in broad strokes, the process of planned economic and social development and the far-reaching programmes of cooperation between Bhutan and India that have today matured into an enduring mutually beneficial partnership. This economic interdependency is the backbone of strong bilateral political relations, giving them depth and stability. And yet these very forces of change have impacted Bhutan itself, introducing new dimensions and demands in the political economy of the country, new aspirations and hopes, and inevitably in our bilateral relationship as well. Even as the “Neighbourhood First” policy enunciated by the present Indian Government will be called upon to respond to these new directions of a changing, more youthful, Bhutan, India has evolved alongside with new capacities, energy and influence to harness and channel these developments to serve the best interests of the country and the bilateral relationship. The paper examines how the policy has been reflected in the present government’s bilateral outreach so far, some of the challenges and questions that it will have to find answers to, and identifies a few broad areas and themes of contemporary bilateral and regional relevance which should dominate the bilateral agenda in coming years.

## **Dr. Ganeshan Wignaraja**

Executive Director

Lakshman Kadirgamar Institute of International Relations and Strategic Studies, Colombo



Dr. Ganeshan Wignaraja is the Executive Director at the Lakshman Kadirgamar Institute of International Relations and Strategic Studies in Sri Lanka. Dr. Wignaraja has a DPhil in economics from Oxford University. He concurrently serves as a Member of the Monetary Policy Consultative Committee of the Central Bank of Sri Lanka and the Prime Minister's Task Force on the Indian Ocean. He is also a Senior Research Associate at the Overseas Development Institute in London. In a career spanning over twenty-five years in the UK and Asia, Dr. Wignaraja has had senior roles in international organizations, including the Director of Research at the ADB Institute in Tokyo and the private sector Global Head of Trade and Competitiveness at Maxwell Stamp PLC in London. His expertise covers trade and competitiveness, global supply chains and SMEs, infrastructure connectivity, development finance and macroeconomic policy. He has published eighteen books on these topics and successfully led teams to deliver complex projects in over thirty countries in Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America. His latest monograph is *Asia in 2025: Development Challenges and Prospects for Middle-Income Countries*.

## **India's "Neighbourhood First" Policy and Sri Lanka: Towards 'Win-Win' in a Region of Great Power Competition**

*Dr. Ganeshan Wignaraja and Mr. Malinda Meegoda*

India's transformation into a global middle power has cemented its position as the leading growth centre in the Indian Ocean Region amidst rising great power competition. While Sri Lanka's relationship with New Delhi has been mixed in recent decades, there is renewed optimism that relations can be recalibrated to mutual benefit following India's adoption of a neighbourhood first policy and the high-level visit of newly elected President Gotabaya Rajapaksa in late November 2019.

This paper reflects on Sri Lanka's foreign relations with India since the end of the civil conflict in 2009 with a view to drawing policy implications. The paper will primarily focus on three key issues; security cooperation, development aid and bilateral trade and foreign direct investment (FDI). To the extent possible, the paper will do this in a comparative context of Sri Lanka's relations with China. Finally, the paper will attempt to draw out some lessons from past experiences in order to forge a more robust bilateral relationship between Colombo and New Delhi.

## **Mr. Nazir Kabiri**

Executive Director  
Biruni Institute, Kabul



Mr. Nazir Kabiri is the Executive Director of the Biruni Institute. The Institute is an independent, non-partisan, and not-for-profit public policy think tank focused on economic and development issues of Afghanistan. Nazir Kabiri holds a degree in Management from South Korea, a BA in Economics from Kabul University and a Master's Degree in Development Economics (Fulbright Scholar) from the United States. He is frequently contacted by the media on issues related to the Afghan economy and regional issues.

Previously, he served as a Senior Policy Advisor to the Finance Minister of Afghanistan for over six years. Nazir Kabiri advised the Minister of Finance on a broad range of policy issues that included input on Government's major reform agendas, public finance management, aid effectiveness and regional economic cooperation. He was also a key interlocutor in the Ministry of Finance for international institutions and bilateral donors. Nazir Kabiri has been working in Afghanistan with NGOs and Government institutions since 2002 including working for the UK's DFID for five years.

## **India's Model of Development Cooperation based on the Principles of South-South Cooperation and Afghanistan's Perception as a Recipient/Partner Country**

*Mr. Nazir Kabiri*

Afghanistan and India are bound with shared history, culture and strong people to people bonds. However, both countries continuously suffer from terrorism sponsored by one of the states in the neighbourhood. This common challenge requires both India and Afghanistan to further intensify their bilateral cooperation to bypass the negative agendas imposed.

The Grand Trunk Road renovated and extended by Sher Shah Suri, a Pashtun emperor of Delhi, connected Kabul to Kolkata and functioned as one of the major trade routes facilitated both travel and postal communication for centuries. Directly connected by a road in the 16th century, both India and Afghanistan are now denied basic connectivity and bilateral trade after the creation of Pakistan in 1947. With the overall political environment not conducive for deepening wider economic cooperation in the South Asia region at the multilateral level (suspension of SAARC meetings etc.), both India and Afghanistan should work together at the bilateral level to improve economic ties between the two countries. By pushing stronger economic and diplomatic relations, both nations can bypass the negative agendas in the region in the form of state-sponsorship of terrorism. Also, with the ongoing peace negotiations in Afghanistan, and speaking of continued development cooperation between India and Afghanistan, it's vital to explore post peace economic opportunities in Afghanistan. Biruni's findings shows that Afghanistan, will continue to rely on donor grants to finance both its civilian and security spending needs for the foreseeable future. Provided the ideological basis for the Taliban's war against the presence of NATO allies in Afghanistan, it is unclear what the Taliban's position would be when it comes to the receipt of international donor assistance by the same of the western countries against which the Taliban have waged war.

It's in this context that the role of the non-traditional donors and regional countries like India comes to into the play. In a post peace scenario, India is certainly expected to do more in Afghanistan's post-peace settlement economic recovery and in an effort to fill the gap for the western sponsors.

## **Session III**

*Connectivity Initiatives and  
Infrastructure Development*

*Tuesday, 28 January 2020*

*04.15 PM-06.00 PM*

## *Chairperson*

### **Ambassador Leela K. Ponappa**

Former Deputy National Security Advisor  
Government of India, New Delhi



Ambassador Leela K. Ponappa was the Deputy National Security Advisor and Secretary, National Security Council Secretariat from 2007-2009. Ambassador Ponappa, a career diplomat, joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1970. She has served as Ambassador of India to the Netherlands and Permanent Representative to the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (2005-2006). She was also Ambassador to Thailand and Permanent Representative of India to the UNESCAP (2002-2004). She has held several positions at the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) in New Delhi, including Joint/Additional Secretary for Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Myanmar and the Maldives (1998-2001), Joint Secretary in charge of the Consular, Passport, Visa & Overseas Indians Division (1992-1994) and for SAARC from 1986-1990. She was Senior Directing Staff at the National Defence College from 1995-1998. After serving as Deputy Consul General in San Francisco (1978-82), she was a Research Associate at the Centre for South and Southeast Asia, University of California, Berkeley. She dealt with India's relations with Pakistan and Afghanistan from 1975-1978.

She has dealt extensively with India's relations with its neighbours covering a range of issues including border negotiations; national security including defence, terrorism and narcotics; sharing of river waters, disaster management and infrastructure projects; migration; economic affairs including India-U.S. trade and investment, negotiation and implementation of the India-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement and the India-Thailand Framework Free Trade Agreement; regional cooperation through SAARC, BIMSTEC and the UNESCAP. She also introduced computerisation in MEA for property, administrative and Haj matters.

Post retirement in 2009, she has been Vice Chairperson of the Governing Council of RIS (Research and Information Systems for Developing Countries), an Independent Member of the News Broadcasting Standards Authority and Chairperson of CSCAP-India (Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific).

## Professor Prabir De

Coordinator, ASEAN- India Centre  
Research and Information System  
for Developing Countries (RIS), New Delhi



Dr. Prabir De is a Professor at the Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS), New Delhi, and also Head of the ASEAN-India Centre (AIC), RIS. Dr. De works in the field of international economics and has research interests in international trade and development. He was a Visiting Fellow of the Institute of Developing Economies (IDE-JETRO), Japan; Asian Development Bank Institute (ADBI), Tokyo; and Visiting Senior Fellow of United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP), Bangkok. He has been conducting policy research for the Government of India and several national and international organisations. Dr. De has a Ph.D. in Economics from the Jadavpur University, Kolkata. He has contributed several research papers in international journals and written books on trade and development. His recent books include *Act East to Act Indo-Pacific: India's Expanding Neighbourhood* (Knowledge World, 2019); *Twenty Years of BIMSTEC: Promoting Regional Cooperation and Integration in the Bay of Bengal Region* (BIMSTEC Secretariat, 2018); *Celebrating the Third Decade and Beyond: New Challenges to ASEAN-India Economic Partnership* (Routledge, 2018); *Myanmar's Integration with the World: Challenges and Policy Options* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), etc. His research papers were published in several peer-reviewed journals such as *Journal of Economic Integration*, *Journal of Asian Economics*, *Contemporary South Asia*, *Journal of International Logistics and Trade*, *Maritime Economics & Logistics*, *Transportation Quarterly*, *Maritime Policy and Management*, *International Journal of Maritime Economics*, *Economic and Political Weekly*, *Journal of Contemporary Asia-Pacific Studies*, *The Journal of the Korean Economy*, *Journal of Integration and Trade*, *Asian Development Review*, *Northeast Asian Economic Review*, *Foreign Trade Review*, etc. He is also Editor of *South Asia Economic Journal* and the Founding Editor of the *Journal of Asian Economic Integration*, both published by Sage.

## What Role Should Connectivity Play in Reenergising South Asia?

*Professor Prabir De*

South Asian countries have increasingly recognized the importance of regional connectivity in boosting their competitiveness and accelerating growth. Regional trade in South Asia has increased from less than 2 percent in 2006, when the SAFTA was signed, to over 6 percent in 2018. Although rise in intra-South Asia trade is marginal, what the South Asian countries recognize is that regional connectivity is key to unlocking trade potentials, which is estimated to be over US\$ 100 billion at current price. How does connectivity lead to high trade and then strengthening integration? Better connectivity between nations leads to improved economic growth and trade, *ceteris paribus*.

South Asian countries, compared to 2010, are now well connected, except between India and Pakistan, where connectivity has been withdrawn. Connectivity challenges are different in large economy than island or mountain economies in South Asia. What is missing is that transport networks are not fully operationalised or integrated. Inter-operability is yet to happen in digital networks and trade transactions. Non-physical barriers at borders in terms of both trade and transport also exist in a large way, resulting in higher transaction costs and time. Paperless trade, for example, is to see a substantial progress in South Asia. What follows is that the region lacks an integrated vision of regional connectivity.

However, the reality is South Asian integration process has slowed down in recent years. At this challenging time, South Asian countries have been facing enormous task to strengthen the integration. Improved connectivity, particularly digital connectivity, may encourage innovation, new competition and lead to gain huge social benefits. These are the new areas which South Asian countries need more than anything else. At the same time, reenergising the regional integration process does need not only strong political commitments but also a new vision and a stagey for South Asia.

Yet, the role that connectivity can and should play in the reenergising of regional integration in South Asia still remains somewhat unclear at the present regional geo-political context. In view of the above, the primary objective of this paper is to unravel such relationship and present a narrative to reenergise the South Asian regional economic integration.

## Professor Delwar Hossain

Department of International Relations  
University of Dhaka



Professor Delwar Hossain, Ph.D. is Professor of International Relations, University of Dhaka Bangladesh and concurrently the Director of the East Asia Center, University of Dhaka. Professor Delwar was the Chair of the Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka during 2009-2012. Professor Delwar earned his Bachelor of Social Sciences (Hons.) and Master of Social Sciences degrees in International Relations from the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh. He did his second Master's degree in Asia Pacific International Relations from International University of Japan (IUJ). Professor Delwar earned his Ph.D. in global and intercultural studies from Ferris University in Yokohama, Japan as a Monbukagakusho scholar in 2007.

He has widely published in the fields of foreign policy, conflict studies, globalization, regional and international cooperation, civil society and human security, area studies with special reference to South Asia, Southeast and East Asia. Professor Delwar authored books on *Globalization and New Regionalism in South Asia: Issues and Dynamics* (Dhaka, 2010); *Partition and Conflict: The Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh* (Sage, India, 2015). Professor Delwar has contributed chapters in the books entitled: "The Dynamics of Bangladesh-India Relations: From a Paradigm Shift to a Challenging Era?" in Amit Ranjan, ed. *India in South Asia: Challenges and Management*, (Singapore: Springer, 2019). Some his other publications include "China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI and South Asia", East Asia Center, Dhaka University, 2016; "Asian Community Building: Vision, Progress and Challenges", Yamaguchi University, Japan, 2017.

Professor Delwar is an adjunct faculty member to national institutions such as National Defence College, Foreign Service Academy, Bangladesh Institute of Governance and Management, Bangladesh Ansar Academy. Professor Delwar contributes columns in newspapers and regularly speaks in Television Talk shows in Bangladesh on issues related to foreign policy and global affairs.

## **Bangladesh-India Relations and the Politics of Connectivity: A New Bilateralism?**

*Professor Delwar Hossain*

Bangladesh and India have deepened and widened their bilateral relations over the past decade. The evolving context of their relations has created a new opportunity for the two countries to reap mutual gains from connectivity in the age of globalization. The foreign policy imperatives of Bangladesh and India have made it crystal clear that the need for connectivity is a top priority for both the nations. Idea of multimodal connectivity in the long trajectory of Bangladesh-India relations is a recent phenomenon. In fact, the issue of 'transit', 'transshipment' facilities or 'corridor' was highly controversial in Bangladesh for decades. It was once termed as the most vexed issue between two countries. The change of narrative from 'transit' to 'connectivity' came in the context of revitalizing of partnership between the two countries since the early 2010s. Despite strong resistance by opposition political parties in Bangladesh, the Hasina government decided to extend transit facilities to India. The historic visit of Sheikh Hasina to New Delhi, India in January 2010 paved the way for a new framework of bilateral relations between the two countries. A 50-point joint statement highlighted the need for transit for the first time at summit level. From an understanding of temporary transshipment arrangement of iron rods from Kolkata to Tripura to Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) on the use of Chattogram and Mongla Ports of Bangladesh for movement of goods to and from India, 2019 reflect salience of connectivity between the two nations. The underlying strength of Bangladesh-India connectivity lies with their sharing of a long land border stretching over 4,097 km and geopolitical location. In this context, the paper critically investigates whether the connectivity initiatives between the two countries have created a new bilateralism. It also further deals with the question of sustainability of these initiatives against the changing contours of bilateral relations and regional scenarios

## **Mr. U. Khin Maung Lynn**

Joint Secretary (1)  
Myanmar Institute of Strategic  
and International Studies, Yangon



Mr. U Khin Maung Lynn is currently serving as Joint Secretary (1) of the Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies in Yangon, Myanmar, since April 2013.

Mr Lynn served in the foreign service of the Government of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar for over thirty-six years before retiring as Charge d’Affaires/ Minister-Counsellor at the Myanmar Embassy in Kuwait. He held various diplomatic posts at the Myanmar missions in London, Geneva, New York, Tokyo, Islamabad, Kuala Lumpur, Manila, Riyadh and Kuwait.

During his career, he also served in various capacities in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Myanmar at the International Organizations and Economic Department, Minister’s Office, and the Political Department. He was Assistant Director of the Boundary Division, Political Department from 1993 to 1996 and served as Deputy Director in the Southeast Asia Division, Political Department, from 1998 to 2001 and as Director from 2005 to 2007. He led diplomatic missions to open new Myanmar embassies in Riyadh in 2007 and in Kuwait in 2009.

He retired from the Myanmar Foreign service in January 2011 and since August 2012 he has been involved in Track II diplomacy. He was also a part-time advisor from 2012 to 2013 with the International Management Group (IMG), an intergovernmental organization, implementation of capacity building projects for personnel of the Myanmar civil service and the Myanmar Foreign Service, with funds provided by the Norwegian Government and EU.

## Myanmar's Perspective on India's "Neighbourhood First" Policy

*Mr. U Khin Maung Lynn*

In this age of globalization, countries are more indispensable to each other and closely interconnected to each other more than ever. Developments in economies, politics, socio-culture, security and defense, foreign policy, and international relations of one country, especially the super powers, regional powers and middle powers have become underlying factors that affect national interests of other countries particularly that of small or weak countries, in one way or another. Thus check and balance to a regional order has become very important and essential for every country in maintaining peace, stability and security of a region. India, with its huge size and population, its growing economic power, its advancements in science and technology and as a regional equalizer, is crucial in playing a key role in maintaining regional balance of power in Asia-Pacific region.

India's active participation and effective contribution in regional affairs is mainly based on its long term foreign policy which is "Act East Policy (AEP)," upgraded from the previous policy of "Look East Policy (LEP)" to actively engage with East Asia and Southeast Asia countries. Meanwhile, Prime Minister Modi's government has been actively pursuing a significant foreign policy of "Neighbourhood First Policy (NFP)" recognizing the important role of neighbouring countries in promoting its own national interest as well as the economic development of India's neighbours based on principle of mutual benefit. It has been witnessed that under NFP policy, relations between India and her immediate neighbours including Myanmar, have improved significantly during recent years.

From the Myanmar's perspective, promoting its friendship not only with China but also with India is paramount to its foreign policy which values its neutralism, friendship with all and based on its own national interest. It is an undeniable fact that under NFP, relations between Myanmar and India have entered into a new era with more significant results in all areas of cooperation, while there is still a huge potential to be explored for the benefit of both our countries and peoples.

## **Ambassador Pinak Ranjan Chakravarty**

Former High Commissioner to Bangladesh  
& Visiting Fellow, Observer Research Foundation  
(ORF), New Delhi



Ambassador Pinak Chakravarty is a Visiting Fellow with ORF's Regional Studies Initiative, where he oversees the West Asia Initiative, Bangladesh and selected ASEAN-related issues. He joined the ORF in October 2014. A former member of the Indian Foreign Service (1977 batch), he has served as a diplomat in Indian Diplomatic Missions in Cairo, Jeddah and London. Later, was Consul-General of India in Karachi, 1994-1995; Counsellor/Minister, DCM at the Indian Embassy in Tel Aviv, 1995-1999; and Deputy High Commissioner at Dhaka, 1999-2002. At the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), he served as Deputy Chief of Protocol, Deputy Secretary/Director in the Americas Division and as Director, SAARC Summit Secretariat, 1995. He was the Chief of Protocol from 2002 to 2006, after which he was nominated as Ambassador to the Philippines but later shifted to Bangladesh where he served as High Commissioner from 2007 to 2009. From 2010 to 2011 he served as Ambassador to Thailand. Returning to Delhi he served as Special Secretary (Public Diplomacy) before he was appointed Secretary (Economic Relations) in the MEA. He retired from service in September 2013. He is a regular contributor to newspapers, journals and books. His latest journal article is titled "Bangladesh-India Ties: Pragmatic Transformation," published in the *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*. One of his recent book chapters is titled "Bridging the Hiatus of History: India's Look East Policy" in *India's Asia-Pacific Engagement: Impulses and Imperatives* (Manohar 2015). He also participates in TV programmes on foreign policy and strategic affairs.

## **Connectivity Initiatives between India and Bangladesh**

*Ambassador Pinak Ranjan Chakravarty*

India's neighbourhood has always dominated her foreign policy discourse, since the fundamental premise of seeking a peaceful and secure periphery has been the default option for achieving the principal national goal of development. While India has had varying success in its ties with its neighbours, relations with Bangladesh today have reached a stage not seen before. Among the factors that underpin a strategic relationship between nations is Connectivity, both physical and non-physical. Physical connectivity is essential for trade, movement of people and goods. Infrastructure for physical connectivity has to be built to facilitate close linkages between strategic partners. Improving connectivity is crucial for security and development. Globalization has fostered connectivity which has contributed to development impulses spreading in a region, adding dynamism to economic and social progress.

Intra-South Asia trade is a measly 5% of the cumulative trade of South Asian countries and one, among many reasons is poor connectivity. Bangladesh and India as close neighbours and strategic partners have promoted connectivity of different kinds. As part of undivided India, there was connectivity via air, road, rail and waterways. Even after Partition, this Connectivity remained till the India-Pakistan War of 1965 after which there was connectivity between India and East Pakistan was reduced to the bare minimum. After 1971, with Bangladesh emerging as a new nation, connectivity was revived.

Today connectivity covers many domains - Bus services, passenger and goods trains, more rail linkages, improved roads and border crossings, waterways, electricity grid, coastal shipping, cyber links, people to people links, security, defence and many more. Connectivity initiatives have received the full support of both Governments.

## **Dr. Nihar R. Nayak**

Research Fellow  
Institute for Defence Studies  
and Analyses, New Delhi



Dr. Nihar R. Nayak is Research Fellow with IDSA, New Delhi. His area of expertise is Climate Change impact in the Himalayan region, non-traditional security, Maoist conflict and cooperative security in South Asia. Dr. Nayak has completed PhD in International Politics from JNU. He was Visiting Fellow to PRIO, Oslo, from June 6 to July 7, 2006 and July 2007. He did a special course on Peace Research in International Summer School from Oslo University in 2007. He has been Visiting Faculty to the Center for the Study of Nepal, Faculty of Social Science, Banaras Hindu University in 2011. He has been Guest Faculty to LBSNAA, Mussoorie since September 2006. Dr. Nayak has both national and international publications including the book *Strategic Himalayas: Republican Nepal and External Powers*.

## **Re-linking the Land locked Countries: India's Connectivity Initiatives and Options before Nepal and Bhutan**

*Dr. Nihar R. Nayak*

The Himalayas has always remained a challenge as well as an opportunity for its neighbours. It has been an opportunity for India as it acted as a formidable defence barrier for perceived threats from the north. At the same time, the Himalayas have been major challenges for the smaller countries like Nepal and Bhutan and given the geography, it has made them dependant on India. Around 60 per cent of Nepal's trade is with India. Although it shares 1,439 km of border with China, the Himalayan terrain and the distance between Nepal and the Chinese mainland and seaports does not make it economically viable transit route. As a result, traditionally, Nepal's trade with China has mostly been with Tibet through the Kodari-Tatopani trading route. As far as Bhutan is concerned, absence of diplomatic ties with China apart from geographical limitations has made it depend on India for its trade and transit.

Therefore, in comparison to the countries that have easy access to sea, Nepal and Bhutan's economic growth is slower, primarily because of their distance from seaports, poor external and internal physical connectivity, and high tariffs, cumbersome clearance procedures in the transit country, and poor infrastructure and industrial case. Historically, this has been a major agenda for negotiation of Nepal and Bhutan with India. Though India was engaged in infrastructure projects, the delivery deficit in terms of completing projects in time has been a major problem. Hence, since the past few years, India has undertaken multiple land-based transportation projects both at the sub-regional and bilateral level under its 'neighbourhood first policy'.

Now, these two Himalayan countries have alternatives to move beyond India. Bangladesh has already opened up its seaports for use by Nepal and Bhutan both bilaterally and sub regionally through BBIN framework. Apart from that, India's development of infrastructure in North East under the North east Vision 2020 would provide multiple options to both Nepal and Bhutan to expand their trade baskets and tourism by using BBIN, Asian Highways and Railway networks, India-Myanmar-Thailand trilateral Highway, and the proposed BIMSTEC MVA. Therefore, two Himalayan countries have multiple options for their trade and transit.

# *Session IV*

*Energy Cooperation*

*Wednesday, 29 January 2020*

*11.00 AM- 01.00 PM*

## *Chairperson*

### **Dr. Nitya Nanda**

Director  
Council for Social Development  
New Delhi



Dr. Nitya Nanda is a research professional with more than two decades of experience in research, consulting and teaching. He worked on international trade, industry, investment, healthcare, environment and development issues – the political economy and the legal aspects of these in particular, with current focus on the interface between environment and social development. His work covered issues and challenges in India and South Asia, but often South-east Asian and African nations as well. He has been involved with more than 40 research/consulting projects, and in about half of them as the principal investigator. Currently, he is Director at the Council for Social Development, New Delhi – a premier research institute working on issues of social development. Previously, he worked at the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER), CUTS International, and The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI). During his tenure at TERI, he was also an adjunct faculty at the TERI School of Advanced Studies – a deemed university. He has about 120 research publications including in peer-reviewed journals and as book chapters and monographs. He has authored two books and edited four volumes. He has written several articles for various newspapers and magazines as well. Among his books, “Expanding Frontiers of Global Trade Rules: The Political Economic Dynamics of the International Trading System”, Routledge, London & New York, 2008 received wide acclaim. Currently, he is working on a book titled, “India’s Industrial Policy and Performance: Growth, Competition and Competitiveness”. He received his education at the Calcutta University and Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

## **Mr. Dinesh Kumar Ghimire**

Secretary (Energy), Ministry of Energy,  
Water Resources and Irrigation,  
Government of Nepal, Kathmandu



Mr. Dinesh Kumar Ghimire is the Secretary of the Ministry of Energy, Water Resources and Irrigation, Government of Nepal. He acquired M. Tech. in Hydroelectric System Engineering and Management from Indian Institute of Technology, Roorkee in December 2001 and BE (Electrical) from MREC Jaipur in April 1992. Mr. Ghimire has 27 years' experience in Water Resources and Power sector of Nepal. He was conferred "Suprabal Janasewa shree" medal in August 2018 by the President of Nepal. His major areas of involvements include formulation of policy, laws, plans, strategies, directives for water resources and energy sector of Nepal, promotion of private sectors in power developments, multi-lateral and bilateral negotiations on water and energy issues, interactions in various global and regional meetings and workshops etc. Currently, he is putting his all efforts in materializing reliable interconnection and power trade with India and Bangladesh through negotiations in respective bilateral meetings.

## Nepal - India Energy Cooperation

*Dinesh Kumar Ghimire*

The water resource relationship between Nepal and India can be traced back to 1920s with the signing of Sarada agreement in the Mahakali River. The signing of two different agreements- Koshi and Gandak in the 1950s, between Nepal and India commenced the relationship in the energy sector. The post 1950s era saw the increase in hydropower installations through the Indian cooperation in Nepal. Nepal – India Power Exchange foundation was laid in 1971 with an initiation of exchange of 5 MW of power on the principle of catering to the need of isolated pockets on either side of the border. In the year 1991, with democratic regime in place in Nepal, a comprehensive understanding on water resources was concluded between Nepal and India. The multipurpose water resources projects with substantial energy generation component, namely, Sapta Kosi and Pancheshwar were initiated under the same understanding.

Nepal has been receiving power in three modes. The first being the River Treaties : Koshi, Gandak and Mahakali, the second being the border town exchange program with India, and the third being the Commercial Trading. The Cross Border Electricity Trade got a favourable environment after the historic landmark Power Trade Agreement (PTA) signed on October 21, 2014 between the two countries. The bilateral mechanism under this agreement has identified several Cross Border Interconnection Points and transmission routes for electricity export and import. The first Dhalkebar-Mujaffarpur 400 KV cross border transmission line is nearing completion while the construction of second one at the same voltage level from Butwal to Gorakhpur is about to kick off soon.

While several milestones have been achieved on the policy and infrastructure aspects with the expectation of trade of electricity at bi-national level and beyond; the time effort and resources poured in order to realize transformative water resources projects like the Pancheswar (6480 MW) and the Sapta Koshi (3000 MW) even after two decades of initiation reflects the challenges that need to be addressed mutually to attain the successful alliance in the Nepal-India energy cooperation.

## **Dasho Sonam Tshering**

Former Secretary  
Ministry of Economic Affairs  
Government of Bhutan, Thimpu



Dasho Sonam Tshering works as an Independent consultant on World Bank and ADB projects. He has an MSc in Air Transport Management from Cranfield University, United Kingdom. He worked with government of Bhutan in various capacities as Secretary, Ministry of Economic Affairs from August 2007 – December 2014 Director General, Department of Energy from July 2004 – August 2007, Director, Department of Energy from January '04 – June'04, Director, Department of Energy and Managing Director, Bhutan Power Corporation from July 2002 – December 2003, Director and Department of Power from January 2000 – June 2002. During his tenure as the Secretary in the Ministry of Economic Affairs from August 2007 till December 2014, he was directly responsible for overseeing matters in connection with Energy, Trade, Industry, Cottage and Small Industries, Geology and Mines and Intellectual Property. He has spearheaded the preparation and introduction of numerous important policies. From 2000 till August 2007, he was the head of the power sector in Bhutan. During his tenure, he was the key person in bringing about all the reforms in the power sector. He served concurrently as the Director of the Department of Energy as well as the Managing Director of Bhutan Power Corporation from July 2002 till December 2003. He also served as the Chairman of Bhutan Electricity Authority from 2004 till 2006.

He was the lead negotiator with the government of India on all power related issues including the negotiation of power tariff for Kurichhu, Tala and very recently in April 2014, the revision of the Chukkha power tariff. He was also the team leader and main negotiator for the 10,000 MW hydropower partnership between the Royal Government of Bhutan and the Government of India. The landmark “Umbrella agreement on cooperation in Hydropower between India and Bhutan” was his initiative and serves as the basis for cooperation in the hydropower sector between the two countries. He was a member of the Project Authority of all the major bilateral hydropower projects between Bhutan and India.

## **Bhutan- India Cooperation in the Hydropower Sector**

*Dasho Sonam Tshering*

The development of hydropower projects in Bhutan date back to the early 1960s. It is a true testimony of the unique and strong ties of friendship that has existed between Bhutan and India ever since planned development started in Bhutan in the beginning of the 1960's. The hydropower partnership between India and Bhutan first started off as a water rights and investment model, followed by development assistance for off-grid mini/micro hydros, inter-governmental model through grant and loan and finally culminating in Joint Venture model. These development models truly showcase how relationship of countries can be evolved overtime keeping pace with socio-economic development goals while at the same time resulting in a win-win situation for both countries. The Bhutanese hydropower development models have often been quoted and lauded as a model of cooperation between countries of diverse economic, social, political and geographical asymmetries.

Hydropower is considered as the main backbone and driver of the Bhutanese economy due to its contributions to revenues and GDP. Revenues from hydropower currently constitute about 27% of the national revenue and account for about 13% of the country's GDP. Development of hydropower projects in Bhutan in close collaboration with India has been the cornerstone of India-Bhutan relationship. The close ties of friendship and sustained techno-economic cooperation with India, where Bhutan's power export market lie, is the key success factor for development of hydropower in Bhutan. It is a win-win situation for both the countries as Bhutan benefits by earning much needed revenue through export of surplus power to India, who in turn benefits by importing clean energy to meet part of its growing energy demand.

In 2008, the two Governments signed an agreement to develop 10,000 MW of hydropower in Bhutan by 2020 for export to India. There is a need for both governments to take stock and identify the bottle necks and perhaps re-address the hydropower cooperation between the two countries.

## **Ms. Shebonti Ray Dadwal**

Consultant

Institute for Defence Studies  
and Analyses, New Delhi



Ms. Shebonti Ray Dadwal is currently working as a Consultant with the Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA). Prior to this, she was a Senior Fellow with IDSA where she was heading the NTS Centre at the Institute. Before joining IDSA in 2005, she was a Senior Editor with The Financial Express. She has also served as Deputy Secretary at the National Security Council Secretariat. Her research focus is on Energy Security and has published her second book *The Geopolitics of Gas: Common Problems, Disparate Strategies* in 2017. Her other published work includes a monograph on *The Geopolitics of America's Energy Independence: Implications for China, India and the Global Energy Market* and a book, *Rethinking Energy Security in India* which was published in 2002. She has also co-edited two books – *Enlisted: Asian Strategic Review 2017: Energy Security in Times of Uncertainty* and *Non-Traditional Security Challenges in Asia: Approaches and Responses*, published by Routledge in 2015 and has co-authored the IDSA Report on Security Implications of Climate Change for India (2009). In April 2009, Ms. Dadwal was awarded a Chevening Fellowship by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the UK on completion of a course in Economics of Energy at the Institute for Energy Research and Policy, University of Birmingham, UK. She has also written several peer-reviewed articles and papers focusing on Energy Security.

## Energy Cooperation between India and Bangladesh

*Ms. Shebonti Ray Dadwal*

Bangladesh holds an important position in India's Look East-Act East (LE-AE) policy, which is based on the premise that developing economic and strategic relations with its eastern neighbours and beyond. In other words, transforming its borders into areas of cooperation and trade, as opposed to conflict, has been an important policy objective of the Indian government for the last three decades. But while the LE-AE policy remains an ongoing process, since 2014, a transformational change has taken place in India-Bangladesh relations under the current governments in both countries. In fact, one could say that currently, relations are at their historical best with cooperation taking place across numerous sectors, including security and border management, terrorism, river water sharing, trade and industry and more importantly, energy. In fact, cooperation in the power sector has become one of the main planks of India Bangladesh relations.

Currently, Bangladesh is the largest recipient of electricity from India, and is set to import additional generation of electricity. However, besides electricity, both nations have ties across the energy spectrum, including trade in oil products, and is in the process of upgrading the infrastructure to further enhance the same. While India exports diesel, it has entered into an agreement to import LPG from Bangladesh. Both countries are also collaborating in the nuclear sector, along with Russia.

The renewable energy sector also provided scope for greater cooperation, although some challenges have to be addressed to iron out some problems.

This paper seeks to look at and analyse the benefits and costs of cooperation across the energy sector between India and Bangladesh within the purview of its overall neighbourhood policy, and is undertaken with a view to enhance and strengthen existing relations between the two neighbours.

## **Shri Ajit Pai**

OSD, NITI Aayog  
New Delhi.



Ajit Pai is Officer on Special Duty at NITI Aayog, where he heads Economics & Finance, heads Banking, Insurance, & Financial Services, and oversees Public Disinvestment. He is also Consultant to the Vice Chairperson of NITI Aayog and is the nodal officer for the Ministry of Finance, its subsidiary departments, and Department of Public Enterprises.

Prior to this, he had a successful career in the private sector including working internationally at firms like McKinsey, Lazard, Thomas Weisel Partners and Stifel Financial, the latter two as Managing Director. He has been awarded five #1 Starmine Awards in the Forbes/Financial Times World's Best Analysts Survey for earnings estimates and stock performance forecast accuracy in six years.

Mr. Pai hold a Bachelor's degree from the School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi, a Master's degree in Architecture from the Yale School of Architecture and a Master's degree in Business Administration from the Yale School of Management. He attended Yale University as a Tata Scholar and also served as a John M Olin Fellow for research in markets and regulatory behavior.

## **Strategic Synergies in Financing Cross-Border Energy Projects**

*Shri Ajit Pai*

India, Bhutan, Nepal, Myanmar, Bangladesh and Pakistan have some of the lowest per capita energy consumption in the world. Moreover, these countries rely on fossil fuel based energy sources for electricity generation. In this context, regional cooperation for energy trade is essential to achieve environmentally sustainable economic growth in these countries. Together, they have an untapped and diverse renewable energy generation potential that can be used to trade electricity through inter-connected transmission lines. By collaborating with multilateral organizations, they can invest in regional power generation projects that can improve the energy security in the region and mitigate political risks associated with regional cooperation for cross-border electricity trade. Multilateral agreements with structured financing schemes that allow private sector participation and foreign investments can be used to reduce projects risks like cost and time overrun and improve the financial viability of projects by guaranteeing access to some of the most populous and fastest growing countries in the world. The aim of this paper is to analyse the current state of energy projects in these countries, highlight the challenges in their domestic energy sector and suggests policy solutions that can mitigate risks associated with cross-border energy projects in this region.

## **Dr. Bhupendra Kumar Singh**

Director and Head, Energy Security  
Confederation of Indian Industries (CII)  
New Delhi



Dr. Bhupendra Kumar Singh is currently the Head and Director, Energy Security at Confederation of Indian Industries (CII), New Delhi after serving for a short stint at the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. He is the first person in India to do PhD on India's Energy Security from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Apart from this, he has an Executive MBA in Oil and Gas from University of Petroleum and Energy Studies, Dehradun. He has written many articles in reputed peer reviewed Journals and News Papers. His article "South Asia Energy Security: Challenges and Opportunities" published in *Energy Policy*, Vol 63 (2013), Elsevier, Washington DC has been widely acknowledged for its land mark recommendations. He had the opportunity to address the Energy Parliamentary Committee on Energy Storage, United Kingdom. He has also worked on various projects pertaining to Cross Border Power Trade. He was instrumental for the signing of India-Nepal Power Trade Agreement. He is constantly working for the enhancement of the Cross Border Power trade and made a land mark effort to modify the Guideline on Cross Border Electricity Trade as more Transparent, more Business friendly based on the principles of Open Market.

## **Enhancing Cross - Border Power Trade in South Asia: Key Impediments and Policy Interventions**

*Dr. Bhupendra Kumar Singh*

While per capita energy consumption in South Asia is far below the global average currently, we can expect it to grow rapidly in the years ahead. Demand for electricity in South Asia is growing rapidly and it has been estimated that energy needs of South Asia will increase three times in the next 15-20 years. Though the region has been endowed with diversified resources like coal, hydro, gas etc. however, most of these South Asian countries, are facing shortage of required energy. Therefore, greater cooperation within South Asia could be one of the most effective ways to deal with this regional energy deficit and ensure energy security of the region. However, there are many key commercial, infrastructural and regulatory impediments which needs to be addressed at the urgent level. There are four important ingredients for the power trading in South Asia. First is transmission capacity. Second is a regulatory framework on which the exchange can take place. Third is right kind of scheduling and dispatching provisions and energy accounting. And, the fourth is politico economic relationship and commercial agreement on which any power market can take shape. The full coordination among these ingredients can enhance cross border power trading efficiently.

The successful execution of these ingredients require substantial investment, comprehensive strategic planning, creating a huge network of infrastructure, harmonious regulatory and commercial policies and strong political will. Therefore, the governments of the Region should play an active effective role in developing strategic cooperation for optimum exploitation and sharing of energy resources.

## *Session V*

*Defence and Security Cooperation*

*Wednesday, 29 January 2020*

*02.00 PM-04.00 PM*

## *Chairperson*

### **Mr. Maroof Raza**

Consultant and Strategic Affairs Advisor  
Times Now, Mumbai



Mr. Maroof Raza is a former Indian army officer, educated in India and the UK. A commentator on military and security issues, he is now the Consulting Editor (Strategic Affairs) of Times Television network in India, on which he appears frequently. He also hosts the weekend strategic affairs TV show, "Latitude" on Times Now. He lectures on a range of security issues in India and abroad, and has recently co-authored: "Kashmir's untold story: Declassified" (published by Blooms  
a graduate of St. Stephen's College, Del  
qualifications include the MA in War Studies from King's College, London, and M.Phil in International Relations from Darwin College, Cambridge.

## **Admiral Ravindra C. Wijegunaratne (Retd.)**

Former Chief of Defence Staff  
of Sri Lankan Armed Forces



Admiral Ravindra C. Wijegunaratne became the longest serving military officer in the country, having served over 39 years in uniform. He is a product of Royal College, Colombo and has earned his BSc (Hons) degree in War Studies from the Karachi University in Pakistan in 1996 and MPhil in Defence and Strategic Studies (First Class) from the University of Madras in India, in 2010. He is well known as an expert in Asymmetric Naval Warfare and Small Boat Operations and has also specialized in Anti-Submarine Warfare and is a qualified diver, paratrooper, and a Special Forces person. Admiral Wijegunaratne has been awarded with four distinguished medals for his acts of gallantry, valour and conspicuous bravery in the face of enemy forces, including the Weerodhara Vibushanaya (Second highest Gallantry Medal in Sri Lanka), Rana Wickrama Padakkama twice and Rana Sura Padakkama. He has authored two books, *Wijegunaratne Memorandums* a book on Military Leadership and *Read between the Lines* a novel.

He commanded the Navy Flag Ship SLNS Sayura and held diverse key appointments such as the First Secretary and Defence Adviser of the Sri Lanka High Commission in India, Commandant Naval and Maritime Academy, Flag Officer Commanding Naval Fleet, Director Naval Special Forces, Director Maritime Surveillance and Director Naval Operations when the last four LTTE floating armouries were destroyed in international waters during 2006/2007, Director-General Services, Commander of Southern, Western, Northern, and Eastern Naval Areas, Director-General of the Sri Lanka Coast Guard, and the Chief of Staff of Sri Lanka Navy.

He was appointed as the Commander of the Navy on July 11, 2015 and as the Chief of Defence Staff on August 22, 2017. As the Commander of the Navy, he raised two battalions of Navy Marines with the support of the US Marines in 2015.

## **India-Sri Lanka Defence and Security Nexus: Challenges and Opportunities**

*Admiral Ravindra C. Wijegunaratne*

Geostrategic significance of the Indian Ocean (IO) continues to draw the attention of regional and global players. These players make every endeavour to achieve their strategic objectives by way of shaping regional affairs employing different strategies and initiatives. These strategy and policy initiatives introduced by major players continue to compete against each other in a quest to gain strategic advantage in the IO. As a result, the already complex IO has turned into a complicated maritime sphere. While the strategic competition continues among major actors in the IO, importance of medium and small member states are seen as critical nodes in driving respective strategies and initiatives across the Indo-Pacific. The interwoven and complicated nature of the maritime security threats and challenges in the IO makes it an impossible task for major players to find lasting solutions in isolation or by only partnering with the key players. Therefore, despite being economically challenged, militarily insignificant, and diplomatically less influential, small states in the IO are considered as vital strategic connectors in ensuring security and stability. It is in the above context that the defence and security cooperation between India and Sri Lanka becomes a force multiplier for both states especially when addressing maritime security threats and challenges in the IO and across the Indo-Pacific. Both countries have a legacy of intellectual, cultural, religious, and linguistic interaction that spans well over 2500 years. The relations between the two countries always marked an upward trend, benefitting the two nations and importantly the IO region. Even though there had been fluctuations in diplomatic relations in certain periods in the past, India-Sri Lanka defence and security cooperation witnessed continued growth over the years. At a time when global players continue to compete in the IO through strategy and policy initiatives, small but strategically vital partners like Sri Lanka have the potential to play a major role in maintaining the IO equilibrium by working closely with India. This paper looks at the IO and Indo-Pacific in understanding maritime security concerns, existing strategies and initiatives, and impact on regional stability, to realize how best the existing India-Sri Lanka defence and security cooperation could be employed to achieve common regional objectives as well as to identify challenges and opportunities.

**Brigadier General Ibrahim Mohamed Didi (Retd.)**

Former Member of Parliament  
the Maldives, Male



Brigadier General Mohamed Didi was member Parliament from 2014 – 2019. He was enlisted in the National Security & Defense Service Maldives in 1979 as a private, later commissioned in 1992 as Lieutenant and retired as a Brigadier General in 2012. He has done Bsc Hons in War Studies from Pakistan Army Command and Staff College in 2000 and MPhil in Defense and Strategic Studies from National Defense College, New Delhi, India in 2008. He was awarded the Huravee Medal for exceptional Bravery in 1989, Presidential Medal, Dedicated Service Medal in 2006 and long service Medal in 2009.

## **Durable India-Maldives Defense and Security Relations Fortify Indian Ocean Security Environment**

*Brigadier General Ibrahim Mohamed Didi (Retd.)*

The purpose of this paper is to analyze mutual benefits of defense and security cooperation between neighboring India and the Maldives for their strategic territorial and regional security, and socio-economic developments of the Maldives. It also looks into the threats to the Maldives national security and the Indian Ocean security environment. This paper analyzes the historical background of both states, their historical and cultural links, the recent deterioration of bilateral relations between India-Maldives, its recent recommence, straightening of the bilateral relations and geo-strategic importance of the Maldives to India. The paper also looks into the need for promoting bilateral relation, defense and security cooperation for peace, prosperity and security of the Indian Ocean region for both nations mutual benefits. This paper discusses the requirement of alertness against terrorism and threats to Indian Ocean security environment, Indian Ocean strategic security, border security and maritime security of the region to share the firm commitment to remain sensitive to both nation's strategic security concerns and consequences of their territorial and national security deterioration. This paper also discusses the critical state that may arise for any hostile carrying that might impinge peace and harmony, and bilateral relations between the two nations and Indian Ocean security environment at large. Finally, this study recommends to be mindful of each other's concerns and aspirations for the security and stability of the region and suggests that the future cooperation will depend on internal developments in the Maldives and India's response to such developments for the stability of the region. Therefore, this study recommends to be cautious and forestall from any respective territory in the region to be used for acts inimical happenings to the security of the Indian Ocean. Thus, this study recommends India, as the net security provider of South Asia to assure its "neighbourhood first" policy to be auspicious to the Maldives socio economic security and its developments.

## **Dr. Naing Swe Oo**

Executive Director  
Thayninga Institute for  
Strategic Studies, Myanmar.



Dr. Naing Swe Oo is the founder and executive director of the Thayninga Institute for Strategic Studies, a defence think tank established in 2015. He is a graduate of Defence Services Medical Academy, Myanmar. He secured Diploma in Political Studies from Yangon University, Fellowship in Hepatology (Moscow) from Moscow State University, Diploma in Genetic Medicine from Moscow State University and Certificate in Diving Medicine (Malaysia). He also holds an MBA from Aldersgate College, Philippines. He previously taught at the Defence Services Medical Academy, Myanmar as an assistant lecturer and also served as a medical officer in the Myanmar Army Medical Corps. He is also the publisher and the Editor –in – Chief of Thayninga Weapons and Warfare Magazine, the only magazine focuses on Defence Strategies and Military Technologies in Myanmar. He is also a resource person on defence and security affairs in Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies (MISIS). His research focus has been on regional security including maritime security, counter – terrorism and the peace process of Myanmar.

## **Myanmar as India's Important Neighbour: The Security Perspectives**

*Dr. Naing Swe Oo*

The Indo-Myanmar border stretches over 1,600 km (990 mi). In addition to the long land border, India and Myanmar also share a maritime border along India's Andaman Islands. India established diplomatic relations after Myanmar's independence from Great Britain in 1948. For many years, Indo-Myanmar relations were strong due to Myanmar previously having been a province of India, due to cultural links, flourishing commerce, common interests in regional affairs and the presence of a significant Indian community in Myanmar. Both countries share a heritage of religious, linguistic and ethnic ties. Myanmar is the only ASEAN country adjoining India. The Kaladan Multi-Modal Transit Transport Project will connect the eastern Indian seaport of Kolkata with Sittwe seaport in Myanmar by sea; it will then link Sittwe seaport to Lashio in Myanmar via Kaladan river boat route and then from Lashio on to Mizoram in India by road transport. Defence cooperation between the two countries continues to strengthen. Exchanges of high-level visits, enhanced training cooperation, capacity building and support in provision of specific equipment and technologies have led to a more wholesome relationship and better understanding of mutual security concerns. India and Myanmar signed a new memorandum of understanding on bilateral defense cooperation on July 2019. The agreement is slated to deepen military-to-military ties in the areas of training, maritime security, and joint surveillance. Indian and Myanmar security forces carried out jointly Operation Sunrise and Operation Sunrise 2 in 2019 in their respective territories to destroy several insurgent camps. However the threat to the Kaladan multi-modal transit transport project, India's gateway to Southeast Asia continues because of the clashes between Myanmar security forces and Arakan Army, the rebel ethnic group in Kachin and Rakhine State.

## **Shri Rajiv Jain**

Former Director  
Intelligence Bureau  
Government of India



Shri Rajiv Jain, a Jharkhand Cadre IPS officer, took over as the 26<sup>th</sup> Director of the Intelligence Bureau (IB) on December 31, 2016. He superannuated on June 30, 2019. Having joined the Indian Police Service in 1980, he has served in a number of challenging assignments. Mr. Rajiv Jain is a post-graduate in History from Hindu College, University of Delhi. He is also a graduate in Law and has an Advanced Diploma in Management.

Shri Jain was awarded the Prime Minister's Revolver and Baton for being the Best Probationer as also the Sword of Honour for being the Best Outdoor Probationer at the National Police Academy, Hyderabad. He went on to receive the prestigious Indian Police Medal for Meritorious Service in 1999 and the Antarik Suraksha Sewa Padak in 2001, followed by President's Police Medal for Distinguished Service in 2005.

After his induction in the Indian Police Service, Mr. Rajiv Jain served in various capacities as Superintendent of Police in four districts, viz., Ranchi, Saharsa, Gopalganj and Muzaffarpur, and also as ADC to Governor, Bihar.

Shri Jain joined the IB as Assistant Director in September 1989. He specialised in subjects like Kashmir, Cyber, North-East and Left Wing Extremism, during his long tenure at IB, including deployment as a field officer at various locations in India. He served overseas in the Consulate General of India, Toronto. He was also Officer on Special Duty to Shri K. C. Pant and N. N. Vohra, both successive Govt. of India's Interlocutors on J&K.

As Director of IB, Mr. Jain had occasion to be intensely involved in matters relating to immediate and long-term issues that encompass national security, including economic and cyber, amongst others. His intensive understanding of investment conditions in India, and implications of decisions by Government, make him a repository of deep knowledge.

## **India's Policy with Regard to Cooperation in Counterterrorism in South Asia**

*Shri Rajiv Jain*

South Asia has emerged as a hotbed of terrorism over the years, accounting for nearly 30% of global terror attacks. India has been among the worst victims of this terrorism.

For many decades now, India has maintained that terrorism is a scourge that needs to be combated by the world at large, instead of merely by the victim States. India has many a time taken the initiative in seeking institutionalised arrangements for countering terrorism. It had also proposed a Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism in the UN in 1986.

India has been a part of multilateral and bilateral arrangements for cooperation on counterterrorism matters. This subject figures in discussions during high level visits. India has established Joint Working Groups on Counter Terrorism with some countries and plurilateral bodies. It also convenes stand alone counterterrorism dialogues with some countries. It has signed MLATs and Extradition agreements with some countries. India is a member of FATF and GCTF and has contributed to UNOCT.

India's cooperation is in preventing and combating terrorism, addressing conditions conducive to its spread, capacity building and so forth.

## **Shri Jayant Misra**

Former Director General  
Directorate of Revenue Intelligence, GOI  
& Consultant, UNODC, New Delhi.



Shri Jayant Misra (b. 1957) is presently Consultant, Drug Law Enforcement, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime – Regional Office South Asia. Has been Member and Chairman, Settlement Commission for Indirect Taxes, Department of Revenue, Ministry of Finance from 2017-19. He held important assignments including Director General of Revenue Intelligence; Director General (Systems); Director General (GST); Chief Commissioner, Customs and Excise, Gujarat; Development Commissioner, SEZ and Chairman, SEZ Authority, Ministry of Commerce; Commissioner of Customs, Excise and Service Tax, Delhi, Gurgaon, Jaipur; Joint Secretary and Director, Rajya Sabha.

He travelled to more than 30 countries and participated in several multilateral negotiations. Extensive administrative, legislative, dispute resolution and intelligence gathering experience.

He taught at Allahabad University before joining the Government of India in 1981. He has a Bachelors degree in Physics; Masters in History; Business Administration with Specialization in Finance and degree in Law from Delhi University. Hobbies include reading and photography.

## **India's Cooperation with South Asian Countries in Curbing Drug Trafficking**

*Shri Jayant Misra*

For several years now, drug trafficking is one of the most profitable form of occupation of the criminals. There is no doubt that trafficking in illicit drugs is detrimental to the society and economy of the destination countries. At the same time, researches have shown that it is equally harmful to countries of origin and the countries of transit. Studies also show a strong symbiosis between drug trafficking and the spread of crime, corruption, drug use, drug use disorders and HIV infection; and this has serious implications for the legal, political, economic and social stability of all the affected countries.

There has been a significant rise in the trafficking of illicit drugs and narcotics in South Asia. The challenge has become more pronounced and formidable with the newer forms of synthetic drugs entering the market. It requires upgradation of knowledge, newer methodologies of interdiction particularly with the emergence of the use of darknet and cryptocurrency for drug trafficking, and above all, regional and inter-regional intelligence sharing and cooperation.

UNODC is mandated to assist member nations of the UN to combat, *inter alia*, drug and human trafficking, and effective prevention of corruption, transnational crime and terrorism. The UNODC's Regional Office for South Asia (located in New Delhi) covers six countries in the region, namely Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka. The region has made significant progress in combating these crimes, however, a lot remains to be achieved, particularly in the field of drug trafficking, which has ramifications into very wide areas.

## **Session VI**

*Panel Discussion-The Way Forward*

*Wednesday, 29 January 2020*

*04.15 PM-05.30 PM*

## Chairperson

### Professor S. D. Muni

Professor Emeritus JNU &  
Member, Executive Council  
Institute for Defence Studies  
and Analyses, New Delhi



Professor S.D. Muni, is Professor Emeritus of Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, member Executive Council of the IDSA and an Honorary Distinguished Fellow of Sri Lanka's Institute of Strategic Studies, Colombo. He was a Visiting Research Professor at the National University of Singapore, Institute of South Asian Studies from 2008-2013. He represented Minister of External Affairs at the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference on Geneva Accords at Phnom Penh, Kampuchea and served as India's Special Envoy to Southeast Asian countries on UN Security Council Reforms (2005-06). He was also India's Ambassador to Lao PDR (1997-1999). In 2005, the Sri Lankan President bestowed on him 'Sri Lanka Ratna', the highest Sri Lankan civilian honour for a non-national. His personal contribution in the Democratic transition in Nepal during 2005-2006 has been widely acknowledged by the contemporary Nepal's Historians and scholars. At Jawaharlal Nehru University he held the prestigious Appadorai Chair of International Relations and Area Studies. He was the founder Editor of *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal* (2005-2008), (Cambridge University Press, India) and *South Asia Journal* (1990-94) (Sage India). He served the Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi, as Director of Research (2006-2007).

A founder Executive Member of the Regional Centre of Strategic Studies (RCSS), Colombo, he was also a member of the International Research Committee. Professor Muni has had visiting assignments in academic institutions of US, UK, Sweden, Norway, Germany, Australia, Japan and Singapore. Author and editor of more than two dozen books, Professor Muni has published about 250 research papers and articles in various academic journals of repute. His recent publications include, *Resurgent China: South Asian Perceptions* (New Delhi 2012) and *India's eastward Engagement: From Antiquity to Look East Policy* (Co-author, Sage Publications 2019).

## **Dr. Ashok K. Behuria**

Senior Fellow &  
Coordinator South Asia Centre  
Institute for Defence Studies  
and Analyses, New Delhi



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

# *Conference Team*

## **Ms. Sumita Kumar**

Senior Research Associate  
& Conference Coordinator  
Institute for Defence Studies  
and Analyses, New Delhi



Ms. Sumita Kumar is Senior Research Associate with IDSA. She specialises on South Asian security issues with a special focus on Pakistan. Current areas of research include the changing dynamics of Pakistan's foreign policy and the working of democracy in Pakistan. Her research publications have covered a diverse range of issues concerning Pakistan's foreign policy, internal politics and security, energy security, economy and role in regional cooperation. She has published chapters in books and articles in journals in India and abroad, as well as the Indian media. She has done in-depth research, and prepared reports for various agencies and organisations, including the National Security Council Secretariat. She has given briefings and lectures to members of the Indian armed forces and paramilitary forces as well as at academic institutions. She undertook the editing and supervised the production of IDSA's publications under the outsourcing scheme for four years during which three books were published. She was Staff Representative on the Executive Council of the Institute from September 2004 till October 2006. She has had a research stint at Tashkent, Uzbekistan and has been a guest researcher at the Bonn International Center for Conversion, Germany. She has been an Associate with the Pakistan Security Research Unit, University of Bradford, UK from March 2007 to March 2013, and of PSRU, Durham University since April 2013. She has visited Pakistan a number of times and conducted wide ranging interviews. She is an alumnus of Jawaharlal Nehru University.

Her publications include an edited book on *Stability and Growth in South Asia* (IDSA & Pentagon Press, 2014) and a co-edited book titled *India's Neighbourhood: Challenges Ahead* (IDSA & Rubicon Publishers, 2008). She has recently published an occasional paper titled "Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Trends and Challenges."

## **Dr. Gulbin Sultana**

Research Analyst &  
Member, Conference Team  
Institute for Defence Studies  
and Analyses, New Delhi



Dr. Gulbin Sultana is a Research Analyst with the South Asia Centre in the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. Her area of research in the institute includes Sri Lanka and the Maldives. She has written extensively on the politico-economic and foreign policy developments of these two countries. Additionally, Dr. Sultana also takes interest in the studies of small island states particularly in the Indian Ocean region and maritime security. She has done her M.Phil. on "India's Naval Support to Sri Lanka and the Maldives" from South Asian Studies Division of School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. She was awarded a PhD degree by the same university. Her doctoral thesis was on "Sri Lanka's Maritime Security: A Study of Military and Non-military Responses." Before joining IDSA, she worked with the National Maritime Foundation and the United Service Institution of India.

## **Dr. Zainab Akhter**

Research Analyst &  
Member, Conference Team  
Institute for Defence Studies  
and Analyses, New Delhi



Dr. Akhter has an M.Phil. & PhD from CIPOD, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. Zainab was earlier a Research Officer with the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), and has also worked with the Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA) as a Researcher. She was selected for the India-Pakistan Legislative Fellowship 2017 by the US Government and was placed as the India Legislative Fellow at Hudson Institute, a think tank based in Washington DC. Her areas of research interest are Soft Power, Cultural Diplomacy, India-Pakistan relations, CBMs, people-to-people diplomacy, Jammu and Kashmir. She is part of the Editorial Team for the Journal of International Association of Ladakh Studies, a member of the International Association of Ladakh Studies (IALS), and Women's Regional Network, a network of women civil society leaders working together to advance women's rights and regional peace in South Asia. She has presented papers in various national and international conferences and has published research papers and articles in journals, websites and newspapers on strategic issues related to Pakistan, India-Pakistan relations, Gilgit-Baltistan, Kashmir and Ladakh.

## **Dr. Nazir Ahmad Mir**

Research Analyst &  
Member, Conference Team  
Institute for Defence Studies  
and Analyses, New Delhi



Dr. Nazir Ahmad Mir joined IDSA in September 2016. He is with the South Asia Centre. Nazir has a PhD in “Peace and Conflict Resolution” from the Nelson Mandela Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi. His PhD thesis, titled “Recognition and National Identity Formation in India”, took a theoretical approach to explain the nature of Indian national identity and explored the causes of the rise of nationalist/ethnic conflicts in general. His current research focus is internal politics and foreign policy of Pakistan and Afghanistan. With an interest in ethnic conflicts and recognition theory, nationalism and international conflict, democracy and state making in South Asia, nuclear policies and international relations theory, Nazir has written papers on civil-military relations in India, the State and ethnic conflicts in South Asia in *Journal of Civil Wars*, *Strategic Analysis* and *India Quarterly*. He has presented papers on diverse issues/themes including cultural violence and electoral democracy, the state and secular and religious nationalism, strategic culture and the state, among others. Currently, Nazir is working on two themes: one deals with the national identity formation in India and the other tries to contextualize the securitization theory to the Indian electoral system. He also contributes to some daily newspapers in Jammu and Kashmir such as *Rising Kashmir* and *Greater Kashmir* as well as to online magazines on global issues and local social, political, economic, and security issues. Nazir has a Post Graduate Diploma in print journalism from YMCA, New Delhi.

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