



1<sup>st</sup> Annual West Asia Conference  
on  
Geopolitical Shifts in West Asia:  
Trends and Implications

(September 10-11, 2014)

Organised by

Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses



## Conference Booklet

**1<sup>ST</sup> ANNUAL WEST ASIA CONFERENCE**

**ON**

## **GEOPOLITICAL SHIFTS IN WEST ASIA: TRENDS AND IMPLICATIONS**

(September 10-11, 2014)

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Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses  
New Delhi



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## CONCEPT NOTE

The West Asian region continues its struggle to establish a stable political order. As the popular protests removed many longstanding authoritarian regimes throughout West Asia and North Africa in 2011, the contemporary geopolitical situation seems to be getting more complex day by day. The hoped-for transition from authoritarianism to democratisation has been rather painful and convulsive, and has a long way to go. Tunisia is the only success story. The situations in Libya, Egypt and Yemen are still evolving and these countries are yet to find a viable future political roadmap for themselves. Besides, the deteriorating situation in Syria provides a geo-political challenge for peace and stability throughout the region.

The region is experiencing rapid destabilising societal and political changes and, thus, the fundamental challenge is to envision ways to achieve ordered change for West Asia. There has been much speculation amongst scholars regarding the future trajectory of the so-called Arab Spring; whether this tumultuous upsurge will peter out remaining an isolated event in contemporary history or will the chain of events translate into a movement leaving behind a significant mark throughout the Arab world and West Asia.

Particularly disturbing not only for the region but for the immediate neighbourhoods as well is that the continuing uncertainty is creating expanding spaces for extremist and terrorist elements to entrench themselves in the region. Their increasing activities are evident on a daily basis in Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Syria and Yemen manifested in a growing number of attacks. Sectarian politics in the region has also further contributed to the growth of such radical ideologies among the people. Iran has been the most important player throwing its weight behind various Shia groups. Saudi Arabia has been known for supporting the Salafists

throughout the region while Qatar supports the Muslim Brotherhood. The growing Shia-Sunni dimension of the conflict has severe implications for regional security throughout West Asia.

The P5+1 interim agreement with Iran in November 2013 over Iranian nuclear programme has added yet another dimension to the complex geopolitics in the region. As per the interim agreement, Iran has agreed to freeze parts of its nuclear programme, provide access to the international inspectors as well as provide additional information about its nuclear programme. In return, the P5+1 has agreed to partially lift sanctions on Iran. As further negotiations continue to reach a possible final deal, countries like Saudi Arabia and Israel have expressed concerns regarding the West's rapprochement with Iran. Saudi Arabia believes that Iran has been able to buy time by signing the interim deal with the P5+1. Similarly, Israel is also concerned about the future of the agreement and its implications for regional security in West Asia.

The region has a history of external influence and even intervention in the past. Among several stakeholders, the US remains the most prominent one despite undoubted loss of influence in the region. Its attitude towards the Arab Spring and its policy of 'rebalancing towards Asia Pacific' has drawn criticism from its regional allies. At the same time, Russia is emerging as a major player in the region with its support for Iran, stance on Syria and ongoing efforts to cultivate stronger ties with Egypt, it could emerge as an important player. Recent developments in Ukraine and Russia's role therein exhibit increasing Russian assertiveness in the world affairs and it may have an impact on the developments in West Asia. China, meanwhile, has continued to strengthen its economic leverage in the region and is a major player in the energy scenario as well.

Continuing regional instability also raises increasing concerns related to issues of energy security. The emergence

of protests led to rise in international oil prices and created apprehensions regarding uninterrupted production and supply. Since the economy of many countries in the region is primarily dependent upon the hydrocarbon sector, any disruption in production and supply of oil may have serious impact not only regionally but much further beyond on countries dependent on oil supply from the region.

India has been following West Asian developments very closely. India has important political, economic and security stakes in the peace and stability of West Asia. In the light of the emerging political situation, the challenge facing India is to balance its political equations and economic interests with major regional and external players in the region. India is heavily dependent on energy supplies from the Gulf region. Energy imports from the region constituted around 63 percent of India's total oil imports in 2012-13. The region is the leading trading partner for India with a total trade of around US\$ 200 billion in the same year. Around 7 million Indian passport holders live in the region and they form another important symbiotic link between India and the region.

The importance of stability is therefore of paramount importance for India. Absence of a robust security architecture and deep rooted intra-regional conflicts raises concerns about the viability of regional security in West Asia. There is a realisation in some quarters that India should start getting involved in the regional security of West Asia. As India maintains warm ties with all the major countries in the region and is non-interfering in the internal affairs of these countries, it can be an important player in talking to various countries to discuss about regional security in the region.

Realising the importance of the developments taking place in the region and huge Indian stakes involved in the regional stability, the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi, has taken a decision to hold an annual

West Asia conference beginning this year, and in this regard, the first conference will be held on September 10-11, 2014. This year's conference will deliberate on geopolitical, security, economic and strategic issues unfolding in the West Asian region. Scholars from India, West Asia and other countries will participate in the conference to discuss in greater details the evolving trends and its implications for the regional peace and stability in West Asia.

## CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

### DAY 1: September 10, 2014 (Wednesday)

09:30-10:00 Registration

#### 10:00-10:30 Session I

Keynote Address by General Vijay Kumar Singh (Retd), Hon'ble Minister of State for External Affairs, Government of India.

10:30-10:45 Tea Break

#### 10:45 - 13:00 Session II

##### Current Geopolitical Situation in West Asia

Chair: Amb. Chinmaya R. Gharekhan

- Speakers:
1. *Iranian Nuclear Talks and Regional Security*, Dr. Hadi Soleimanpour, Head, Center for International Research and Education, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran.
  2. *The Arab Uprisings: The More Things Changed, the More They Stayed the Same*, Prof.Gencer Özcan, Istanbul Bilgi University, Istanbul.
  3. *Egypt and Geopolitics in West Asia*, Amb. Mohamed Fathy Abdel Hamid El Shazly, National Project Director,Executive Secretariat for the De-mining and Development of the North West Coast, Ministry of International Cooperation, Cairo.
  4. *Regional Geopolitical Situation in the Middle East*, Amb. Ahmed Salem Saleh Al-Wahishi, Director, Yemeni International Affairs' Center, Sanaa.
  5. *Arab Uprisings and Changing Geopolitical Trends in West Asia*, Dr. N. Janardhan, Dubai based Political Analyst.

13:00-14:00 Lunch Break

**14:00-16:00 Session III**

**Sectarianism, Extremism and Regional Security**

Chair: Amb. Sanjay Singh

- Speakers:
1. *Regional Security in the Gulf: A GCC Perspective*, Dr. Muhammad Abdul Ghaffar, Advisor to HM the King for Diplomatic Affairs, Chairman, Board of Trustees, Bahrain Center for Strategic, International and Energy Studies, Manama.
  2. *Iranian Perspective of the Regional Security Dynamics in West Asia*, Dr. Seyed Kazem Sajjadpour, Adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iran.
  3. *Sectarianism and Regional Security in West Asia*, Amb. Talmiz Ahmad, Former India's Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and UAE.
  4. *The Geo-strategic Implications of the Present Situation in Iraq*, Abdulwahab Al-Qassab, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Doha.
  5. *GCC and Gulf Security: Time to Shed Past Baggage and Evolve Anew*, Col. Rajeev Agarwal, Research Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi.

**16:15-18:00 Session IV**

**External Interventions and its Long Term Consequences**

Chair: Amb. S. K. Bhutani

- Speakers:
1. *How to Deal with West Asia? Commonalities and Differences in the European and German Approaches*, Prof. Henner Fürtig, Acting Vice President,

German Institute of Global and  
Area Studies, Hamburg.

2. *Russian Perspective of the External Intervention in West Asia*, Dr. Veniamin Popov, Director, Civilizations' Partnership Centre, Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow.
3. *The Love-Hate Relationship: External Interventions and the Region*, Prof. P R Kumaraswamy, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.
4. *External Intervention in West Asia: Regional and Global Implications*, Dr. Wael Awwad, New Delhi based independent journalist.
5. *Perils of External Intervention in West Asia and Ramifications for India*, Dr. Meena Singh Roy, Research Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi.

## **DAY 2: September 11, 2014 (Thursday)**

**09:30-13:00 Session V**

### **Impact of Regional Instability on Energy Security**

Chair: Amb. Ranjit Gupta

- Speakers:
1. *The Other Side of the World*, Jon B. Alterman, Senior Vice President, Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Director, Middle East Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC.
  2. *Strategic Transformation in the West Asia and China's Policy Choices*, Niu Xinchun, Director, Institute of Middle East Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations, Beijing.

3. *The Impact of the Regional Instability in West Asia (Middle East) on Energy Security: The Cases of Japan and Asia*, Prof. Toshitaka Takeuchi, Osaka School of International Public Policy, Osaka University, Osaka.
4. *A Korean Perspective of the Impact of Regional Instability on Energy Security*, Prof. Jeongmin Seo, Department of Middle East and Africa Studies, Graduate School of International and Area Studies, Seoul.

11:00-11:20 Tea Break

5. *Energy and Geopolitics of West Asia: Changing Dynamics*, Prof. Girijesh Pant, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.
6. *West Asian Turmoil and the Future of the Regional Gas Sector: Implications for India*, Ms. Shebonti Ray Dadwal, Research Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi.

13:00- 14:00 Lunch Break

**14:00-16:00 Session VI**

**Panel Discussion: India and the West Asian Region**

Chair: Dr. Arvind Gupta

- Panelists:
1. Brig. Rumel Dahiya (Retd.)
  2. Shri Sandeep Kumar
  3. Amb. Arundhati Ghose
  4. Prof. Gulshan Dietl
  5. Prof. A. K. Pasha

**PROFILES OF PARTICIPANTS**

**&**

**Abstracts**

## GENERAL VIJAY KUMAR SINGH (RETD)

Minister of State for External Affairs,  
Government of India.



General Vijay Kumar Singh (Retd), PVSM, AVSM, YSM was born on 10 May 1951 in Bapora village, Bhiwani district in Haryana. An alumnus of Birla Public School, Pilani and National Defence Academy, he served as the 26th Chief of Army Staff of the Indian Army. He was commissioned into the 2nd Battalion of The Rajput Regiment (Kali Chindi) on 14 June 1970. He is a graduate of the Defence Services Staff College, Wellington. He is also a graduate of US Army Rangers Course at Fort Benning, USA and US Army War College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

He was awarded the Ati Vishisht Seva Medal (AVSM) for distinguished service while commanding a counter-insurgency force. He has also been awarded with the Param Vishisht Seva Medal by the President of India in recognition of his exceptional and distinguished services on the eve of Republic Day 2009. He became Chief of Army Staff on 31 March 2010 and retired from the position on 31 May 2012.

General Singh (Retd) joined the Bhartiya Janata Party on 1 March 2014 and successfully contested Lok Sabha election from Ghaziabad constituency.

## **BRIG. RUMEL DAHIYA (RETD)**

Deputy Director General  
IDSA, New Delhi



Brig. Rumel Dahiya, SM (Retd) is Deputy Director General at the Institute of Defence Studies & Analyses. He is also Coordinator of the Military Affairs Centre and Managing Editor of the Journal of Defence Studies.

Brig. Dahiya is an Indian Army veteran with extensive command and staff experience spanning 32 years, including in counter-insurgency operations. He previously served as a Defence Attache to Turkey, Syria and Lebanon, and with the Indian Military Training Team in Bhutan. He also served with Military Operations Directorate of the Indian Army and Net Assessment Directorate at Integrated Defence Staff. Brig. Dahiya is a graduate of the National Defence College and Defence Services Staff College. He was awarded the Sword of Honour and Gold Medal at the Indian Military Academy at his commissioning.

# Session II

## Current Geopolitical Situation in West Asia

Wednesday, September 10, 2014

10:45 - 13:00

## *Chairperson*

**AMB. CHINMAYA R. GHAREKHAN**

Former Indian Diplomat



Amb. Gharekhan has had a long and distinguished career in the Indian Foreign Service as well as in the United Nations as Under Secretary General and senior advisor to the Secretary General. He was Chairman of International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos and India's Ambassador in Vietnam from 1973-76. He served as India's Permanent Representative to the UN Offices in Geneva from 1977-1980. He was foreign affairs advisor to Prime Ministers Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi between 1981-1986. Thereafter, he became India's Ambassador to the UN in New York from 1986-1992. During that period he represented India on the Security Council where he served twice as President. He was appointed Under Secretary General and Senior Advisor to the Secretary General in January 1993 and served as his personal representative to the Security Council.

He lived in Gaza city for 2 years from 1997-1999 as UN Special Coordinator for Occupied Territories. He served as Special Envoy of India for West Asia from 2005-2009. Ambassador Gharekhan is the author of the widely acclaimed book *The Horseshoe Table: An Inside View of the UN Security Council*. He comments regularly on foreign policy issues in India and international media.

## DR. HADI SOLEIMANPOUR

Head, Center for International Research and Education, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran.



Dr. Hadi Soleimanpour is currently Head of the Centre for International Research and Education (CIRE), affiliated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran, Iran. He is also a professor of International Environment and Development at the School of International Relations and obtained his PhD in the same subject from Durham University in the United Kingdom. He is a committed environmentalist with outstanding experience in international affairs as a career diplomat. He has been the Iranian Ambassador to Spain (1984-88), Paraguay and Argentina (1990-94), to the United Nations Office at Geneva (as DPR in charge of the UN Specialized Agencies [1995-99]), and Deputy Head of Iran's Department of Environment for Natural Environment and Biodiversity (2002-04). He has also been Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs for Africa (2009-10) and a scientific member of the High Council of Environment of Iran. Dr. Soleimanpour's research interests include international environmental issues, regional development and cooperation, and international relations. His affiliation to CIRE and its research branch Institute for Political and International Studies (IPIS) has led him to be engaged with think tanks and participated in Track II diplomacy. He has authored several books and articles in English and Farsi, including *Nature-based Tourism: A Draft International Covenant* (Commission on Environmental, Economic and Social Policy, IUCN, 2006); *Framework of Indicators for Ecotourism Development in Iran* (Azad University and Center for Strategic Studies, Tehran, 2009); and *International Environmental Governance: Global Trends and National Priorities* (CIRE, 2012), among others.



## PROF. GENCER ÖZCAN

Istanbul Bilgi University, Istanbul.



Graduated from Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences and received his Ph.D. from Bosphorus University. Özcan worked in Marmara University (1983-1999) and Yildiz Technical (1999-2009). He currently works in the Department of International Relations of Istanbul Bilgi University. His research interests are diplomatic history, Turkey's foreign policy making process, the military's role in the making of Turkey's foreign policy decisions, Turkey's policy towards the Middle East, and Turkish-Israeli bilateral relations. His recent publications include "Facing Its Waterloo in Diplomacy: Turkey's Military in Foreign Policy -making Process", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No. 40 (Spring 2009) s.83-102. "Do New Democracies Support Democracy? Turkey's Dilemmas", *Journal of Democracy*, 22: 4 (October 2011), p.124-138. "Turkish Israeli Relations in Crisis: Living with the Gordian Knot", *Hellenic Studies*, C.20, No. 1 (Bahar 2012).

## THE ARAB UPRISINGS: THE MORE THINGS CHANGED, THE MORE THEY STAYED THE SAME

*Prof. Gencer Özcan*

The Arab uprisings that engulfed the whole region in 2011 gave rise to high expectations that the authoritarian Arab states would be dismantled and be replaced with democratic ones. The Tunisian exception notwithstanding, not only did the expectations disappear, the uprisings triggered chain reactions culminating to catastrophic results in the most populous Arab countries, Egypt, Syria and Iraq. The political turmoil instigated by the uprisings led some analysts to claim that the regional order, notoriously known as the Sykes-Picot, designed and propped by Britain and France in the wake of the Great War is doomed to collapse. True that the order seems to have been challenged by several transnational movements such religiously motivated organizations as Al Qaida Iraq, presently named as Islamic State of Iraq and Levant, the Muslim Brotherhood, Hezbollah as well as other organizations like PKK, which aim to remove the Sykes-Picot borders to create greater states of different sorts. Despised as an imperial design begetting artificial states within borders demarcated by the ruler on the table, most of the states were and are still said to be erased from the political map of the Middle East. The paper will argue that no matter how artificially designed by the post war treaties, the borders within which nation states of the region came to get consolidated stood against time and appear to survive the present crises.

**AMB. MOHAMED FATHY ABDEL HAMID  
EL SHAZLY**

National Project Director, Executive Secretariat  
for the De-mining and Development of the  
North West Coast, Ministry of International  
Cooperation, Cairo.

Amb. Mohamed Fathy Abdel Hamid El Shazly is a veteran Egyptian diplomat and is currently National Project Director, Executive Secretariat for the De-mining and Development of the North West Coast, Ministry of International Cooperation, Egypt. Prior to that he served as the Head, Project Monitoring Unit, EU/ Egypt project on Human Rights Promotion, Democratization, and Civil Society, Ministry of International Cooperation from June 2006 to April 2010 and Deputy Head, General Coordination Secretariat for the Implementation of the Egyptian European Partnership Agreement-Ministry of International Cooperation from November 2004 till January 2007. He has been Egyptian ambassador to Saudi Arabia and Turkey and was deputed as permanent representative to the Organisation of Islamic Conference. Ambassador El Shazly has also served as Assistant Foreign Minister for European Affairs in Egypt. He has been a member of high level delegations and committees of the Egyptian government. He has been honoured with King Abdul Aziz decoration 1st rank-Saudi Arabia in August 1995 and with Polar Star Decoration, Rank Commodore in September 1983. Amb. El Shazly has written extensively on Egypt's national security, foreign policy and regional security as well.



**AMB. AHMED SALEM SALEH  
AL-WAHISHI**

Director, Yemeni International  
Affairs' Center, Sanaa.



Amb. (Retd.) Ahmed Salem Saleh Al-Wahishi is the Executive Director of Yemeni International Affairs' Center (YIAC), Ambassador Al-Wahishi has conducted research work on political, economic, and environmental and international law issues in the Middle East as well as issues related to peace, security, disarmament and sustainable development.

He served as Chief Representative of the League of Arab States, New Delhi, and was earlier appointed as Ambassador of Yemen in Indonesia , Singapore and Brunei, Darusaalam and as Head of Mission in Dubai and Tokyo since 1990, and as member of teaching staff of Aden University, since 1977. Ambassador Al-Washishi spearheaded several initiatives to strengthen ties between North Africa, West Asia and South Asia by working in synergy with various global partners and associations. He remains committed to fostering regional cooperation and enhancing peace and security through his dedicated participation in various programmes and continuous engagement in the exchange of ideas and dialogue at the international level. He has been actively participating in TRACK 2 meeting all over the world.

Amb. Al-Wahishi earned his Doctorate (Ph.D.) in Economics from Czech Republic 1988 , a B.Sc. (Chemistry) from Kuwait University 1977, a Diploma in International Law from Moscow University 1991, and a Fellowship in International Law from UNITAR, Geneva 1999.

## REGIONAL GEOPOLITICAL SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

*Amb. Ahmed Salem Saleh Al-Wahishi*

With the winds of change coming to the region in the begining of the second decade of the century, political Islamism reached the power in North African countries (Tunisia , Egypt , Libya, Somalia) and were straggling to do so in West Asian countries (Yemen, Syria , Iraq , Lebanon) making use of the failed states in some countries of both regions. This transitional situation in Middle East region was not the result of internal factors only but also with the effect of other regional and international parties. The question which will be discussed in the paper is whether the rich natural resources and the strategic location of this region is a curse or a blessing?

Some analysts believe that the regional geopolitical shift might lead to new democracies with a growing rule of the new forces that brought these changes. Yet , this transitional regions in North Africa and West Asia still depends on how much the possibilities that the new forces can manage the best practices in education, religious and cultural diversity of the region.

The growing military buildup including WMD in this tense region will endanger its geopolitical situation and threaten peace and security regionally and internationally.

The contemporary challenges on the level of peace, security, stability, environment protection and development process due to the political shift in North Africa and west Asia regions can be faced with the support of the international community including US, EU, BRICS among others to change these geopolitical situation from conflicts to cooperation. This paper would discuss about the possible role of national patriotic powerful disciplined institutions such as the national armies to help in the road map of the transitional period.

## DR. N. JANARDHAN

Dubai based Political Analyst.



Dr. N. Janardhan is a political analyst based in the United Arab Emirates since 2000 and author of *Boom amid Gloom: Spirit of Possibility in the 21st Century Gulf* (Ithaca, 2011) and co-editor of *India and the Gulf: What Next?* (Gulf Research Center Cambridge, 2013) and *A New Gulf Security Architecture: Prospects and Challenges for an Asian Role* (Gerlach, 2014). He is also an honorary fellow at the Centre for Gulf Studies, University of Exeter, and Managing Assistant Editor of *Journal of Arabian Studies* (Routledge).

With a broad-based interest in the socio-political developments in the Middle East, Dr Janardhan's research areas include political reforms, international relations, education, media, gender, labour, migration, human rights and human trafficking in the Gulf region.

After obtaining his PhD in Gulf studies from the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, he was Programme Manager, Gulf-Asia Relations, and Editor, 'Gulf in the Media', at Gulf Research Center, Dubai. He is a regular contributor to various newspapers and websites in the Middle East, as well as international academic publications.

## ARAB UPRISINGS AND CHANGING GEOPOLITICAL TRENDS IN WEST ASIA

*Dr. N. Janardhan*

The Arab uprisings mark a turning point in West Asian and global developments. They have impacted the political-security equations in the region and led to geopolitical changes and ideological rivalries to fill the power vacuum. In the present scenario, contrary to international affairs affecting the region's politics, the events following the Arab uprisings appear to be impacting international affairs. There are strong indications that a transformation of the international order - a unipolar world at present - is either in progress or would follow as a result.

The Arab uprisings have also reinforced the regional approach versus the international approach. It is now understood that most of the regional crises were triggered by the adoption of Western solutions, including the use of force. This has hastened the approach of regional perspectives for resolving regional issues. One of the most significant fall-outs is the reversal of regional rapprochement efforts on several fronts. On the flip side, ironically, it has also opened a window for potential reconciliation among transcontinental foes, which could radically alter the regional political landscape. Equally important is the return of Islamists to the political mainstream, which has, however, not stopped the process of energizing radical religious groups and widening sectarian divisions. Interestingly, these developments are evolving amid a hastening US fatigue of the region and a region's fatigue of the United States, which have contributed to declining US influence in West Asia. According to Prince Turki Al Faisal, "in the bloody, hostile miasma of the Middle East" there are only losers. This paper assesses such and other conclusions by examining the post-2011 developments. Simultaneously, it also looks at the medium- and long-term opportunities and challenges for some of the principal Asian countries in the quest for a new and collective security architecture and stability in the region.

# Session III

## Sectarianism, Extremism and Regional Security

Wednesday, September 10, 2014

14:00-16:00

## *Chairperson*

### **AMB. SANJAY SINGH**

Former Indian Diplomat



Amb. Sanjay Singh, alumni of Delhi University, joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1976. He has served in Indian Missions in Mexico, Germany, Ghana and France and in the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi as Director in the Office of the External Affairs Minister and Joint Secretary and Head of Division dealing with Latin American Countries and later Establishment. From October 1997 to June 2001, he was India's Consul General in Ho Chi Minh City and from July 2001 to August 2004, Deputy Chief of Mission in Paris. He held charge in the Ministry as Joint Secretary and Additional Secretary (Gulf) from March 2005 to March 2009. He was India's Ambassador to Iran from March 2009 to March 2011. He took over as Secretary (East) in the Ministry of External Affairs in March 2011 and retired in end April 2013.

## **DR. MUHAMMAD ABDUL GHAFAR**

Advisor to HM the King for  
Diplomatic Affairs, Chairman, Board of  
Trustees, Bahrain Center for Strategic,  
International and Energy Studies, Manama.



Prior to his appointment as Advisor to HM the King for Diplomatic Affairs and Chairman of the Board of Trustees for Derasat, His Excellency served as Ambassador of the Kingdom of Bahrain to the European Union and as the non-resident Ambassador to Luxemburg. Previously Dr. Abdul Ghaffar was a Member of Cabinet, where he held the portfolios of Minister of Information and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. His Excellency has also held the posts of the Ambassador of Bahrain to the United States of America, non-resident Ambassador to Canada and Argentina and as Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Bahrain to the United Nations. His Excellency obtained a Bachelor's Degree in Political Science from Poona University in India, a Master's Degree in Political Science from the New School for Social Research in New York and a Ph.D, also in Political Science, from the State University of New York, Binghamton.

## REGIONAL SECURITY IN THE GULF: A GCC PERSPECTIVE

*Dr. Muhammad Abdul Ghaffar*

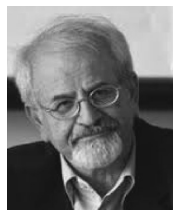
The Middle East finds itself today in the midst of a great many upheavals and crises. The Sykes-Picot status quo is unravelling before our eyes and the existing map of the region is being challenged. The invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan and revolutions that erupted in parts of the Arab world have damaged these old lines drawn in the sand. Presently, the most stable part of the Middle East is the Gulf Cooperation Council bloc which has worked towards being an anchor for the region. The States of the Gulf Cooperation Council support the current geo-political situation and regard the disintegration of Arab countries such as Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Libya with increasingly worried eyes.

This paper analyzes the geo-political and strategic developments of the region within a conceptual framework comprising three key elements 1) States: as regional and global powers, 2) Non-State Actors: groups such as the Islamic State which now controls areas of Syria and Iraq and others like Hezbollah, with strong ties to Iran, and 3) Social movements: which have played an increasingly important role since the beginning of the Arab Spring, leading to changes in government with far-reaching regional implications.

In order to understand where the region is heading and what it may look like in the future, we must understand and analyze the interactions between these three elements and how their influence affects the political map of the region.

## **DR. SEYED KAZEM SAJJADPOUR**

Adviser to the Minister of Foreign  
Affairs, Iran.



Dr. Seyed Mohammad Kazem Sajjadpour is the Adviser to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Iran. He is the former Ambassador and Deputy Permanent Representative for the Islamic Republic of Iran to the United Nations in Geneva. Prior to taking up this post, he was the Director of the Institute for Political and International Studies, the research branch of Iran's Foreign Ministry. Seyed Sajjadpour received his Ph.D in Political Science from George Washington University and was a post-doctoral fellow at Harvard. He has taught at the College of International Relations of Tehran University, as well as at Azad University and Iran's National Defense University. Dr. Sajjadpour is a regular contributor to the online journal Iranian Diplomacy. His areas of specialty are Iranian regional policy, Iranian external security, and globalisation.



## **AMB. TALMIZ AHMAD**

Former India's  
Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and  
UAE.



Amb. Talmiz Ahmad was the Indian Ambassador to Saudi Arabia (2000-03; 2010-11); Oman (2003-04), and the UAE (2007-10). He was also Additional Secretary for International Cooperation in the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas in 2004-06. After retirement from foreign service, he is working with an energy services company in Dubai.

He has published three books: *Reform in the Arab World: External Influences and Regional Debates* (2005); *Children of Abraham at War: the Clash of Messianic Militarisms* (2010), and *The Islamist Challenge in West Asia: Doctrinal and Political Competitions after the Arab Spring* (2013). He writes and lectures frequently on Political Islam, the politics of West Asia and energy security issues. He can be contacted at: [talmiz.ahmad@gmail.com](mailto:talmiz.ahmad@gmail.com).

## SECTARIANISM AND REGIONAL SECURITY IN WEST ASIA

*Amb. Talmiz Ahmad*

All across West Asia, the sectarian divide has come to define political and military confrontations. Thus, for nearly four years, Syria has been experiencing a horrendous civil conflict that has taken well over 150,000 lives, has displaced millions of people and has destroyed the major cities of the country. This conflict has increasingly seen Sunni forces ranged against the minority Alawi/Shia regime of Bashar Al Assad. In Iraq, its traditional pluralistic society has been seriously challenged so that ethnic and sectarian identity is now the central aspect of Iraqi politics. The conflicts have also provided an opportunity to jihadi elements to intervene in the ongoing confrontations through the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), which has set up a "caliphate" across the Iraq-Syria border.

However, though the ongoing competitions appear to be founded on sectarian appeal and mobilization, they are in fact manifestations of a much earlier struggle for power and influence in the region between Saudi Arabia and Iran. The Saudi sense of being beleaguered after the fall of the Saddam regime was aggravated by the events of the Arab Spring which, in Bahrain, brought the challenge of change to its door step. Seeing this as an existential threat, Saudi Arabia abandoned its traditional quiescent approach to regional affairs by robustly contesting Iran's influence in West Asia, even as jihadi groups complicate the regional scenario with their own claims that challenge the political order threatening both Saudi Arabia and Iran. These sharp contentions, that have mobilized primordial identities in modern-day competitions, call for the consideration of new paradigms for regional security, with the principal Asian countries playing a more active role in the regional scenario.

## **DR. ABDULWAHAB AL-QASSAB**

Arab Center for Research and  
Policy Studies, Doha



Dr. Abdulwahab Al-Qassab is an Associate Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Doha. He is currently coordinating the Strategic Program, and overseeing a number of projects, including Armament in the Arab World, Energy and Oil in the Arabian Gulf, and Water Resources in the Arab World - Glimpses for Crisis? Dr. Al-Qassab previously served in the Iraqi Armed Forces, earning the rank of Major General, before entering a career in research and academia. He has acted as a consultant for Naval Affairs and overlooked research and development for the Chief of the General Staff in the Iraqi Armed Forces. As a researcher, he worked with the Center for Arab World Studies, Al-Mustansiriya University, and The Center for International Studies, Baghdad University. He was a member of the Steering Committee for the Political Department and the Futurist Studies Department at Baytulhikma, Baghdad. Dr. Al-Qassab established Al-Zaman Center for Strategic Studies in Baghdad in 2003. He taught strategy to post graduate students in Al-Nahrain University, Baghdad from 1997 until 2005. From 2006 until 2010, Al-Qassab was a consultant to the Iraqi Center for Strategic Studies in Amman and the Center for Strategic Studies of the Qatar Armed Forces. His research interests include geostrategic aspects in the Arabian Gulf environment, military history, history of political and international relations in the Levant, Iraq and the Arabian Gulf, power relations in the Arabian Gulf, armament and disarmament, power and energy.

## THE GEO-STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION IN IRAQ

*Abdulwahab Al-Qassab*

On April 9, 2003 United States' forces occupied Baghdad and toppled the regime of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, and ushered in what could be seen as the worst days in the modern history of Iraq. The toll on Iraqis was heavier, by far: the shattering of their fragile society, the introduction of hitherto unprecedented sectarian divisions, the heightened intimidation of the Iraqi Government by Iran, terrorism rampant as never seen before in Iraq, corruption on a massive scale, not only by al-Qaida in Iraq (AQI), but also by the Iranian-created and supported Shiite militias, and finally the ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) taking over the control of more than 40% of the country's surface area and population, including Iraq's second largest city Mosul, posing a direct threat of an assault upon Baghdad, at any time ISIL and its supporters choose and find suitable.

By pushing towards the destruction of the state in Iraq, not only was Iraq to lose its role as a balancing power in the Gulf region, it was also set on a path to ever further self-destruction. The orders and decrees imposed by the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) viewed Iraqi society as a fragmented and divided entity, infested with hatred and revenge — although this society was known throughout history to be a well-integrated one, notwithstanding its diversity. Sunni society was implicitly held responsible, if not openly accused, of all the atrocities committed by Saddam Hussein's regime. This became one of the major factors underlying today's sectarian ethnic fragmentation of society. In this process the state was robbed not only of tools to maintain law and order, but of its ability to stop others from meddling in Iraqi affairs, and this paved the way for further external intervention in Iraq, with Iran now the major player. The accumulation of atrocities and wrongdoings led up to the collapse of the government army on June 10 in Mosul, opening the way for to ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham) to prevail.

## COL. RAJEEV AGARWAL

Research Fellow, Institute for  
Defence Studies and Analyses,  
New Delhi.



Col. Rajeev Agarwal was commissioned into the Regiment of Artillery in June 1990 and has had varied operational and service experience for over 24 years. He has also been a military observer with the United Nations in DRC and holds a Master's degree in Defence and Strategic Studies from Madras University.

His published work include "Security in the Gulf Region: India's Concerns, Vulnerabilities, Interests and Engagement Options" in Rumel Dahiya (ed) *Developments in the Gulf Region: Prospects and Challenges For India in the Next Two Decades*, Pentagon Press, New Delhi, 2013. 'Arab Spring' and Democracy: Possibility or an Elusive Idea, *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, Vol 8, No.4, October to December 2013. Monograph on "Turkey and its Quest for Leadership Role in the West Asian Region, IDSA Monograph Series No.32, January 2014. "US Pivot to the Asia Pacific: Impact and Implications for West Asia" (Co-authored) in S D Muni and Vivek Chadha (ed) *Asian Strategic Review 2014: US Pivot and Asian Security*, Pentagon Press New Delhi 2014. IDSA Occasional Paper No. 34 "Threat of Israel's Regional Isolation and Imperatives for the Future", June 2014.

## **GCC AND GULF SECURITY: TIME TO SHED PAST BAGGAGE AND EVOLVE ANEW**

*Col. Rajeev Agarwal*

The West Asian region has been in turmoil for over four years now. What is however affecting the Arabian Peninsula and particularly the six countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) is the dynamic change taking place in the regional balance of power. It is no longer the case of Saudi Arabia versus Iran in the Gulf region or the popular discourse of Arabs versus Israelis. This is largely due to the emergence of new power dynamics in the region. The power dynamics on one hand finds expression in the concern over the rise of Iran in recent past and on the other hand, the intra GCC rivalry which is threatening to alter the fragile balance within the GCC. The emergence of Qatar- Saudi Arabia rivalry is one such major issue. Also, the reluctant acceptance of emergence of Iran and efforts to better bilateral relations with it is another critical development, especially in context of some GCC members like Kuwait, Oman and UAE. The concern over progressive shift in US policy away from the region towards the Asia Pacific as a part of its “rebalancing” is another major concern as it threatens to deprive and dilute the decades long US pledged security guarantees in the region. In addition, the ongoing conflicts in Iraq, Syria and Gaza have highlighted the total lack of consensus, unity and common goals with regards to not only GCC but the entire Arab world at large. These conflicts have clearly highlighted the absolute uselessness of an organisation like the GCC in its present form not only to take political decisions but also to take suitable actions to address serious security issues in the region. In a future scenario, where, devoid of US security cover, the region will have to address security concerns on a regional platform, the GCC faces an existential threat. There is thus an urgent need for the GCC members to address their mutual concerns and transform GCC into a viable and potent regional organisation with a strong security architecture.

# Session IV

External Interventions and its  
long term consequences

Wednesday, September 10, 2014

16:15-18:00

## *Chairperson*

**AMB. S. K. BHUTANI**



Amb. Sudarshan Bhutani joined Indian Foreign Service in 1955 at the age of 22. After training in India and a year in Oxford, he did a year long course at Beijing University while working at the Indian Embassy. He spent over fifteen years in the Asia-Pacific region. He was Chairman-cum-Secretary General of the International Commission for Supervision & Control in Vietnam, Ambassador to Indonesia and High Commissioner to Australia.

His other area of interest is the Arab world. As joint secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs after the 1973 Arab-Israeli War and ensuing energy crisis, he handled political relations with all countries from Afghanistan to Morocco. He was Ambassador in Egypt in the late 1990s.

His other assignments included Consul-General of India for the Western United States based in San Francisco, Ambassador of India to Poland and to Portugal.

After retirement, he continues to take active interest in current national security issues. He has written articles on these issues in specialized journals and authored a book on India's relations with China, titled 'A Clash of Political Cultures, Sino-Indian Relations 1957-62', which was published in January 2004. Following the 'Arab Spring' he has commented extensively on the regional developments and role of external powers.

## PROF. HENNER FÜRTIG

Acting Vice President,  
German Institute of Global and  
Area Studies, Hamburg.



Prof. Henner Fürtig is the Acting Vice President of the German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg and Professor at the History Department of the University of Hamburg. Main interests: contemporary history and politics of the Middle East, especially the Gulf region and Egypt. Selected publications: “Al-hâlafât ad-dûwalîyyabisha’an al-’aqûbât ‘alâÎrân: al-wilâyât al-mutahida, al-ittihâd al-ûrûbî, rûsîyyawa’l-sîn (International Reactions concerning the Sanctions against Iran: USA, EU, Russia, China)”. In: *Sharqnameh*, Cairo, No. 8, pp. 27-43; “Iran and Venezuela: Ideology-Driven Foreign Policies in Comparison.” In: Flandes, D. (Ed.), *Regional Leadership in the Global System. Ideas, Interests and Strategies of Regional Powers*. London: Ashgate 2010, pp. 169-190 (with S. Gratius). “The Absence of Nonsectarian Parties in the Iraqi Political Arena.” In: Suwaidi, Jamal Sanad al- (Ed.), *The Arabian Gulf between Continuity and Change*. Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research (ECSSR) 2009, pp. 159-185; “Iran’s Sisyphean Labour – 30 Years of Spreading “Islam’s Revolutionary Message”. In: Christmann, A./ Hartung, J.-P. (Eds.), *Islamica. Journal of Semitic Studies*, Supplement 26, Oxford 2009, pp. 171-189.

# HOW TO DEAL WITH WEST ASIA?

## COMMONALITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE EUROPEAN AND GERMAN APPROACHES

*Prof. Henner Fürtig*

Even within the first two decades after the end of the Cold War, Germany did not pursue a consistent foreign policy towards West Asia. Within the framework of the European “Common Foreign and Security Policy” (CFSP) France took care for the Maghreb whereas the UK cultivated its traditional relations with the Mashreq. In two major cases at least, when a common European position towards developments in West Asia was in demand, Germany continued its non-interventionist, defensive approach developed as a consequence of and a lesson from the defeat in WWII: in contrast to other EU members it did not participate in the Iraq War in 2003 and it remained neutral when its partners intervened militarily in Libya in 2011.

However, starting with the Balkan wars in the early 1990s and culminating in its ISAF engagement in Afghanistan between 2001 and 2014, Germany increasingly participated in Western-initiated military protection activities on a global scale; be it only at the Horn of Africa or at the shores of Lebanon. Only recently, leading German politicians, among them the foreign and the defense ministers as well as the federal president asked for a more pro-active and courageous German foreign policy, including the shouldering of military responsibilities worldwide.

Against this background, the paper will look for answers to the questions on how vital the German exclusiveness position (“Sonderweg”) still is, on the chances of a more integrative European policy especially towards West Asia and - last but not least - the Pros and Cons of a relatively new German foreign policy approach to combine its capacities with those of so called “rising powers” in certain regions of enhanced strategic importance such as West Asia.

## DR. VENIAMIN POPOV

Director, Civilizations'  
Partnership Centre, Institute  
of Oriental Studies, Moscow.



Dr. Veniamin Popov is the Director of Civilizations' Partnership Centre. He is a career diplomat, on diplomatic service since 1965. Worked at the Russian Embassies in Egypt, Syria, Iraq and South Yemen. In 1987 was appointed Ambassador in the Northern Yemen, served as Ambassador of Russia in the Yemen Arab Republic (after unification of the two Yemen's). Later worked as Russian Ambassador in Libya then in Tunisia.

Since 2002 up to 2007 - head of the Group of Islamic Factor in the Russian Foreign Ministry and Special Envoy for the relations with the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Played substantial role in Russia' joining OIC as an observer in 2005. Coordinator (General Secretary) of the Strategic Vision Group "Russia - Islamic World" from 2006 till now. Since 2008 - the Director of the Civilizations' Partnership Centre Since 2010 - advisor for Director of Russian Academic Institute of Oriental Studies.

Speaks Arabic, English and French. Holds Ph. D degree in History, author of a number of works on the history of Arabic countries and the Mediterranean. Participated in many international conferences and symposia in Muslim, European countries and USA on the problems of the dialogue of civilizations and relations between the West and the Islamic world. In 2006 was the Head of the Russian delegation in the OSCE conference on tolerance, in 2007 - was the Head of the Russian delegation in the OSCE conference on combating racial discrimination.

Cavalier of the Russian Order of Friendship of Nations and Tunisian Order of the Republic and many medals.

## RUSSIAN PERSPECTIVE OF THE EXTERNAL INTERVENTION IN WEST ASIA

*Dr. Veniamin Popov*

Awakening process in the Arab countries named “Arab spring” symbolized a fight against the westernized authoritarian regimes, corruption, social injustice, unemployment. Developments in the region have come as a shock for the West which dominated this area for a long time. However after some pause the western powers managed to take the initiative and to exploit them. It was especially shown in events in Libya, Syria, and also to certain degree in Bahrain, Yemen and some other countries.

In many ways, this activity of the USA and Western Europe was the continuation of the American invasion in Iraq in 2003, which led to the radical change of the balance of forces in the region and exacerbate religious disputes especially Shia-Sunni divide. Intervention of the West and, first of all, of the USA into affairs of the Middle East led to destabilization of the situation and argued tension. The main thing is that owing to this aggressive policy new centers of Islamic extremism appeared. The proof is situation in Libya, Syria, Iraq, and now - in a number of the African countries. At the same time, as a result of this line of Washington, one more dangerous center of terrorist threat - An Afghani- Pakistani knot is created. The rise of political Islam which according to some Arab analysts achieved its peak, put in the forefront practically in all countries of the Middle East a question of balance of forces between secular and religious elements. In each country it will be decided in different ways.

There is ground to believe that further role of the leading western states in this part of the world will diminish and influence of local regional powers will increase. Military solutions of current conflict situations do not exist: their settlement can be achieved only by dialogue, negotiations, consensus agreements. Attempts of unilateral intermediary efforts only aggravate problems and lead them to the deadlock. Meanwhile, as the Syrian experience testifies, joint actions are capable to lead to the positive results.

## PROF. P. R. KUMARASWAMY

School of International Studies,  
Jawaharlal Nehru University,  
New Delhi.



Prof. Kumaraswamy is professor of Middle Eastern studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi. From 1992 to 1999 he was a research fellow at the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, Jerusalem. Since joining JNU in September 1999. He has been researching, teaching, and writing on various aspects of the West Asian Region. His works include *India's Israel Policy* (Columbia University Press, 2010) and *Historical Dictionary of the Arab Israeli Conflict* (Lanham, Ma: Scarecrow Press, 2006).

Over the years, he has authored a number of monographs on the region and they include *Israel Confronts Iran: Rational, Responses and Fallouts* (IDSA, 2012); *Reading the Silence: India and the Arab Spring* (Jerusalem: Leonard Davis Institute, 2012); *Indo-Iranian relations and the Arab Prism* (Abu Dhabi: ECSSR, 2008); *Beyond the Veil: Israel-Pakistan Relations* (Tel Aviv: JCSS, 2000); *India and Israel: Evolving Strategic Partnership* (Ramat Gan: BESA 1998); *Political Legitimacy of the Minorities: Israeli Arabs and the 1996 Knesset Elections* (Abu Dhabi: ECSSR, 1998); and *Israel's China Odyssey* (New Delhi: IDSA, 1994).

He has edited the following volumes: *Caught in Crossfire: Civilians in Conflicts in the Middle East* (Ithaca, 2008); *Israel and the Islamic World* (co-edited, Routledge, 2008); *Revisiting the Yom Kippur War* (Frank Cass, 2000), *The Fateful Triangle: Israel Hashemites and Palestinians* (co-edited, Frank Cass, 2000); and *China and the Middle East* (Sage, 1999). He has published research articles in various edited volumes and in refereed and non-refereed international journals and regularly contributes to Indian as well as international media outlets.

## THE LOVE-HATE RELATIONSHIP: EXTERNAL INTERVENTIONS AND THE REGION

*Prof. P. R. Kumaraswamy*

The Middle East region has a love-hate relationship with the external players; it cannot recognize and resolve most of its core problems without external influence, interference and intervention. At the same time, it holds the outside powers, especially the US, for the intensification and non-resolution of most of its crises. Issues such as democratization, minority rights, extremism, hegemonic ambitions of regional powers, inter-state tensions, sectarianism as well as the Arab-Israeli conflict have been intrinsically linked to the involvement of external powers. Despite its declining influence, the US continues to be the only power that has the political will and military capability to influence and affect regional developments. The periodic criticisms of the US and anti-American sentiments have not resulted in other countries or groups showing any leadership ability in resolving the myriad of regional problems facing the Middle East.

All the countries in the Middle East including the established and emerging democracies have failed to accommodate the internal diversities and some progress that has been achieved is due to the external interventions and interferences. The growing shia-sunni rivalries has serve implications for the security of the region. The continuing regional instability also raises increasing concerns related to issues of energy security as witnessed in Iraq and Syria.

## **DR. WAIEL AWWAD**

New Delhi based  
independent journalist.



South Asia based Independent Journalist since 1979 has travelled extensively in most of south and South East Asian countries. War correspondent, covered Sri Lanka, Kashmir, Afghanistan, West Asia and Gulf Region. Worked as Bureau Chief of MBC, London, MBC FM Radio, Kuwait, Oman and Damascus Radio and prior to that run a special program: Dateline South Asia in Arabic first of its kind with Asian News International (ANI). He was the South Asia Bureau Chief of Al Arabiya TV Channel (Dubai Media City), till 2011. Many of his writings published in English and Arabic in major newspapers and magazines .Interviewed many world leaders and participated in international conferences, seminar and Panel discussions. Dr. Wael covered wars in South Asia and was detained in Afghanistan before the fall of Taliban government and also was captured in an ambush during the American invasion of Iraq in 2003 while he was embedded with American Troops. He is currently the president of the Foreign Correspondents` Club of South Asia (FCC).

## EXTERNAL INTERVENTION IN WEST ASIA: REGIONAL AND GLOBAL IMPLICATIONS

*Dr. Waiel Awwad*

The current situation and turmoil in West Asia is nothing but a manifestation of Western policy and its thirst of capturing the natural resources in the Arab world. It is a never ending saga for super world for more than a thousand year. Europe intervention in the Arab world was evident from encouraging coups against regimes opposing to their policies and replacing them with un popular figures under the pretext of stopping the spread of communism and Soviet threats.

Heavy militarization of the region was one of the top priorities of the West and US policy toward West Asia so weapons were poured in to support the puppet regimes.

While European nations ensured the birth of Israel state, US protected it and ensured its expansion and annihilation of Palestine.

The external intervention in the West Asia played a catastrophic role in creating chaos and encourages dictatorship and sedition. From the military invasion of Afghanistan, Israel Strategy for the Nineteen century (YenonOded plan 1982), Lin Perk document 1996 (PNAC - Clean and Break Plan) to ensure security of Israel. Brzezinski project, Richard Pearl document: Israel strategy till 2000 where he called for USA to invade Iraq. "The Middle East and North Africa New Order" was announced by Condoleezza Rice after the Israel attack on Lebanon 2006.

This followed by wars of Gaza, the creation of ISIS by supporting foreign terrorist groups into Syria and Iraq. This did not have a devastating effect regionally, where it is spreading to Jordan and Lebanon but it has a global dimension of isolating Russia in the Mediterranean Sea and putting pressure on Iran. Will the creation of radicalism, extremism, terrorism lead to re colonization? What will be the fault f such policy regionally and globally?

## **DR. MEENA SINGH ROY**

Research Fellow, Coordinator West Asia Centre, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi



Dr. Meena Singh Roy is a Research Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. Her area of specialisation is Central Asia, and West Asia. She completed her Ph.D. from University of Delhi in 1994. She has been senior research scholar in the Department of African Studies, Delhi University. She has also been associated with Institute of Commonwealth Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies and London School of Economics for her research work. Has been a visiting Research Fellow with German Institute of Global and Area Studies Institute of Asian Studies. She has presented papers in various national and international seminars and has published various research papers and articles in referred Journals and Books. She has been involved in net assessment reports on Central Asia. She has published a books titled, International and Regional Security Dynamics: Indian and Iranian Perspectives (ed.), July 2009, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi; Emerging Trends in West Asia: Regional and Global Implications (ed.), Pentagon Press, 2014 and a monograph titled The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: India Seeking New Role in the Eurasian Regional Mechanism, 2014, IDSA Publication.

## PERILS OF EXTERNAL INTERVENTION IN WEST ASIA AND RAMIFICATIONS FOR INDIA

*Dr. Meena Singh Roy*

The turbulence in West Asia and North Africa region (WANA) which started with the wave of unrest in 2011, popularly known as 'Arab Spring' has now entered the dangerous phase with wide spread ramifications for the region. In the current context, entire West Asian region seems to be swamped with increase in sectarian violence, rise of Islamic forces, regional conflicts and, civil wars drawing in the external and regional actors deep into the West Asian conflict zones. The current crisis in Iraq and Syria are likely to have a spill over effect and a direct bearing on the peace and stability in the region. External intervention in West Asia is not a new phenomenon, it has been part of the geo-political and geo-economic reality of the region rooted in history. However, scale, magnitude, intensity and causes of intervention have been varied. So has been the ramifications for the region.

The situation in the region is still evolving and turbulence is likely to remain for a long period given diverse interests of the regional and extra regional actors involved in the region. More importantly, finding solutions to these complex set of problems are neither easy nor possible, but what is possible for the international community to do is to manage the crisis in best possible way with minimum damage to the human life and assets of the people in the conflict zones. Long term solutions have to come from within and not through the external interventions.

These new developments in geo-political landscape of the West Asian region have exposed India to completely new set of challenges, issues and conditions. Given India's huge stakes both strategic and economic, it will have to adopt new techniques of engagement with the region to draw on advantages and avoid disadvantages. This paper will analyse the dangers of external intervention in West Asian region and examine its potential impact on India's West Asia policy.

# Session V

## Impact of Regional Instability on Energy Security

Thursday, September 11, 2014

09:30-13:00

## *Chairperson*

### **AMB. RANJIT GUPTA**

Former Indian Diplomat



Amb. Ranjit Gupta is a retired Indian Foreign Service officer. He was a member of the Prime Minister's National Security Advisory Board for the term 2009-2010. He is currently a Distinguished Fellow of the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies and a Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies. Earlier he has been Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, Visiting Professor at the Academy of Third World Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, and Ambassador-in-Residence at the Jawaharlal Nehru University. He has been delivering lectures at think tanks, universities and other academic institutions in India and abroad and participating in conferences, seminars and workshops primarily relating to India's relations with the Gulf region and the Arab world; Southeast Asia and East Asia including in particular relating to ASEAN, China, Myanmar, Taiwan, Tibet and India's 'Look East' Policy. During the past six years he has been actively involved in Track II activity pertaining to the Gulf region sponsored by the Ministry of External Affairs. During his 39 year career with India's Ministry of External Affairs he had served successively in Cairo, New York (at the Permanent Mission of India to the UN), Gangtok (at the time of Sikkim's merger with India), Jeddah (Deputy Chief of Mission), Frankfurt (Consul-General) and Kathmandu (Deputy Chief of Mission). At Headquarters he had been Head of the West Asia and North Africa Division dealing with Arab countries and Israel. Later he was successively India's Ambassador to Yemen (North), Venezuela, Oman, Thailand and Spain and finally was Head of India's Representation in Taiwan from May 2000 to May 2003.

## DR. JON B. ALTERMAN

Senior Vice President, Brzezinski  
Chair in Global Security and Director,  
Middle East Program, Center for Strategic  
and International Studies, Washington, DC.



Dr. Jon B. Alterman is a senior vice president at CSIS, holds the Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy, and the director of the center's Middle East Program. Prior to joining CSIS in 2002, he served as a member of the Policy Planning Staff at the U.S. Department of State and as a special assistant to the assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs. He is a member of the Chief of Naval Operations Executive Panel and served as an expert adviser to the Iraq Study Group (also known as the Baker-Hamilton Commission). In addition to his policy work, he teaches Middle Eastern studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and the George Washington University. Before entering government, he was a scholar at the U.S. Institute of Peace and at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. From 1993 to 1997, Alterman was an award-winning teacher at Harvard University, where he received his Ph.D. in history. He also worked as a legislative aide to Senator Daniel P. Moynihan (D-NY), responsible for foreign policy and defense.

Alterman has lectured in more than 30 countries on five continents on subjects related to the Middle East and U.S. policy toward the region. He is the author or coauthor of four books on the Middle East and the editor of two more. In addition to his academic work, he is sought out as a consultant to business and government and is a frequent commentator in print, on radio, and on television. His opinion pieces have appeared in the New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Financial Times, and other major publications. He is an associate fellow at the

Geneva Center for Security Policy, a member of the Board of Advisory Editors of the Middle East Journal, a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of Arab Media and Society, a former international affairs fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, where he is now a life member. He received his A.B. from Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

## THE OTHER SIDE OF THE WORLD

*Jon B. Alterman*

For the last half-century, Middle Eastern energy has driven—and continues to drive—the economic growth of Asia. Looking forward, virtually all of the growth in global energy demand over the next two decades will be in South and East Asia, further strengthening Asia-Middle East energy trade. Bilateral relations between Asia and the Middle East cannot be reduced to energy alone, however. As energy ties increase, Middle Eastern investment capital is becoming increasingly important in Asian economies, and Asian firms are increasingly dominant building Middle Eastern infrastructure.

The United States has created the conditions for such trade to grow. It has secured the Strait of Hormuz, the Straits of Malacca, and the Indian Ocean that separates them. It has helped train and equip militaries that repel threats. In the case of Iraq, in particular, the United States devoted hundreds of billions of dollars (and thousands of lives) to creating an economic environment in which Chinese businesses prosper, with no corresponding Chinese contribution. Some argue that the United States continues to benefit from being a unique global power that contributes to public goods irrespective of the country's direct benefit. Others argue that when there is increasing competition for U.S. government resources and Asian economies are growing rapidly, it makes no sense for the United States to continue to subsidize Asian growth.

This study will seek to understand two sets of things. First, what are the strategic implications of a Middle East that looks increasingly eastward rather than westward, and an Asia that feels more intimately tied to the Middle East? For more than two centuries, the Middle East has had a Western reference point for its economic and security needs, and a Western reference point for elites contemplating a modern political and social order. Soldiers have trained with Western militaries, and students have studied in Western schools. The

same is true in Asia. Yet, an increasing number in both places decry what they call the tyranny of Western hegemony and seek an escape from it. For cultural, political and economic reasons, some seek to use pan-Asian ties as a counterweight to a Western order. This study will analyze how Middle Eastern and Asian powers will respond-economically, politically and militarily-to trade patterns that are increasingly intra-Asian. Will new norms and institutions develop, and if so, how will they differ from existing ones?

Second, how should the United States respond to growing linkages in a region that is literally on the other side of the world? Asian powers have eased into the draft of Western security efforts, benefitting from the Western dedication of blood and treasure to ensure the free flow of energy from the region. As U.S. energy imports dwindle and Asia economies (and militaries) grow, should the United States continue to play an outsized role protecting Asian SLOCs, or is it better to encourage the countries that rely on them directly to take a more active role? Would the absence of a U.S.-shaped security environment prompt others who have been reluctant to invest in global public goods to invest more, or would it lead to more self-interested behavior? Would less of a U.S. role in this region make intraregional conflict more or less likely, and what would that mean for the United States? Should the United States invest more or fewer resources-diplomatic, economic and military-in this region or shift the mix between them, and what implications would such shifts have for U.S. global interests?

## DR. NIU XINCHUN

Director, Institute of Middle East Studies,  
China Institutes of Contemporary  
International Relations, Beijing.



Dr. Niu Xinchun, Senior Research Fellow and Director of the Middle East Studies at China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations. He achieved bachelor degree in history in 1993, master degree in history in 1996, and Ph. D in international politics in 2006. He entered China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations in 1996, assumed the deputy director of the American Studies in 2008, the director of the Middle East Studies in 2011. His research areas include: Politics in the Middle East, US foreign policy.

## STRATEGIC TRANSFORMATION IN THE WEST ASIA AND CHINA'S POLICY CHOICES

*Niu Xinchun*

There are three significant new phenomena influencing China's calculus on its West Asia policy, especially its policy on the Gulf countries which are becoming more crucial for China's energy security which provides China about 50% of its imported oil. Firstly, China's economic interests in the Gulf are drastically rising so, it could not follow its traditional policy of intentionally keeping itself away from the ongoing conflicts in the region. Secondly, the US is transforming its Middle East policy, which will certainly affect the power structure there, although it still remains uncertain on the scale and direction of the perceived transformation. Thirdly, the Gulf is changing politically and economically under the context of the Arab Spring and the international energy landscape shift.

Considering this Changing environment, learning from those lessons of the historical 'great powers' Middle East policy and inheriting China's diplomatic traditions, it is the time for China to establish a comprehensive and consistent policy on the Gulf. In history, the great powers, like Ottoman, UK, Soviet Union and US have all entered into and withdrawn from this region. Now a days the different dynamics of the international politics and China as a partial great power demands that it has to pave a new road different from the historical great power's track in the area. If we liken the US as a tiger in the Gulf, China should be an elephant which does not attack others aggressively but has the capacity to protect itself.

The first challenge of China's Westward movement is how to deal the relations with the US. Here in China, there are two schools on this topic, one of them argue the Gulf could be the new frontier for the cooperation between China and the US, the other see the Gulf as a new frontier to make troubles for the US that would deflect the US from the Asia-Pacific region.

## PROF. TOSHITAKA TAKEUCHI

Osaka School of International  
Public Policy, Osaka University,  
Osaka.



Prof. Toshitaka Takeuchi is Professor at Osaka School of International Public Policy, Osaka University. He was born in May, 1951. He got his BS in Environmental Engineering from Kyoto University in 1975 and BA in Political Science from University of Oregon. He completed his MA in Pol. Science from University of Washington in 1980 and AM (MA) in East Asian Studies from Stanford University in 1981.

He has been Associate Professor at Osaka University of Foreign Studies, 1991-2002 and Professor from 2002 to 2007. From 2007 he has been adviser to the Ship for World Youth and legal adviser to the delegation of Japan to the conference of Disarmament, Ministry of foreign Affairs. He took part in CTBT, CCW negotiations 1995-1997.

From 2007 to the present, the current position. He has been part of US State Dept.'s International Visitors Program, all on security related subjects; military bases in the US proper and took part in conferences, etc, in 1992, the Pacific Command in Hawaii in 1999 and US bases in Okinawa in 2003.

He has recently published Understanding International Relations: The world and Japan (editor), University Education Press, 2013 (in English), Contemporary International Relations (editor), Minerva, 2012 (in Japanese), Game Theory for Policy Analysis, Minerva, 2011 (in Japanese), The Japan-US Alliance (editor), Minerva, 2011 (in Japanese), Guidebook on International Relations (editor), Osaka Univ. Press, 2008 (in Japanese). He has two black belts in Judo and Shorinji Kempo. Worked in Alaska for 4 summers. Backpacked from the US, Europe, South East Asia to back to Japan.

## THE IMPACT OF THE REGIONAL INSTABILITY IN WEST ASIA (MIDDLE EAST) ON ENERGY SECURITY: THE CASES OF JAPAN AND ASIA

*Prof. Toshitaka Takeuchi*

It is a forgone conclusion that the regional instability in West Asia (Middle East) will negatively affect the energy security of many countries because of the possibility of disrupting the oil and the increasingly important natural gas supplies. The questions that arise from this change in energy security are what will be the extent of the impact, what sector will be hardest hit, and so on. The impact on Japan might be one of the severest in the world because 90% of Japan's oil imports come from the Middle East. This impact will be even more pronounced because, after the tsunami disaster on March 11, 2011, none of Japan's 48 commercial nuclear reactors, which used to generate one third of the country's electricity, is currently in operation. Therefore, Japan's energy dependence on the Middle East oil is expected to increase.

The demand for the Middle Eastern oil is expected to increase significantly because of rapid economic growth in Asia, especially in China and India. This means that the price of oil will likely rise in the future unless there is more production. This is a source of concern for a zero-sum kind of competition among consumer countries. However, the flip side of the coin is that it also provides an incentive for Asian countries to coordinate and cooperate in their energy policies.

There is one more important aspect in energy security: namely, safeguarding sea lines of communication (SLOCs) in the Indian Ocean. This is an area where India has an opportunity to play a significant bridging role. The waters east of the Indian Ocean are not calm and sometimes get turbulent. However, there is a silver lining since every Asian nation which transports oil through the Indian Ocean has a similar and mutual interest in securing their SLOCs. Many Asian countries including Japan and China can be cohorts in this endeavour as the anti-piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden exemplify.

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Prof. Jeongmin Seo chairs the Department of Middle East and African Studies at Graduate School of International Area Studies, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul, South Korea. Before he got the teaching position, Prof. Seo was working as a Middle East correspondent in Cairo dispatched by Joongang Daily Newspaper, a top Korean newspaper. He holds a D. Phil. in politics from University of Oxford and two MAs from the American University in Cairo and Graduate School of Interpretation and Translation in Seoul. His main fields of research are religion and politics of the contemporary Middle East, political economy and state-society relations of the region.

His recent publications include “The Religious Establishment and the Arab Spring: The Case of Egypt” Korean Journal of the Middle East Studies 35-1 (June 2014); “South Korea’s Interests in the Gulf: From Construction to Military Cooperation” in A New Gulf Security Architecture: Prospects and Challenges for an Asian Role. Ranjit Gupta and N. Janardhan, Eds. Berlin: Gelarch Press, 2014); “The Three Bonds and Five Relationships of Confucianism in Islam.” Korean Journal of Islamic Studies Association 23-2 (June 2013); “Quantitative Culture Code in Arab-Middle East Films” Korean Journal of Middle East Studies 33-1 (June 2012); “Tribalism in the Arab Political Change” Korean Journal of Islamic Studies Association 22-1 (Spring 2011); Burj Khalifa. Seoul: Gloyeon, 2010 (Korean); Global Energy Hub, the Middle East. Seoul: Mirae Asset, 2009 (Korean); and The Middle East, Land of Human. Seoul: Joongang Books, 2009 (Korean).

## A KOREAN PERSPECTIVE OF THE IMPACT OF REGIONAL INSTABILITY ON ENERGY SECURITY

*Prof. Jeongmin Seo*

South Korea is the fifth top energy importer worldwide with 64% of its oil coming from OPEC member countries. Over the last 30 years, South Korea accounted for a rapid increase in energy use. This in turn led South Korea to be totally dependent on oil and gas imports. Due to the increase of energy consumption and dependence, external and internal factor have forced South Korea to change its energy strategy and targets.

Among the external factors, political change or instability in the Middle East has been the most important variable in South Korea's energy security. The rise in oil prices and concern over stable production and supply since the 2011 Arab Spring have led the government and business circle of South Korea to make a closer look at what is going on and what would happen in the region. This is because any disruption in production and supply of energy may have disastrous impact on economy and security of South Korea which has faced continuous military threats from North Korea.

Nevertheless, South Korea's response to the current political transformation of the Middle East has been not assertive, but defensive or passive. This is based on perception and tacit recognition by the government and people of South Korea that the country unlike the United States, Russia, and China does not have leverage in the Middle Eastern affairs. Thus, the strategies and policies of South Korea on energy security have been focused on the two 'reactionary' measures. First, South Korea has made great efforts in expanding the use of nuclear power and renewable energies in order to reduce its dependence on oil consumption. Second, the Korean government has tried to build a strategic partnership with relatively stable Gulf countries like UAE and Saudi Arabia to secure its energy supply.

## **PROF. GIRIJESH PANT**

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Prof. Girijesh Pant is an Economist by training. Having done his MA in Economics from Allahabad University with rank, he joined Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) for his doctorate. He began his career with Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry New Delhi but moved to academics. He is the former Dean of the School of International Studies in JNU.

Starting his work in Development Studies, Dr. Pant initial writings were on Political Economy with focus on South East Asia and Third World Economies. At the Centre his work has been on West Asian Economies, Oil Economics and International Energy Issues.

He has been Director of Gulf Studies programme and Chairman Centre for West Asian African Studies. Travelled extensively, he has been Senior Fulbright Visiting Scholar, University Of Illinois, USA. His other assignments include, Member pf UGC Standing Committee Area Studies, UGC nominee in Managing Committee of Third World Academy in JamiaMiliaIslamia and Memberof Editorial Board of Indian Foreign Affairs Journal New Delhi. He was also the Vice Chancellor of GGD University Bilaspur, and Doon University, Dehradun.

He has been a Member of India International Center New Delhi and Member of The International Institute of Strategic Studies London.

## ENERGY AND GEOPOLITICS OF WEST ASIA: CHANGING DYNAMICS

*Prof. Girijesh Pant*

Energy has been critical factor in defining the geopolitics of West Asia. A new interface between two is unfolding following the American invasion of Iraq and unleashing of forces from within after the Arab Uprising. The remapping of political boundaries has bearing on regional energy flows which in turn is reconfiguring its geopolitics. If it was the big oil companies from USA, China and Europe trying to have stakes in Iraqi oil, today it is ISIS that is targeting to oil rich areas. It can be argued that the crisis in Iraq to a significant level has been triggered by the competition for control over oil. Oil bill has been one of the most contentious issue before the government in Baghdad. According to the International Energy Agency by 2035, Iraq is expected to have an annual output of 9 million barrels, nearly three times the currently extracted 3.3 million barrels, turning the country into an even greater oil exporter than Saudi Arabia. No wonder, Iraq since 2013 has been facing political competition among the local powers to have control over it. While Al Qaida by destroying the infrastructure tried to cripple the flows, the disputes between the KRG and the Central Government in Baghdad on management of the KRG oil and gas resources, the revenue sharing jeopardised the climate for investment. This was further compounded by declaring the oil deals signed by KRG with oil multinationals as illegal by the Baghdad government. With the new territorial realities, ISIS is reportedly trading oil worth \$ 100 million a month from oil both from Syria and Iraq. While global oil prices so far have not been affected by crisis in Iraq but the spillover of it will certainly change the geopolitical dynamics of the region. The present paper will attempt to map out the possibilities and nature of these changes.

## SHEBONTI RAY DADWAL

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Shebonti Ray Dadwal is a Research Fellow with the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, specializing on energy security and climate change-related issues. She has worked as Senior Editor in *The Financial Express* and she has also served as Deputy Secretary at the National Security Council Secretariat. She has presented several papers in national and international conferences and has written several peer-reviewed articles and papers on her area of work. Ms. Dadwal was awarded the FCO Chevening Fellowship on The Economics of Energy in April 2009. In 2002, she published a book, *Rethinking Energy Security in India*, and is now working on the politics of energy and climate change.

## WEST ASIAN TURMOIL AND THE FUTURE OF THE REGIONAL GAS SECTOR: IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIA

*Shebonti Ray Dadwal*

Although the West Asian and North African region is known more for its oil resources, it is also home to 47 per cent of the world's natural gas reserves, with Qatar, being the world's largest LNG supplier in the world. Although the other regional producers have faced some disruption in production and exports, overall, the political turmoil has had minimal impact on the international gas market for a number of reasons. These include, barring Qatar, the lower status of West Asian gas supplies in the international gas market as compared to the region's oil supplies, the economic recession in Europe, the region's main market, which has reduced the demand for gas, and the increase in supply from other regions, particularly the United States of America in the aftermath of the shale revolution. However, the situation may be different in the long term. While the region may not be a significant exporter of gas, demand and consumption of gas in the region has been increasing year-on-year, turning several potential exporters into net importers. At the same time, the turmoil in the region has impacted on the investment climate, which will in turn impact future production. Moreover, Iran, the world's second largest gas reservoir, is still hampered by international sanctions, which has restricted the exploitation of its massive gas resources, and prevented it from developing its LNG sector.

Therefore, as the demand for gas increases the world over, in developing Asia and in India, in particular, potential gas exports from the region are in danger of being affected, which may impact on prices in the future. How and whether the region can deal with the coming changes in the energy sector will be discussed in this paper.

# Session VI

## Panel Discussion: India and the West Asian Region

Thursday, September 11, 2014

14:00 - 16:00

## *Chairperson*

### **DR. ARVIND GUPTA**

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Dr. Arvind Gupta is the Deputy National Security Adviser and Secretary at the National Security Council Secretariat, Government of India. Dr. Gupta was Director General of Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) from 5th January, 2012 to 6th August 2014.

He holds a Ph.D in International Relations from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Retired from the Indian Foreign Service in 2013, Dr. Gupta has worked in the Ministry of External Affairs in different capacities and served in diplomatic missions in Moscow, London and Ankara. Knows Russian too.

Held the Lal Bahadur Shastri Chair on National Security at the IDSA from 2008 to 2011. Prior to joining the IDSA, he was Joint Secretary at the Indian National Security Council Secretariat from 1999 to 2007. During his tenure at the NSCS he dealt with a wide range of international and national security issues and participated in the various working groups and task forces set up by the NSC. He also worked with the Kargil Review Committee. His current interests include the international security issues, India's foreign policy, energy security, climate change, technology & internal security issues. He has three books, several edited books and a number of academic publications to his credit. He has been a member of several task forces on issues such as space security, climate change, cyber security, nuclear disarmament etc.

## SHRI SANDEEP KUMAR

Joint Secretary (West Asia and North Africa), Ministry of External Affairs.



Shri Sandeep Kumar joined the Indian Foreign Service on 20 August, 1985. He has served in various missions abroad, viz Hong Kong, Hanoi, Paris, Cape Town and Kabul. From September 2008 to January 2013, Kumar was on deputation to UNDP in Kabul (Afghanistan) where he worked on police reforms and restructuring. He has been serving as the Joint Secretary in the West Asia and North Africa (WANA) Division of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs since end-March, 2013.

Sandeep Kumar holds M. Phil. in Environment and Development (University of Cambridge, UK), M. Sc. in Security Studies (Chennai University, India) LL.B. (Delhi University) and BA Hons. in English Literature (Delhi University). He is fluent in English, Hindi, Chinese and French and knows German. Kumar has a passion for the arts, painting, travelling and sports. He has written a book on his experiences in Afghanistan: "On Edge".

## **AMB. ARUNDHATI GHOSE**

Former Indian Diplomat



Joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1963. Was posted to Missions in Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium (Brussels-for the then EC) Bangladesh and New York (in the Permanent Mission to the UN) and as Ambassador to the Republic of Korea and the Arab Republic of Egypt, Permanent Representative to UNESCO in Paris and the UN Offices in Geneva and Ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament, Geneva.

Retired in 1997. Was a member and Chairman of UN Secretary General's Disarmament Advisory Board upto 2001. Was a Member of the Union Public Service Commission till 2004. Was also a member of UN Committee on Economic and Cultural Rights till 2005. Currently, Adjunct Faculty, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore, Member, IDSA and USI, Delhi. On Editorial Board of India's National Security Annual Review and Faultlines, both in New Delhi. Was nominated by Ministry of External Affairs as member of Task Force on Non-proliferation and Disarmament, 2007. Has contributed Chapters and papers on arms control, non-proliferation and West Asian issues in journals and newspapers and spoken at various forums on these issues. Most recently, convenor, IDSA-DPG Task Force on West Asia Transitions.

## PROF. GULSHAN DIETL

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Professor Gulshan Dietl is an ICSSR Senior Fellow. She taught at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. She has served as the Chairperson, Centre for West Asian and African Studies and Director, the Gulf Studies Programme, JNU. Her areas of teaching, research and research guidance are domestic developments, foreign policies and security issues in the Gulf and West Asia.

She has been a Fulbright Scholar-in-Residence at the Mount Saint Mary College, Newburgh, New York (1993-94), a Guest Research Fellow at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (1998-99), a Visiting Professor at the University of Kashmir (2004), a Visiting Professor at the Fondation de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris (2008) and a Visiting Professor at the University of Southern Denmark (2010).

Her publications include, *The Dulles Era: America Enters West Asia* (Lancer International, New Delhi, 1985), *Through Two Wars and Beyond: A Study of the Gulf Cooperation Council* (Lancer Books, New Delhi, 1991), *Saudi Arabia: People, Politics and Policies* (National Book Trust, New Delhi, 2006), *Contemporary Saudi Arabia and the Emerging Indo-Saudi Relations* (Shipra Publications, New Delhi, 2007; Co-edited), and *Democracy and Democratization in the Gulf* (Shipra Publications, 2010; Edited).

She has contributed book-chapters to several edited volumes and her papers and articles have appeared in International journals and newspapers.

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