

CONFERENCE
BOOKLET



Towards a New Asian Order

13th *Asian Security Conference*

Towards a New Asian Order

(February 16-18, 2011)

Organised by



Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses
New Delhi

CONTENTS

Concept Note	5-9
Conference Programme	10-14
Profiles of Participants & Abstracts	17-93
Conference Team	94

Concept Note

The onset of the 'Asian Century' requires fresh thinking on regional architectures in Asia. Will these be able to deliver on the promise of the future? What needs to be done, and can be done, to enable this? Given the conflictual history attending the rise of powers in Europe, the timely development of pan-Asian frameworks could help in constructing a different future. The conference aims to examine efficacy of existing structures and probe Asian thinking on making the future benign for Asia and the world. The Conference would be a useful step in conceptualising a new pan Asian order, even as it, in the main, surveys existing capacities against possibilities. The aim is to visualise a pan-Asian framework for addressing security challenges and for facilitating cooperation.

The Conference is designed to address both traditional and non-traditional security issues in their political, social and economic dimensions. It does so in five subthemes. The first day will be devoted to geopolitical dynamics and associated traditional security issues. The second day will focus on geo-economics and non-traditional security themes. On the last day, an attempt will be made to 'discover' an 'Asian Way', drawing on Asian cultures and traditions while keeping world order imperatives in mind.

The key questions to form the backdrop of particular sessions are:

- What are the implications of rising powers in Asia for the powers themselves, for external powers and for the region?
- How can the fruits of the economic miracles in Asia be preserved?
- What are the variants if any to the traditional security paradigm?

- Can cooperative security deliver on non-traditional security challenges?
- Is it premature to think of 'One Asia'?

A detailed look at Asia and its potentiality will be done in five separate sessions.

Session I

Subtheme : The Geopolitics of Asia

Asian and External powers

Asia, comprising as it does, the regions of West Asia, Central Asia, South Asia, South East Asia and East Asia, is at the centre stage of global events and at the fulcrum of the global power shift. A number of issue require attention: implications of the rise of China and India; enduring conflicts in West Asia; the continuing military entanglements of the US; access and control of resources of Central Asia; expansion of security regimes in Asia-Pacific. The questions for this subtheme are:

- Can the rise of Asian powers continue as 'benign' and 'peaceful'?
- What are the prospects of cooperation and conflict?
- Can the current Asian architectures manage the future?
- What is the status and role of US, Russia and Australia as 'Asian powers'?
- How can existing faultlines be managed?

Session II

Subtheme : Traditional Security Challenges

Nuclear Proliferation, Terrorism, Maritime Security

The maturing strictures against aggression, nuclear backdrop to conflicts between major powers, lethality and costs of modern weapons, and the spread of globalisation have made

military power usable mostly for purposes of deterrence. Threats exist less from direct military confrontations between states than from non-state actors acting either autonomously or under state sponsorship. The traditional security domain has changed. Asia, therefore, needs to take note and reshape its military profile accordingly. The questions for this session are:

- How serious and urgent are traditional 'threats'?
- What is the scope for cooperative security?
- What are the determinants of 'freedom of the seas'?
- What is the scope for military diplomacy, engagement and confidence building?
- What are prospects for arms control and disarmament regimes?
- What is the continuing utility and future of nuclear weapons in Asia?

Session III

Subtheme : Globalization and the Rise of Asia

Asia and the World Economy

Can one visualise a non-realist future for Asia, one based on growing interdependence? The capitalist model of consumption has its perils in being unsustainable, unless tempered by Asian traditions of abnegation. The two continent-sized states, China and India, are justifiably catering to their growing populations. However, they have to face up to the limits of growth. Competition for access to resources and markets in Asia and elsewhere has the potential to disrupt relationships. The recent economic shocks indicate inherent fragility of the global economic order. Can important lessons in growth with equity be learnt from the 'Asian Tigers'? The session will attempt answer the following:

- How central is China's economic growth economic future?

- What are the roles of the Chinese, Indian and Japanese economies in the Asian and global economic order?
- Can the US-Chinese economic relationship be sustained indefinitely?
- What is the role of regional organisations in the evolving Asian economic order?
- How can Asia cope with future economic crises?

Session IV

Subtheme : Non-traditional Security Challenges

The Asian Commons, Water, Energy, Technological Frontiers, Democratisation

Non-traditional security thinking is displacing traditional modes given that these challenges are both ubiquitous and more demanding. They have the potential to both mitigate and aggravate depending on how they are approached. Given population densities, social disparities, expanding urban clusters and the fragility of an environment under assault from economic growth, the future could be very bleak. The opportunity for turning it around through enlightened moderation of aspirations, application of technology, creating responsive policing organisations and by democratisation, is now. The conference will dwell on such issues as:

- How can the Himalayan ecosystem be managed better?
- What are 'best practices' in managing water conflicts?
- Is there a pan Asian solution to future energy security?
- What contribution can an Asian regional architecture make?
- How can technology be harnessed for the new Asian century?

- What is the future of democracy and democratisation in Asia?

Session V

Subtheme : Managing the Challenges

Regional Groupings, Intra- and Inter-Regional Linkages

Visualising a benign future helps in the creation of structures to bring about more cooperation in future. The 'Asian' input, relying on a cultural legacy of centuries, needs expansion. The continent currently views itself in multiple 'regions' that have regional structures of varying efficacy to integrate and mellow nationalisms. It is an idea only geographically. In such a circumstance, would broaching a pan Asian concept be premature? The following questions will animate this session:

- Is it possible to draw a normative 'Asian Way' from Asian cultural streams?
- What can be learnt from the European experience of political, military and economic integration?
- Is there a case for evolving a pan Asian concept?
- Is a pan Asian political and economic order discernible?
- What are the prospects for greater economic integration across Asia?
- How can existing structures be enhanced?

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Day One

Wednesday, February 16, 2011

0915-1000h: Registration

1000-1400h: Session 1: The Geopolitics of Asia

Chairperson- Mr. Siddharth Varadarajan

1000-1100: First half

Vincent Wang- *The Rise of China, the Rise of India, and the Changing Geopolitics of Asia*

Masako Ikegami- *Challenges of Rising China: A New Cold War or Neo-Imperialism?*

1100h-1200h: Keynote Session

1100h-1105h: Welcome of Hon'ble Minister of Defence,
Shri A K Antony

1105h-1110h: Welcome address by DG, IDSA,
Mr. NS Sisodia

**1110h-1125h: Inaugural Address by Hon'ble Minister of Defence and President, IDSA,
Shri AK Antony**

1125h-1130h: Vote of Thanks by Dr. Arvind Gupta,
Lal Bahadur Shastri Chair, IDSA

1130h-1200h: Tea

1200h-1400h: Session 1 continues

Bakhtier Khakimov - *Building of a new architecture of security and cooperation in Asia: Russian vision*

Mumin Chen- *Realist and Pragmatic Elements in China's Grand Strategy: Assessments of China's Relations with Japan, Taiwan, and India*

Prakash Menon - *Indo-Pak relations and the Balance of Emotions*

1300h-1400h: Discussion/Q&A

1400h-1500h: Lunch

1500h-1730h: Session 2: Traditional Security Challenges

Chairperson- Lt Gen (Retd) S Nambiar

Joseph Liow- *The East Asia Summit and the Security Architecture in the Asia-Pacific*

Paul Salem- *Building Cooperation in West Asia* (In absentia)

Tetsuo Kotani- *Maritime Security in Asia*

V Gundlupet- *Nuclear Threats and Diplomacy: An Analysis of Indian, Pakistani and Chinese Use of Nuclear Threats*

Saleem Shahzad - *Lessons from Pakistan's Counter-terrorism Policy for Asia*

1645h-1730h: Discussion/Q&A

(Tea will be available in foyer 1630h-1700h)

Day Two
Thursday, February 17, 2011

0930h-1300h: Session 3: Globalization and the Rise of Asia

Chairperson- Dr. Sanjaya Baru

- Niklas Swanström- *Globalization and the rise of Asia*
- Sean M. Lynn-Jones- *Globalization and Asian Security: Promise or Peril?*
- Sumit Ganguly- *The Obama Administration and South Asia*
- Zhang Zhenjiang- *West European Integration and East Asian Regionalism: What we can learn and what we cannot learn?*
- Arshin Adib-Moghaddam- *Iranian-American relations and the future security architecture in western Asia*
- Atul Aneja- *Implications of Developments in the Arab World*

1130h-1145h: Tea

1145h-1300h: Discussion/Q&A

1300h-1400h: Lunch

1400h-1715h: Session 4: Non-traditional Security Challenges

Chairperson- Dr. Radha Kumar

- Syed Iqbal Hasnain- *The Geopolitics of Himalayan-Tibetan Glacier Melt*
- Uttam Sinha- *Himalayan Hydrology and the Hydropolitics*
- Xia Liping- *Energy security and Asian regional architecture*
- Tai Ming Cheung- *Economics, Security and Technology in Northeast Asia: Maneuvering Between Nationalist and Globalist Forces*
- Yaacov Vertzberger- *Towards an Architecture of a Global Disaster-Management-Regime A Roadmap*
- Iqbal Singh Sevea- *'Regulating' Islam in the Asian State*

1600h-1615h: Tea

1615h-1715h: Discussion/Q&A

Day Three
Friday, February 18, 2011

0930-1245h: Session 5: Managing the challenges

Chairperson - Amb. Leela K. Ponappa

Robert J. Art - *US-China Relations and Implications for India (On Skype)*

Pratap Bhanu Mehta - *Power and identity in the Asian Context*

William Thompson - *Long Term Asian Patterns of Conflict*

Alexander Lukin- *Russia and Geopolitics of Asia*

Mustafa Aydin - *Developments and changes since the end of the cold war: West Asia and Central Asia*

Arvind Gupta - *How India is managing its Asian Challenge*

1130h-1145h - Tea

1145h-1255h - Discussion/Q&A

1300-1300h: Closing Session

Chairperson: N. S. Sisodia

Closing Address - **Amb. Shivshankar Menon, NSA**

Vote of Thanks

1330h Group Photograph of participants

Lunch

PROFILES OF PARTICIPANTS

&

ABSTRACTS

Inaugural Address

MR. A K ANTONY

Hon'ble Defence Minister,
Ministry of Defence
Government of India
South Block, New Delhi



Mr. A.K. Antony, Union Minister of Defence of India and President, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, has held several important positions. An Advocate by profession, Mr. Antony started his political career as a Student Activist of the Kerala Students Union. He has held many important political assignments: President, Kerala Pradesh Youth Congress Committee, President and General Secretary of Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, General Secretary of All India Congress Committee and Member, Congress Working Committee. He was first elected to the Kerala Legislative Assembly in 1970 and was the Chief Minister of Kerala thrice during 1977-78, 1995-96 and 2001-2004. He was also Leader of the Opposition in Kerala Legislative Assembly during 1996-2001. Mr. Anthony was Member Rajya Sabha twice from 1985-1991 and 1991-1995. He was Union Minister for Civil Supplies, Consumer Affairs and Public Distribution during 1994-1995. He was elected to the Rajya Sabha in May 2005 from Kerala.

Mr. Antony edited a Malayalam Weekly *Kalasala* during 1964-66 and later a Malayalam Daily *Veekshanam* from 1978-1982.

Closing Address

**AMB.
SHIVSHANKAR MENON**



Menon is National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of India since 23 January 2010. Menon was previously Foreign Secretary of India from October 2006 to August 2009. He has served as Ambassador and High Commissioner of India to Israel (1995-7), Sri Lanka (1997-2000), China (2000-2003) and Pakistan (2003-2006). He was also a member of the Atomic Energy Commission in 2008-9.

A career diplomat, he served in China (thrice), in Japan, and in Austria in the Embassy and the Mission to the IAEA and UN. He was seconded to the Department of Atomic Energy in the early eighties. His professional experience included India's relations with her neighbours, atomic energy and disarmament issues, and India's relations with the major powers.

Menon speaks Chinese and some German. He is an MA in ancient history from Delhi University.

He is married to Mohini, and has two children.

Welcome Address

**MR.
NARENDRA SISODIA**

Director General, IDSA



Mr. Narendra Sisodia took charge of IDSA in September 2005. He retired as Secretary in the Ministry of Finance in January 2005. Prior to this assignment, he was Secretary, Defence Production and Supplies, Ministry of Defence. Born in 1945, Mr. Sisodia graduated from St. Stephens' College Delhi and obtained a Master's Degree from Harvard University, USA, where he was a Mason Fellow. Mr. Sisodia joined the Indian Administrative Service in 1968 and served as District Magistrate in four districts of Rajasthan. He was later Principal Secretary, Industries & Commerce, Chairman and Managing Director of the State Industrial Development & Infrastructure Corporation and Chairman, State Electricity Board, Rajasthan. In Government of India, he served as Joint Secretary, Ministry of Defence from 1988-94. As Additional Secretary in the National Security Council Secretariat, he was closely associated with the work of the Kargil Review Committee. Subsequently, he was appointed as a member of the Task Force set up to recommend measures for Reforming the Management of Defence. He was also responsible for providing resource support to the Group of Ministers on Reforming the National Security System. As the first Additional Secretary of the newly constituted National Security Council Secretariat, he was closely associated with the nascent NSCS and other support structures of the National Security Council like the Strategic Policy Group & the National Security Advisory Board. He has also been Vice Chancellor of Mohan Lal Sukhadia University, Udaipur. He is a member of the National Security Advisory Board.

Session I

Wednesday, February 16, 2011

1000h - 1400h

Subtheme

The Geopolitics of Asia

Chairperson

**MR.
SIDDHARTH VARADARAJAN**



Siddharth Varadarajan is the Strategic Affairs Editor of The Hindu and editor of Gujarat: The Making of a Tragedy. He has reported on the NATO war against Yugoslavia, the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas by the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, the war in Iraq and the crisis in Kashmir. He is also The Hindu's Chief of National Bureau. In 2007, he was a visiting professor at the Graduate School of Journalism, University of California, Berkeley. In 2009, he was a Poynter Fellow at Yale University. After studying economics at the London School of Economics and Columbia University, he taught at New York University. In November 2005, the United Nations Correspondents Association awarded him the Elizabeth Neuffer Memorial Prize for Print Journalism for a series of articles on Iran nuclear issue. In July 2010, he received the Ramnath Goenka award for Journalist of the Year.

**PROF.
VINCENT WEICHENG WANG**



Vincent Weicheng Wang is presently professor and Chair of the Department of Political Science at the University of Richmond.

His teaching and academic experience spans across Schools from all over the world for over about two decades including National Chengchi University (Taipei, Taiwan) where he was a visiting Professor during the spring of 2010 and the El Colegio de México (Mexico City, Mexico) where he was a visiting Professor back in the summer of 1991, apart from being associated with a host of other academic institutions.

His areas of specialization include International Relations, International Political Economy, Comparative Political Economy (East Asia and Latin America), Asian politics and international relations, Taiwan, China, science and technology policy, industrial policy; Third-World development strategies, economic reform, and democratization.

The Rise of China, the Rise of India, and the Changing Geopolitics of Asia

Vincent Weicheng Wang

The ascendancy of China and India as great powers is a significant development with long-term geopolitical implications. Whether these two emerging powers can continue their respective rises (and how they will manage them) will critically shape international relations of the young twenty-first century; they will also provide key answers to the debate on whether an “Asian century” has finally arrived, eclipsing five centuries of Western dominance.

Yet these two Asian great powers demonstrate sharp contrasts in terms of their political systems, economic models, and social structures, despite their common aspirations for greater stature on the world stage. They have also maintained a very complex relationship that is weighed down by history but also offers promising opportunities in an era of globalization.

This paper examines the key factors influencing India-China relations, including history, geography, territorial disputes, mutual threat perception and alignment patterns, economic partnership and competition. It categorizes Indian elites’ perspectives on the rise of China into three paradigms: geopolitical, geoeconomic, and geocivilizational. It ends with a discussion of the possible scenarios of future India-China relations and their implications for Strategic Asia.

PROF.
MASAKO IKEGAMI



Dr. Masako Ikegami is Professor of political science at the Department of Political Science, Stockholm University, formerly Director (2001-08) of the Center for Pacific Asia Studies (CPAS) at the university, and Adjunct Professor at the School of Policy Studies, Kwansei-Gakuin University, Japan. She holds Doctor of Sociology from the University of Tokyo (1996), and Ph.D. in peace and conflict research from Uppsala University (1998). Her research ranges from empirical analysis of defence R&D and production, defence policy-making process, arms control & disarmament, to East Asian regional security and confidence building measures. She has published two monographs, *Military Technology and US-Japan Security Relations* (1998), *The Military-Industrial Complex: The Cases of Sweden and Japan* (Dartmouth 1992); and books chapters such as 'Japan: a latent but large supplier of dual-use technology' in H. Wulf (ed.) *Arms Industry Limited*, (Oxford University Press 1993), 'Japan' in R. Singh (ed.) *Arms Procurement Decision Making, Vol. 1*, (Oxford University Press 1998), 'China's grand strategy of 'peaceful rise': a prelude to a new Cold War?' in Hsiao & Lin (eds) *The Rise of China* (Routledge 2009); and articles, e.g. 'NATO and Japan: strengthening Asian stability', *NATO Review* (summer 2007), 'Asia in Global Security - an epicentre of new instability' (SIPRI), and 'Time for conflict prevention across the Taiwan Strait', *China Brief*, (March 2008). She gave lectures on East Asian security issues at eminent institutes and conferences in the United States, Europe and Asia, and was POSCO Fellow (2005) at the East-West Center, Honolulu, and a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), London, and the Pugwash Conferences on arms control & disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation (awarded Nobel Peace Prize, 1995).

Challenges of Rising China: A New Cold War or Neo-Imperialism?

Masako Ikegami

As China's military muscle - particularly its naval power - strengthens rapidly even to challenge the existing US dominance in the Asia Pacific, the region is increasingly marked with disputes and political instability, especially in the recent maritime disputes in the South- and East China Sea and the Yellow Sea. China's firm support of North Korea's attacks against South Korea in Cheonan and Yeonpyeong incidents might trigger resumption of the Korean War yet to end, or a prelude to a new Cold War. Also, by abusing its rapidly growing economic and military power, Hu Jintao's China is assuming a highly aggressive stance to its neighboring countries geopolitically important to China, who are rich in natural resources yet politically vulnerable, such as North Korea and Myanmar. If Japan's Manchukuo policy in the 1930s is interpreted as (1) a large investment in economic infrastructure for extracting natural resources, (2) military interventions for protecting economic interests, and (3) social-political absorption by means of a puppet government, China's current strategy toward its neighboring countries can be well explained with such a historical model. It has similar effects in terms of incremental and discreet expansion of its strategic front initially disguised as investment for industrial infrastructure or "economic cooperation". This indicates that China is a new imperial power, notwithstanding its rhetoric of "peaceful rise" or "peaceful development".

**AMB.
BAKHTIER KHAKIMOV**



Bakhtier Marufovich KHAKIMOV was born in Tashkent (Uzbekistan, USSR) on July 19, 1950. A graduate of the Diplomatic Academy of the USSR MFA, he has had a distinguished career in the Russian Foreign Ministry. He has been Ambassador of the Russian Federation in Namibia (1994 – 1998) and Director, First Department of the CIS countries, MFA of the Russian Federation, Member of the Ministry Board (1999 – 2002). In 2002 – 2006, he was Ambassador of the Russian Federation in the Portuguese Republic. From 2006 to January 2010, he was Director, Department of Asia Pacific Regional Affairs, MFA of the Russian Federation. He took over his current assignment as Director, Department of Asia and Pacific Cooperation, MFA of the Russian Federation in January 2010. He holds the diplomatic rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. Mr. Khakimov is a Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences. He has been awarded Medal for Valour in Labour (1980) and the Order of Honour (1989). He enjoys cooking as a hobby and plays football.

Building of a new architecture of security and cooperation in Asia: Russian vision

Bakhtier Khakimov

Asia and Asia-Pacific region, with its blooming economy, rapidly becomes a key world region. It, nevertheless, is in an urgent need for a new, integrated, well-predictable system of security and cooperation. Russia stands for creating in Asia and Asia-Pacific a network of multilateral partnerships between regional organizations and consider it as an important step towards providing peace, stability and sustainable development.

**DR.
MUMIN CHEN**



Dr. Mumin Chen, is currently Associate Professor at the Graduate Institute of Political Science, National Chung Hsing University, Taichung, Taiwan. Chen earned his Ph.D. and M.A. degrees in International Studies from the Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, USA (2004 and 1997, respectively); and B.A. in Political Science from National Taiwan University, Taiwan (1992). From 2002 to 2004, he worked as special assistant to the Vice President Annette Lu of Taiwan in charge of speech drafting and foreign policy analysis.

His Previous academic experiences include adjunct foreign-language lecturer, School of International Studies, Peking University (2001-2002); assistant professor, Graduate Institute of Political Science, National Changhua University of Education (2004-2008), visiting research fellow at East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore (2008); visiting scholar at Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi (2009).Chen's research focuses include: international security theory, East and South Asian security issues, Chinese foreign policy, and China-Taiwan relations

Realist and Pragmatic Elements in China's Grand Strategy: Assessments of China's Relations with Japan, Taiwan, and India

Mumin Chen

China's strategic intentions and long-lasting rivalries are two of the most challenging and unpredictable factors in Asian security. Thus any proposal for constructing future security environment in East and South Asia must take these issues into consideration. Although many of the rivalries can be well explained by realism, such as China-India competitions in the Indian Ocean and intensified China-Japan rivalry, lack of mutual trust and collective identity is perhaps a more fundamental cause of confrontation. Moreover, China's political system allows party leaders and the elites from think tanks the ultimate power to formulate foreign policies and grand strategy, thus they must take responsibility for the ups and downs of political relations with rival states or groups. As the policies they formulate often have great impact on the public, they can convince people to accept the chosen course whether confrontational or reconciliatory.

This paper attempts to analyze China's strategies behavior by examine its policies toward three neighbors in recent years: India, Japan, and Taiwan. Recent developments show that China adopts a reconciliatory way in dealing with Taiwan but retains a stronger stance toward Japan and India. The purpose of this paper is to compare the differences among three cases and the rationale behind China's strategic considerations.

**LIEUTANANT GENERAL
PRAKASH MENON,
PVSM,AVSM,VSM, PHD**



Lieutenant General Prakash Menon, PVSM, AVSM, VSM, PhD has been commandant of the prestigious National Defence College, New Delhi for the past two years. In 39 years of service, the general has earned the reputation of a “ Soldier Scholar”. He has been an outstanding Commander in the field. His command at the Battalion, brigade and Divisional levels in counter insurgency environment of Jammu and Kashmir has been commendable; earning him two military awards for distinguished service. As a company commander in 1989, he was awarded for his performance during active operations on the Siachen Glacier. He is one of the rare Generals to have been awarded a PhD for his thesis on “ Nuclear Deterrence and Limited War in the Indo Pak context” by the Madras University.

He has been nominated by the Cabinet as a member of expert group for establishment of the Indian National Defence University (INDU).

Indo-Pak relations and the Balance of Emotions

Prakash Menon

Geopolitical analysis is normally based on calculations derived from empirical data such as borders, economic resources, military potential and political calculus of interests, inter alia. Emotions are fundamentally subjective and not normally amenable to easy rationality. Emotions though dynamic in nature are primarily created by complex interactions of myriad vectors mostly derived from domestic politics. However, emotions which are the products of perceived images born from geopolitical origins; shape and condition behavior and therefore decisions. This is perhaps true for individuals and so equally applicable to decision making at national and international levels. The impact of emotions on Asian and other global players assisted no less by the pervasiveness of the multimedia platforms, are likely to chart in large measure the future course of Asia's future. Utilizing Dominique Moisi's framework for analysis, Prakash Menon postulates that retaining a fine balance between hope and fear while being sensitive to the feeling of humiliation that grips some parts of Asia especially the Islamic world, is the challenge for Asian and other global leaders and will play a significant role in Asia's and global future.

Session II

Wednesday, February 16, 2011

1500h - 1730h

Subtheme

Traditional Security Challenges

Chairperson

LT GEN SATISH NAMBIAR (RETD)



Commissioned into the Indian Army on 15th December 1957, Lt Gen Satish Nambiar's operational experience includes service on the CFL/LOC in Jammu and Kashmir, counter insurgency operations in the North East, and active participation in the 1965 and 1971 operations in the sub-continent. Was awarded the Vir Chakra in 1971 for bravery in battle. As the first Force Commander and Head of the United Nations forces in the former Yugoslavia he set up and ran the mission from 3rd March 1992 to 2nd March 1993. Retired as the Deputy Chief of the Army Staff on 31st August 1994. Recipient of the Ati Vishist Seva Medal in 1991 for distinguished service of a very high order and the Param Vishist Seva Medal in 1994 for distinguished service of an exceptional order.

Director of the United Service Institution of India from 1st July 1996 to 31st December 2008, he was adviser to the Government of Sri Lanka on certain aspects of the peace process in 2002/2003. Was on the International Advisory Council of the Folke Bernadotte Academy in Sandoverken, Sweden and is now a Senior Adviser to the Challenges Forum an initiative coordinated by the FBA, an inaugural member of the International Advisory Board of the Security Council Report a neutral and independent non-profit organization dedicated to reporting on the United Nations Security Council, and the Advisory Board of the Geneva based ICT for Peace Foundation. Served from 2nd November 2003 to 30th November 2004 as a member of the United Nations Secretary General's high level international panel on "Threats, Challenges and Change". Member of a task force on terrorism set up by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, and on the Board of Experts on Security and Terrorism set up by the India Today Group. Appointed on 01 September 2009 to the Advisory Board of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) Peacekeeping Training Programme (PTP) for a three year term till 30 September 2012. Was conferred the Padma Bhushan by the President of India on the occasion of Republic Day 2009.

**DR.
JOSEPH LIOW**



Dr. Joseph Liow is currently Associate Professor and Associate Dean at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He received his Ph.D from the London School of Economics, U.K. Joseph's research interests are in Muslim politics and societies in Southeast Asia, with a primary focus on Malaysia and southern Thailand, and international politics of the Asia-Pacific region.

He teaches the Foreign Policy and Security Issues in Southeast Asia and Malaysia: State, Society, and Politics graduate seminars at the RSIS M.Sc. programme, as well as in various training courses with the Defence Ministry, Civil Service College, Home Team Academic, and Civil Defence Academy in Singapore, and has consulted for MNCs such as BHP Billiton, Chevron, and Shell. He also comments regularly on regional affairs in various local and international media.

Joseph has authored or edited 11 books, including *Islam, Education, and Reform in Southern Thailand: Tradition and Transformation* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2009), *Piety and Politics: The Shifting Contours of Islamism in Contemporary Malaysia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), and *Confronting Ghosts: Thailand's Shapeless Southern Insurgency* (Sydney: Lowy Institute, 2010).

He is currently working on a comparative book project on insurgencies across Southeast Asia.

The East Asia Summit and the Security Architecture in the Asia-Pacific

Joseph Liow

The end of the Cold War marked a watershed in regionalism in East Asia. Multilateral institutions proliferated very quickly. Most however, took on very loose forms, and many overlapped with each other not only in terms of purpose, but also membership. Nevertheless, what is striking about most of these institutions is the role that ASEAN has played in creating and driving them (e.g. ARF, APT, etc.). On the other hand, while there is no want for multilateral organizations in East Asia today, what remains sorely required is a deeper institutionalization of regional processes in a manner whereby relations among major powers can be managed, and potential conflicts mitigated and diffused.

For the most part, this state of affairs has been a function of ASEAN's leadership role itself, whereby ASEAN's norms of informal diplomacy and consensus-building has impeded the deepening of institutionalization of these regional processes. The question then, is whether ASEAN can retain its role as the driving force behind regional initiatives. This paper seeks to contribute to the ongoing debate on regional architecture by undertaking a detailed investigation of a crucial but understudied institution – the ASEAN-led East Asian Summit, unpacking the underlying political and diplomatic dynamics behind its creation, and assessing its potential to be the pre-eminent feature on the East Asian geo-strategic landscape.

DR.
PAUL SALEM (In absentia)



Paul Salem is the Director of the Carnegie Middle East Center. Prior to joining Carnegie in 2006, Salem was the general director of the Fares Foundation and from 1989 to 1999 he founded and directed the Lebanese Center for Policy Studies, Lebanon's leading public policy think tank. Recently, Salem was a member of the Lebanese National Commission for Electoral Law Reform, a blue ribbon commission tasked with revising Lebanon's electoral laws and proposing a new system. In 2002, Salem was a member of the Senior Review Committee for the UNDP Arab Human Development Report. He also has held various positions at the American University in Beirut. He is regularly seen in television appearances, radio interviews, and newspaper articles on political issues relating to the Arab world.

Selected Publications: *Bitter Legacy: Ideology and Politics in the Arab World* (Syracuse University Press, 1994); *Conflict Resolution in the Arab World: Selected Essays*, editor, (American University Press, Beirut, 1997); *Handbook for Arab Parliamentarians Against Corruption*, editor, (Beirut and Kuwait: Arab Parliamentarians Against Corruption and Transparency, Lebanon, 2006); *Administrative Decentralization in Lebanon: Issues and Applications*, co-editor with Antoine Messara (Lebanese Center for Policy Studies, 1996); *The First Elections in Lebanon After the War*, co-editor with Farid el-Khazen (Dar al-Nahar and Lebanese Center for Policy Studies, 1993)

Building Cooperation in West Asia

Paul Salem

This paper is called "Building Regional Cooperation along the Arab-Turkish-Iranian Triangle". The paper will examine the pattern of relations that has developed over the past decade in the wake of the occupation of Iraq. It will explore axes of conflict and cooperation, and will suggest a way forward to reinforce regional stability and prosperity. The paper will examine the underlying political, security and economic realities, and draw lessons from regional cooperation experiences in other parts of the world.

**MR.
TETSUO KOTANI**



Tetsuo Kotani is a Ph.D. candidate at Doshisha University and is also a special research fellow at the Okazaki Institute and a Pacific Forum CSIS SPF Nonresident Fellow. His dissertation focus is on the strategic implications of U.S. aircraft carriers home-ported in Japan. His other research interests include U.S.-Japan relations, international relations in the Asia-Pacific region and maritime security. He is a member of the Project 2049 Institute's International Advisory Council, a senior research fellow at the Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS), and the Book Review Editor of the Journal of the Indian Ocean Region.

Kotani was a visiting fellow at the U.S.-Japan Center at Vanderbilt University, and a research fellow at the Ocean Policy Research Foundation. He received a security studies fellowship at Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS) from 2006-2008. He won the 2003 Japanese Defense Minister Prize.

Maritime Security in Asia

Tetsuo Kotani

Today, 90 percent of global commerce and 65 per cent of oil imports travel by sea. Twenty percent of global seaborne trade, 33 per cent of global seaborne crude oil, 37 per cent of global semiconductor trade, 57 per cent of global shipping capacity move between the Pacific and Indian Oceans via the Malacca Straits. The “maritime highway” linking the Pacific and India Oceans constitutes the lifeline of global economy. The seas are important not only as highways but also as supplier of such marine resources as mineral, energy, and food. In short, the dynamism of this region heavily depends on the seas, and therefore future security challenges come from the seas.

The first and largest challenge is naval arms race stimulated by growing importance of the seas and expanding Chinese maritime ambition. The second challenge is preservation of good order at sea. Partnership building is the third and last challenge but it is also a solution to maritime challenges in the region. Nations in this region should establish a consortium of seafaring nations to avoid naval arms race while preserving good order at sea.

**DR.
VAIDYA GUNDLUPET**



Dr. Vaidya Gundlupet received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in August 2008. His primary areas of research are International Relations theory, international security and international institutions and South Asian security. His dissertation, “Big Sticks and Contested Carrots: Explaining International Security Institutions” was awarded the 2009 Kenneth N. Waltz Dissertation Award for the best dissertation in the field of security studies from the American Political Science Association's International Security and Arms Control section. The project provides an explanation for the variation in the strength of institutions in different issue areas of the security sphere in international politics.

The project engages with existing work on both international political economy and international security, and a book project on the topic is underway. Previously, he has been a Research Fellow at Princeton and Harvard universities. During the summer of 2010, he was a Visiting Fellow at the Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis, New Delhi. He has also presented papers at the annual conferences of APSA and ISA and the Workshop on Threat Anticipation organized by the Joint Threat Anticipation Center, a project of the Argonne National Laboratory. Gundlupet has M.A. and M.Phil. degrees from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

Nuclear Threats and Diplomacy: An Analysis of Indian, Pakistani and Chinese Use of Nuclear Threats

Vaidya Gundlupet

This paper seeks to inquire into the conditions under which states use nuclear threats and the purposes for which these threats can be effective. Great powers have used nuclear threats not only to assure survival and extended deterrence where stakes in the conflict was high but also to restore status quo when lesser interests were at stake (for example, Sino-Soviet conflict, Korean War, etc). However, regional powers have not been able to use nuclear threats easily even when significant interests were involved. Regional powers have conveyed nuclear threats when a state's territorial security is perceived at stake, but not when other interests are involved, even in contexts when there was no fear of nuclear retaliation (for example, 1973 Israeli-Arab conflict; Falklands War, Sino-Vietnamese conflict). Regional powers have decided to fight the conflict at the level enemy chose – limited conventional conflict – rather than use nuclear threat to force back the enemy and reinforce the status quo. While nuclear blackmail rarely changed status quo, great powers have used nuclear threats to reinforce status quo but regional powers have not been able to. I argue that this is because there are political costs in using nuclear threat and they significantly constrain regional powers. These costs include loss of diplomatic support and military aid, and support for rival power. Nuclear threats invite international attention even when there is little at stake for outside powers because there is a strong interest among major actors in international politics to see that states do not use nuclear weapons. External actors' goal is to maintain status quo, and hence any state's attempt to change status quo is likely to be constrained and any state's restraint in avoiding a nuclear war is likely to be encouraged. Thus, regional powers can use nuclear threats to assure survival and territorial integrity (like avoiding a capture of a large part of state's territory), they are unlikely to use such threats for compellence. Attempts attempt to use nuclear threats for compellence or for security threats not involving survival are likely to fail. I test this argument through a historical analysis of cases in which Asian states (India, Pakistan and China) have used nuclear threats.

**MR.
SYED SALEEM SHAHZAD**



Syed Saleem Shahzad is the Pakistan Bureau Chief of Asia Times Online. Shahzad covers issues related to global security within the south Asia context, with a particular focus on Al Qaeda and the Taliban. Apart from his coverage of Pakistan and Afghanistan, Shahzad's reporting on Islamist movements more generally has taken him to Iraq, Lebanon and Jordan. He has also reported from Iran, Syria and the UAE.

Shahzad is also south Asia correspondent for Italian news agency Adnkronos International (AKI). He has written for publications including Le Monde Diplomatique, the Italian daily La Stampa, and Pakistan's venerable Dawn newspaper. His work has appeared on Qatar-based Islamonline.net and in the Boston Review. His reporting is regularly reproduced by media outlets across Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the wider region.

Shahzad introduced the world to hitherto unknown Al-Qaeda figures including Sheikh Essa. Shahzad's interviewed Ilyas Kashmiri just after Ilyas was appointed chief of Al-Qaeda's military committee. In November 2006 Shahzad was kidnapped, along with his interpreter, by the Taliban in Helmand province in southern Afghanistan. He wrote a detailed account of his time in captivity in a series published by Asia Times Online.

Shahzad is an associate of the Pakistan Security Research Unit at the University of Bradford. His forthcoming book on "Inside Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Beyond 9/11", will be published by Pluto Press UK in June 2011.

Lessons from Pakistan's Counter -terrorism Policy for Asia

Syed Saleem Shahzad

Pakistan undertook meticulous counter terrorism operations with modern techniques. However a failure to grasp many underlying factors, not only by Pakistan but the entire world, could not reap desirable results.

From 2002 to 2008 it was a continuous struggle. Pakistan might have prevented Al-Qaeda strengthening its strongholds in the tribal areas and indeed tried its level best to outmaneuver Al-Qaeda. However, Pakistani officials failed to grasp that Al-Qaeda's real advantage lay in it being an ideologically motivated movement which could not be confronted by military operations without judicious political actions.

Pakistan launched several operations from 2004 to 2007 in South and North Waziristan following the pattern of regular military missions. The operations lacked macro perspective and coherent strategy. For instance Musharraf's government didn't carry out military operation against the militants supported by a 'national' message defining a political process.

Against this, the militants used the Islamic ideology as their main weapon. Thus, even after their initial defeats or retreats, they were able to make comebacks and aggressively expand their sway over the border tribal regions of Bajuar, Orakzai, Kurram, Mohmand and Khyber Agencies. In short, the militants always had a broader macro strategy in their minds whereas the Pakistan Army carried out operations within a much narrower prism.

Session III

Thursday, February 17, 2011

0930h - 1300h

Subtheme

Globalization and the Rise of Asia

Chairperson

DR.
SANJAYA BARU



Dr. Sanjaya Baru is Editor, Business Standard, India. He is also Consulting Senior Fellow for Geo-economics and Strategy, International Institute of Strategic Studies, London. Till recently he was Visiting Professor, Institute of South Asian Studies and the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, Singapore. Prior to this he was Media Advisor to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and was also the Prime Minister's spokesperson and principle speechwriter.

He has a diverse professional background in media and academia. He was Chief Editor, The Financial Express (India), Editorial Page Editor, The Times of India and Editor of The Economic Times (Delhi). He was a Professor at the Research & Information System for Non-Aligned & Developing Countries (RIS), New Delhi, and at the Indian Council for Research in International Economic Relations (ICRIER), New Delhi. He has taught in the department of economics at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi, and the University of Hyderabad (India). He has been a Member, National Security Advisory Board of India (1998-2001) and visiting fellow at the School of Economic Studies, University of East Anglia, UK, and the East-West Centre, Hawaii, and a consultant to the Human Development Report Office, UNDP, New York.

His publications include Strategic Consequences of India's Economic Performance (Routledge, 2006), The Political Economy of Indian Sugar (Oxford University Press, 1990) and several essays in journals and newspapers in India and abroad. Dr. Baru is a member of the Board of the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi and Founder-Trustee, Centre for Air Power Studies, New Delhi. Dr Baru obtained his PhD and Masters Degree in economics from the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

**DR.
NIKLAS L.P. SWANSTRÖM**



Niklas L.P. Swanström is the Director at Institute for Security and Development Policy (www.isdp.eu). His main areas of expertise are conflict prevention, conflict management and regional cooperation; Chinese foreign policy and security in Northeast Asia. He is the editor of *China and Eurasia Quarterly*. Selected books: *Sino-Japanese Relations: The need for Conflict Prevention and Management*; *Conflict Prevention and Conflict Management in Northeast Asia*; *Transnationell brottslighet: ett säkerhetshot?* (Transnational crime: a security threat); *Regional Cooperation and Conflict Management: Lessons from the Pacific Rim and Foreign Devils*, *Dictatorship or Institutional Control: China's foreign policy towards Southeast Asia*. Dr. Swanström holds a Ph.D. in Peace and Conflict Studies from Uppsala University.

Globalization and the rise of Asia

Niklas L.P. Swanström

Asia has undergone a number of economic crises and, to a certain degree, has fared better than many other regions. Despite the increased intra-Asian trade there is a failure to engage regionally to sustain economic stability. We can see a great number of cooperative attempts in the Asian region but many of these are empty shells with little impact on the economic stability. In fact, the growth of the number of economic initiatives has created a virtual noodle bowl where each structure created lacks connections to the rest and the complexity is more a hindrance to stability than an improvement. This is especially true between the three economic giants of China, India and Japan, which will be instrumental for continued economic stability. This paper will raise the questions of what type of existing organizations could impact economic stability both positively and negatively. It will further raise the question of how Asia should and could cooperate in the future (two questions that do not necessarily overlap). Finally it will address the issue of Asian economic regional cooperation as a instrument for global economic stability.

**MR.
SEAN M. LYNN-JONES**



Sean M. Lynn-Jones is Editor of *International Security*, the quarterly journal of the International Security Program at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University. He is also Series Editor of the Belfer Center Studies in International Security, book series that is edited at the Belfer Center and published by MIT Press, and a Research Associate in the International Security Program. Mr. Lynn-Jones previously served as Managing Editor of *International Security* (1987–1991) and was a fellow at the Center (1984–1987 and 1991–1992). He is a member of the Editorial Board of *Security Studies*. His research interests include international relations theory, U.S. foreign policy, and why rivalries end peacefully. His articles have appeared in *Foreign Policy*, *International Security*, and *Security Studies*, as well as in many edited volumes. He has edited or co-edited several anthologies of International Security articles, including *Contending with Terrorism: Roots, Strategies, and Responses* (2010), *Going Nuclear: Nuclear Proliferation and International Security in the 21st Century* (2010), *Primacy and Its Discontents: American Power and International Stability* (2009), *Offense, Defense, and War* (2004), *Theories of War and Peace* (1998), *America's Strategic Choices* (1997), *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict* (1997); *East Asian Security* (1996), *Debating the Democratic Peace* (1996), *The Perils of Anarchy: Contemporary Realism and International Security* (1995), *Global Dangers: Changing Dimensions of International Security* (1995); *The Cold War and After* (1991; expanded edition 1993); and *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War* (1991).

Globalization and Asian Security: Promise or Peril?

Sean M. Lynn-Jones

This paper will consider the lessons of previous eras of increasing economic interdependence and globalization in international politics, including the relations of the European great powers prior to World War I. The paper will discuss whether the realist critiques of theories of interdependence and peace remain relevant in the current era of globalization. It will assess the implications of the contemporary wave of globalization for Asian security. After weighing the risks and the rewards of globalization, it will explore whether regional security institutions or other policies can successfully respond to globalization's challenges.

**PROF.
SUMIT GANGULY**



Professor Sumit Ganguly holds the Rabindranath Tagore Chair in Indian Cultures and Civilizations at Indiana University in Bloomington. He has previously been on the faculty of James Madison College of Michigan State University, Hunter College of the City University of New York and the University of Texas at Austin. He has also taught at Columbia University in New York City.

His research and writing focused on South Asia has been supported by grants from the Asia Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the W. Alton Jones Foundation. He serves on the editorial boards of *Asian Affairs*, *Asian Survey*, *Current History*, the *Journal of Strategic Studies* and *Security Studies*. He is also the founding editor of both the *India Review* and *Asian Security*, two referred journals published by Taylor and Francis, London. His most recent books are 'Fearful Symmetry: India and Pakistan Under the Shadow of Nuclear Weapons' (co-authored with Devin Hagerty) jointly published by Oxford University Press (New Delhi) and the University of Washington Press (Seattle) and 'More Than Words: U.S.-India Strategic Cooperation Into the Twenty-First Century' (co-edited with Brian Shoup and Andrew Scobell) published by Routledge, London.

He is currently at work on a book, *India Since 1980*, under contract with Cambridge University Press, New York.

The Obama Administration and South Asia

Sumit Ganguly

This paper will argue that there are important continuities and discontinuities in the Obama administration's policies toward South Asia. Unlike in the second Clinton administration and the two Bush administrations which had both, to varying degrees, accorded a certain priority to Indo-US relations, the Obama administration, at least in its initial year chose not to do so even though South Asia as a region remained an important priority. Subsequently, systemic, national and personal factors have led to important changes in the Indo-US relationship with potentially significant ramifications for South Asia and especially US-Pakistan relations. The paper will trace how a confluence of factors at all three levels are likely to impact on the evolution of America policy toward the region in the remainder of the Obama presidency.

**DR.
ZHENJIANG ZHANG**



Dr. Zhenjiang Zhang is currently an associate Professor in Jinan University, Guangzhou, China. He is the Vice Dean of the Department of International Relations and the Deputy Director of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Jinan University. Professor Zhang obtained his PhD from Nanjing University, China. He finished his post-doctoral research at Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou, China. His research interests cover history and theory of International Relations, American diplomatic history, East Asian International Relations, and ASEAN studies.

He has published two monographs, *The Cold War and the Civil War: The Soviet-US Power Rivalry and the Origin of the Chinese Civil War, 1944-1946* (2004) (in Chinese) and *From Sterling to Dollar: a Study on the International Economic Power Transition, 1933-1945* (2006) (in Chinese). He published papers in key journals of international studies in China, which include *Shijie jingji yu zhengzhi* (World Economy and Politics), *Waijiao Pinglun* (Foreign Affairs Review), *Dongnanya yanjiu* (Southeast Asian Studies), *Dangdai Yatai* (Contemporary Asia-Pacific), *Shixue yuekan* (History Monthly) and so on. His English published papers are in *American Journal of International Politics and Development Studies*, *Journal of Ritsumeikan Social Sciences and Humanities* and so on.

West European Integration and East Asian Regionalism: What we can learn and what we cannot learn?

Zhenjiang Zhang

This paper studies the East Asian regionalism, an emerging issue in the international political economy in East Asia since the end of the Cold War, in a comparative way with the West European regionalism from the 1950s. The first part of the paper will make a very brief overview of the regionalizing process in West Europe and East Asia. Through the comparison, the second part of the paper points out differences between these two regionalisms and highlights the uniqueness of the latter. Based on its findings, the author concludes what we can learn and what we cannot learn from the European regionalism. As last, this paper calls for the theoretical innovation for explaining the East Asian regionalism.

DR.
ARSHIN ADIB-MOGHADDAM



Arshin Adib-Moghaddam is the author of 'The International Politics of the Persian Gulf: A cultural genealogy' (Routledge, 2006, 2009), 'Iran in World Politics: The question of the Islamic Republic' (Columbia University Press, 2008, 2010) and 'A Metahistory of the Clash of Civilisations: Us and them beyond Orientalism' (Columbia/Hurst, 2010, forthcoming).

Educated at the Universities of Hamburg, The American (Washington DC) and Cambridge, he was the first Jarvis Doctorow Fellow in International Relations and Peace Studies at St. Edmund Hall and the Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford. Since 2007, Adib-Moghaddam is University Lecturer in Comparative- and International Politics at SOAS, University of London. His writings have been translated into many languages and he is a frequent contributor to leading newspapers and TV channels around the world.

Iranian-American relations and the future security architecture in western Asia

Arshin Adib-Moghaddam

Asia is emerging as an important centre of gravity in a world order that is increasingly multi-polar. Yet in the west of the continent, there exists an arc of crisis spawning from Palestine, over Afghanistan to Pakistan. Iran and the United States have emerged as central players in this 'greater west Asian crisis' and this paper attempts to evaluate the prospects of dialogue and reconciliation between these two actors. Starting with an analysis of Iran's strategic preferences with a particular emphasis on the country's self-perception in international politics before and after the Islamic revolution of 1979, the paper carves out both areas of mutual interest between Iran and the United States and areas of potential conflict. Pacifying relations between Iran and the United States, it is argued, is central to any viable security architecture in western Asia and beyond.

**MR.
ATUL ANEJA**



Atul Aneja is currently posted as the West Asia Correspondent for “The Hindu” newspaper, and is based in Dubai. He has reported extensively on West Asia from the region for the last seven years.

His assignments have taken him to Iran, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Turkey, Lebanon and Palestine apart from the GCC countries. He covered the Lebanon war of July/ August 2006 from Beirut, Sidon and Damascus.

Prior to his arrival in the region in 2002, Mr. Aneja covered as a war correspondent, the Kargil war (1999) from Kashmir, the situation in Afghanistan as it appeared from Kabul soon after 9/11, and after the exit of Taliban forces from the capital and beyond. He has also reported extensively from the Central Asian countries, including Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan. Apart from reporting, Mr. Aneja’s articles on West Asia appear regularly on the edit pages of The Hindu. These articles have been periodically republished in sections of the international media and have appeared on the websites of several prominent academic journals, including Monthly Review and the RUSI journal.

Prior to joining The Hindu as a defence and diplomatic correspondent, he had worked briefly at the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi.

Session IV

Thursday, February 17, 2011

1400h - 1715h

Subtheme

Non-traditional Security Challenges

Chairperson

**PROF.
RADHA KUMAR**



Professor Radha Kumar is currently a member of the group of three interlocutors for Kashmir appointed by the Ministry of Home Affairs. Formerly Senior Fellow in Peace and Conflict Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York (1999-2003), Dr. Kumar has also been Executive Director of the Helsinki Citizen's Assembly in Prague (1992-4) and an Associate Fellow at the Institute for War and Peace Studies at Columbia University (1996-8). She is currently a member of CSCAP India, and on the India International Center's program advisory group for security. She headed the Nelson Mandela Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at Jamia Millia Islamia.

Dr. Kumar holds a Ph.D from Jawaharlal Nehru University in Delhi and an MA and BA from Cambridge University, UK. Her books include *Making Peace with Partition* (Penguin: 2005), *Divide and Fall? Bosnia in the Annals of Partition* (Verso: 1997), *A History of Doing: Movements for Women's Rights and Feminism in India, 1900-1990* (Kali for Women and Verso: 1993), and (co-edited with Josep Palau) *Bosnia-Herzegovina: Between War and Peace* (Municipalidad Valencia: 1993). Her articles have been published in *Foreign Affairs*, the *World Policy Journal*, the *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, *Feminist Review*, the *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, the *Economic and Political Weekly* and *Seminar*. She is a frequent OpEd contributor to *The Indian Express*, *DNA*, and other Indian newspapers. She had edited or authored roughly 30 reports, of which the most recent are Delhi Policy Group publications, *Frameworks for a Kashmir Settlement* (2007, 2006), *Peace-Building: European and Indian Views* (2007), *Peace Agreements and After* (2006), and *What Makes a Peace Process Irreversible?* (2005).

**PROF.
SYED IQBAL HASNAIN**



Syed Iqbal Hasnain is a Distinguished Visiting Fellow at the Stimson Center. He currently serves as Chairman of the Glacier and Climate Change Commission established by the State Government of Sikkim (India). He is a member of several high-level committees, including: the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) Committee on Global Assessment of Black Carbon and Troposphere Ozone and the International Mid-Term Review Committee commissioned by international donors on (ICIMOD) International Center for Mountain and Research Development, Kathmandu, Nepal.

Between 2002 and 2006, Hasnain served as a vice-chancellor (President) of the University of Calicut, Kerala, India. Previously, he held the post of Professor of Glaciology, Jawaharlal Nehru University (India), where he introduced glaciology as a subject at the post-graduate research level. He has published research papers and books in numerous peer-reviewed journals such as the Journal of Glaciology and the Journal of Hydrology. Through lectures, television interviews, and articles featuring him in popular international magazines like Nature and leading Indian newspapers, he has long advocated the impact of long-lived carbon dioxide and short-lived climate forcers like black carbon, methane, and ozone on the Himalayan-Tibetan glaciers. Time magazine prominently featured professor Hasnain's work with his photograph in its December 24, 2009 article "Climate Change: The Tragedy of the Himalayas".

Professor Hasnain was awarded Padma Shri in 2009 by the President of India for his contributions to advancing the science of glaciology in India.

The Geopolitics of Himalayan-Tibetan Glacier Melt

Syed Iqbal Hasnain

The Tibetan Plateau is called by the Chinese as the 'Third Pole'. Asia's major rivers - the Brahmaputra (Yarlung Tsangpo in Tibet), the Indus, the Yangtze, the Mekong, and the Huang Ho (or Yellow River)—have their headwaters on the Plateau. Other rivers originating in Tibet include the Salween, the Irrawaddy, the Arun, the Karnali, the Sutlej. More than 90% of their runoff flows down to China, India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan, Thailand, Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. The plateau, which covers an area of 2.5 million square kilometers with an average elevation above 4500 m. Lately, Tibet, is drawing increased attention in the international and regional policy communities as the thickening of greenhouse gases blanket and black carbon impact will jeopardize the water availability in Asian rivers. More than 1.5 billion people directly depend on the water for their livelihood. Retreating glaciers, melting permafrost and degrading ecosystems with monsoon variability are the consequences of ongoing global and regional climate change. A resurgent China has commenced construction of large and mega-sized dams on the eastern flowing Brahmaputra and Mekong rivers to harness their energy and water potential. Beijing fear serious future water shortages due to urbanization and industrial demand. Consequently China is moving fast to dam and divert water resources of Tibetan Plateau and will change the water equation for south Asian countries. Climate Change has provided an opportunity for south and East Asian countries sharing the Tibetan Plateau Rivers to join hands and advocate establishing a new regime: "An international treaty for the protection and sharing of the Tibetan Plateau."

DR.
UTTAM KUMAR SINHA



Dr Uttam Kumar Sinha is Research Fellow at IDSA, New Delhi. Earlier worked for the national daily The Pioneer and wrote the weekly column 'Strategic Eye'. At IDSA, he serves on the Editorial Board of Strategic Analysis and is Assistant Editor of Strategic Digest. He is a visiting faculty member of the Malviya Centre for Peace Research, Banaras Hindu University and visiting fellow to the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo. In 2008, he was awarded the Chevening 'Gurukul' Scholarship for Leadership to the London School of Economics and Political Science. Presently, he is member and co-chair of the Near East and South Asia Regional Network on Water Security, National Defence University, Washington. His research areas include climate change and resource issues with particular attention on transboundary rivers. He has coordinated and co-authored two IDSA Reports: India and Water Security: External Dynamics (2010), and Security Implications of Climate Change for India (2009).

Himalayan Hydrology and the Hydropolitics

Uttam Kumar Sinha

It is now being increasingly understood that the effects of global warming will be felt through the changes in the hydrological cycle. An effective adaptation policy cannot be delinked from the way water resources is managed and used. Global warming impact on water resources is particularly important for the Himalayan states that are highly dependent on the glacial sources of the rivers in the Hindu Kush. Though still being researched, initial findings indicate increased precipitation in some areas to increased variability of precipitation in others. These states have to be seen in terms of “exponential function” - increasing population leading to greater food demand that increases dependency on water for irrigation and energy. The Food-Energy-Water (FEW) connect is thus critical. It is evident that without water as part of the equation, there can be no long-term solution. The Himalayan hydrology will be one of the critical frontlines in the global approach to mitigate the impact of climate change on the water resources. Almost 1.4 billion people live in the watersheds of the Hindu Kush-Himalaya. Ten major Asian river systems - the Amu Darya, Indus, Ganges, Brahmaputra, Irrawady, Salween, Mekong, Yangtse, Yellow and Tarim have their sources in the Himalayan glaciers. Unchecked climate variation can cause unprecedented challenges to the waterways of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, India, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan and the countries in the Mekong basin.

**PROF.
XIA LIPING**



Professor Xia Liping is Dean and Professor of School of Political Science and International Relations at Tongji University in Shanghai. He is General-Secretary of Shanghai Institute for International Strategic Studies (SIISS), and Vice President of Shanghai Center for RimPac Strategic and International Studies (CPSIS). He is also Senior Guest Fellow of Institute of International Technology and Economics in Center for Development Studies under the PRC State Council. He is Vice President of Shanghai Association of International Relations. He specializes in Asian security and nuclear nonproliferation and China's foreign strategy. He holds a Ph.D. in world history from the East China Normal University. He got the Master Degree of Law from the PLA Foreign Language University in 1991.

He has published many books and papers. Three of his latest books are "Contemporary International System and Strategic Relations among Major Powers", "China's Peaceful rise" and "Security and Arms Control in the Asia-Pacific Region". He was Senior Fellow at the Atlantic Council of the United States from 1994-1995, visiting scholar at Monterrey Institute of International Studies in 1999, the Hong Kong University in 2002, the Stockholm University in 2005 and visiting scholar at Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung EU Office in Brussels in April-May, 2009

Energy security and Asian regional architecture

Xia Liping

Energy security, as one of non-traditional security issues, has been more and more important in Asia as well as in the world. It is more and more difficult for a single country to make sure its own energy security in the globalized world now. During the recent years, Asian countries have made some progress in bilateral and multilateral dialogue, cooperation and coordination in energy field. However, they are still far away from a regional architecture of energy security. So Asian countries must make greater efforts to realize a regional mechanism of energy cooperation. In the future, there should be a multi-level (including regional level, sub-regional level, and trans-regional level, and bilateral level), multi-channel(including Track I and Track II), and multi-model Asian regional architecture of energy security.

**DR.
TAI MING CHEUNG**



Tai Ming Cheung is an associate research scientist at the University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC) located at the University of California San Diego in La Jolla. He directs the Minerva program on Chinese security and technology, a multi-year academic research and training project funded by the U.S. Defense Department to explore China's technological potential.

His responsibilities include managing the institute's track two program the Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue, which brings together senior foreign ministry and defense officials as well as academics from the United States, China, Japan, South Korea, North Korea, and Russia for informed discussions on regional security issues

Dr. Cheung is also an associate adjunct professor at UCSD's Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IRPS) where he teaches courses on Asian security, Chinese security and technology, and Chinese politics.

Dr. Cheung is a long-time analyst of Chinese and East Asian defense and national security affairs, especially defense economic, industrial and science and technological issues. His latest book, *Fortifying China: The Struggle to Build a Modern Defense Economy*, was published by Cornell University Press in 2009. The book examines the economic, commercial and technological foundations of China's long-term defense modernization that examines the development of the defense industrial complex, the role and prospects for civilian-military integration, and the military dimensions of science and technology policies.

Economics, Security and Technology in Northeast Asia: Maneuvering Between Nationalist and Globalist Forces

Tai Ming Cheung

Technological development and innovation is a critical but under-studied source of power, influence and change in international relations. States across Northeast Asia regard technological innovation and development as vital to their economic competitiveness and national security. Japan and South Korea have all successfully turned from industrial latecomers into technological front-runners, while China is catching up. This paper examines the role that technological development has played in shaping the relationship between economics and security among states in Northeast Asia over the past 60 years. Particular attention will be paid to the evolution of grand strategic thinking on technology and innovation and the impact this has had on economic development and national security, especially towards Japan, South Korea, and China.

**PROF.
YAACOV VERTZBERGER**



Professor Yaacov Vertzberger received his Ph.D. summa-cum-laude from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and is currently Professor of International Relations at the Hebrew University. He also held visiting teaching and research positions at the East- West Center, Honolulu; UN University, Tokyo; The Netherlands Institute for advanced Study; The Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego; The Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm; The Rockefeller Bellagio Study and Conference Center; The Institute for International Studies, UC Berkeley; McGill University, Montreal; and Stanford University.

His areas of interest and research include theory of international relations; political psychology; international political economy; and foreign policy and security in South Asia. He published extensively in these areas. These publications include books and monographs, articles that appeared in the major journals as well as book chapters. Professor Vertzberger's current research focuses on (1) learning and change in national strategic policies, and (2) the architecture and practice of global disaster management. He is also a member of the editorial boards of Political Psychology and International Studies Quarterly.

Towards an Architecture of a Global Disaster-Management-Regime A Roadmap

Yaacov Vertzberger

The paper is focused on a key acute non-traditional security issue, specifically coping with and mitigation of both nature-caused and man-caused disasters. The paper sets out the framework and components for the construction of what repetitive events in the last decade in Asia and elsewhere have proven to be critically essential – a global disaster management regime. This institutionalized form of response to large-scale disasters is a major departure from the mostly ad-hoc unilateral or minilateral cooperative responses to disasters. This goal can only be achieved through the carefully designed and constructed architecture that will ensure a systematic and broadly integrated treatment of all dimensions of coping with disasters, from early warning through relief efforts to recovery. The paper specifies the problems and the detailed roadmap for reaching the above set vital goal.

**DR.
IQBAL SINGH SEVEA**



Dr. Iqbal Singh Sevea is Assistant Professor and Coordinator of the Contemporary Islam Program at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

Dr. Sevea received his doctorate from the University of Oxford. He also holds a Masters in African and Asian History from the School of Oriental and African Studies, United Kingdom. His research interests include modern Islamic thought, political Islam, the history and politics of South Asia as well as religion and identity in Asia.

His writings include the forthcoming book, *Islam and Nationalism in Late Colonial India: The Political Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

'Regulating' Islam in the Asian State

Iqbal Singh Sevea

This paper examines the intense governmental activity focused upon the 'regulation' of Islam and 'management' of Muslims in Asia. It will review the attempts by Asian states – Muslim majority and Muslim minority – to define the role of Islam in the state, regulate mosques, control/manage Islamic education, influence Islamic discourse, and, in some cases, produce a depolitized and unthreatening Islam. It is argued that in attempting to regulate Islam, the state is essentially involved in negotiating the space for and scope of Islamic institutions; competing over the interpretation of Islamic sources/symbols and control of the institutions which produce them; and legitimizing, delegitimizing and even constructing Islamic authority. Moving beyond essentialized images of Islam, this paper will emphasize the contesting interpretations of Islam which have allowed for it to be harnessed in support of differing political ends (by state, non-state and anti-state actors) from fostering democratization to legitimizing authoritarian rule.

Session V

Friday, February 18, 2011

0930h - 1245h

Subtheme

Managing the Challenges

Chairperson

**AMB.
LEELA K. PONAPPA**



A career diplomat from 1970 to 2006, Ambassador Ponappa retired as Ambassador (Grade I) at the level of Secretary to the Government of India. Amb. Leela Ponappa has been Deputy National Security Adviser and Secretary, National Security Council Secretariat between May 2007 and October 2009. She was Vice Chairperson of the Governing Council of the RIS (Research & Information System for Developing Countries, New Delhi), an economic think tank with a focus on international trade and investment (September 2006 - May 2010). She was earlier India's Ambassador to the Netherlands, Permanent Representative to the OPCW (January 2005- June 2006) and Ambassador to Thailand and Permanent Representative to UNESCAP (August 2001 -December 2004). She has held several senior positions at the Ministry of External Affairs including Joint/Additional Secretary for Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Maldives (1998-2001) with interim charge of territorial divisions dealing with India's relations with Pakistan and Afghanistan, China and East Asia, and Nepal and Bhutan, Joint Secretary in charge of the Consular, Passport, Visa and Overseas Indians Division (1992-1994) and Joint Secretary for the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) from 1986-1990. As Under Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, she served as the desk officer dealing with India's bilateral relations with Pakistan and Afghanistan from 1975-78. She was in the faculty of the National Defence College, New Delhi, from 1995-1998 and has been a Research Associate at the Centre for South & South-East Asia, University of California, Berkeley ('83-'84).

She continues to be actively involved with think tanks dealing with international, security and strategic affairs in India and elsewhere and lectures regularly at senior Indian defence training institutions. She took over as Chairperson of the CSCAP-India committee in October 2010. (The Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific is a Track II organization which produces studies and recommendations for the ARF).

**PROF.
ROBERT J. ART (On Skype)**



Robert J. Art is a professor of International Relations at Brandeis University, where he teaches international relations and specializes in national security affairs and American foreign policy. He is also a senior advisor at the Security Studies Program at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and director of MIT's Seminar XXI Program.

Professor Art received his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1967. Professor Art is a former member of the Secretary of Defense's Long Range Planning Staff (1982), a former Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at Brandeis University, and has consulted for the Central Intelligence Agency. He is also a member of the editorial boards of the scholarly journals *International Security*, *Security Studies*, and *Political Science Quarterly*. Since 1982, he has co-edited, along with Robert Jervis and Stephen Walt, Cornell University's "Series in Security Studies."

Professor Art has lectured at numerous American and foreign universities and research institutes, including the U.S. National War College, the National War College (Beijing), the Führungsakademie (Hamburg), the Institute for War Studies (King's College), the NATO School at Oberammergau, and the School of International Studies at Peking University.

He has written various books including *The TFX Decision: McNamara and the Military* (1968); *A Grand Strategy for America* (2003) - a finalist for the Arthur B. Ross Award of the Council on Foreign Relations; and *America's Grand Strategy and World Politics* (2009).

US-China Relations and Implications for India

Robert J. Art

What will be the course of Sino-American relations over the next decade or two? How will the state of these relations affect India? No one can be certain on either account, but we can lay out some historical examples to help us think about the future course of US-China relations, and we can analyze the nature of both American and Chinese interests in East Asia in order to determine the degree of overlap among them. This paper presents an analysis of some historical parallels to the US-China situation and lays out the conflictual and cooperative aspects of America's and China's national interests in East Asia. It then briefly draws some conclusions about the implications for India of US-China relations.

**PROF.
PRATAP BHANU MEHTA**

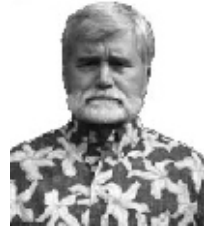


He is currently the President of the Center for Policy Research (CPR), New Delhi. He is also a participant in the Global Faculty Program of NYU Law School. He was previously Visiting Professor of Government at Harvard University; Associate Professor of Government and of Social Studies at Harvard. He has also been Professor of Philosophy and of Law and Governance at Jawaharlal Nehru University, and has held a visiting appointment at the University of Pennsylvania. His areas of research include, political theory, constitutional law, society and politics in India, governance and political economy and international affairs. Dr. Mehta has a Ph.D in Politics from Princeton University.

He was Member-Convener of the Prime Minister of India's National Knowledge Commission; Member of the Supreme Court appointed on Regulating Indian Universities and has authored a number of papers and reports for leading Government of India and International Agencies, including the World Bank, UNRISD, DFID. He has advised a number of institutions in Higher Education.

He is on the Board of Governors of International Development Research Council (IDRC), and numerous other academic institutions, including National Institute of Finance and Public Policy. He is also a member of the WEF's Global Governance Council. He is a prolific columnist and editorial consultant to the Indian Express. He is also on the Editorial Board of numerous journals including the American Political Science Review, Journal of Democracy and India and Global Affairs.

**PROF.
WILLIAM R. THOMPSON**



William R. Thompson is a professor at the Political Science Department at Indiana University. He is also the Managing Editor of the *International Studies Quarterly*, the official journal published by the International Studies Association.

Mr. Thompson graduated with a bachelor's degree in Economics and Political Science from the University of Washington, where he also went on to finish his Master's and Ph.D. He has been on the advisory board of the IU International Studies Program between 2003 to 2006. He is currently a visiting faculty at GLOPEM (Global Politics and Euro-Mediterranean Relations) at the University of Catania, Italy,

He has earned numerous honours and has been accredited with many distinctions for his contribution to the field of Political Science. Right from the N.D.F.L Title VI Fellowship in 1969 to the more recent Award Excellence in World Society Research where he won first place at the World Society Foundation in Zurich, Switzerland. He also won in 2008, the First Round Prize, Second Round Prize, and was a Third Round Prize Finalist at the 'Inequality Beyond Globalization' World Society Focus Paper Competition, World Society.

India: Global Power Shift and Preparing for the Asian Century

William R. Thompson

One time-honored approach to divining future probabilities is to extend past patterns into the future. But what is the Asian past? Ledyard's Yin and Yang model suggests that it is a matter of alternations between centralization around China and periods of decentralization. Kang argues that warfare among China, Korea, and Vietnam was very rare in the past several hundred years and that we might anticipate more of the same. But the old Asia was clearly anchored in East Asia. The new Asia increasingly integrates what had been, at least for long stretches of time, four relatively autonomous subsystems (east, southeast, central, south). If the shape of "Asia" is changing, whose historical patterns should guide the present? In marked contrast, comparisons are occasionally made to the modern history of the European region and its highly competitive and increasingly lethal spiral of conflict. Yet Europe has a much different geopolitical configuration than Asia. Europe had a critical western sea power fringe that has largely been missing in Asia. On what basis, then, should we expect behavior to be manifested in Asia that is similar to Europe's past? The bottom line here is that extending historical patterns into the future is not as straight forward a process as it seems. It requires considerable caution and equally considerable familiarity with a great deal of historical information.

**DR.
ALEXANDER LUKIN**



Alexander Lukin is Director, Center for East Asian and Shanghai Cooperation Organization Studies at Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the MFA of Russia.

Alexander Lukin received his first degree from Moscow State Institute of International Relations in 1984, a doctorate in politics from Oxford University in 1997 and a doctorate in history from the Russian Diplomatic Academy in 2007. He worked at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Soviet Embassy to the PRC, and the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

He holds the position of Advisor to the Governor of the Moscow Region on Foreign Economic Relations and serves on the editorial board of the International Problems journal in Belgrade, Yugoslavia).

In 2009 he was awarded by President Hu Jintao a medal for the "Outstanding Contribution to the Development of Sino-Russian Relations." The medal was awarded to sixty Russians to mark the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the diplomatic relations between the PRC and the USSR.

He is also a member of the Russian National Committee of The Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP)

Russia and Geopolitics of Asia

Alexander Lukin

Russia's role in Asia and the Pacific has been largely overlooked since the end of the cold war. Other countries have been preoccupied with other issues, and have not fully seen or appreciated the major changes in Russian policy and the new opportunities they present. In the past fifteen years, Russia and East Asia have undergone tremendous change. While Russia was passing through various stages of market reforms and democratization (with a re-assessment of its objectives and roles on both the regional and global stages), China's economy has grown rapidly, whilst Japan has struggled with a long recession.

The time of the cold war has long been gone and contemporary Russia is very different both from the Soviet Union and the United States. Unlike the Soviet Union, is no longer a world superpower of the Soviet Union scale, it is not a centre of one of the two main world systems seeking global dominance. It seeks genuine pragmatic cooperation with as many partners as possible aiming not at global dominance but its own development. But, unlike the US, Russia is an integral part of East Asia. It's Siberian and Far Eastern regions which constitute two thirds of Russia's giant territory and where most of Russia's natural resources are located are situated in East Asia. This makes Russia a natural participant in regional cooperation which Russia needs to solve its strategic task of developing the Russian Far East. This new reality should be understood by other regional actors which may be interested in having their stake in cooperation with Russia.

**PROF.
MUSTAFA AYDIN**



Mustafa Aydin, Professor of International Relations, is the Rector (President) of the Kadir Has University (Istanbul), as well as the Director of International Policy Research Institute (TEPAV-IPRI) of Ankara, and the President of the International Relations Council (UIK) of Turkey. He is also Co-Coordinator of the International Commission on Black Sea, member of Economy and Foreign Policy Study Group of the President's Office, as well as Board member of strategic research centers of both Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Turkish Armed Forces.

He was Deputy Chairperson of International Commission of Eminent Persons on the Caucasus and Caspian (2007); Alexander S. Onassis Fellow at the University of Athens (2003); Research Fellow at the EU Institute for Security Studies, Paris (2003); Fulbright Scholar at the JFK School of Government, Harvard University (2002); and UNESCO Fellow at the Richardson Institute for Peace Studies, UK (1999).

His recent work includes *Central Asia in Global Politics* (in Turkish, 2004); *Europe's Next Shore; Black Sea After the Enlargement* (2004); *Turkish Foreign Policy; Framework and Analysis* (2005); *International Security Today; Understanding Change and Debating Security* (ed. with K. Ifantis, 2006); *Turkish Foreign and Security Policy* (ed. 2006); *Regional In/security: Redefining Threats and Responses* (ed., 2007); *Turkey's Eurasian Adventure* (in Turkish, 2008).

Developments and changes since the end of the cold war: West Asia and Central Asia

Mustafa Aydin

During the Cold War, the world's attention, preoccupied by the predictable results of a catastrophic nuclear confrontation between two blocs, had naturally focused on the global balance of power and strategic stability. Today, on the other hand, as there is no longer a superpower rivalry, its attention has turned towards unfolding complexities of regional conflicts and emergence of new strategic regions. One such area has taken shape in west Asia, encompassing most of Central Asia, North Caucasus, Transcaucasia as well as such nearby states as Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and even Iraq. These areas attract attention of Russia, China, India, US, EU, and many other states, which are sensitive to what is happening in these regions for various reasons, ranging from energy security and nuclear proliferation to kinship and religious connections. The emergence of west Asia as a unit of analysis however have caused anxiety among the world decision makers, who came to the conclusion that the region has the potential of unraveling wider conflicts, drawing global powers into the equation. There is thus a need for a broader analytical model to tackle the widespread problems emerging in these areas. This paper will look at the changes, as well as the problems, that these regions have experienced since the end of the cold war. It will also try to identify the sources of unrest and possible threats to the future stability and try to chart out a likely scenario for the future. And finally, mechanisms for diffusing at least some of the controversies and threats will be discussed within the context of the prospects awaiting the region in the mid-to-long term.

**DR.
ARVIND GUPTA**



Lal Bahadur Shastri Chair, IDSA

Dr. Arvind Gupta is an officer of the Indian Foreign Service, (batch of 1979). He presently holds the Lal Bahadur Shastri Chair in Strategic and Defence Studies at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses.

Prior to joining IDSA, Dr. Gupta was Joint Secretary at the National Security Council Secretariat from 1999 to 2008. During his tenure at the NSCS, he dealt with a wide spectrum of national security issues.

Dr Arvind Gupta has wide-ranging diplomatic experience gained while working in Indian missions abroad. He has handled a number of assignments in the Ministry of External Affairs in different capacities.

His current interests include: the impact of globalisation on India's security; the security, foreign policy and diplomatic challenges before India; energy security, climate change, institutional reform, India's neighbours, internal security, and technology & security.

He has several books, articles and papers to his credit.

How India is managing its Asian Challenge?

Arvind Gupta

Following the end of the cold war, the centre of gravity of power is shifting to the East. What consequences these developments hold for Asia's future is still unknown. For India, several new security challenges have arisen due to the shifting of geo-political landscape in the region. The rise of China is one such challenge. Terrorism, maritime security and instability in parts of South Asia are some other challenges. This paper summarizes the broad geo-political and security challenges in Asia; looks at the challenges India has faced in the last twenty years as a result of these changes and examines the Indian approaches in managing these challenges. The main argument of the paper is that while India has been able to convert these challenges into opportunities through a combination of political, economic, and foreign policy measures, its approach in managing these challenges has been ad hoc and not based on a forward looking grand strategy. Given the rapidity of change, India finds itself constrained by a number of developments which come in the way of deepening its engagements with Asia. Of the several challenges India is facing, management of its relationship with China will be the foremost in the near future. The lack of diplomatic capacities is also hampering India's capabilities to engage with Asia more intensely. India needs to articulate for public and the world at large its own view of how India is going to manage its relation with the rapidly changing region.

CONFERENCE TEAM

Mr. Ali Ahmed (Conference Coordinator)

He is a Research Fellow at IDSA.

Email: aliahd66@hotmail.com

Dr. Jagannath P Panda

He is a Research Fellow at IDSA.

Email: jppjagannath@gmail.com

Dr. Prashant Kumar Singh

He is a Associate Fellow at IDSA.

Email: prashant.idsa@gmail.com

Ms. Rukmani Gupta

She is a Associate Fellow at IDSA.

Email: rukmani.gupta@gmail.com

Mr. Sanjeev Kumar Shrivastav

He is a Research Assistant at IDSA.

Email: sanjeevkumar11@gmail.com

Ms. Shahana Joshi

She is a Research Assistant at IDSA.

Email: raagshahana@gmail.com

Mr. Pramod Jaiswal

He is a Research Intern at IDSA.

Email: pramodjai@gmail.com