

CONFERENCE
BOOKLET



16th Asian Security Conference

**Emerging Strategic Trends in Asia
and India's Response**

(February 19-21, 2014)

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STUDIES & ANALYSES
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ABOUT IDSA

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

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

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

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

Research Centres

- East Asia
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CONCEPT NOTE

There is little doubt that Asia – stretching from the Eurasian landmass to the maritime reaches of Australia and the South Pacific – is experiencing a major shift in the global balance of power. Expressions like the ‘Indo-Pacific’ and ‘Asia-Pacific’, contested they maybe, capture Asia’s expanse and dynamism. But for one brief and dramatic financial crisis in 1997, growth rates in Asia have been averaging well above the rest of the world. The rise of China along with the increasing global footprint of Russia and India in G20 and the ASEAN states soaring economies have made Asia the powerhouse and centre of gravity. Yet, Asia struggles with numerous conflicts in spite of its ‘alphabet soup’ of regional organisations and security structures.

Changes are happening fast in Asia and changing not only the geo-political landscape but also the mindset of the people who are pushing for political reforms and accountability. The global power shifts being witnessed is also potentially prising up Asia to confrontation as well as convergence as states compete. China is an important piece of the puzzle and its rise is a defining line of the changing landscape. How will China define its national interest in the future? Will it pursue an assertive, even aggressive policy in Asia to back up its territorial claims? Or will China, assured of its great power status practice moderation and restraint? Importantly, how should India and other key states in Asia respond to China’s continuous rise and influence – should the response be as a strategic competitor with a policy of confrontation or a containment approach through active cooperation?

From a strategic grand view, the balance of power is uncertain in Asia. A sizeable US military presence continues and the Obama administration’s policy involves strengthening US military alliance and strategic partnerships and simultaneously repositioning forces. China would be far from assured that the ‘rebalancing’ is not directed towards it thus opening up the region to power play and

rivalry in the East China Sea and South China Sea. A resultant increase in military expenditure and modernisation and a thrust towards new technologies will spur many countries.

The numerous stress-lines and fault-lines expose Asia to many potential flash-points. Unresolved territorial issues stand between India and China, Vietnam and China, China and Russia, Russia and Japan. North Korea and Taiwan may trigger-off unmanageable crises. West Asia continues to be restive threatening to tear apart the socio-political fabric. Of the four Asian nuclear powers, North Korea and Pakistan are highly suspect nuclear proliferators involved in covert supply of missile technology. The China-Japan rivalry reveals dangerous chauvinism. At the same time, the two largest populated countries - China and India - referred to as 'planetary powers' surging need for energy and raw materials for its 2.5 billion people creates new areas of resource friction. Resource scarcity will not only be related to physical shortage but more possibly from failure of governance.

Asia's economies are increasingly vital to each other and to the world with both the US and Europe continuing to post low GDP growth. The economic shift is shaping two different approaches to trade liberalization in Asia. One paved by the ASEAN-led Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) and the other by the US-led Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and it has to be seen how these approaches will determine the economic choices in the coming years. While, at one level, certain investment and trade barriers will continue to hinder business in Asia, at another, poverty eradication will have to remain an essence of economic growth for Asian countries. The economies in Asia have to continuously grow fast along with being sustainable and inclusive. Other challenges that equally impact the economy are an increased number of natural disasters that interrupt the supply chain, security concerns emanating from terrorism and cyber security, where hacking, espionage and lack of privacy fuel concerns for companies as well as politicians and governments.

For India, the emerging geopolitical and geo-economic trends raise questions as to how it will lock into the new continental power matrix and how it will respond and reappraise to the changes.

Asia is on the threshold of change – the known and unknown; opportunities and uncertainties abound. Such times also offer an excellent chance to concentrate on the dynamics of change, to search for new ways of understanding, and to prepare for a future that is certainly set to surprise.

Against this backdrop, the 16th annual Asian Security Conference (ASC) to be held at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, in February 2014 will deliberate the emerging strategic trends in Asia and unravel the challenges and opportunities.

Day One

Session1: Asia's Geopolitical Future

Central to the future of stability in Asia is how the rise of China is impacting the balance of power. China is now strong enough to challenge US' leadership in Asia. But it is not clear as to what kind of new order would emerge. One possibility is a contested order framed by US and China strategic rivalry. The Chinese dominance might push other Asian powers into alliance with US making the landscape polarized. On the other hand, the US stays engaged in Asia, without being assertive and allowing for a 'concert of powers' as a counter weight to China's power in the Indo-Pacific. Regional institutions are important prescription for bolstering Asia's stability but raises doubts on whether such multilateral structures have the capability to absorb the shocks and resolve conflicts. This session will explore Asia's geopolitical future, the various scenarios that might emerge and the conditions for stability.

Session 2: Military Trends in Asia

While Asia has seen a growth of regional institutions yet, Asian countries' military expenditures tell a tale of escalating

security competition and the recent claims in South China Sea suggest that regional mechanisms don't necessarily lower the temperature. China's military budget accounts for nearly half of all the military spending in the region. Japan, on the other hand, has increased its defence spending, partly as a reality check to China and partly as a response to US defence cuts. Many of the US allies in Asia under US protection will have to accept more risks and boost their military capabilities. How will the Asian countries military modernisation impact the region? What are the perceived external threats and how is it impacting the military doctrines? What implications does the military expenditure have on future force structure and strategic posturing?

Session 3: Economic Global Shift towards Asia

The world's economic centre of gravity has shifted to Asia with the rapid economic development seen in China, India and other Asian countries along with the economic problems experienced in Europe and the US. Urbanization will be a key trend of the rapidly growing economies in Asia. The global economic shift is bringing forth opportunities and challenges. What are the responses of key economic and political institutions in Asia, particularly in India and China? Should India follow China's example and turn its attention towards boosting domestic consumption rather than foreign trade? Questions about how the old developed economies (the West) will react and whether Asia's current economic model is sustainable will equally emerge. Will there be a slowing with major adjustments or a collapse? What levels of impact will the changing demography particularly the growing middle class and the aging population have on the economy? This session will examine how the changes will shape the economic and business contours in Asia?

Day 2

Session 4: Resource Stress in Asia

One of Asia's major concerns centres on resource security. Food, energy, water and climate are intricately linked and further impacted by price, availability and quality.

Population growth, urbanization, and industrialization are exacerbating resource-related stresses. Asia includes about 56 per cent of world's population and depends on 31 per cent of arable land and by 2030 the continent will have 5 billion people. Understanding the resource dynamics is useful to the political economy particularly as competition for natural resources among Asian nations intensifies. Will it bring the continent to a dangerous crossroads of dependence, geopolitical tension and environmental degradation? What trade-offs and at what appropriate scale (regional, national, sub-national) will be required to ease resource pressure? Is the framing of resource policies particularly complementary to rights-based development approaches?

Session 5: Ocean Governance in the Indo-Pacific

With the economic power shift to Asia, the Indo-Pacific region is fast becoming the centre of trade, investment and cooperation. The region contains close to half the world's population and provides several of the world's most important choke-points for global commerce including the Strait of Malacca. Clearly the region is recognised for its economic dynamism and geo-strategic importance. Many inter-state disputes are maritime in nature, both due to the many unsettled maritime boundaries as a consequence of the enactment of UNCLOS, and the tendency towards unrestrained exploitation of maritime resources with little regard for territorial jurisdictions. A legal framework and multilateral agreements are critical in managing communal global resources such as the high seas but fear of regional hegemony is likely to hinder support for the establishment of ocean governance, particularly among the weaker countries. The session will discuss the legal obligations, impact of institutional arrangements and strengthening governance over maritime resources.

Session 6: Assessing Risks: Cyber and Critical Infrastructure

In today's interconnected world, states share risks and vulnerabilities. Some of the biggest security challenges will

come from the cyber space. Singapore and Indonesia have already taken steps towards setting up cyber commands. As cyber-attacks and hacktivism increase, challenges to information sharing will mount. Against this backdrop, how then will governments and policing bodies cooperate on law enforcement and sharing information? Policies towards preventions, precautions and preparedness plans will be examined. The session will also explore critical infrastructure protection and government coordination highlighting in particular the increased reliance upon technology systems in public and private infrastructure and hence vulnerability to new forms of cyberterrorism and attacks. The lens will also shift to civil-military cooperation and how 'calling out the troops' to combat emergencies occurs in countries.

Day 3

Session 7: India's Response

Panel Discussion

The big question is how India is responding to the strategic changes in Asia? China sits atop the power pyramid with its physical size, military capability and economic clout that combines to assert regional dominance. Powers like India would not like to easily cede the hegemonic space to China but, at the same time, would realise that its power is pervasive and difficult to counter balance. The arrangement possibly would be for India to trade and invest intensely with China while seeking a security alliance with the US. Will India follow this path? How is India as an emerging power looked at in the region? Can India be a guarantor/balancer or will it be seen as an opponent? A careful reappraisal of Asia's emerging strategic dynamics, a hard-headed assessment of what India's interests are and a considered approach to fulfilling these interests should deeply engage academia and policy makers. The session will explore the pillars on which India can build a more comprehensive, forward-looking and proactive Asia policy.

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

DAY 1: Wednesday, February 19, 2014

0930h-1030h:	Registration & Tea
1000h-1030h:	Inaugural Session
Welcome Remarks	Arvind Gupta, DG, IDSA
Key Note Address	Hon'ble Governor of West Bengal
Vote of Thanks	Brig. (Retd.) Rumel Dahiya, Deputy Director General, IDSA
1030h-1100h:	Tea
1100h-1300h:	Session I - Asia's geopolitical future
Chairperson:	Arvind Gupta
Yan Xuetong	The bipolarization in East Asia
Sujit Dutta	Asia's power transition: uncertain future of stability and peace
Takenori Horimoto	How is power transition in Asia taking place?
Michael Wesley	Restless giants: Asia's new geopolitics
1300h-1400h:	Lunch
1400h-1600h:	Session II - Military trends in Asia
Chairperson:	Satish Nambiar
Fuma Ota	Chinese military expansion and other Asian states' reaction
Andrew Scobell	What is driving Asian aircraft carrier programs? The case of China
Nguyen Hung Son	Vietnam naval modernisation: causes and trends
Prakash Menon	India's military - modernising not militarising
1600h-1615h:	Tea
1615h-1645h:	Special Address by Hon'ble Defence Minister

1645h-1830h:	Session III - Economic global shift to Asia
Chairperson:	Ujal Singh Bhatia
Hu Shisheng	Economic global shift toward Asia: realities and challenges
Rajat Kathuria	China and India: the benefits of co-opetition
Kristy Hsu	Opportunities and challenges in China and India: Taiwanese investors

DAY 2: Thursday, February 20, 2014

1000h-1045h:	Special Address by National Security Advisor (NSA)
1045h-1100h:	Tea
1100h-1300h:	Session IV - Resource Stress in Asia
Chairperson:	Uttam Sinha
Boby A Tamaela Wattimena	Energy security challenges under limited resource pressure in Asia region
Mukul Sanwal	Why water politics matters
Huang Ying	Urbanisation and water security in China
Yashika Singh	India's resource economy: possible choices and probable outcomes
1300h-1400h:	Lunch
1400h-1600h:	Session V - Ocean Governance in Indo-Pacific
Chairperson:	Sudhir Vyas
K V Bhagirath	The geo-strategic importance of the Indian Ocean
You Ji	Meeting the challenge of a la carte maritime disorder in the Indo-Pacific region

Lan-Anh T Nguyen	The quest for effective ocean management in the South China Sea
Anup Singh	Time to discipline the sea lawyers
1600h-1615h:	Tea
1615h-1800h:	Session VI - Assessing Risks: Cyber and Critical Infrastructure
Chairperson:	Nehchal Sandhu
Gulshan Rai	Chinese military expansion and other Asian states' reaction
Timothy Legrand & Saskia Hufnagel	Risk and resilience: international approaches to vulnerable infrastructure protection
Simon Bronitt & Ashutosh Misra	Use of lethal force and military aid to civil power Australia and India: sharing lessons in counter-terrorism

DAY 3: Friday, February 21, 2014

1000h-1030h:	Tea
1030h-1300h:	Session VII - India's Response: A Panel Discussion
Moderator:	Arvind Gupta
Panellists:	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Patric Suckling, Australian High Commissioner to India • S D Muni, Distinguished Fellow, IDSA • Yan Xuetong, Professor Tsinghua University • Amb P Stobdan, Senior Fellow, IDSA • Rajiv Nayan, Senior Research Associate, IDSA • Srikanth Kondapalli, Professor, JNU • Takenori Horimoto, Professor, Kyoto University • Nguyen Hung Son, Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam
1300h-1400h:	Lunch

Profiles of Participants
&
Abstracts

Keynote Address

SHRI MK NARAYANAN



Shri MK Narayanan was born in New Delhi in 1934. He is an alumnus of the Loyala College, Madras, and holds a Master's Degree in Economics from the University of Madras. Shri Narayanan joined the Indian Police Service in 1955. After a brief stint as Sub-Divisional Police Officer in the erstwhile State of Madras, he went on deputation to the Intelligence Bureau in 1959. The rest of his service career was spent mainly in the Intelligence Bureau during which he dealt with a whole range of issues concerning internal and national security. Shri Narayanan was Director of the Intelligence Bureau from 1987 to 1992 and also served as the Chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee of the Government of India. He superannuated in 1992 and was awarded the Padma Shri in 1992 for his services to the country. He remained closely connected with security-related matters even after his retirement. He was a Member of the Task Force on revamping the Intelligence System set up after the Kargil Committee Report in 2000. Shri Narayanan was appointed by the UPA Government in May 2004 as the Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of India. In January 2005, he assumed charge as the National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of India. As the National Security Advisor, his responsibilities included advising the Prime Minister on foreign policy and defence matters, national security issues, including internal security and intelligence, and nuclear and space matters. He was also the Prime Minister's Special Representative for boundary talks with China. Shri Narayanan took over as the Governor of the State of West Bengal on January 24, 2010.

Special Address

SHRI AK ANTONY



Shri 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, Shri 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. Shri Anthony was Member Rajya Sabha twice from 1985-1991 and 1991-95. He was Union Minister for Civil Supplies, Consumer Affairs and Public Distribution during 1994-95. He was elected to the Rajya Sabha in May 2005 from Kerala.

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

Session I

Asia's geopolitics future

Wednesday, February 19, 2014

1100h-1300h

Chairperson

ARVIND GUPTA



Dr Arvind Gupta assumed charge as Director General, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) on 5th January, 2012. He holds a Ph.D in International Relations from Jawaharlal Nehru University and M.Sc in Physics from Delhi University. He was Visiting Member at the Tata Institute for Fundamental Research (1974-76) and served at the Oil & Natural Gas Commission (1976) and at the State Bank of India (1976-79) before joining the Indian Foreign Service in 1979. He retired in 2013 having worked in the Ministry of External Affairs in different capacities and served in diplomatic missions in Moscow, London and Ankara. Prior to his current position, he held the Lal Bahadur Shastri Chair on National Security at the IDSA from 2008 to 2011. Earlier he was Joint Secretary at the Indian National Security Council Secretariat from 1999 to 2007. During his tenure at the NSCS he dealt with a wide range of international and national security issues and participated in the various working groups and task forces set up by the NSC. He also worked with the Kargil Review Committee. He has several publications to his credit including three books, several edited volumes and a number of academic publications. He has been a member of several task forces on issues such as space security, climate change, cyber security and nuclear disarmament.

YAN XUETONG



Yan Xuetong is currently the Dean of the Institute of Modern International Relations, Tsinghua University, Secretary of World Peace Forum and the Chief Editor of *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*. He is Vice Chairman of both China Association of International Relations Studies and China Association of American Studies, and a member of Consultation Committee of Ministry of Commerce of PRC. He served as research fellow at the Institute of Contemporary International Relations during 1982-1984 and 1992-2000. He received his Ph. D in political science from University of California, Berkeley in 1992. Xuetong Yan is the author and coauthor of a number of important books including *Inertia of History: China and the World in Next 10 Years* (2013), *The Analysis of International Relations-Second Edition* (2013), *Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power* (2011), *International Politics and China* (2005) and *American Hegemony and China's Security* (2000) and *Analysis of China's National Interests* (1996).

THE BIPOLARIZATION IN EAST ASIA

Yan Xuetong

For the sake of dealing with China's rise, the US is shifting its global strategic priority from the Middle East to East Asia. American pivot strategy will strengthen relations with its traditional alliance. Psychologically, Japan is reluctant to accept the fact that it lost the status of the second largest economy to China. For the sake of slowing down its decline, Japan aims at regaining normal status of a full sovereign nation state by revising national constitution. Thus it needs a long term confrontation with China to legitimize its goal of constitution revision. Xi Jinping's policy towards neighbors will improve Chinese relations with neighbors except Japan and Philippine in next three years. There is possibility for China to improve relations with these two countries after Shinzo Abe and Benigno Aquino. China's policy toward the US will help to prevent escalation between China and the US but cannot prevent competition. In next ten years, it is possible to see China, Russia, Germany and France to improve their strategic relations while the US, Japan and UK consolidate their strategic partnership. It is highly possible for India to remain neutral between the two sides.

SUJIT DUTTA



Sujit Dutta is Professor and holds the Mahatma Gandhi Chair at the Nelson Mandela Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi. His principal areas of studies are: Chinese politics, India-China relations and International Affairs in East Asia. He was till 2009 Senior Fellow and head of the East Asian Studies Programme at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA). Dutta has been a member of India-China Eminent Persons' Group (2001-2005), and the National Security Council Task Force on China (2006-07), Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific Working Group on Confidence Building Measures (1994-1999). He was a Senior Fellow at the prestigious United States Institute of Peace, Washington D.C in 1997-98, and a visiting scholar at the Institute for National Defense Higher Education (IHEDN), Paris (2006). He has published a large number of research papers and chapters in books, and has edited the book *India and the World: Strategic Thought – the Formative Years*.

ASIA'S POWER TRANSITION: THE UNCERTAIN FUTURE OF STABILITY AND PEACE

Sujit Dutta

Three broad trends shaping the future are discernible: one, a dynamic process of interdependence, trade flows, cross-border investments and communications are intertwining the new, emerging Asia. Japan, China, India, South Korea, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Australia, the US and Europe are all deeply engaged in this process. Asian markets are large and growing while rapid growth in incomes is driving world demand for commodities and services. A distinct Indo-Pacific Asian regional system and society with its institutions, norms, and agreements are in the making raising hopes for mitigating tensions, deep seated rivalries, mistrust and war.

Two, as Asian states modernise and become the engine of growth for the world economy the old power structure and balance of power is being altered. The large and growing size of China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Vietnam, and Korea in sheer demographic, economic and military terms in relation to most other and the relative decline of the US is fundamentally changing the strategic environment and balance of power. Rivalry over strategic interests, territory, influence, and political manipulation of dark memories of the past that sustain growing nationalism are increasingly a reality. China's ultra-nationalism, wide territorial claims and unilateral assertive actions in particular are feeding both rising nationalism in neighbouring States and leading to a new alignment of forces.

Finally, the growth of the middle class and the communication revolution are leading to new, vibrant, multiple civil society movements that seek efficient and sensitive governance, accountability and end to widespread official and corporate corruption, expansion of human rights and greater democratisation. Both democracies and authoritarian States are witnessing demands for change and turbulence in the old state structures and systems.

TAKENORI HORIMOTO



Takenori Horimoto is currently affiliated to the Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies, Kyoto University and Open University of Japan. He was earlier professor of Contemporary South Asian Politics and US Asian Policy at Shobi University. He has authored and edited 11 books besides over 100 articles, and more than 170 lectures and presentations including Commentator on NHK TV. His recent books include: *India: The Big Elephant Globalizes*, Iwanami Shoten, 2007 (Japanese); (co-ed) *India as a Rising Military Power*, Askishobo, 2010 (Japanese); (co-ed) *Contemporary South Asian Politics*, Open Air University, 2012 (Japanese); (co-ed) *India-Japan Relations in Emerging Asia*, Manohar, 2013 English). His latest article has appeared in *National Interest*

HOW IS POWER TRANSITION IN ASIA TAKING PLACE?

Takenori Horimoto

It seems there is occurring a power transition in Asia, particularly in the western Pacific region. The basic and main actors could be the US and China in the backdrop of the gradual decay of the former and the rapid rise of the latter. The two need each other in the strategic management of the Asian region though with conflicting approaches. The US seeks to enforce its policy of Asian re-balancing whereas China advocates a new model of great power relations.

At the moment it is quite difficult to envision exactly how the transition proceeds on in coming decades because decline and rise are relative connotations. But the basic requirement of Asian countries under any transitions would be to maintain stability and to avoid tensions.

How a stable transition could be accomplished? Probably policy of hedging and engagement would be of necessity of the time. Military preparedness might be one way to cope with the present situation. But such way tends to cause a chicken race in the region particularly in the high sea. There remains the policy of engagement. Probably major countries such as Japan, India, East Asia countries, Russia and Australia have their own compulsions and basic ethos to manage the stable transition particularly in the so-called Indo-Pacific Ocean.

MICHAEL WESLEY



Michael Wesley is a Professor of National Security at the Australian National University. He has extensive experience teaching, researching and communicating on Australia's international engagements, particularly in Asia. Wesley has published extensively and has authored several books on foreign policy, including *The Howard Paradox: Australian Diplomacy in Asia*. He won the 2011 John Button Prize for Best Writing in Australian Politics for his book, *There Goes the Neighbourhood: Australia and the Rise of Asia*. He was Executive Director of the Lowy Institute for International Policy from 2009 to 2012 and Professor of International Relations and Director of the Asia Institute at Griffith University from 2004 to 2009. Professor Wesley was an Assistant Director-General in the Office of National Assessments in 2003/04 and served as co-chairman of the Security and Prosperity working group at the Australia 2020 Summit in 2008.

RESTLESS GIANTS: ASIA'S NEW GEOPOLITICS

Michael Wesley

All eras are beset by turbulence, uncertainty and risk. Whether one era is more uncertain, turbulent or risky than another is largely irrelevant – in each era it is the job of defence planners to assess risks and uncertainty as best they can, and assign responses and resources as best they can to addressing those. In the absence of an ability to apportion defence resources through time, each generation is obliged to use what resources it has to best offset risk and uncertainty in the present and foreseeable future.

Surely a more useful form of temporal comparison should be to ask: what is distinctive about the era we are entering? What are the new drivers of turbulence, uncertainty and change? How do these new factors challenge our strategic environment, and how best can we use our defence resources to respond to these? Of course, these questions give rise to different debates, over how new the changes actually are, and how challenging to the established order. But even these debates can generate productive avenues of thought and discussion for defence planning.

I contend that in the current period, the first quarter of the twenty-first century, is being shaped by two vectors of turbulence: the rapid enrichment and empowerment of Asia's largest societies; and the rapid advance and spread of communications technologies. The future of both of these vectors is attended by significant uncertainties: in trajectory, dynamics and consequences. But there is mounting evidence that each of these is generating new upside and downside risks for defence planners. While there are undoubtedly connections between both vectors, I will focus on the first and its impact on Asia's emerging geopolitics.

Session II

Military trends in Asia

Wednesday, February 19, 2014

1400h-1600h

Chairperson

SATISH NAMBIAR



Lt. Gen. Satish Nambiar PVSM AVSM VrC (Retd) is currently a 'Distinguished Fellow' and a life member of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi. Commissioned into the Maratha Light Infantry in 1957, he retired as the Deputy Chief of the Army Staff in 1994. He served in operational assignments including counter-insurgency operations and in the 1965 and 1971 wars on the sub-continent. A graduate of the Australian Staff College (1968), he was with a training team in Iraq (1977-79), was on the faculty of the Defence Services Staff College (1980-81), and served as Military Adviser at the High Commission of India in London (1984-87). As Director General of Military Operations (1991), he led two defence delegations for discussions with Pakistan. He was appointed the first Force Commander and Head of the United Nations forces in the former Yugoslavia he set up and ran the mission from March 1992 to March 1993. After his retirement he was Director of the United Service Institution of India from 1996-2008. He was also the adviser to the Government of Sri Lanka on certain aspects of the peace process in 2002/03 and served as a member of a High Level Panel appointed by the UNSG to review the status of international collective security mechanisms and make recommendations for reform. He was conferred the Padma Bhushan in 2009 for his contributions to National Security Affairs.

FUMIO OTA



Fumio Ota is a former naval officer and retired as the director of Defense Intelligence Headquarters at the rank of Vice Admiral in 2005. Earlier in his career he was the officer in charge of preparing the White Paper titled 'Defense of Japan 1987', for the Japan Defense Agency. He made his second retirement as a professor of the National Defense Academy in 2013. Ota has a PhD from the Johns Hopkins University in 2003. He has been a visiting fellow at the Center for International Security and Arms Control at Stanford University co-directed by William Perry, the former US Secretary of Defense. During this time, Ota also made the acquaintance of Condoleezza Rice, the former US Secretary of State, who was a fellow at the Center. Ota has a number of books both in English and Japanese including "The US-Japan Alliance in the 21st Century" (in English). He is an accomplished athlete and was a pentathlon candidate for the 1972 Munich Olympic Games.

CHINESE MILITARY EXPANSION AND OTHER ASIAN STATES' REACTION

Fumio Ota

Even though North Korean asymmetric warfare capabilities such as ballistic missile developments with WMD and Special Forces are increasing and Russian military capability is revitalizing, major military trends in Asia are caused by Chinese military buildup based on her expressionistic strategy, assertiveness and territorial claims. China is the Status Changing Power while other surrounding Western states are Status Quo Powers who are reacting to Chinese assertiveness and excessive territorial claims including preparing to counter Chinese anti-access/area-denial capabilities. Military trends are development of surface combatants, submarines, ballistic/cruise missiles, Air Forces including UAVs, Space assets and Cyber capabilities. Because, the Chinese deceptive, non-military such as three warfares consisting Legal, Psychological and Media warfares, and disinformation strategy is derived from Sun Tzu's *Art of War* namely Chapter I (Planning) and Chapter XIII (Intelligence), we must not only focus on the military in the Chinese case, but should also look at the PRC paramilitary or maritime militia, non-military including trade and cyber attacks. Like the skirmish over Senkaku or Scarborough Reef, so called gray zone situation which means neither war nor peace has increased. The future armed attacks must be accompanied with cyber attacks. Therefore, military trends and their reactions must be jointness, coalition, and interagency.

ANDREW SCOBELL



Andrew Scobell is Senior Political Scientist at RAND's Washington, DC office and Adjunct Professor of Asian Studies at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. Prior to this he was Associate Professor of International Affairs at the George H. W. Bush School of Government and Public Service (with tenure) and Director of the China Certificate Program at Texas A&M University located in College Station, Texas. Scobell earned a doctorate in political science from Columbia University. He is author of *China's Search for Security* (Columbia University Press, 2012) [with Andrew J. Nathan]; *China's Use of Military Force: Beyond the Great Wall and the Long March* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), more than a dozen monographs and reports, as well as many journal articles and book chapters. He has also edited or co-edited more than a dozen volumes on various aspects of security in the Asia-Pacific region. Scobell was born and raised in Hong Kong and regularly makes research trips to the region.

WHAT IS DRIVING ASIAN AIRCRAFT CARRIER PROGRAMS? THE CASE OF CHINA

Andrew Scobell

Asia appears to be experiencing an arms race and or at least a significant military buildup. This expansion in military power is perhaps most evident in ongoing developments in naval modernization. One interesting component of this naval buildup in Asia is increased attention to aircraft carriers by a number of countries, including China and India. To what can one attribute this growing interest in carriers and what might be the likely impact on Asian security? These questions will be addressed with particular reference to the case of China. What is driving China's aircraft carrier program? Is it the outcome of a sustained bureaucratic push by the People's Liberation Army Navy to enhance its political power and status vis-à-vis the other services? Is the carrier program best seen as a prestige project aimed at assuaging the nationalist fervor of the Chinese people? Or is the program part of a coherent maritime strategy? How well does the carrier program fit into China's maritime plans and aspirations? What capabilities does a carrier program provide the Chinese military and how does a carrier affect the security situation in the Asia-Pacific?

NGUYEN HUNG SON



Nguyen Hung Son is Deputy Director-General of the Institute for South China Sea/East Sea Studies, at the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam. His areas of research include East Asia security and cooperation, particularly maritime security, East Asia regionalism and ASEAN affairs. He participated in Vietnam's delegation drafting the elements of the Code of Conduct for the South China Sea both at the official and informal tracks. Prior to his current designation, Hung Son was a full time diplomat. He was member of the Vietnam High Level Task Force delegation negotiating the ASEAN Charter. Nguyen Hung Son got a B.A degree from the National Economic University of Vietnam, an M.A degree on International Economic from Birmingham University of the United Kingdom, and a doctorate from the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam.

VIETNAM NAVAL MODERNISATION: CAUSES AND TRENDS

Nguyen Hung Son

Vietnam official commissioning of its first Kilo-class submarines on 15 January 2014 revived discussions of an arms dynamic, if not arms race in the region. Some analysis implied Vietnam's naval modernization as reckless and irresponsible steps to regional security. Upon closer look, however, it could be shown that Vietnam's military modernization trend is highly defensive and not re-active to other military development in the region, and there fore can hardly trigger any action-reaction type of responses from other regional countries. Vietnam's naval modernisation is an integral part of a well planned comprehensive development strategy, and is a natural response to Vietnam's economic development needs which place heavy emphasis on marine economic activities. The scale and speed of naval procurement of the past years were caused mostly by the relatively well performance of the Vietnamese economy; by the increasing public awareness and pressure on the military to show more effective protection of Vietnam's off-shore interests in the context of greater security uncertainty in the South China Sea. The trend of diversification of platforms and equipment, and efforts to indigenise the defense industry show that Vietnam pursues an independent, self-reliance and non-aligned defense policy. Vietnam's naval modernization, therefore, does not pose a threat to regional security and should not be overly emphasised.

PRAKASH MENON



Prakash Menon is presently the Military Adviser in the National Security Council Secretariat in the rank of Secretary to Government of India. An infantry officer he retired in 2011 as Lt. General after nearly 40 years of service. During his military career he has had extensive operational experience at different levels having commanded a battalion, brigade and division in Central, North and South Kashmir. From 2009 to 2010, he was the Commandant of the National Defence College. For his distinguished services he has been awarded three prestigious awards including the highest distinguished services award, the Param Vishist Seva. Lt Gen Menon's civil qualification includes two post graduate degrees in Defence Studies and Management and also a PhD. He was been nominated by the Union Cabinet as a member of expert group for establishment of the Indian National Defence University. He is one of the Co-authors of NonAlignment 2.0, A Foreign and Strategic Policy for India in the Twenty First Century.

INDIA'S MILITARY – MODERNISING NOT MILITARISING

Prakash Menon

The danger posed by Asia's military expansion can be viewed in the context of its impact on the political decision making institutions of individual countries. Military growth prompts strategic logic based on military power, gaining influence over political choices regarding use of force. A phenomenon loosely defined as militarism. Militarism could be a major factor that could play a significant role in a nation's proclivity to settle disputes through use of force. Several disputes under the shadow of a global power shift litter a nuclearised and increasingly militarised Asian political landscape.

The current phase of India's military modernization gained impetus with the rise in India's GDP in the early nineties. The paper argues that modernization and growth of India's military power has not been accompanied by the growth of militarism in the sense of military logic unduly swaying political decisions. The military instrument has remained subordinate to civilian political control and remains the hallmark of the triumph of democracy, in sharp contrast to several other countries in the developing world. India is modernizing its military but is certainly not militarizing and can be expected to play a stabilizing role even as others linger under the shadow of militarism.

Session III

Economic global shift to Asia

Wednesday, February 19, 2014

1645h-1830h

Chairperson

UJAL SINGH BHATIA



Ujal Singh Bhatia was India's Ambassador to the WTO between 2004-2010. He was appointed Member of the Appellate Body of the WTO in November 2011. He joined the Indian Administrative Service in 1974 and spent about two decades in development administration in Orissa. Between 1995-2000 he worked in the Central Government as Joint Secretary in the Commerce and Industry Ministry. During this period, he dealt with a range of trade policy issues - domestic, bilateral, regional and multilateral. He writes and speaks on trade and development issues frequently. Due to his responsibilities in the Appellate Body of the WTO, he spends a fair amount of time in Geneva.

HU SHISHENG



Hu Shisheng is a Senior Research Fellow and the Director of the Institute for South & Southeast Asian and Oceania Studies at the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR). He received his BA in Hindi and his MA in Sanskrit and Bali languages from Peking University. Hu did his PhD in International Politics & Relations with a focus in Ethnic and Religious issues from CICIR in 2006. In 2004 he was a Visiting Scholar at Johns Hopkins' School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). His research areas include: the political and security situations in India and Pakistan, ethnic and religious problems in South Asia and the Tibet issue. Hu published a book *Tibetans in Exile: the Construction of Group Identities and its Embarrassment* (Center of China Tibetology, 2008). Hu's most recent research focuses on South Asia – particularly India, Pakistan and Afghanistan security issues.

ECONOMIC GLOBAL SHIFT TOWARD ASIA: REALITIES AND CHALLENGES

Hu Shisheng

Ever since the beginning of this century, with the rapid rising of India and China, the global economic center of gravity has visibly shifted toward Asia, with East Asia in particular. In terms of GDP, trade volume, foreign exchange reserves and etc., Asia has become much powerful and influential globally. More importantly, Asian currencies, especially RMB and Yen, have been much more widely used than before; the voting powers of rising Asian countries with China and India in particular have also been increased in international institutions in recent years. However, such shift toward Asia could be stopped and even be reversed. In terms of policy making powers and sayings in reforming economic orders and formulating new rules, the US and EU are still playing dominating roles, Asian rising powers are at most playing the second fiddle. And in recent years, the existent dominant powers have kicked off a set of new initiatives, like TTP and TTIP, to prevent such economic global shift. The US dollar is still functioning as the bedrock of the global financial system. The US and EU are still enjoying unparallel privileges and dominance in the world financial arena. Moreover, the internal strategic mistrust even confrontations, unlikely to be settled in the foreseeable future, among Asian powers are also disturbing such shift. In one work still has much hard homework to do to become the new global economic center.

RAJAT KATHURIA



Rajat Kathuria is Director and Chief Executive at Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER), New Delhi. He has over 20 years experience in teaching and 10 years experience in economic policy, besides research interests on a range of issues relating to regulation and competition policy. He worked with Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) during its first eight years (1998-2006). He has taught undergraduate economics at the University of Maryland and is currently on leave from the International Management Institute (IMI), New Delhi. He has worked with the World Bank as a Consultant and carried out project assignments for a number of organizations, including ILO, UNCTAD, LirneAsia, Ernst and Young, Consultancy Development Centre (CDC) and Standing Committee for Public Enterprises (SCOPE). He is a graduate from St. Stephens College, a Masters from Delhi School of Economics and a PhD degree from the University of Maryland, College Park.

CHINA AND INDIA: THE BENEFITS OF CO-OPETITION

Rajat Kathuria

In the global economic order, India and China are the Asian superpowers that are crucial for integration of the South-East Asian region. However, the trade trends and the burgeoning current account deficit between the two countries remain a matter of concern among academicians and policymakers. China is India's largest trading partner. India's import from China primarily includes high technology, capital goods and only 15% of consumer goods[1]. India is becoming dependent on China for high and medium technology imports while its exports to China include raw material, medium and low technology. Most of India's exports to China are intermediate goods and raw material and indicate that our exports to China are relatively at the lower end of the value chain. This has created an imbalance in the nature of flows, besides the magnitude of the trade imbalance. An important question that naturally arises is whether the magnitude of the trade deficit has or will be a problem for India in the near future, albeit from a political rather than economic standpoint.

Apart from bilateral trade, investment is a crucial factor that can deepen relationship between India and China. While investment from China is taking place in India, with a major chunk going into manufacturing, it remains much below its potential. To increase investment, India needs to undertake domestic reforms-both at the institutional and infrastructural level. Economic engagement with China can be deepened further if both the countries enter negotiations to sign a Free Trade Agreement which can increase market access, improve bilateral trade and investment. Of course, any such agreement would have to be designed considering the current economic and political relations that India and China share. China's recent step to set up the air defence identification zone is a major security issue that concerns its regional neighbours. In this context, the effect on trade with China and the ensuing security implications are worth exploring.

KRISTY HSU



Kristy Hsu is Associate Research Fellow and Section Chief at the Taiwan WTO Center, and Programme Director at the Taiwan ASEAN Studies Center, Chung Hua Institution for Economic Research (CIER), Taiwan (ROC). Her areas of research interest include international trade policy and economic/trade law, trade and development issues, regional integration, and gender issues. She is also Advisory Member to the Trade and Development Committee, ROC National Confederation of Industries, International Affairs Committee, ROC Chamber of Commerce, and adviser to the Chinese National Association of Industry and Commerce or CNAIC monthly publication CNAIC Magazine, and Standing Supervisor to Taiwan Women Film/Video Association. She was the Executive Secretary and associate research fellow at the Chinese Taipei APEC Study Center, Taiwan Institute of Economic Research (TIER) from 1999-2002; journalist of the Commercial Times in Taiwan from 1989-1998, and Correspondent in Tokyo for the newspaper in 1990.

OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES IN CHINA AND INDIA: TAIWANESE INVESTORS

Kristy Hsu

China and India share a lot of characteristics in common in their economic development: both are outward looking and large developing economies in Asia; ranked as the world's largest and second largest populous country and have comparably advantageous labour cost and abundant labour force to support industrial development. On the other hand, China and India have different economic and industrial structure and level of participation in regional and global production networks and value chains. Taiwan has been an active investor since the 1980s in the Asia Pacific region, but volume of Taiwanese Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) outflows and focus of investment in China and India are extremely different. This paper will discuss, from Taiwanese investors' perspectives, how foreign investors view these two countries and what makes the difference in the two countries by examining the FDI inflows and distribution and partnership with local industries. This paper will also discuss the opportunities and challenges faced by Taiwanese investors in China and India.

Session IV
Resource Stress in Asia

Thursday, February 20, 2014

1100h-1300h

Chairperson

UTTAM KUMAR SINHA



Uttam Kumar Sinha is a Fellow at IDSA and holds an adjunct position at the Malaviya Centre for Peace Research, Benares Hindu University. At IDSA, he is the Managing Editor of *Strategic Analysis* (Routledge), edits the *Strategic Digest* and manages the IDSA website. He leads the IDSA-PRIO institutional cooperation on peace and conflict studies and is also IDSA's lead researcher on the Asiarctic project with Norway. Since 2006, he has been a visiting fellow to the International Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO). In 2008 he was a Chevening 'Gurukul' Scholar at the London School of Economics and Political Science. From 2011-12, he was a CSCAP-India representative for the study group on water resources security. CSCAP is a Track 2 dialogue forum of ASEAN. In 2012, he was elected as Chair of Near East and South Asia Regional Network on Water Dispute Resolution Mechanism, National Defense University, Washington. A doctoral from Jawaharlal Nehru University, he worked in the daily *Pioneer* and wrote the weekly space, 'Strategic Eye'. His research areas focus on non-traditional aspects of security with particularly attention on climate change, transboundary water issues and the Arctic region. His recent monograph explores the Arctic. He co-authored the IDSA Report on India and Water Security: External Dynamics (2010) and also the IDSA Report on Security Implications of Climate Change for India (2009).

BOBBY A TAMAELA WATTIMENA



Bobby A Tamaela Wattimena is Senior Research Associate at Indonesian Institute for Energy Economics (IIEE) and Senior Energy Economist at inQuest Consulting. He was an executive director of IIEE and Pelangi Indonesia Foundation. He works in the field of energy economics and sustainable development. He has works with many national international agencies, such as Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, World Bank, Danida, IEEJ, and World Resource Institute. He is the principal developer of Integrated Indonesian Energy and Environmental Model (IIEEM). He received his Bachelor of Science in Petroleum Engineering from Trisakti University and Master of Science in Economics from University of Indonesia.

ENERGY SECURITY CHALLENGES UNDER LIMITED RESOURCE PRESSURE IN ASIA REGION

Bobby A Tamaela Wattimena

As the economy growth, the energy demand in Asia will increase across time. While the region has been blessed with various indigenous energy resources, the ability those resources to keep up with the increasing demand have been declined. The dependency on imported fuels is unavoidable for some countries in the region. Meanwhile, due to limited energy infrastructures, the available resources cannot be utilized effectively. For developing countries in the region, exposure to volatile world energy price will have some impacts to their economy, especially countries with heavy energy subsidy. Besides their economic strength, the Asian region has also a populous region in the world. In 2012, Asian population was around two third of world population, where China, India and Indonesia were the most populous country in the region. In general, most of the population lives in rural area and relies on agricultural-based economy. However, industrialization across the region for the last decades has created non-agriculture employments that are usually concentrated in the urban area. This paper will show how the energy security in the region will be affected, especially for developing countries, by this condition. What are other factors that can influence the energy security in the region and how the energy security can be improved will also be explored.

MUKUL SANWAL



Mukul Sanwal joined the Indian Administrative Service in 1971, and as Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Environment and Forests represented India in the negotiations leading to the Climate Change Convention, the Forest Principles and Agenda 21, and co-chaired the negotiation group that developed the Rio Declaration, in 1992. He subsequently moved to the United Nations, in 1993, as Policy Adviser, first to the Executive Director of UNEP and later to the Executive Secretary of UNFCCC, and retired from the UN in 2007. He advised the Ministry of Science and Technology in the development of the National Action Plan on Climate Change, in 2008. He has been a member of a number of expert groups and has published extensively on sustainable development, multilateral treaties and conservation. He has a Masters in Public Administration from Harvard University.

WHY WATER POLITICS MATTERS

Mukul Sanwal

The essential question in considering resource stress as a 'threat multiplier' is the nature of the threat - environmental or developmental - and whether the risks are addressed better by promoting cooperation or by preventing conflict. Security has a broader meaning than conflict for an essential resource such as water and climate space, and includes human security, livelihoods and wellbeing as well as having a potential for cooperation between nations. There are a range of assessments of the scope and scale of the problem of use, distribution and scarcity of water in Asia, as the perspectives adopted reflect political rather than scientific or legal considerations. A consensus is emerging that a broader understanding of demand side management is needed rather than focus only on scarcity, seeking to 'securitize' water. This view questions approaches that look at resource scarcity solely in environmental terms leading to the conclusion that managing changing water relations in Asia will become difficult. Reframing the issue in terms of sustainable development provides solutions that will be based on the transformations needed in domestic growth pathways as the urban middle class in Asia triples in size by 2050; the population is also expected to achieve replacement levels around 2015. Both water availability and carbon space, as essential and interlinked natural resources, call for reviewing urban design as new cities are planned so that they use fewer natural resources than existing cities and reshape consumption patterns, modifying longer term trends in natural resource use. The need for trans-boundary cooperation will remain, including mechanisms for sharing information, exchanging experiences and using water and climate change as a basis for wider cooperation.

HUANG YING



Huang Ying is the Director for the Division of Financial Security Studies and an associate researcher with the Institute of World Economics Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR). She earned a master's degree in Economics at China Academy of Social Science (CASS), and a doctoral degree in Law at CICIR. She stayed as a visiting scholar at the York Centre for Asian Research in the York University, Canada from 2007 to 2008. Her research interests cover resources security, international financial situation and cooperation, and regional integration. She has published many papers in the above areas.

URBANISATION AND WATER SECURITY IN CHINA

Huang Ying

As a nation with massive population, uneven distribution of water resources and a world-stunning development speed, China has been obsessed by the problem of water security for a few decades. In the discourse of China's academic research, water security refers to the safe supply of fresh water. After the outbreak of the financial crisis in 2008, Chinese government initiated a plan to accelerate the urbanization process, aiming to expand the domestic demand and facilitate the economic structural change. However, this process will surely exacerbate the water stress the country has already keenly felt for many years. The paper is divided into three parts.

The first part deals with the acute water stress China is now facing and the negative impacts of the rapid urbanization on the water situation. It's predictable that in the next decade the tension between urbanization and water resources in China will further intensify.

The second part explores the Chinese government's measures to take on the water challenge and assess the effectiveness of these measures. Some of them are relocation or redistribution of water resources, such as the big-scale project called "Nanshuibeidiao", which directs river water from south to north. Other measures include turning the sea water into fresh water, water recycling, etc.

The third part looks at the regional dimension of the water problem and makes suggestions on how China can better participate, contribute and benefit from the regional cooperation. This paper argues that although China is taking a more cooperative attitude towards the regional cooperation on water resources, as embodied by a number of river cooperation mechanisms, China needs to take a more future-oriented approach to this issue.

YASHIKA SINGH

Imam Sadiq University, Tehran, Iran



Yashika Singh is the India Economist at Rio Tinto, a world leader in finding, mining and processing the earth's mineral resources. She has over a decade's work experience in various facets of the Indian economy. Her current work involves analyzing the Indian economy's growth prospects and the evolving composition of the growth model, with a view to tracking the evolving resource consumption in the country. She also looks at the various supply side issues impacting the mining industry in India. Yashika has been with Rio Tinto for over 3 years now. Prior to joining Rio Tinto, Yashika headed the Economic Analysis, Research & Advisory functions at Dun & Bradstreet India, based out of Mumbai. She has completed her Masters in Economics from Jawaharlal Nehru University.

INDIA'S RESOURCE ECONOMY: POSSIBLE CHOICES AND PROBABLE OUTCOMES

Yashika Singh

India's economy is set to become more resource intensive over the next two decades as the composition & nature of India's GDP growth changes. Drivers of this growth include increased spending on infrastructure creation, growing rates of urbanization, focus on the manufacturing sector in India etc. Apart from the possible investment push, India's large & young population will continue to provide the impetus to consumption-led growth, the patterns of which will change as well. It was when China had the level of GDP per capita comparable to that of India today that it started to sharply steepen its resource intensity curve. As China has adapted to this movement up the resource curve, it also had to adapt to issues of resource security, sustainability, environmental conservation etc. India may well have to traverse similar paths, and the mining industry in India as much as the country as a whole will need to build capacity to handle these changed paradigms. Policy, technology and management will need to intersect at an opportune point to deliver the most propitious outcome. We review China's experience, and outline the current state of play in India, with the objective of setting up the choices that the country will need to make in the coming decades.

Session V
Ocean Governance in Indo-
Pacific

Thursday, February 20, 2014

1400h-1600h

Chairperson

SUDHIR VYAS



Sudhir Vyas retired recently as Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, after a career spanning over 36 years. He joined the Indian Foreign Service which in 1977 and in the course of his career, Ambassador Vyas served as Ambassador to Germany, Bhutan and the UAE, and held senior diplomatic positions with the Indian Missions in Pakistan, Permanent Mission of India to the UN at New York, as well as in Nepal, Dar-es-Salaam, Egypt and Algeria. As Secretary, Ambassador Vyas was closely associated with Indian Ocean affairs during India's Chairmanship of the Indian Ocean Rim Association (formerly IORARC, now IORA) during a crucial period in its development as an effective instrument that can respond to the interests of its members and to the governance requirements of this maritime domain.

K V BAGHIRATH



K V Baghirath is Secretary General of Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC) since January 2012. Ambassador Baghirath joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1979. During his diplomatic career spanning over three decades, he had assignments in West Asia, Latin America, Europe and Africa. He was posted in Damascus from 1981 to 1983, in Havana, from 1989 to 1993, in London, from 1993 to 1997, in Mauritius from 1997 to 2001, in Paris from 2004 to 2007, and in Dar es Salaam, from October, 2007 to 2011. As the Secretary-General of the IOR-ARC, he serves as the Chief Administrative Officer of the Secretariat and performs its function in accordance with terms and conditions provided in the Charter and the Rules of Procedure. The Secretary-General represents IOR-ARC Secretariat at the Council of Ministers, Committee of Senior Officials and Working Groups the meetings, reporting the proceedings and decisions of the meetings and to follow-up implementation of the decisions.

THE GEO-STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF THE INDIAN OCEAN

K V Baghirath

The geo-strategic importance of the Indian Ocean cannot be underestimated in the growing Indo-Pacific architecture. It is regarded as the lifeline of international trade and economy as the region is woven together by trade routes and has control over the major sea-lanes. The Indian Ocean is now emerging as a new theatre of maritime cooperation with focus on securing sea-lanes and maritime governance. The Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), the apex organization in the Indian Ocean, is well positioned to play a significant role in ocean governance in the region. Cooperation in maritime safety and security has been placed as a top priority of the Association. It is in this area that the interests of IORA member countries largely converge. The IORA is, therefore, envisioned as the regional body which can curb the threats to maritime trade and enhance the collective action to deal with the contemporary challenges associated with the maritime domain.

The IORA also offers a useful platform for exchanging information, sharing best practices and developing legislative frameworks to strengthen the governance over maritime resources. The establishment of a Maritime Transport Council and the Fisheries Support Unit is an indication of the importance that the IORA attaches to marine resource development and cooperation. Moreover, the IORA will be hosting a series of events as from the beginning of 2014 on issues related to maritime safety and security in the region in order to encourage the member countries to consider concrete proposals of cooperation in this sector to ensure the economic prosperity of the IOR region. Lastly, it is to be noted that the IORA Troika today comprises India, as past Chair, Australia as Chair and Indonesia as Vice Chair and future Chair, to be followed by South Africa. Four of the biggest powers of the Indian Ocean heading the IORA, all members of G-20, for the rest of this decade is bound to have a paradigm shift in this region.

You Ji



You Ji is currently a senior visiting research fellow, East Asian Institute, the National University of Singapore and also holds a Reader's position at School of Social Sciences, the University of New South Wales. He graduated from the Peking University and Australian National University. He is author of three books, including *the Armed Forces of China*, and numerous articles. His papers appear in journals such as *the Problem of Communism*, *the International Journal of Korea Unification Studies*, *the China Journal*, *the Pacific Review*, *Comparative Strategy*, *Asia Policy*, *Japanese Studies*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *the Naval War College Review*, *Strategic Analysis*, *Journal of Contemporary China*, *Contemporary Security Policy and Issues & Studies*. You Ji is on the editorial board of *the China Journal*; *Provincial China*; *East Asia Policy*; *Asian and Middle East Studies*, *Issue and Studies*, *Sociology and Criminology* and *Journal of Contemporary China*.

MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF A LA CARTE MARITIME DISORDER IN THE INDO-PACIFIC REGION

You Ji

Currently there is no viable governance model for managing maritime security challenges in the Indo-Pacific region. This dangerous reality has existed for a long time but at the moment it is particularly serious amidst mounting territorial disputes. When the regional effort to construct an effective governance model for maritime security for all in the region meets the insurmountable sovereignty clash, the former becomes painfully inadequate.

US pivot may render the challenge more dynamic, as its ends to maintain maritime stability may have been compromised by its means embedded in picking the sides in the conflict through hedging against China through enhanced military pressure. China will not sit in idle. Its naval build-up and reactive assertiveness in protecting its sovereignty interests have furthered a regional action-reaction dynamics that undermines both confidence in constructing a governance mechanism and balance of power between the disputants. Yet this paper argues that while territorial disputes are not resolvable, they are manageable if the governance model is realistically set on maintenance of the status quo as the first step for a long and gradual process of conflict resolution. There is still hope.

LAN-ANH T NGUYEN



Lan-Anh T Nguyen is Director of the Centre for Legal Studies of the Institute for East Sea (South China Sea) and Vice Dean of the International Law Faculty of the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam. She was a research fellow and currently a global associate of the Center for International Law, National University of Singapore. Dr. Nguyen received her Ph.D. in International Law from University of Bristol, the UK, and L.L.M. from University of Sheffield. She has research interests in ocean law and policy, maritime security, and the South China Sea issues. Her main duties in the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam include teaching for undergraduate students, postgraduate students and mid-career officials; doing research; attending national and track II international workshops on international relations and international law; and providing advisory opinions to Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam on ocean law and policy, particularly concerning the South China Sea issues.

THE QUEST FOR EFFECTIVE OCEAN MANAGEMENT IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

Lan-Anh T Nguyen

Centrally located in the Indo-Pacific, the South China Sea is not only a sea of rich resources, but also a sea of disputes and potential conflicts. Managing the South China Sea for regional stability and sustainable development has long been the quest and desire of the littoral states. State practices offer variety of options for ocean management in the South China Sea. Joint development, joint fishing and cooperation in marine environment protection are among the models that can be applied for resource management. Establishing forum for dialogues and management of overlapping claims, such as through clarification of claims, mediation or conciliation, and through establishing mechanism for dispute settlement are the ways for dispute management. Rules of engagement, procedures for contingency and channels for communication have proved their success in conflict management in many parts of the world. Despite various options from good practices, the sensitivity of sovereignty claims still stands as the main obstacle to ocean management in the South China Sea. In such context, the most feasible way forward for better ocean governance in the South China Sea might be conflict management that involve more confidence building, cooperative approach and less of the competing sovereignty claims. Extra-regional countries sharing the common interests of a peaceful and stable South China Sea may contribute to this endeavour by raising initiatives and help the littoral states build rules and mechanisms for better conflict management.

ANUP SINGH



Anup Singh was commissioned in the Indian Navy in 1973 and retired as Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Eastern Naval Command in 2011. During his career, he commanded four warships: Matanga, Veer, Ranvir and Delhi. His last seagoing appointment was that of Flag Officer Commanding Western Fleet wherein he led Operation SUKOON, the evacuation of civilians from war-torn Lebanon in July 2006. His key appointments ashore included Assistant Controller of Warship Production/Acquisitions and Carrier Projects; Chief Instructor (Navy) at the Defence Services Staff College; Chief of Staff, Western Naval Command; Deputy Chief of Naval Staff; Deputy Chief of Integrated Defence Staff. He was the Sailing Master of the first ever square-rigged Sail Training Vessel in India, named 'Varuna', during 1980-82. He also skippered the Naval Yacht 'Samudra' for her Pacific crossing during the Tri Service round-the-world voyage in 1989.

TIME TO DISCIPLINE THE SEA LAWYERS

Anup Singh

The foundations of the principle of the seas being a “Great Common” were first laid by Hugo Grotius in the 17th Century. Till then the dictum, “*might is right*”, had ruled the waves, making John Seldon’s epistle “*Mare Closum*”, or the Controlled Seas, as a norm practiced by some Great Powers. Grotius’ rejoinder through his treatise, “*Mare Liberum*”, or the Free Seas, had received widespread acceptance, leading to a transformation in the way the oceans have been used since.

The successful conclusion and subsequent ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982, was a landmark and is considered as ‘one of the greatest’ because it dealt with a most contentious subject of codifying a set of rules for governing the seas including establishment of maritime zones.

Over the years, many a protocol and amendment have been added to the Convention, based on experience gained from disputes and incidents at sea. However, two areas that still remain short of resolution include: Article XI, and an ever increasing appetite amongst some coastal states to stake claims to larger pies of the ocean as part of their maritime zones. In some cases states have staked their claims on island territories that are also claimed, or have been under the jurisdiction of, other states.

In some cases, such disputes have a historical background and are somewhat understandable; but it is those that have suddenly erupted on fallacious grounds which are leading to a cold-war like scenario. The Indo-Pacific, in particular, takes a majority of the blame for these disputes that threaten an already “fragile” peace in this region. It is time that a review of the last Convention (UNCLOS III) was undertaken on a war footing, to cleanse the existing statute of its grey areas and to discipline all stake holders of the oceans, so that good order can be restored through consensus on a new set of principles. Time to frame “UNCLOS IV”!

Session VI

Assessing Risks: Cyber and Critical Infrastructure

Thursday, February 20, 2014

1615h-1800h

Chairperson

NEHCHAL SANDHU



Nehchal Sandhu was appointed Deputy National Security Adviser in the Indian Prime Minister's Office in March 2013. He joined the covenanted Indian Police Service in 1973 and put in more than 39 years before his retirement. During his early years in the service he spent five years in field level policing, involving prevention of crime, investigation, detection and prosecution in specific jurisdictions in the eastern Indian province of Bihar. Thereafter, Nehchal Sandhu spent more than 34 years in the federal Intelligence Bureau, during the last two years of which tenure he headed this Bureau as its Director. During much of this period, his duties related to the countering of terrorism, analysis of disruptive trends, security management and technological upgradation. He served overseas in Canada as Counsellor in the High Commission of India in Ottawa in the mid 1990s. He was Chairman of the Asia Pacific World Regional Office of the International Association of Chiefs of Police for two years (2011 and 2012). Nehchal Sandhu is the recipient of the Indian Police Medal for Meritorious Service (1988), President's Police Medal for Distinguished Service (1998), and several Commendations. Nehchal Sandhu graduated with Honours in Science from St. Stephen's College, Delhi and maintains a keen interest in technological developments.

GULSHAN RAI



Gulshan Rai is the Director General, CERT-In (Indian Computer Emergency Response Team) and Group Coordinator of E-Security and Cyber Law Division in the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology. Earlier he was Executive Director, ERNET India and he was instrumental in setting up of the first large scale education and research network. He has been working since 1998 in the area of evolving legal framework to address issues arising out of cyberspace resulting in the Information Technology Act and recent amendments in the Act. Rai holds a doctoral degree and MTech, and has published several papers, and reports on e-commerce, cyber security, cyber laws, education and networking and has presented the same in several national and international conferences.

CYBER SECURITY THREAT AND STATES' INITIATIVES FOR SECURING CYBER SPACE

Gulshan Rai

The IT sector has become one of the most significant growth catalysts for the Indian economy. As computers and networking become more ubiquitous, cyber attacks are proliferating, elevating cyber security to a national concern. The anonymous and virtual characteristics of cyber space provide opportunities for criminal exploitation of cyberspace and at the same time complicate attribution and investigation. Cyber attacks by hostile organizations, enemy nation-states and organized criminals are on the rise, threatening governments, business and individuals by attempting to extract technical, financial, strategic, and national security information. There have been growing numbers of attacks like website intrusions, network probing, targeted attacks to steal information, identity theft (phishing) and disruption of services through Distributed Denial of Service (DDoS) attacks.

Large networks of compromised systems called as Botnets facilitates a number of malicious cyber activities such as Spam, Malware hosting, Phishing, Click-fraud, Distributed Denial of Service attacks etc. There is rise in the specialized Trojans and malware targeting financial sector. Sophisticated malware are being used as cyber weapons capable of stealing information and causing disruption in functionalities of Industrial Control Systems, SCADA and Critical infrastructure. Cyber attackers are also actively using growing social media and mobile phones to launch phishing attacks, malware propagation and creation & operation of botnets.

Considering the dynamic nature of the cyber space, governments have taken several steps on enhancing the cyber security posture. The paper discusses the trend of rise of malicious activities in the cyber space and the steps taken by the Governments to strengthen the security of the infrastructure.

TIMOTHY LEGRAND



Timothy Legrand is currently a Research Fellow of the Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security (CEPS) where he is engaged on an Australian Research Council project looking at Vulnerable Infrastructures and Government Coordination. Legrand completed his PhD in Political Science at the University of Birmingham in 2008. His thesis, *The Politics and Pathways of Policy Transfer*, explored the processes by which policymakers learn from the experiences of their overseas counterparts. This research involved a series of interviews with policy officials in the UK, US, Canada, and Australia. He is the co-editor of a volume with Allan McConnell on *International Perspectives in Emergency Policy* (Ashgate, forthcoming). Prior to joining Griffith University, Legrand worked with the UK Home Office, Department of Children, Schools and Families, Ministry of Justice and Department of Health as a specialist policy advisor.

SASKIA HUFNAGEL



Saskia Hufnagel is a Research Fellow within the 'Vulnerable Infrastructures' Project at the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security (CEPS). She has a PhD from the Australian National University and was previously employed as Assistant Professor at the University of Canberra. Within the 'Vulnerable Infrastructures' Project her work focuses on comparing legal frameworks in Australia and the EU, particularly in the field of mass gatherings, maritime and aviation security. She co-edited *Cross-border Law Enforcement - Regional Law Enforcement Cooperation - European, Australian and Asia-Pacific Perspectives* (Routledge, 2011). Hufnagel is a qualified German legal professional and accredited specialist in criminal law.

**RISK AND RESILIENCE: INTERNATIONAL APPROACHES TO
VULNERABLE INFRASTRUCTURE PROTECTION**

Timothy Legrand & Saskia Hufnagel

Governments around the world are confronted by a growing dilemma. While finance, manufacturing, food supply, energy and communications sectors- to name just a few - are increasingly internationalised (and digitised) in pursuit of greater efficiency gains, these processes often operate beyond the control of domestic governments. In this interdependent globalised economy, crises resulting from crime, terrorism, disaster or negligence that affect one country or sector can have immediate and devastating consequences for another. As a result, governments face a diminishing capacity to address emerging threats from organised crime, terrorism, turbulent financial markets, cyberspace, natural disasters, and so on. In this presentation we set out the changing nature of 'threats' to the state and discuss the new strategies pursued by government towards increased cooperation and collaboration with international partners to offset these threats. We draw on two sectors in particular: first, the use of military and law enforcement networks to detect risks and destroy terrorist and criminal enterprise and respond to crisis; second, the nascent efforts to tackle cyber-crime and cyber-terrorism by constructing an international consensus on cyber-governance.

SIMON BRONITT



Simon Bronitt was appointed Director of CEPS at Griffith University in 2009. Prior to this appointment he was Professor of Law in the ANU College of Law in Canberra and Associate Director of the Australian Centre for Military Law and Justice, ANU. Between 2003-9 he served as the Director of the National Europe Centre - an EU funded Centre - in the Research School of Humanities at ANU. Drawing on comparative and interdisciplinary perspectives, he has published widely on criminal justice topics ranging across terrorism law and human rights, covert policing, family violence, and mental health policing. Simon Bronitt principal publications include two leading textbooks, *Principles of Criminal Law* (3rd ed, Thomson Reuters 2010) and *Law in Context* (4th ed, Federation Press, 2012).

ASHUTOSH MISRA



Ashutosh Misra is Research Fellow/ Associate Investigator at the *Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security* (CEPS). Currently, he is developing two projects on 'the legality of drones under international law' and 'crime and corruption in international sport'. On the latter subject, he has successfully facilitated CEPS' collaboration with INTERPOL. He is also a visiting faculty with the National Security College at the Australian National University. Prior to migrating to Australia in 2007 he was a Research Fellow (2002-2007) at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. He has published extensively including three books: *Pakistan's Stability Paradox*, (London: Routledge, 2012); *India-Pakistan: Coming to Terms* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) and *Pakistan: Engagement of the Extremes* (New Delhi: IDSA and Shipra, 2008).

USE OF LETHAL FORCE AND MILITARY AID TO CIVIL POWER AUSTRALIA AND INDIA: SHARING LESSONS IN COUNTER-TERRORISM

Simon Bronitt & Ashutosh Misra

Australia and India have suffered from acts of terrorism at home and abroad. Since 2001, more than 100 Australian lives have been lost overseas through acts of terrorism. India's protracted battle with terrorism since 1994 has cost over 62,000 lives. Counter-terrorism law and policy has been a first-line defence for safeguarding borders, infrastructure and citizens. India's over-stretched security apparatus is being overhauled, but this raises the question whether the new measures are 'fit for purpose'. This paper examines the use of force in relation to counter-terrorism, and whether existing powers (including the power to use pre-emptive lethal force against terror cells or hijacked planes) comply with the relevant international, constitutional and domestic laws relating to human rights, as well as fundamental liberal ideals related to the Rule of Law and separation of powers. Unlike India, Australia lacks a constitutional Bill of Rights - the protection of the rights to human dignity, life, liberty and property rest upon constant judicial vigilance and innovative approaches to the judicial development of the common law. This comparative study focuses on some of the more controversial uses of force and explores what can India learn from the Australian experience, and vice versa. The strategic partnership between the two countries, consolidated by the recent establishment of a Joint Working Group on Counter Terrorism, provides the ideal opportunity for identifying what lessons (if any) can be shared to improve counter-terrorism strategies in both countries.

Session VII
India's Response: A Panel
Discussion

Friday, February 21, 2014

1030h-1300h

PATRICK SUCKLING



Patrick Suckling has been High Commissioner to India since January 2013. Previous overseas assignments include Washington (2003 2007) and New Delhi (1997 1999). Between 2009 2011 he managed international issues for two Prime Ministers of Australia, encompassing foreign, economic and international aid policy. This included Australia's active participation in the establishment of the G20 as the world's premier global economic forum and expansion of the East Asia Summit to strengthen regional architecture. In 2007, Mr Suckling was an adviser to the Australian Foreign Minister. Mr Suckling has combined foreign policy with trade and economic policy throughout his career, including serving as Australia's senior official to the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum in 2008 and as a senior official to the Paris Club for international debt negotiations in 2003. This extended to his oversight of the partial privatisation of Australia's export credit agency, the Export Finance and Insurance Corporation (EFIC), in 2000. Mr Suckling joined the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in 1994. He holds a Master of International Relations from Monash University and honours degrees in economics and English literature from the University of Sydney. He also holds a graduate diploma in Hindi from Sydney University. He is married with three children.

S D MUNI



S D Muni is currently Distinguished Fellow at the IDSA. He was India's Special Envoy to Southeast Asian countries on UN Security Council Reforms (2005-06) and served as India's Ambassador to Lao PDR (1997-1999). In 2005, the Sri Lankan President bestowed on him 'Sri Lanka Ratna', the highest civilian honour for a non-national. He superannuated from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi in 2006 and had held the Appadorai Chair of International Relations and Area Studies. He was the founder Editor of Indian Foreign Affairs Journal, (Cambridge University Press, India) and South Asia Journal, (Sage India). He served Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi, as Director of Research (2006-2007). A founder Executive Member of the Regional Centre of Strategic Studies, Colombo, Prof. Muni was nominated to India's first National Security Advisory Board in 1990-91. He addressed the UN Ad hoc Committee on Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace at Socci (then USSR) in 1985. Professor Muni's recent publications include *The Emerging Dimension of SAARC* (2010); *India's Foreign Policy: The Democracy Factor*, (2009); *India and China: The Next Decade* (2009) and *China's Strategic Engagement with the New ASEAN* (2002).

P STOB DAN



P Stobdan is an academician, diplomat, author and foreign policy/national security analyst. He is a student of Asian affairs and closely follows developments in China, Central Asia and High Asia. He has written extensively on a wide range of security-related subjects in a number of professional journals on strategic affairs and books. Ambassador Stobdan is a regular commentator on foreign policy and security affairs in Indian dailies i.e., Indian Express, Times of India and others. He served in Central Asia twice. His last posting diplomatic assignment was in Bishkek where he served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of India to Kyrgyzstan. Earlier he had served as Joint Director in the National Security Council Secretariat (NSCS) and Director/ Professor of the Centre for Strategic and Regional Studies at the University of Jammu. He is the Founding President of the Ladakh International Centre, Leh (India). Currently, Ambassador is a Senior Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. His book *CENTRAL ASIA: Democracy, Instability and Strategic Game in Kyrgyzstan* has been recently published by IDSA.

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Rajiv Nayan is a Senior Research Associate at IDSA. He specializes in export control, non-proliferation, and arms control. He was a Visiting Research Fellow at Japan Institute of International Affairs, Tokyo; a Senior Visiting Research Fellow at King's College London and a Visiting Fulbright Scholar at the Center on International Cooperation, New York University. He holds a PhD in Disarmament Studies from the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Dr Nayan is on the Executive Council of the Indian Pugwash Society and is a member of the governing council of the International Export Controls Association, University of Georgia, Washington, DC. He is also a member of the Export Controls Experts Group and Multilateral Security Governance in Northeast Asia/North Pacific of the Council for Security Cooperation in Asia Pacific (CSCAP) and is an Indian partner of Fissile Materials Working Group (FMWG), a Washington-based group of Non-Governmental Organisations on nuclear security. He was a Member, Regional Network of Strategic Studies Centers' Weapons of Mass Destruction/Border Security Working Group.

SRIKANTH KONDAPALLI



Srikanth Kondapalli is Professor in Chinese Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University. He has a Ph.D. in Chinese Studies and learnt Chinese language at Beijing Language & Culture University and was a post-Doctoral Visiting Fellow at People's University, Beijing from 1996-98. He served IDSA for nearly 12 years. He was a Visiting Professor at National Chengchi University, Taipei in 2004, a Visiting Fellow at China Institute of Contemporary International Relations, Beijing in May 2007, an Honorary Professor at Shandong University, Jinan in 2009, 2011 and 2013 and a Fellow at Salzburg Global Seminar in 2010. He has written two books, two monographs, co-edited three volumes and a number of articles in journals and edited volumes - all on China. He received the *K Subramanyam Award* in 2010 for Excellence in Research in Strategic and Security Studies.

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