



Conference Booklet

5th

South Asia Conference

on

Cooperative Security Framework for South Asia

November 15-16, 2011

Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses

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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENCE
STUDIES & ANALYSES



CONFERENCE BOOKLET

5th South Asia Conference

on

**COOPERATIVE SECURITY FRAMEWORK
FOR SOUTH ASIA**

November 15-16, 2011

Organised by



**Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses
New Delhi**



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ABOUT IDSA

The Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) is a non-partisan, autonomous body, dedicated to objective and policy relevant defence and security research issues. The Institute has been in the forefront of debates on security in India, promoting public awareness on strategic issues of relevance to India and the world.

Established in New Delhi on November 11, 1965, at the initiative of the then Defence Minister, Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, IDSA has over the years, played a crucial role in shaping India's foreign and security policies, including policies on nuclear weapons, military expenditure and conventional and non-conventional threats to India.

Our mission is to promote national and international security through the generation and dissemination of knowledge on defence and security-related issues.

Research Activities

IDSA promotes research and strategic culture through publications, conferences and seminars. Major publications are refereed and important conferences are held annually.

Research Clusters

South Asia

Eurasia

Military Affairs

Nuclear and USA

West Asia and Africa

China & Southeast Asia

Terrorism & Internal Security

Defence Economics & Industry

Non - Military Threats, Energy & Economic Security

Strategic Technologies, Modeling & Net Assessment

SOUTH ASIA CONFERENCE

The South Asia Conference is organized by the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. The annual South Asia conference is an endeavour of the institute to bring together experts from all the neighbouring countries and discuss with them issues of contemporary relevance in an increasingly interdependent South Asia.

Since the countries in the South Asian region not only share many features of governance and structures but also face similar challenges, the IDSA conferences have attempted to engage policy makers, academics, civil societies and experts in a dialogue on key concerns with the objective to achieve sustainable peace and security. This is the 5th South Asia Conference.

Previous South Asia Conferences have dealt with the following issues.

- ◆ Economic Cooperation for Security & Development in South Asia
- ◆ Changing Political Context in India's Neighbourhood and Prospects of Security and Regional Cooperation
- ◆ South Asia 2020: Towards Cooperation or Conflict?
- ◆ The Common Challenge of Terrorism in South Asia and Prospect of Regional Cooperation



CONCEPT NOTE

In an era of globalisation, countries are facing enormous and multifaceted challenges. Incidents in a particular region of the world have trans-national ramifications. As a result, a single country cannot face the challenges effectively without the support or cooperation of other countries. What makes the situation even more daunting is the expanding scope of security, and the interconnection between traditional and non-traditional security concerns. The complex security situation around the world has compelled many countries in different regions of the world (for example, Europe and South East Asia) to adopt a cooperative security framework (CSF) to fight common challenges together. Of late, there has been some realisation about the need to evolve a cooperative security framework in South Asia with the emergence of common challenges in the region. For example, Pakistan, which was hesitating to act against terror, has itself become a victim of it and displayed its willingness to be part of a common regional effort to fight terror under SAARC. The impact of climate change (flash floods, tsunami, drought, sub-continental cyclone, rising of sea levels in the Indian Ocean) has become so severe that the countries in the region are now working towards a common platform to mitigate that. However, no serious efforts have yet been made towards the evolution of a “cooperative security framework (CSF)” in South Asia.

Since the end of the cold war, some debates and discussions have taken place in the region on this theme. Available literature focusing on challenges argue that the notion of cooperative security in South Asia has not taken roots due to the following factors: absence of an external aggressor, peculiar geographical situation, historical baggage, fear of gradual Indianisation of the sub-continent, lack of trust amongst the countries in the region, perpetual enmity between India and Pakistan and last, but not the least, the non-alignment movement in the 1950s. While the cold war contributed to and sharpened the process of regional cooperation in Europe and South East Asia, it fomented instability in the South Asian region. Instead of working together and developing a

regional outlook, India's neighbours have sometimes chosen to rely on external powers to augment their security. Efforts to tackle issues of common concern in a collective and cooperative manner were held hostage to mutual mistrust which also led sometimes to inter-state conflicts.

Some scholars have observed that SAARC could be the right platform towards this endeavor. Certain steps have already been taken with regard to the common challenge of terrorism. For instance, SAARC Regional Convention on Suppression of Terrorism, 1988 and additional protocol to this convention, 2004. Progress on SAFTA and tariff reduction for the LDC of the region are some commendable steps adopted by SAARC. The India-Pakistan dialogue held on the sidelines of various summits also suggests that SAARC could be the right platform to iron out differences. However, others have observed that SAARC is inherently incapable of being a substitute for a much-needed common cooperative security architecture in South Asia. It does not deal with regional security issues and therefore it has focused only on non-traditional security issues. Most importantly, the debate on the CSF in South Asia is mostly centered on the problems between India and Pakistan and other issues are usually neglected. Much of the literature argues for the evolution of a comprehensive security system, which could provide a mechanism for identification of issues and challenges in the region. They do not talk about the need for any institutional mechanism for ensuring cooperative security in the region.

While the concept of collective security and collective self-defence evolved during the cold war era with the objective of mitigating traditional security concerns of states, concepts like common security, comprehensive security, and human security, mostly came to the fore in the post cold war period by bringing traditional and non-traditional security (NTS) issues together in international politics. Cooperative security as it is understood puts emphasis on interdependence and cooperation both at intra and inter-regional levels.

Radical political changes have taken place in South Asia after the cold war. Almost all countries have adopted democratic structures at present and are making efforts to check the influence of non-democratic forces



in their societies. Two major internal security challenges, i.e., the LTTE and Maoist insurgency in Nepal, have been, more or less, resolved. Except Pakistan and Afghanistan, other conflict theatres in South Asia are relatively under control. Terrorism has surfaced as a common challenge for all countries in the region, including Pakistan. Economic relations between South Asian countries are improving. India is persuading its neighbours to participate in its growing economy and benefit from it. It has expressed its willingness to engage Pakistan despite subversive activities with known cross-border linkages. The fact remains that in spite of all this a workable cooperative security framework, which could enable regional cooperation on an expanding range of security issues, is yet to be conceived.

However, keeping in view the positive political transformation that is taking place in different countries, the region might be at the crossroads of a major change. The objective of the conference is to discuss various concepts relating to cooperative security, critically analyse such frameworks in different regions and explore whether it is possible and practicable in the South Asian region.

The 5th South Asian Conference being organised by the IDSA this year aims to bring together scholars, experts and analysts to reflect on the issues related to the prospects of evolution of a cooperative security framework in South Asia. Following research questions will be discussed in the various sessions of the conference.

1. What is the status of debate on cooperative security architecture in South Asia and what are the various concepts related to it?
2. What are the enabling factors for the emergence of a cooperative security framework in South Asia? What are the common challenges confronting the states and what steps they are taking at the individual and collective level to meet them?
3. Given the history of conflict and cooperation in South Asia, is it practical to expect that the South Asian states can evolve a cooperative security framework in the region? What are the factors inhibiting progress towards cooperative security framework despite positive changes in the region and at the global level?

4. What role can SAARC play to enable an effective dialogue on cooperative security in south Asia? Will Track-II initiatives be of any help?
5. What are the existing models of cooperative security in different regions of the world? What model would be appropriate for South Asia?



CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

November 15, 2011

0900 – 0930	Registration
0930 – 1000	Inaugural Session
Opening Remarks	Shri N S Sisodia, Director General, IDSA
Inauguration	Shri A K Antony, Hon'ble Raksha Mantri
Vote of Thanks	Dr Arvind Gupta, LBSC, IDSA
1000 – 1030	Tea
1030 – 1300	Session I

Is There a Need for Cooperative Security Framework in South Asia?

This session will focus on the concept of cooperative security in South Asia and will also explore the need for a cooperative security architecture in the South Asian context.

Chair: N S Sisodia

S D Muni	<i>Security Architecture in South Asia: Conceptual Parameters</i>
Shahid Javed Burki	<i>New Opportunities for Populous Asia</i>
Farooq Sobhan	<i>Cooperative Security Framework in South Asia: A Bangladesh Perspective</i>
Ahmed Shaheed	<i>Maritime Security Cooperation in South Asia: A Maldivian Perspective</i>
Daoud Sultanzoy	<i>Prospects of Cooperative Security Framework for Afghanistan</i>
W I Siriweera	<i>Cooperative Security Framework for South Asia: A Sri Lankan Perspective</i>
	<i>Question and Answer</i>
1300 – 1400	Lunch

1400 – 1630 Session II

Security Challenges for South Asia: Traditional and Non-Traditional Security

What are the key non-traditional security challenges to South Asia? How do these impact South Asian securities as a whole? What is the nature of interaction between non-traditional security and traditional security?

Chair: I P Khosla

Shaista Tabassum *Should India and Pakistan Look Beyond Indus Water Treaty? Why and How?*

PK Gautam *A Cooperative Security Framework – Environment and Climate Change*

Saifullah Ahmadzai *Non-Traditional Security in Afghanistan*

Dushni Weerakoon *Cooperative Security Framework for South Asia: Economic Development and Regional Integration*

Chhimi Dorji *Climate Change in Security: A Case Study from Bhutan*

Medha Bisht *Engaging 'Water' in South Asia: Is Cooperative Security Plausible? Question and Answer*



November 16, 2011

0930 – 1300

Session I

Is Cooperative Security Feasible in South Asia?

Given the history of conflict and cooperation in South Asia, what are the challenges to evolving a cooperative security framework for South Asia? What are the possible models? Are they feasible? How to realize them?

Chair: Tan Tai Yong

Srinath Raghavan *Regional Integration in South Asia: Possibility or Pipe Dream*

Rajan Bhattarai *Cooperative Security in South Asia: Prospects and Challenges*

Chaminda D Hettiarachchi *Cooperation on Maritime Security in South Asia*

Smruti S Pattanaik & Nihar Nayak *Does South Asia Need a Cooperative Security Architecture?*

Mahwish Hafeez *Cooperative Security in South Asia: An Elusive Dream or the Need of Hour*

Question and Answer

1300 – 1400

Lunch

1400 – 1600 Session II (Panel Discussion)

The Way Ahead

What are the mechanisms? Panelists will give their views on how they see the way forward. They will also interact with audience.

Chair: S D Muni

Daoud Sultanzoy Afghanistan

Shahid Zaved Burki Pakistan

Farooq Sobhan Bangladesh

Anjoo S Upadhyaya India

Hla Than Moung Myanmar

1600 – 1610 Vote of thanks

1610 – 1620 Tea

PROFILES OF PARTICIPANTS

&

ABSTRACTS

**A K ANTONY**

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



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, 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.

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

NARENDRA SISODIA

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Shri 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.

**ARVIND GUPTA**

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Dr. Arvind Gupta is an officer of the Indian Foreign Service. 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.

I P KHOSLA

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Ambassador IP Khosla was educated at St. Stephens College, Delhi University and Emmanuel College, Cambridge, MA (Economics). He joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1960 and served initially in Vienna and Algiers, where he helped to establish the Embassy, and in Myanmar. He has also served as Counsellor (POL) in London. Thereafter he served as India's Ambassador to Bhutan, High Commissioner to Bangladesh, Ambassador to Afghanistan, and to the Netherlands.

He was Secretary to government in the Ministry of External Affairs, 1989-92. He retired from service in 1996.

He has written extensively on security issues including non-traditional security, as also on other matters relating to India's external interests, particularly India's relations with South Asian neighbours, and SAARC. He is currently Member Secretary of the Indian Council for South Asian Cooperation and Editor-in-Chief of South Asian Survey, the biannual journal/publication of the Council.

**TAN TAI YONG**

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Professor Tan Tai Yong is currently teaching at the Department of History in the National University of Singapore. He has also been the Director of Institute of South Asian Studies since 2008. Professor Yong obtained his first two degrees - BA (Hons), 1986, and MA, 1989, - from National University of Singapore. He earned his doctorate in South Asian history in 1992 from Cambridge. His present research interests include: India and Southeast Asia, Port Cities and Diaspora Networks and Post-1947 History of India. He has several books, articles and monographs to his credit. Some of his recent publications include: *Singapore Khalsa Association*, 2006; *The Garrison State: The Military, Government and Society in Colonial Punjab, 1849–1947*, 2005; *Creating Greater Malaysia: Decolonisation and the Politics of Merger*, 2008; *A 700 Year History of Singapore. From Classical Emporium to World City* (with Kwa Chong Guan and Derek Heng), 2009; *Socio-Political and Economic Challenges in South Asia*, 2009; *South Asia Societies in Political and Economic Transition*, 2010; ‘The Evolution of India-ASEAN Relations’ in *India Review*, 8(1), Jan-Mar 2009. *Early Southeast Asian Maritime Trade and Historical overview of pre-colonial Singapore in Maritime Heritage of Singapore*. 2005; *The Indian Ocean – Arab and Indian Trades in Maritime Heritage of Singapore*, 2005; *Early Entrepot Portal – Trade and Founding of Singapore in Maritime Heritage of Singapore*, 2005; ‘Singapore’s Story: A Port City in Search of Hinterlands’, in Arndt Graf and Chua Beng Huat (ed), *Port Cities in Asia and Europe*, 2009; ‘The Armed Forces and Politics in Singapore’, in Marcus Mietzner, *The Political Resurgence of the Military in Southeast Asia. Conflict and Leadership*, 2009.

S D MUNI

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Professor Sukh Deo Muni is a visiting Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of South Asian Studies of National University of Singapore. Prof. Muni, also a Senior Visiting Scholar, Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, and Editor of *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, superannuated from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India in 2006 after 33 years of teaching and research service. He also served as Professor of Political Science at Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, India (1985-86). In 1997, he was appointed India's Ambassador to Laos and his services were again availed by the Government of India in 2005 when he was sent as a Special Envoy to Lao PDR and Cambodia to plead India's case for UN Security Council Reforms.

Professor Muni has held several visiting academic assignments abroad. The Institutions he was affiliated to during these assignments include, Australian National University, Canberra (1979-80) & Monash Asia Institute, Melbourne (2003-2005), Australia; American University and School Of Advanced international Studies, (1986) Washington; Oxford University (1993);UK, Institute of Developing Economies (1993), Tokyo; Swedish Institute of International Affairs (1987), Sweden, Peace Research Institute, Oslo (1992-93); Norway; Institute of SE Asian Studies (1996) and the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies of the Nanyang Technological University (2001), Singapore. In 2005, the Sri Lankan President bestowed on him "Sri Lanka Ratna", the highest Sri Lankan national honour for a non-national.



SECURITY ARCHITECTURE IN SOUTH ASIA: CONCEPTUAL PARAMETERS

S D Muni

Despite its visible and loud political and strategic cleavages, South Asia is amenable to be built as a security community. The political and strategic cleavages appear to be rather exaggerated and artificial when looked at in contrast to the vast areas of contiguity and the constituencies of harmony rooted into its geographical location and composition, long common history, deep cultural similarities, extensive economic overlap and strong social and ethnic bonds. It was the post-colonial recasting of the Indian sub-continent's national and sovereign identities that gave birth to political cleavages to be nursed and reinforced by fifty long and bitter years of the Cold War.

The basic requirement of any security community *a la* Barry Buzan is a common threat from an *external* source, which surely does not exist in clearly defined terms in South Asia, at least as yet. But there is a common challenge to South Asia's peace and stability faced by all the countries from poverty, underdevelopment and terrorism. Can this common threat nudge South Asian countries towards a relationship of community? Do the countries of South Asia have common stakes in each other's stability which is being jeopardized by this common threat? Yet another requirement of a strategic architecture or building a security community would be the availability of affordable resources to meet the common threat. These resources will have to be varied and diverse because we are taking into account the threats emanating both internally and externally and of the nature, not entirely military. But if these resources to provide security at the regional level are not equal in size and value, as they cannot be in as highly a power-imbalanced region as South Asia is, then the question would arise if the structure of the desirable architecture would be hegemonic or plural/equitable and collective? Because of the inherent imbalance of the region, the question would also arise of the role of the players within the region and of outside great powers. The mandate and agenda of the proposed security structure will also have to be defined extremely carefully due to both internal and external dimensions of the threat and the possible role of



the extra-regional powers. On the whole, the South Asian regional security architecture will be based on the concept of a collective security framework with a comprehensive thrust to address both state and people related security concerns in military as well as developmental and socio-political sectors. The ownership of this architect and its operational autonomy will have to rest almost entirely with the countries of the region.



SHAHID JAVED BURKI

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Mr Shahid Javed Burki is the Chairman of the Institute of Public Policy, a Lahore-based Pakistani think-tank. Mr Burki resides in Washington. His areas of research include development economics in general and the development of China, Latin America and South Asia in particular. His latest book, “South Asia in the New World Order: The Role of Regional Cooperation”, is well received by policymakers, diplomats, academics and students.

Mr Burki was educated at Oxford University as Rhodes Scholar and at Harvard University as Mason Fellow. He spent most of his professional life at the World Bank, where he held a number of senior positions, including Director of China and Mongolia Department (1987-1994) as well as Vice President for Latin America and the Caribbean (1994-1999). He took leave of absence from the World Bank to take up the position of Pakistan’s Finance Minister (1996-1997).

NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR POPULOUS ASIA

Shahid Javed Burki

South Asia, a sub-Continent of 1.5 billion people and largely spared from the economic ravages caused by the Great Recession of 2008-09, was expected to move forward at a relatively brisk pace. Led by India, the area's largest and most dynamic economy, it was supposed to see its economy expand by about 8 per cent a year.

According to the latest assessments by the international development banks – the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank – and by the central banks by the three major countries of the South Asian mainland – Bangladesh, India and Pakistan – the region has lost some of the economic momentum built up over the last few years. This is largely the result of political uncertainty in the three countries. This has persisted in Pakistan for three years but some recent political developments in Bangladesh and India have also affected economic decision-making. The three countries, having undertaken with some success the first phased of economic reforms have now to start focusing on the second phase. This will need consensus building which, in turn, demands the exercise of considerable amount of political will. It will also require comfort in the domain of security, both internal and external and for that greater regional integration is necessary. There are in this context some positive developments of note.

If the South Asian nations can cast-off the burdens of history accumulated over many decades, they can significantly improve their economic prospects. Intra-regional trade in that case could become one of the drivers of economic growth and help the region to overcome its present difficulties and realize its large potential. It may also help in the political stabilization of the region.

**FAROOQ SOBHAN**

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Ambassador Farooq Sobhan is the President and CEO of the Bangladesh Enterprise Institute (BEI). Mr. Sobhan was Executive Chairman, Board of Investment (BOI) and Special Envoy to the Prime Minister in 1997-1999 and Foreign Secretary in 1995-1997. He has also served as Ambassador/High Commissioner to India, China, Malaysia and the United Nations. He visited Washington and the United Nations in New York in May 2007 as the Special Envoy of the Caretaker Government, with the rank and status of a Cabinet Minister.

Mr. Sobhan served as Chairman of the Group of 77 at the UN 1982-1983, and was Chairman, UN Commission on TNCs in 1991-1992. He is a member of the Board of Governors of the South Asia Centre for Policy Studies (SACEPS), based in Kathmandu and was Co-Chairman of the Coalition for South Asian Co-operation (CASAC) from 1994-2001. He was a visiting professor at the Elliott School for International Affairs at George Washington University in 2003, where he taught a post graduate course on South Asia.

Mr. Sobhan has written extensively on international affairs and relations. His publications include “Opportunities for South-South Co-operation”; “Shaping South Asia’s Future: Role of Regional Co-operation” and many more.

COOPERATIVE SECURITY FRAMEWORK IN SOUTH ASIA: A BANGLADESH PERSPECTIVE

Farooq Sobhan

The evolving and multi-faceted security environment in South Asia demands a comprehensive review and evaluation of the current national and regional security institutions and initiatives. The transnational nature of non-traditional security risks, including terrorism, has rendered security policies confined to national boundaries obsolete.

The paper stresses that India's emergence as a major global power combined with the security challenges, both traditional and non-traditional, faced by South Asia as a region and by each of its member states individually, has led to the realisation, at the highest political level, that an effective security framework has now become necessary to ensure the safety and security of South Asia. The paper analyzes contemporary multilateral security frameworks, in particular NATO, EU, AU and ASEAN to evaluate the viability of a similar security arrangement/mechanism in the context of South Asia and SAARC.

While accepting the manifold limitations that might stand in the way of a regional body on security in South Asia, the paper takes a pragmatic approach in outlining the contours of such a body, while at the same time analysing the range of actions required to ensure its effectiveness. The paper reiterates the fundamental need for a cooperative framework on security to mitigate the escalating threats posed by both non-traditional security threats and transnational terrorism in the 21st century.

**AHMED SHAHEED**

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Ahmed Shaheed is currently the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in Iran. Previously he was Minister of Foreign Affairs of Maldives (2005-2007 and 2008-2010). Before taking up his first political assignment in 2004 as Chief Government Spokesman, he served as Foreign Secretary of the Maldives (1999-2004). He had served as SAARC Eminent Person in 1997-98, and represented Maldives at a variety of meetings of SAARC between 1995 and 2010. From 2007-08, Mr. Shaheed served in the Opposition, initially as Spokesperson for the Opposition Alliance before unsuccessfully competing in the presidential elections of 2008, finishing third in the first round. He has been active in promoting human rights in the Maldives through the Open Society Association of Maldives and the New Maldives Movement, which he founded. In 2009, Mr. Shaheed was conferred the rare award of Muslim Democrat of the Year by the CSID in Washington, DC, for his contribution to human rights and democracy. In 2010, he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Gratitude by Albania for his contribution to peace in the west Balkans and an Honorary Professorship by University Aab-Riinvest in Pristina for his promotion of the human rights of the Kosovar people. Shaheed graduated from the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth in Strategic Studies and earned his PhD from the University of Queensland.

MARITIME SECURITY COOPERATION IN SOUTH ASIA: A MALDIVIAN PERSPECTIVE

Ahmed Shaheed

The Maldives has a unique perspective on national security. Its main preoccupation was not traditional security threats, but irregular threats that result from violence, lawlessness and conflict in the ocean.

In centuries past, great power competition had cost the country dearly, and in more recent times, troubles in the ocean had also impacted on the country severely. Activities of mercenaries, pirates, drug-traffickers, fish poachers, and more recently terrorists, have been of great concern to the Maldives. Moreover, the theocratic nature of the Maldivian polity further raises the vulnerability profile of the Maldives with the rise of Islamic radicalism in the region. Unresolved territorial claims, increasing maritime commercial traffic, depletion of pelagic resources, exposure to maritime pollution, and the changes in the regional power balances all affect security environment of the Maldives and increase the importance of maritime security co-operation, both at operational and strategic levels.

Given these persistent and new geo-strategic realities, the Maldives can no longer afford to free-ride or be a passive by-stander in the security order in its neighbourhood. It must actively pursue policies and actions that enhance security co-operation in the region for two broad reasons. One is that it never has and can never meet its security challenges without the support of one or more powerful regional neighbours. Second, such bilateral dependency must be mediated or moderated by a normative order to which Maldives also contributes. Such a normative order should seek to increase the space for peace and stability in the region, through greater transparency, co-ordination and convergence. A security order that the Maldives contributes to needs to have three referents. Individual or sub-national actors who must feel more secure. Regional states who enhance their security capabilities and preparedness through a latticework of transparent bilateral and multilateral arrangements. And finally, the capstone of such architecture would be security co-operation amongst the great powers in the region which underwrites the regional normative order.

MOHAMMAD DAOD SULTANZOY

Chairman,
Economic Committee of the Afghan
Parliament (Wolesi Jirga)
Afghanistan



Dr. Mohammad Daoud Sultanzoy is a former Member of the Afghan Parliament. He is also Chairman of the Economic Committee of the Afghan Parliament (Wolesi Jirga) from Ghanzi Province. He is a civil pilot by training. After the fall of the Taliban regime he began engaging in the political life. He was a presidential candidate in the election 2005. Sultanzoy is a moderate reformer and technocrat. He is currently working towards establishing a party that will unify progressive and democratic forces of the Afghan society.

W I SIRIWEERA

Professor
University of Peradeniya
Sri Lanka



Prof W I Siriweera is an Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Peradeniya. Prof. Siriweera was Chairman of the University Grants Commission. Former Vice Chancellor of the Rajarata University of Sri Lanka, Prof. Siriweera is an Honorary Editor of Royal Asiatic Society. He has done his Ph.D from University of London. Prof. Siriweera has published 14 books and (approximately) 40 research articles in local and foreign journals.



COOPERATIVE SECURITY FRAMEWORK FOR SOUTH ASIA: A SRI LANKAN PERSPECTIVE

W I Siriweera

The need for a cooperative security framework in South Asia did not exist for several decades after the independence of colonial countries. However, due to the influence of globalisation and impending security situations, South Asian countries have demanded greater regional cooperation for their development.

In the South Asian context, the ideal would be to bring all countries belonging to SAARC to a common platform instead of seeking to redress power imbalances among themselves, through assistance from external powers. Resolving political conflicts among themselves and building collective regional security architecture are the best means to deal with the common threats. Of course the realisation of the goal is an enormous challenge and a very big task. Even though the boundaries of traditional security have noticeably expanded; the historical legacies are playing a key role in determining bilateral relationships and inhibiting process of regional cooperation to deal with security issues in the South Asian region.

Sri Lanka and India would not be able to address the future Cooperative Security issues unless they understand the root causes of the present co-operative security ambiguities. There are historic factors that hinder issues of co-operation of two countries. In the pre-colonial era, due to political factors and the segmentary nature of Indian states, South Indian power centres posed a threat to the Sri Lankan state under different dynasties. Prior to independence, comments made by Indian strategic thinkers like K.M. Panikkar, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru also raised Sri Lanka's security concern against India.

The author intends to scientifically examine the historical and present dimensions which paved the way to present situation of cooperative security paradigm between India and Sri Lanka.

SHAISTA TABASSUM

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SHOULD INDIA AND PAKISTAN LOOK BEYOND INDUS WATER TREATY? WHY AND HOW?

Shaista Tabassum

Water is a continuous flowing resource which requires special attention. Due to geographical boundaries the resource is poorly divided and thus more poorly managed. This essential commodity is fast declining, and required to be monitored and administered by all riparian states. IWT is considered mostly by the academic literature and especially amongst the scholars of CBM studies (Confidence Building Measures) and CR (Conflict Resolution) as one of the classical example of cooperation between India and Pakistan. Despite of many odds, the treaty remained functional in armed conflicts and the situations short of armed conflict. At present the Indus Basin System is facing many other challenges which are constantly overshadowed because of serious disputes on water distribution rights and the treaty application. Some of these new challenges are the ground water abstraction and declining amount of underground water, the environmental changes that are occurring in the surroundings of the river basin, high level of pollution in river water, and many other associated problems. These and other related aspects may be addressed by adding new dimensions to the treaty approach like including the joint observation of river flows, joint engineering works exchange of data on ground water level and extraction etc. The key to these problems is although mentioned in the article VII of the IWT asking the parties to develop future cooperation but little importance had been given to the article.

The paper will try to look in to the various facets of Indo-Pakistan water relations.

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**A COOPERATIVE SECURITY FRAMEWORK – ENVIRONMENT
AND CLIMATE CHANGE**

PK Gautam

The paper begins with a state of art theoretical framework for regional cooperation and then examines the initiatives undertaken so far on environment and climate change. The paper also makes an attempt to analyse why progress is not up to the desired mark. Finally, the paper suggests issues that need to be addressed through governments for regional cooperation.

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NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY IN AFGHANISTAN

Saifullah Ahmadzai

In the last 30 years of war, the people of Afghanistan have suffered a lot and it has seriously damaged Afghanistan's social, political and economical infrastructures. After ousting Taliban from power, much reconstruction work has been done by the new government with the support of international community, but still much more needs to be done. The threats of non-traditional security are interconnected and have link with each other. Weak health facilities can pave the way for poverty which can lead to lack of education and inequality which is the root cause of conflicts. At the same time, environmental problems and droughts can be a threat to people's livelihood and health that can force people to migrate. These threats can spread from one region to another and even can cross the borders and have negative impact on global security. This spread of threats increases the need for regional cooperation on non-traditional security. So, there is a need for finding ways and means to turn these threats into a source of cooperation among the countries of South Asia. Countries with a weak state are more vulnerable to non-traditional security threats either because of having less resources, or they might not consider it as a serious threat to the government itself. Therefore, the strength and weakness of a government should be considered not only on the basis of its capacity to tackle the problems that threatens its security, but on the basis of its capacity to handle non traditional security issues. In order to improve the delivery of basic services, it is important for the Government of Afghanistan to strengthen the capacity of its institutions. The objective of this paper is to explain the status of non traditional security in Afghanistan. The paper focuses on food and water security, small arms and light weapons, human trafficking, and it will also identify the main challenges and recommendations.

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COOPERATIVE SECURITY FRAMEWORK FOR SOUTH ASIA: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION

Dushni Weerakoon

Economic integration initiatives in South Asia cannot be viewed as distinct from the broader strategic geo-political interests of SAARC member states. Whilst South Asia has often been cited as a region with minimal trade integration, the emerging evidence suggests that economic integration is proceeding, albeit not one that is characterised by an inclusive South Asian grouping. As integration efforts under SAARC have stalled, bilateral economic links between India and the smaller South Asian economies – with the exception of Pakistan – have undergone changes. Indeed, current evidence suggests that India has offered a greater degree of market access to the smaller South Asian economies – particularly Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, and Sri Lanka – via a host of bilateral and regional arrangements.

The rationale from an Indian perspective, and that of its smaller neighbours, is clear. India's economic interests in South Asia are limited. These have become even less so in recent years as its economy undergoes rapid changes, reflected in its growing links to East Asia in trade and investment. For the smaller South Asian economies, enhanced preferential market access to India for their exports and greater volumes of Indian FDI can play a useful catalytic role as an entry point to a wider Asian integration process. Unlike these latter group of countries, Pakistan, like India, is seeking its own independent economic links with East Asia.

In this context, a true economic integration process that involves all actors appears to be by-passing South Asia. The economic outlook for countries across the region over the next few years also diverges quite substantively. India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are expected to perform well, growing at an average of 7-8 per cent, while Pakistan and Nepal are expected to do poorly. Even as some South Asian countries will be outpacing others, inter-country inequities will be accompanied by intra-country disparities as well. These trends have obvious implications for broader issues of human security and conflict in the region.

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CLIMATE CHANGE IN SECURITY: A CASE STUDY OF BHUTAN

Chhimi Dorji

Many studies confirm that Climate Change is a global phenomenon which we cannot escape, becoming a concern for societies and governments. While South Asian countries are least responsible for this catastrophe, they are the most vulnerable. It is highly probable that communities in this region will be vastly affected with minimum resilience and highest exposure. It is imperative that necessary planning and adaptation mechanisms should be created so that the damages are avoided or minimised. This is best achieved by international cooperation, proper studies, political support and chiefly public awareness.

As a developing, mountainous, Himalayan country, Bhutan is highly susceptible to climate change effects, it is thus necessary to prepare accordingly. The paper will present the various studies discussing the problems of climate change in the region and Bhutan in particular. Bhutan's works, various measures and challenges to mitigate and adapt shall be presented as a sample case.

The paper will also seek to open a discussion on how Climate Change is a concern or opportunity for national and international cooperation, disputes and socio-economic development.

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**ENGAGING ‘WATER’ IN SOUTH ASIA:
IS COOPERATIVE SECURITY PLAUSIBLE?**

Medha Bisht

In popular literature, trans-boundary rivers are often used as a framework to explain trends of cooperative and conflictual behavior between states. Can water be a strategic tool to bring states to a common negotiating table, or is it convenient tool for influencing and mobilizing opinion on inter-state and intra-state politics, at large, thus adversely affecting diplomatic contours in the South Asian region. Within the broad framework of cooperative security, this paper explores conditions under which water issues can activate the phenomenon of cooperation.

The paper is divided into three sections. First, it briefly reviews the debate and understanding on water as a security tool in international politics. Second, contextualizing it in the South Asian context, it assesses the ‘strategic weight’ it carries for potential cooperation. Third, it isolates and identifies conditions under which the cooperative trends can be further perpetuated.

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**REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN SOUTH ASIA:
POSSIBILITY OR PIPE DREAM?**

Srinath Raghavan

This paper focuses on an important puzzle about contemporary South Asia: why is South Asia amongst the least integrated regions in the world? The paper lays out the structural and historical factors that have worked against the prospect economic integration and political cooperation in the subcontinent. It goes on to identify the potential drivers for change towards a more integrated and cooperative regional architecture and considers the conditions under which these goals might be realised. The paper concludes with a few thoughts on what India could do to move ahead in this direction.

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COOPERATIVE SECURITY IN SOUTH ASIA: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

Rajan Bhattarai

South Asian region has been a major theatre of both traditional and non-traditional security threats. The region has some of the poorest people in the world plagued by illiteracy, ethnic discord and other oppressive social orders. Furthermore, the intractable conflicts on bilateral level between India and Pakistan over Kashmir and also border disputes between India and China are the some of the issues that remained unresolved and posing serious threats in the region. The economic underdevelopment and feeble structures of political structures have added to the level of instability. The region has been facing growing religious fundamentalism, ethnic conflicts, environmental degradation, refugee crisis, social crimes and terrorism. However, the minds of the ruling elites in the region are still dominated by the state centric security views. The region experiences the persistence of threats of violent intra-state conflicts, terrorism and intractable conflicts within and between the states. The region is a host to deeply entrenched ethnic hostility, communal violence. The social, political and economic development of South Asia has been seriously hindered by intra-state and inter-state conflict.

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COOPERATION ON MARITIME SECURITY IN SOUTH ASIA

Chaminda Hettiarachchi

Globalisation and high economic growth of South Asian and other Asian countries today dominates strategic considerations. The Indian Ocean is of great strategic importance for the supply of crucial energy resources. About 40% of the global trade transits through the Indian Ocean. It provides major sea routes connecting the Atlantic Ocean with the Pacific Ocean. The Indian Ocean cannot be considered an “open” space as its access is controlled by several choke points such as the Babel Mandeb, the Straits of Hormuz, the Straits of Malacca, the Sunda, and Lombok-Straits. In a world increasingly dependent on foreign trade, it is necessary to keep these choke points open at all times. Further, global terrorism, piracy, human smuggling and drug trafficking and natural disasters are key elements of maritime security discussions today. Therefore maritime security in South Asia is not limited to issues in the region along but it has far reaching implications.

Recent defeat of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) by Sri Lankan government has drastically changed the focus of the maritime security issues in the Indian Ocean. This situation has not only demanded the countries in South Asia to revisit their maritime security strategies but also look for additional venues and new ways for cooperation among countries in the region.

The objective of this paper is to analyse the main maritime security issues and challenges in South Asia under the changing dynamics as mentioned above, to study the current mechanisms available to address such issues using regional approaches and to discuss and propose guidelines for cooperation in maritime security in South Asia.

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DOES SOUTH ASIA NEED A COOPERATIVE SECURITY ARCHITECTURE?

Smruti S Pattanaik and Nibar Nayak

While much attention is devoted to regional economic integration in South Asia, discourse on the need for cooperative security framework has been lacking in the region. The reason could be that the states in the region perceive threat from within the region than outside. And the states remain extremely sensitive to shed their excessive sovereign consciousness to any supranational authority that would be based on mutual accommodation and adjustment to achieve common good. Security moreover, continues to remain state centric and approach to security has also been militarist. Within the framework of regional cooperation some of the non-traditional security issues have been taken up. However, due to mistrust and suspicion even on the issue of terrorism that afflicts all the countries of the region there is a lack of regional consensus on its definition and approach to the issue. There is also lack of dialogue on security issues between the Armies of south Asia given the absence of any such forum.

It is true that the South Asian countries lack an external threat to emerge as a security community but the issue of terrorism which confronts all the countries should nudge them to have a unified approach. Forces of globalisation has not only facilitated integration of market and labour force but has made transnational linkages between the terrorist groups to emerge as a potent force. Given the context of enormous security challenges that threatens to destabilize the states, this paper argues why there is a need to evolve cooperative security architecture, what would be the structure of regional consultative mechanism and what could be the shape of this security architecture.

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**COOPERATIVE SECURITY IN SOUTH ASIA:
AN ELUSIVE DREAM OR THE NEED OF HOUR**

Mahwish Hafeez

Today, security concerns are not only confined to militaristic issues but also social, economic and ecological problems have forced regional communities towards closer cooperation; and thus the world witnessed emergence of several regional organisations dealing with issues in the areas of comprehensive security. But when we move to the South Asian region, unfortunately, the idea of cooperative security could not take root due to a number of factors like mutual distrust, preponderance of India, civil wars and political instability. However, the first and the foremost of these reasons has been the relationship between the two major countries of the region i.e. India and Pakistan. The two declared nuclear weapon states of South Asia have fought wars in the past and held a number of rounds of talks to resolve their contentious issues but remained unable to resolve them. With the passage of time, the list of contentious issues between Pakistan and India seems to be growing with the emergence of water issue and the apprehensions of both the countries regarding their intent in shaping the future of Afghanistan. The mutual lack of trust and capacity to resolve problematic issues between the two countries has been largely held responsible for the failure of SAARC to realize its full potential.

Similarly, other South Asian countries besides having a troubled history of relations with India have their own set of internal problems. In addition to it, the menace of terrorism has badly infected the entire region. Some regional and extra-regional countries have put the entire onus of tackling this problem on Pakistan whereas; the fact cannot be ignored that Pakistan is not solely the cause for this mess. There are several other factors responsible for the present situation and so the responsibility of dealing with it should also be shared.

Political instability, drug trafficking, human smuggling, rise of fundamentalism and religious extremism, deteriorating law and order situation and human rights, trade and environment are the factors that necessitates closer cooperation with each other and a common regional response. The question here arises whether the regional countries

have the will to overcome their differences and work together towards creating a more peaceful environment and economic prosperity for the benefit of all or as the realist's theory goes- the national interest, pursuit of power or hegemony will mark the future of this region?

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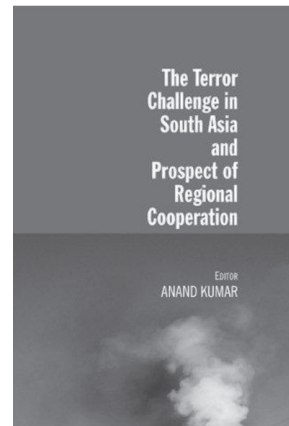
About the Book

In modern times, terrorism has emerged as a scourge and South Asia is the region where terrorist groups of almost all varieties have operated. However, countering the challenge from terrorism came on international agenda only after the attacks of 9/11.

This book is an attempt to study the problem of terrorism in south Asia, which has often been perceived as its hub. The contributors to the volume belonging to south Asian

region have provided valuable insights on the issue of terrorism and have also suggested measures to deal with the problem. They consider terrorism as a phenomenon that has been harmful to society, economy and polity of the south Asian nations. At the same time, they also point out that there should not be over emphasis on the use of force. In fact, a calibrated use of force is likely to be more effective. Ultimately, if terrorism is to be comprehensively defeated then ideologies and root causes that propel it further need to be tackled properly. The authors also suggest that south Asian nations must overcome their rivalry and cooperate with each other to meet the challenge of terrorism. As long as shelters and sanctuaries are available in neighbouring countries any south Asian nation would find it difficult to deal with terror threat.

THE TERROR CHALLENGE IN SOUTH ASIA & PROSPECT OF REGIONAL COOPERATION



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