



NEWSLETTER

REGIONAL CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES, COLOMBO

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11th Summer Workshop on Defence, Technology and Cooperative Security in South Asia

The 11th RCSS Summer Workshop was held from 24th February to 6th March at Avari Lahore Hotel, Lahore, Pakistan with the support of the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI).

The main objectives of the workshop was to provide a forum for young professionals from China, India and Pakistan to examine and understand major issues of defence, security, regional stability and confidence building in South Asia and to equip them with information and understanding on conceptual, technical and practical aspects of the above. The workshop was structured in such a way as to maximize interaction among participants as well as between participants and the Faculty.

The keynote address was delivered by Ambassador Niaz A Naik on “Nuclearization of South Asia: Policy Implications and Lessons Learned.” Amb. Naik mentioned that in the post-9/11 world, the global nuclear environment has been affected and this has additionally impacted the already changed regional security environment in South Asia after India and Pakistan conducted nuclear tests in 1998. He referred to the history of attempts to seek a durable peace – in the 1980s, when Pakistan proposed non-aggression pacts and India even drafted a treaty of friendship with PM Indira Gandhi personally advocating

an interchange. These concepts were merged into single draft but the idea lost momentum after Mrs. Gandhi’s assassination. In the post-test phase, Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee and his counterpart in Pakistan, PM Nawaz Sharif had attempted to establish this base through the Lahore Summit and the ensuing Declaration, which aimed at prevention of conflict by, amongst other things, discussing concepts and doctrines, and elaborating CBMs. Both leaders decided to resolve all conflicts including that over Jammu & Kashmir. A back-channel was initiated to concentrate on the resolution of just the Kashmir issue – inspired by the Oslo Process; this single-focused track had one interlocutor from each side and was kept discrete and quiet. The interlocutors were tasked with looking towards the future — to come up with an implementable and feasible solution by moving beyond the publicly-stated rigid positions while keeping in mind the interest of India, Pakistan and the Kashmiri people. PM Vajpayee wanted the solution to be final and partial – by the latter he meant that all those options with long term timeframes had to be ruled out.

Various options were considered including plebiscites and independence; various models were also looked at. Considerable progress was made, however the subsequent

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The participants and some of the faculty members of the 11th Summer Workshop

Summer Workshop ... (Contd from page 1)

crisis over Kargil diverted attention from the peace process, which was followed by the suspension of dialogue for two years till PM Vajpayee met President Musharraf at the sidelines of the 12th SAARC summit. They agreed to restart the Composite Dialogue with a broad time framework stating that this was in consonance with the rising expectations of the people of both countries. Subsequently there have been discussions on a strategic security restraint regime in South Asia to promote peace in the entire region.

He further added that it is the desire of the governments and the people of the region to seek a durable peace and that it is in both countries' national interest to adopt a forward looking approach – having learnt lessons from the past, they need to work together in a spirit of mutual accommodation and review the costs of their dispute, resolve long-standing issues and lay the foundation for a productive cooperative relationship. He stressed that India and Pakistan need to move beyond the past especially because of the strategic position of South Asia. They need to implement the ideas of the Lahore Declaration and try to eliminate the possibility of accidental use and establish Nuclear Risk Reduction Centres (NRRCs), which would be vital to analyzing information and eliminating misperception.

Prof. Stephen P Cohen who was also a member of the Faculty, in his presentation on “Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear War in South Asia: An Unknowable Future”, drew attention to two false arguments with regard to nuclear weapons: the first being that nuclear weapons are inherently evil with the justification that whilst having the capability of causing great destruction, it can also play a positive role by supporting a country's independence and security, even if it is in limited dimensions, which was a rather thought provoking argument. The second false argument he elucidated was that nuclear weapons preserve peace, stressing the fact that while they might make war with another nuclear power unlikely, they do not lead to peace.

He further highlighted some of the serious concerns regarding nuclear weapons is that it has spread to non-state and sub-state groups and non-state actors are considered more likely to use nuclear weapons if they are in possession of them. States are considered to have organizational control and be responsible, however, there are increasing concerns about theft and proliferation, with the creation of small nuclear sub-states in the Middle East and North Asia. South Asian calculations of deterrence and vulnerability are also likely to be more complex and even with the absence of political enmity amongst some within the subgroups, suggestions of preemptive use in

times of crisis would arise. Additionally, with countries looking for defensive systems, calculations of offense and defense are becoming even more complicated.

(Excerpted from the summary prepared by Ms. Tanvi Madan)

Discussions on limited war being revived in India following the Kargil crisis was also a contending issue that was discussed at the workshop with the major concern being how to keep a war limited in the light of both states being overtly nuclear. Lessons to be learnt from previous Indo-Pakistani confrontations such as the efficacy of nuclear deterrence and the role of the US and China in this backdrop were issues of interest. The role of security alliances in a globalised world by combating contemporary threats such as countering international terrorism, curbing the proliferation of WMDs and on the whole maintaining peace and stability can be perceived as a positive feature. An interesting comparison was made with regard to nuclear policies of China, India and Pakistan with the conclusion that China's policies differ from those of the other two countries. The future of the Indo-Pakistan composite dialogue and confidence building measures were also interesting topics of discussion.

The program also included an interesting simulation exercise on Crisis Management in South Asia led by Amb. Teresita Schaffer, where an imaginary scenario of tensions between two South Asian states was the focal point to which the participants, who were divided into four groups, had to find a solution. The participants were also provided with a lecture on Research Methodology and Preparing Grant Requests.

(Excerpts from the summary, prepared by Ms. Tanvi Madan)

Presentations made by the Faculty covered a multitude of topics relating to the theme of the workshop and are as follows:

Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear War in South Asia: An Unknowable Future, **Prof. Stephen P Cohen**

Can Alliances Combat Contemporary Threats? & The Concept of Comprehensive Security and China's Non-Proliferation Policy, **Col. Teng Jianqun**

Nuclear Deterrence: How Effective? At What Cost?
Prof. Varun Sahni

Military Balance in South Asia & Threat Posed by Other WMD
Prof. P R Chari

Nuclear Risk Reduction Measures and Arms Control in South Asia, **Air Cdre Khalid Banuri**

Checking Nuclear Proliferation: A Pipe Dream? & UN and the Disarmament Process, **Mr. Jayantha Dhanapala**

The Making of the Bomb, **Prof. Pervez Hoodbhoy**

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RCSS Alumni in Pakistan exchange views

A large number of RCSS Alumni members in Pakistan met in Islamabad in March 2005 immediately after the Summer Workshop in Lahore. The Alumni meeting, followed by dinner was held at the Hotel Marriott in Islamabad with the attendance of more than 40 persons who have participated in RCSS workshops, seminars and conferences from 1994 to 2004.

Executive Director Prof Sridhar Khatri, while thanking the Alumni members for participation and their continuous interest in the activities of the Centre, urged them to organize alumni activities in Islamabad and other main cities in Pakistan. He asked them to send proposals for half-day or full day seminars on regional issues relevant to RCSS concepts for consideration.



Awardees of the Eleventh Summer Workshop

The RCSS has selected the following participants of the Eleventh Summer Workshop on Defence, Technology and Cooperative Security in South Asia for Research Awards. The Awards have been granted with the support from the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI)

Ms. Geetanjali Chopra - Research Scholar

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

Research Topic: *"International Non-Governmental Organizations in Arms Control and Disarmament: Potential and Viability"*

Ms. Asma-ul-Husna Faiz - Lecturer

Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad, PAKISTAN.

Research Topic: *"India-Pakistan Dialogue: Bringing Society In"*

Mr. Zhao Jianming - Ph.D. Candidate

Fudan University, Shanghai, CHINA.

Research Topic: *"The Possibility of the Reconciliation of Relations Between Pakistan and India"*

Summer Workshop ... (Contd from page 2)

Cooperative Security in South Asia, Dr. Gowher Rizvi

Conventional Force Levels and the Impact Upon Nuclear Doctrines, Lt. Gen (Ret.) Talat Masood

Understanding and Responding to 'Terrorism' in South Asia Prof. Sridhar K Khatri

The SAARC Process: Getting a Handle on the Real Issues Dr. Akmal Hussain

The Media and National Security, Mr. Ejaz Haider

Self-defence, Preemption and Humanitarian Intervention in International Law & International Law on Terrorism Mr. Ahmer Bilal Soofi

Panel discussions were as follows:

Limited War Under a Nuclear Shadow: Lessons Learned from Indo-Pakistani Confrontations

Prof. Stephen P Cohen, Prof. P R Chari, Brig. Naeem Salik

Nuclear Policies of China, India and Pakistan

Col. Teng Jianqun, Prof. Varun Sahni, Dr. Shireen Mazari

Creating Stable Structures in Indo-Pakistani Relations: The Future of the Composite Dialogue

Prof. S D Muni, Amb. Niaz Naik

Nuclear Confidence Building Measures

Rear Adm. (Ret.) Raja Menon, Dr. Rifaat Hussain

Missile Defence and its Impact on Arms Control and Disarmament

Rear Adm. (Ret.) Raja Menon, Air Cdre. Khalid Banuri

Kashmir: How Intractable a Problem?

Rear Adm. (Ret.) Raja Menon, Dr. Rifaat Hussain

China's South Asia Policy

Amb. Zhou Gang, Ms. Amara Saeed

China's Relations with India and Pakistan

Prof. Deng Junbing, Prof. C Raja Mohan, Lt. Gen (Ret.) Talat Masood

India-Pakistan CBMs: A Wish List

Dr. Samina Ahmed, Mr. Aarish Khan, Ms. Tanvi Madan

India as an Emerging Power in South Asia: Implications for her Neighbours

Dr. Pervaiz Cheema, Mr. S B Atugoda, Prof. C Raja Mohan

PARTICIPANTS

CHINA

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Lecturer, Army College of Education, Peshawar

Mr. Syed Adnan Ali Shah

Research Fellow, Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad

Ms. Ghazala Yasmin

Research Fellow, Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad

Documents on Sri Lanka's Foreign Policy (1947-1965)

This is the latest publication of the RCSS. The documentation project was initiated by the founder of RCSS, late Professors Shelton U. Kodikara and late Professor K. P. Misra who was Professor of International Relations, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India. The project was revived by Prof Amal Jayawardane, Head of the Department of History & International Relations, University of Colombo.

The two late professors Kodikara and Misra collected material and prepared the initial manuscript. After their demise, Prof Jayawardane was requested to complete the project. He has undertaken the task under a Kodikara Grant awarded by the RCSS.

Describing the foreign policy documentation project, Prof Jayawardane points out that for a small country, Sri Lanka's role in international affairs has been remarkably

active since the early days of independence. However, the students who wish to study the country's foreign policy, particularly its earlier period, find it extremely difficult to locate the necessary source material as they were widely scattered and by no means easy to come by. The publication puts together the relevant source material under one cover for the benefit of students as well as practitioners of diplomacy. Except for bilateral treaties and joint communiqués, this collection of documents largely contains statements made by Sri Lankan dignitaries on various foreign policy issues. In that sense, what is presented in this publication is essentially a collection of Sri Lankan perspectives on the island's foreign policy.

Prof Jayawardane, pointing out that Professors Kodikara and Misra had rendered a yeoman service to the development of International Relations as an academic discipline in South Asia, has dedicated the volume to them.

KODIKARA AWARDS (2005-2006)

Research Grants for Young South Asians

RCSS invites applications for research grants under its annual **Kodikara Awards** programme. The grants are awarded to young South Asians, below 35 years of age, for conducting policy-relevant research on strategic and international issues of contemporary South Asian interest. Each grantee will receive a total stipend of \$2,000 in installments. An additional amount may be paid for field research, if applicable, to be conducted in no more than two South Asian countries including the applicant's own.

The award is tenable for nine months, commencing in July 2005, during which time each grantee will be under obligation to produce and submit to the RCSS an original research monograph in English of 100-140 typed pages to be subsequently published by the RCSS. S/he may be required to conduct the research under the guidance of a supervisor. Candidates should ideally have a Master's degree in international relations, strategic studies, political science, economics, history, anthropology, journalism, international law, or other related subjects. Female candidates are particularly encouraged to apply. Applications should be sent to RCSS containing:

- full curriculum vitae including details of academic records and evidence of research competence;
- a research proposal within 700-1000 words describing the theme, importance, objectives, and methodology of the study, and justification for field work, if any; and
- copies of 2 publications, if available.

Candidates also have to arrange two confidential letters of academic reference *to be sent directly to RCSS*. The closing date for applications for the awards is June 1, 2005. Further details are on website: www.rcss.org. Inquiries may be addressed to:

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Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, 2, Elibank Road, Colombo 5, Sri Lanka.

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RCSS Offers Further Assistance to Tsunami Victims

A little over four months after the event, more and more information on the recent tsunami catastrophe is now emerging from the nations that underwent this horrendous experience. According to statistics published by UN OCHA, at the end of January 2005, Sri Lanka has been rated the second among the worst affected countries [30,922 reported deaths, 5,565 missing, 437,482 displaced]. Data released by the government of Sri Lanka reveal that approximately two-thirds of the island's coastal settlements have been devastated by the tsunami in numerous ways. The worst affected district of the country is Ampara where the death toll has risen to 10,436 and, of the survivors, nearly 100,000 have been rendered homeless. It is, therefore, both fitting and logical that RCSS decided to concentrate on the eastern beachside, in particular the Ampara district, for rendering assistance to the tsunami victims of the eastern province. After careful consideration of the extent of the tidal wave damage in the Trincomalee-Ampara stretch, Ulle village was selected as the distribution point for the affected population living between Arugam Bay and Pottuvil towns. The Pottuvil Police and Rev. Induruwe Upanada, Head priest of Ulle temple, coordinated in distributing relief items, such as infant milk food, feeding bottles, towels, bed sheets, school bags, tooth paste, tooth brushes and soap. DEMIRA, a German NGO medical team attending to the health needs of the area undertook to distribute and administer the stock of drugs in accordance with the prescribed dosage. The people and community leaders of the area thanked RCSS for providing them with a range of items useful for their well being in general, and vitally important for the vulnerable sections of the community, women and children, in particular. Professor R.A. Ariyaratne, member of the Board of Directors and RCSS Tsunami Fund Administering Committee was in charge of procuring and distributing the relief assistance in the Pottuvil area.



HIV/AIDS as a Security Threat to India by Happymon Jacob

In the RCSS Policy Studies 28, the latest publication of the Regional Centre for Regional Studies (RCSS), under the series of Policy Studies, Happymon Jacob, currently a lecturer at the Centre for Strategic and Regional Studies, University of Jammu, focuses on how HIV/AIDS threatens India's security. In a highly competitive international trading system that is rapidly emerging in the global arena, HIV/AIDS can and will deter investments, investors and business opportunities, he says. HIV/AIDS can also slow down the flow of direct foreign investment into India, create problems for India's foreign trade, affect household economy and savings and put additional budget and other burdens on the vital health sector. The disease can also adversely affect sectors such as IT, tourism and transportation. HIV/AIDS can also impact, this book argues, India's

bilateral relations, its peacekeeping operations abroad and policy within the country.

HIV/AIDS could become a security threat, particularly for a country like India because of three compelling factors; poverty, ignorance about the disease, and widespread social stigma attached to the disease.

More details could be obtained from the Publisher: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 4753/23 Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi 110002. Website: www.manoharbooks.com

Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, 02, Elibank Road, Colombo 05, Sri Lanka Website: www.rcss.org

New Additions to the RCSS Library

Abrar, Chowdhury R.

Coping with Displacement: Riverbank Erosion in North-West Bangladesh/ by Chowdhury R. Abrar and S. Nurullah Azad.—Dhaka: Mother Printers, 2004, 132p.

Ropeways in Nepal: Context, Constraints and Co-evolution/ edited by Dipak Gyawali; Ajaya Dixit and Madhukar Upadhyaya.—Kathmandu: Nepal Water Conservation Foundation, 2004, xxi, 265p.

ISBN: 99933-795-1-4 625.92 ROP

Aid Under Stress: Water, Forests and Finnish Support in Nepal/ edited by Sudhindra Sharma [et al].—Kathmandu: Himal Books, 2004, xxii, 254p.

ISBN: 99933-43-48-X 628.1 AID

The Military Balance 2004/05.—London: IISS, 2004, 396p.

ISBN: 0-19-856622-0 050.35503 IIS

US-European Relations in the Contemporary International Setting: Implications for the Developing World/ edited by Naveed Ahmed Tahir.—University of Karachi: ASCE, 2004, xxvii, 315p.

ISBN: 969-8551-08-5 327 US(3)

Tahir, Naveed Ahmad

The Post-September 11 International Scenario and the European Union/ by Naveed Ahmad Tahir.—University of Karachi: ASCE, 2004, iv, 333p.

ISBN: 969-8551-07-7 341.1 TAH

Richardson, John

Paradise Poisoned: Learning about Conflict, Terrorism and Development from Sri Lanka's Civil Wars/ by John Richardson.—Kandy: ICES, 2004, xvi, 764p.

ISBN: 955-580-094-4 323.28 RIC

Balasingham, Anton

War and Peace: Armed struggle and Peace Efforts of Liberation Tigers/ by Anton Balasingham.—England: Fairmax Publishing Ltd, 2004, x, 514p.

ISBN: 1-903679-05-2 341.6 BAL

Burke, Jason

Al Qaeda: The True story of Radical Islam/ by Jason Burke.—England: Penguin Books, 2004, xxvii, 355p.

ISBN: 0-141-01912-3 297 BUR

Aiyar, Mani Shankar

Confessions of a Secular Fundamentalist/ by Mani Shankar Aiyar.—New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2004, xix, 290p.

ISBN: 0-67-005817-3 323 AIY

Pathways out of Terrorism and Insurgency: The Dynamics of Terrorist Violence and Peace Processes/ edited by L. Sergio Germani and D.R. Kaarathikeyan.—New Delhi: New Dawn Press Group, 2005, xxviii, 348p.

ISBN: 1-932705-50-3 323.28 PAT

Peace in Sri Lanka: Obstacles and Opportunities/ .—Australia: World Alliance for Peace in Sri Lanka (WAPS), 2005, 382p.

ISBN: 955-1165-00-4 341.6 PEA

Malhotra, Inder

Dynasties of India and Beyond: Pakistan Sri Lanka Bangladesh/ by Inder Malhotra.—Colombo: Vijitha Yapa, 2004, 363p.

ISBN: 955-8095-42-7 327 MAL

Evans, Michael

Future Armies Future Challenges: Land Warfare in the Information age/ by Michael Evans; Russell Parkin and Alan Ryan.—Australia: Allen Unwin, 2004, xxii, 370p.

ISBN: 1-86508-626-6 355 FUT

MAHBUB-UL-HAQ AWARDS (2005-2006)

Research Grants for Collaborative Research Between Young South Asians

RCSS invites applications for research grants under its annual **Mahbub-ul-Haq Awards** programme. This award is meant for a *collaborative study between two researchers*, one each from a different South Asian country, on **Non-Traditional Security Issues in South Asia**".

Awards will be made on the following themes:

- Governance in Plural Societies and Security
- Environment and Security
- Globalisation and Security
- Conflict Resolution

Nationals of South Asian countries are eligible to apply for these research awards. Candidates should ideally have a Master's degree in international relations, strategic studies, political science, economics, history, anthropology, journalism, international law, or other related subjects.

The duration of the award is nine months commencing July 2005. The grantees will be expected to conduct the research in a collaborative process under the guidance of supervisor(s) to be designated by the RCSS and will be under obligation to produce and submit to the RCSS an original research monograph in English of 100-140 typed pages. Female candidates are

particularly encouraged to apply.

US\$ 2,000 each will be paid for the award equally to the awardees. An additional modest amount may be available for fieldwork connected with the project, depending on the requirement and submission of a detailed proposal.

Applications should be sent to RCSS containing:

- full curriculum vitae including details of academic records and evidence of research competence;
- a research proposal within 700-1000 words describing the theme, importance, objectives, and methodology of the study, and justification for field work, if any; and
- copies of 2 publications, if available.

Candidates also have to arrange two confidential letters of academic reference *to be sent directly to RCSS*. The closing date for applications for the awards is June 1, 2005. Further details are on website: www.rcss.org. Inquiries may be addressed to:

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Forthcoming Publications of RCSS

Books

Understanding Terrorism in South Asia

Edited by Imtiaz Ahmed

Responding to Terrorism in South Asia

Edited by S.D. Muni

Implications of Insurgencies on Women in South Asia

Edited by Ava Dharshan Shrestha and Rita Thapa

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Upendra Choudhury

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A. Subramanyam Raju / S.I. Keethaponcalan

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Impact of Partition Refugees in Pakistan

Amtul Hasan

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