



NEWSLETTER

REGIONAL CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

Vol. 12 No. 2

September 2006

The 12th Summer Workshop on Defence, Technology and Cooperative Security

The RCSS held its 12th Summer Workshop on “Defence, Technology and Cooperative Security in South Asia” at the Club Palm Bay Hotel, Marawila, Sri Lanka, from 2-12 September 2006. Funded by MacArthur Foundation, United States Institute of Peace and Ploughshares Fund, the Summer Workshop was devoted to seven major themes:

- Regional and nuclear security in South Asia
- Role of military and nuclear technology
- Doctrines, arms control and disarmament
- Fissile materials
- Emerging security concepts
- Non-nuclear security issues
- Kashmir and SARRC as case studies.

The Summer Workshop was attended by a select group of thirty one young scholars from China, India and Pakistan. In his welcome remarks Prof. Syed Rifaat Hussain, Executive Director, RCSS, greeted the participants and informed them that this forum had been established with a view to ensuring that the next generation of South Asians are better equipped to deal with the challenges posed by issues of defence, national security, regional stability and confidence building in South Asia.

He expressed his deep gratitude to The MacArthur Foundation, USIP and Ploughshares Fund for their generous support for the Summer workshop activity.

(Contd on Page 2)

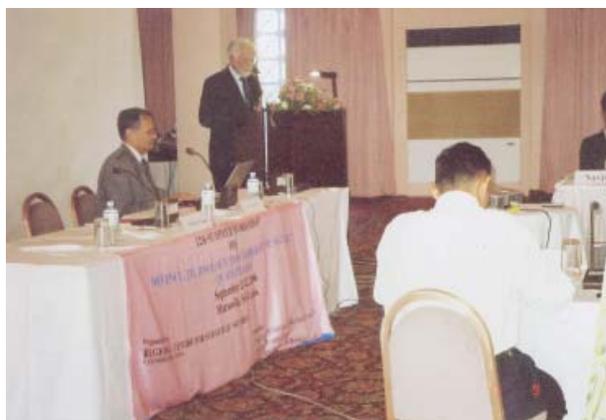


Group photograph of the Participants and Faculty of the 12th Summer Workshop on Defence, Technology and Cooperative Security in South Asia

Summer Workshop...

(Contd from Page 1)

Mr. Inam Ul Haque, former Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Pakistan delivered the keynote address on the timely topic “*Future of Conflict, Nuclearization and Cooperation in South Asia.*” He informed the participants that the theme of the 12th Summer Workshop was important not only for countries in the region but for the entire international community as well. Mr. Haque then went on to discuss the history, theory and emerging realities relating to the changing nature of conflict and nuclearization in South Asia. Mr. Haque concluded his address by highlighting the need for developing a triad of Peace, Security and Economic Development in the region. Mr. Inam Ul Haque’s wide-ranging address was followed by a stimulating question & answer session during which nearly all the participants posed many questions relating to the need for deepening and broadening the space for cooperative security between India, Pakistan and China.



Mr. Inam Ul Haque delivering the Keynote Address



Joint Lecture on WMD Terrorism and Small Arms: Air Cmdr. Khalid Banuri, Dr. Ayesha Siddiqi and Dr. Chris Smith



Prof. Stephen P. Cohen's interactive session on Research Methodology



Panel Discussion on Missile Proliferation and BMD: Air Cmdr. Khalid Banuri, Dr. Hasan Askari Rizvi, Prof. Wang Dehua and Gen. Dipankar Banerjee

Workshop Faculty

China

Prof. Shen Dingli

Deputy Director, Center for American Studies, Fudan University, Shanghai

Dr. Wang Dehua

Director and Professor, Institute for South and Central Asia Studies, Shanghai Municipal Center for International Studies, Shanghai

Prof. Pang Zhongying

Senior Associate at the Joint Research Program, China Reform Forum and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Beijing

India

Maj. Gen Dipankar Banerjee (Retd)

Director & Head, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi

Dr. (Mrs) Aparajita Biswas

Centre for African Studies, University of Mumbai, Mumbai

Prof. P R Chari

Research Professor, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), New Delhi

Gen. V. R. Raghavan

Director, Centre for Security Analysis, Chennai

Maj. Gen. (Retd.) Ashok Mehta

Noida

Dr. E. Sridharan

Academic Director, Institute for the Advanced Study of India, India Habitat Centre, New Delhi

Brigadier (Retd.) Gurmeet**Kanwal**

Senior Fellow, Centre for Air Power Studies, New Delhi

Nepal**Prof. Sridhar Khatri**

Executive Director, South Asian Centre for Policy Studies, Kathmandu

Pakistan**Mr. Inam Ul Haque**

Chairman, Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad

Air Commodore Khalid Banuri

Director, Arms Control & Disarmament Affairs (ACDA), Strategic Plans Division, Rawalpindi,

Dr Pervez Iqbal Cheema

President, Islamabad Policy Research Institute, Islamabad

Dr Tanvir Ahmad Khan

Islamabad

Lt Gen (Retd.) Talat Masood

Islamabad

Dr. Shireen Mazari

Director General, Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad

Brig.(Retd.) Naeem Salik

Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution, Washington, USA

Dr. Ayesha Siddiq

Security Analyst, Correspondent Jane's Defence Weekly, Islamabad

Dr. Hasan-Askari Rizvi

Political & Defense Consultant, Lahore

UK**Dr Chris Smith**

Brighton, East Sussex

USA**Prof Stephen P Cohen**

Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies Program, The Brookings Institution, Washington

Participants**China****Mr. Xue Chen**

Shanghai

Dr. Xie Daigang

Sichuan

Ms. Luo Dandan

Beijing

Miss. Fanny Deng

Shanghai

Ms. Li Jiejun

Beijing

Mr. Zhang Lijun

Beijing

Ms. Li Li

Beijing

Mr. Jiang Tao

Shanghai

Mr. Gao Qiqi

Shanghai

Mr. Peng Xiaojiang

Beijing

Mr. Gao Ziping

Shanghai

India

Dr. Shantanu Chakrabarti
Kolkata

Mr. Ajaya Kumar Das

New Delhi

Mr Dilip Gogoi

Gauhati

Mr. Sheikh Humayun

Tamil Nadu

Ms. Reshmi Kazi

New Delhi

Ms. Swapna Kona

Pune

Mr. Sankhya Krishnan

Chennai

Mr. A Vinod Kumar

New Delhi

Ms. Deepti Mahajan

New Delhi

Mr. Navjot Bir Singh

Bhubaneswar

Mr. Narendra Kumar Tripathi

New Delhi

Mr Siddhartha Dave Yagnadatta

Vadodara

Pakistan

Ms. Syeda Nazoora Ali

Rawalpindi

Ms. Farah Arbab

Islamabad

Ms. Azeema Cheema

Islamabad

Mr. Zafar Habib

Islamabad

Mr. Ghulam Murtaza Khoso

Jamshoro

Ms. Sitara Noor

Rawalpindi

Ms Saira Bano Orakzai

Peshawar

Mr. Aamir Riaz Masih

Rawalpindi

Ms. Cyma Riaz

Islamabad

Ms. Sadia Tasleem

Islamabad



Participants at work during a group discussion



Participants during the workshop

Events attended by the Executive Director:

- The ED delivered a paper on “South Asia: No longer a subordinate system?” at the International Conference on the *Changing Political Map of Asia* organized by the Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, September 21-22, 2006.
- Attended an International Conference on “India-Pakistan Peace Process” sponsored by the Fredric Ebert Stiftung, New Delhi and held in Colombo, June 25-27, 2006.
- Attended the second plenary meeting of the Regional Network of Strategic Studies Centres held in Istanbul on April 3-5, 2006. NESACenter, National Defense University, Washington, DC, USA sponsored the meeting.
- Attended the 3rd Regional Plenary Meeting of the Grantees of the Ford Foundation Project on “Non-Traditional Security in Asia” held on March 2-3, 2006 at Marina Mandarin Hotel, Singapore. The ED provided an overview of the recently concluded project “Understanding and Responding to Terrorism in South Asia.”

Democracy & Terrorism Project

Dr. Rifaat Hussain provided an overview of the



project, which was designed to analyse the nature of “terrorist-related” conflicts in South Asia and examine how they could be addressed adequately. The project also established a website on terrorist activities in the region. Dr. Hussain explained that the project was implemented in four parts and involved about 35 contributors from the region. The first part of the project dealt with the basic notion of terrorism in South Asia. The second looked at the responses of states in dealing with terrorism in South Asia, which included thematic conceptualizations as well as six case studies of terrorist violence in the region. The third part looked

(Contd on Page 6)



Participants of the International Conference on “India-Pakistan Peace Process” organized by FES, held in Colombo, June 25-27, 2006.

Commemoration of International Peace Day

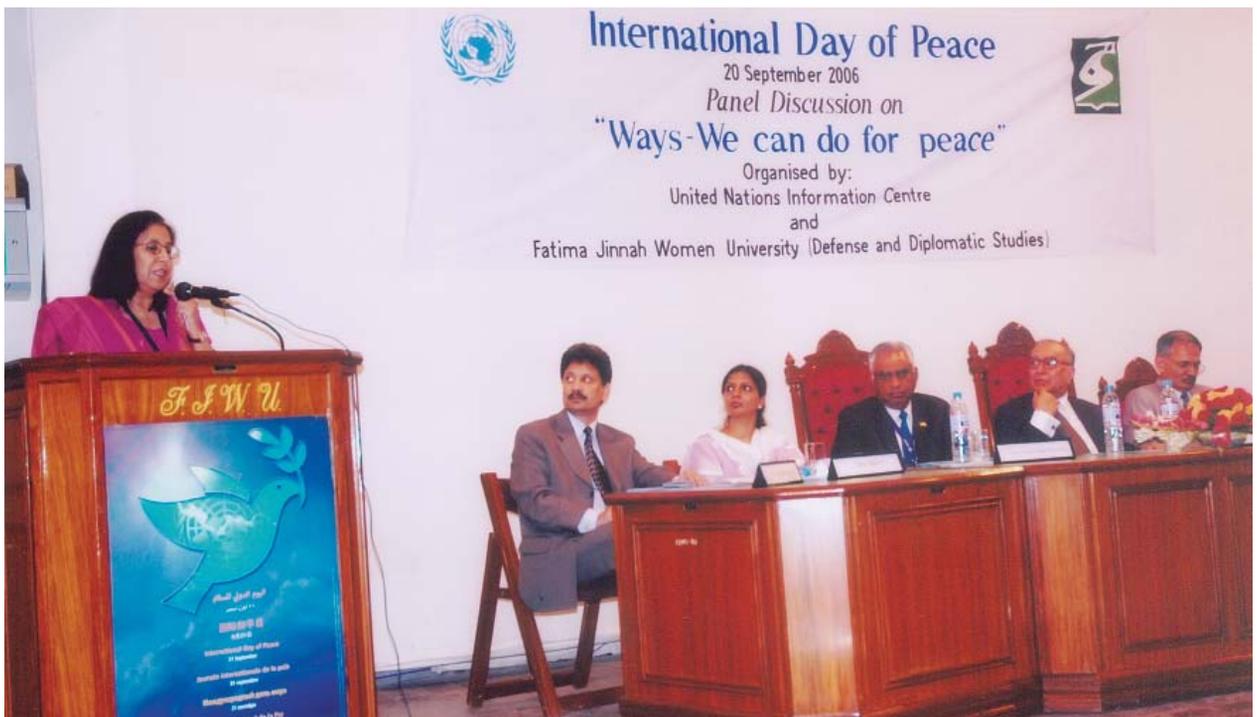
Dr. Syed Rifaat Hussain, Executive Director, RCSS made a presentation on “Preventing Armed Conflict” at a national seminar jointly organized by the United Nations Information Centre (UNIC) and Fatima Jinnah Women University (FJWU) on 21 September 2006 to mark the International Peace Day at the university campus of FJWU in Islamabad, Pakistan. The International Peace Day was declared by the United Nations to observe as a day of global ceasefire and non-violence. The panel discussion was organized to create awareness of the importance of the day and to encourage students to reflect on how they can contribute to achieving global peace.

The panel also included Dr. Tanvir Ahmed Khan, Former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, Mr. Paneerselvam Ponnambalam, Chief Administrative Officer of the UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) and Dr. Nazir Hussain, Assistant Professor, Department of Defence and Strategic Studies of Quaid-e-Azam University. The session included brief presentations that touched on: UN peace keeping operations; conflicts and history of UN’s work for peace;



Executive Director-RCSS, Dr. Rifaat Hussain delivering his speech

diplomacy, peace and human development and Pakistan’s participation in peace keeping operations and peace diplomacy. The presentations were followed by a lively question & answer session during which many aspects of issues relating to peace and conflict in the international system were discussed. Prof. Najma Najam, Vice Chancellor, FJWU also addressed the gathering of about 200 female students.



Prof. Najma Najam, VC, FJWU addressing the gathering on the occasion of International Peace Day

R.C.S.S.'s Partnership with N.E.S.A. Center for Strategic Studies

RCSS is proud to announce that it has recently been admitted as an institutional partner to the Regional Network of Strategic Centers in the Near East and South Asia regions. This grouping is the brainchild of the National Defense University (NDU) Washington, D.C., established in response to regional suggestions on the need for more space for interactive dialogue, and the need felt by the region's premier institutions dealing with security studies for more avenues for practical cooperation. The network initiative hopes to achieve the above objective by disseminating collaboratively developed research, thinking and publications through a series of interactive workshops convened for this purpose. These published analyses are intended to assist policy makers, national security researchers and interested experts in their professional endeavors.

The project took off the ground with the Plenary Meeting conducted in Istanbul, Turkey in April 2006. Hosted by the Center for Strategic Research (SAM), Ankara, Turkey, delegates from almost all countries of the Near East and South Asia attended the plenary sessions. In view of the overlapping nature of current security concerns, the NDU had drawn up a work plan with the whole gamut of regional security issues divided into three categories: Non-traditional security, democratization and governance, and terrorism related issues. According to this working arrangement Prof. Rifaat Hussain, E.D., RCSS was nominated to chair the first working group while two other members of

RCSS, Mr. Sugeeswara Senadheera, and Professor R.A. Ariyaratne, participated in the other two groups, respectively.

The meeting decided that each working group will meet periodically to work out its own agenda and their collaborative work be presented at the next plenary meeting. In pursuit of this plan, the Democratization and Governance working group met again in August 2006 at the invitation of the co-sponsor, National Defense College, Jordan. This workshop was held at the Dead Sea Marriott Hotel, within sight of the mainland Israel that was at the time engaged in a fierce battle in the Lebanon border area. Predictably, news coverage of the ongoing hostilities punctuated the proceedings of the meeting, so much so that the participants decided to devote one whole session to deliberate on the unfolding Middle East war scenario.

During the session earmarked for individual contributions, Professor Ariyaratne presented a paper for discussion on "Some Reflections on Conceptual Issues of Democratization and Governance". At the end of this presentation the panel urged the group members to present similar individual research papers based on the travails of democratization in their own, or, neighboring countries. Finally, there was consensus that the insights gleaned from their individual presentations should form the focus for future collaborative working group products.

Events...

(Contd from Page 4)

at the implications of insurgencies on women in South Asia. It focused on five countries in the region facing various forms of insurgencies (Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka). The final part involved the creation of a database on terrorism and violent conflicts.

Dr. Hussain remarked that the research outcome

highlighted that terrorism was a process in which the state, for various shortcomings of its own, provided a breeding ground for a self-destructive cycle that was unmanageable. He further noted that terrorism was found to be more about misgovernance, the failure of states to redress grievances of its citizenry, intolerance by dominant groups, as well as the lack of vision and insecurity of political leaders, and their tendency to adopt short-term quick-fix solutions that only served to further exacerbate the situation.

RCSS Policy Studies #36

Maritime Cooperation between India and Sri Lanka

by Adluri Subramanyam Raju & S.I. Keethaponcalan

Maritime relations between Sri Lanka and India have never been as important as they are today. In the current context of on-going internal conflicts that involve both countries and acquisition of naval capacities by a non-state actor such as the LTTE, maritime cooperation between the two countries has important implications for security and stability of the entire region. This backdrop makes the RCSS policy study on the subject a welcome and timely effort.

The authors have addressed the subject from an issue-based approach covering major events that took place during the recent history. They go on to examine landmark issues of bilateral relations between the two countries such as: Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace; Kachchaitivu issue; problems of fishermen; emergence of the threat of sea tigers; problem of Tamil refugees; illegal trade and smuggling; proposed land bridge and the Sethusamudram Ship Canal Project. The review of issues presented by the authors highlight the contentious nature of bilateral relations between the two countries that share common maritime boundaries. As explained under several issues that were discussed, the two countries have been struggling to find an uneasy balance in their maritime relationship. The situation became more turbulent since the Northern conflict broke out in Sri Lanka. This affected interests of both countries due to illegal movement of Tamil groups, frequent incidence of attacks on fishermen, smuggling of weapons and illicit drugs, piratical activities and assaults on security forces by Tamil guerrillas, which has gradually become the norm.

More importantly, the authors have attempted to explore areas where the two countries can cooperate for mutual benefit. They identify a vast area for such cooperation, which ranges from joint operations to counter drug smuggling, narco-terrorism, illegal migration and arms trafficking to cooperation in weather forecasting, prevention of pollution, improving shipbuilding and exploiting living and non-living resources for mutual advantage. The authors discuss how both countries stand to create a better future for their people by promoting a more fruitful dialogue on mutually important issues for cooperation.

Adluri Subramanyam Raju is an Honorary Fellow at the Indo-American Center for International Studies, Hyderabad and Associate Editor of 'Indian Ocean survey'. He was Salzburg Fellow (2006), Scholar of Peace (2002) and a recipient of the Kodikara Award (1999) and Mahbub-ul-Haq Award (2003).

S.I. Keethaponcalan is a senior lecturer at the Department of Political Science and Public Policy, University of Colombo, Sri Lanka. He earned his doctoral degree from Nova Southeastern University, Florida in Conflict Analysis and Resolution.

RCSS Policy Studies #37

Impact of Partition Refugees in Pakistan

By Amtul Hassan

One of the major catastrophes faced by the human race throughout its history is involuntary migration of large groups of people who are forced to do so due to various natural and man-made factors. Among the major causal factors other than natural disasters are wars, internal strife, revolutions, racial riots as well as change of regimes. The problem of refugees who have been uprooted by such causal factors has become a major humanitarian issue faced by national governments as well as the international community.

Amtul Hassan's study covers a vital episode of the twentieth century refugee problems that took place in South Asia, namely, the case of partition refugees in Pakistan. The volume deals with important research questions of why the Indian Muslims were forced to migrate, what were the responses of the new-born state of Pakistan towards the resulted flow of refugees, what were the causes that led to develop tension between the refugees and the state, how the refugees responded to strategies that were aimed at dis-empowering them and what would be the future of partition refugees and their struggle for empowerment. Within the broad scope presented by these research questions, the author attempts to examine vital issues



(Contd on Page 8)

Forthcoming Publications

Policy Studies # 38 *The People's War in Nepal* By Anindita DasGupta

Policy Studies # 39 *India Pakistan Dialogue: Bringing the Society In* By Asma ul-Husna Faiz

New Associate Director of RCSS

Mr. Athula Senaratne joined the RCSS as its new Associate Director from September 2006. Mr. Senaratne is an experienced public servant having worked in government organizations such as the Department of Agriculture, Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, the National Aquaculture Development Authority and the Consumer Affairs Authority. Immediately prior to joining the RCSS he was the Director (Competition Promotion) of the Consumers Affairs Authority. He had his secondary education at St. Sylvester's College, Kandy and holds an M.Phil degree in Agricultural Economics from University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka. Mr.

Senaratne has contributed in international journals such as *Journal of Sustainable Agriculture, Economic Botany, Environmental Management* and *Tropical Agricultural Research* and also co-authored a Sinhala language book on 'Natural Resource and Environmental Economics' which is being used in local language undergraduate courses on the subject. Mr. Senaratne has replaced Mr. Sugeeswara Senadheera, who, after serving two terms in the position from 1998-2002 and from 2005-2006, left the RCSS in June 2006 to assume a senior government position at the Ministry of Media and Information.

RCSS Policy Studies #37...

(Contd from Page 7)

such as partition carnage, displacement, challenges of resettlement and integration, alienation of succeeding generations, disillusionment of refugees and rise of violence and the ascension of refugee-based political movements into a decisive position in the national polity. The author examines the state's response towards the problem of refugees by each regime that came into power since independence while also capturing issues concerned with different segments of partition refugees such as of those in Punjab and Sindh provinces.

More important are the problems raised by the author on the future of partition refugees in Pakistan. Would they become an isolationist force thereby contributing to a separatist line of activism or would they become a part of the national struggle for the rights of all people in Pakistan? Would the principles of power-sharing be neglected for further marginalization of partition refugees? Would the MQM, the main political force of refugee movement become a catalyst for a more democratic and pluralist society, forcing the feudal-tribal order away from the polity in Pakistan? Little doubt that answers for these and other related questions would determine not only the future of the partition refugees but also the stability of political landscape of the entire country.

Amtul Hassan is an M.Phil student in International Relations at Karachi University. The areas of her interest include forced migration, human rights and movement for democracy and human security issues.

Awardees of the Twelfth Summer Workshop

The RCSS has selected the following participants of the Twelfth Summer workshop on Defence, Technology and Cooperative Security in South Asia for its Research Awards:

Mr. Xue Chen - Research Fellow
Department of Strategic Studies, Shanghai, China
Research Topic: *China's new Naval Strategy and its Ambition in the Indian Ocean*

Mr. Sankhya Krishnan - Research Fellow
Centre for Security Analysis, Chennai, India
Research Topic: *India's Military Buildup against China: A Case of Optimal or Sub-optimal Restraint?*

Ms. Sadia Tasleem – Research Associate
Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan
Research Topic: *Indo-US Nuclear Cooperation: Altering Strategic Positioning and Shifting Balance of Power in South Asia*

Views expressed in materials published in *RCSS NEWSLETTER* are of contributors, and not necessarily of the RCSS. The *RCSS NEWSLETTER* is published quarterly. For copies, comments, contributions and further information please write to:

Associate Director

Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, 410/27, Bauddhaloka Mawatha, Colombo 7, SRI LANKA.

Tel: (94-1-2690913-4); Fax: (94-1-2690769) E-mail: rcss@sri.lanka.net <http://www.rcss.org>

Published by: Regional Centre for Strategic Studies

Printed by: Design Systems, Colombo 10. Tel: 4936823