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Conveners:

1. Dr. Ummu Salma Bava, Professor, Centre for European Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India
2. Chris C. Ogden, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Edinburgh, U.K.
3. Dr. Christian Wagner, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin, Germany

PROSPECTIVE ABSTRACTS for Panel 10:

South Asia's Changing Security Environment and the Role of Identity

1. Dr Mohammed Badrul Alam (mbalam786@gmail.com, mbalam786@rediffmail.com)
Department of Political Science, Jamia Millia Islamia University, Delhi
'Between Hard Power and Soft Power: An Analytical Study of India-Japan Relations'

ABSTRACT: Power in the most generic term refers to the ability of influencing and articulating the behaviour of other states in order to achieve favorable outcome a state desires through attraction, inducement or coercion. Various national governments have at different times utilized their economic and military muscle in realizing and enhancing their primary goals by increasing their raw power potential. The currency of power and security objectives are as much evident in the 21st century as it was evident from the days of ancient Greece and Rome through the two World Wars of the last century. In a globalised world with multiple transnational connectivity and changing contours of power, effective diplomacy entails both 'hard power' (use of economic and military might) as well as 'soft power' (through attraction rather than coercion or payments). In the words of Joseph Nye, "soft power emanates from three resources: a state's culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (where it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (where they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority)." (2004). India's soft power has been an emerging phenomenon in Asia and the rest of the world in contemporary times. Indian art, literature, fashion and textiles, cuisines, the values of Buddha, Akbar and Gandhi, Indian diaspora living abroad, the inherent strength and resilience of India's pluralistic tradition, emphasis on IT (Information Technology) as a cultural metaphor, all together in a cumulative sense have constituted the prime anchors of its soft power status. While India sits on huge reserve of soft power, there are some limits to tapping this reserve. India faces serious challenges such as poverty, population explosion and lack of adequate infrastructure, etc. Nevertheless, the growing popularity of Indian culture can help offset the stupendous challenges that Indian society faces. It can be argued that India's cultural soft power can yield rich dividends for India to rise as a viable economic power in the not-so-distant future. My paper tries to address the following questions. a. Why/how soft power and hard power are relevant in contemporary international politics? b. What factors propel soft power and hard power interdependence between India and Japan? c. How should India's security objectives and foreign policy toward Japan interplay between its hard power and soft power? d. How can soft power/hard power status bring about a radical change in India's foreign policy orientation. e. In which ways, the United States being the sole super hegemonic power with global interests affect and influence the emerging security and economic relationship between India and Japan?

2. Dr Rajesh Kumar (guptakrajesh2001@yahoo.com)

Department of Political Science, PPN College, Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh

‘Kashmir Conflict and India’s Security Strategy: A Cultural Paradigm’

ABSTRACT: India and Pakistan have been fighting for almost sixty years over the divided state of Kashmir. India’s security strategy relating to Kashmir, Pakistan and terrorism is generally considered to be a failure. Discontent in Kashmir, four wars with Pakistan and terrorist attacks throughout the length and breadth of the country by Kashmiri separatists are proof of it. The proposed paper argues that India has ignored the role of cultural factor in this conflict.

Michele Lebaron has argued that Cultures are embedded in every conflict because conflicts arise in human relationships. Cultures affect the ways we name, frame, blame, and attempt to tame conflicts. Culture is always a factor in conflict, whether it plays a central role or influences it subtly and gently. For any conflict that touches us where it matters, where we make meaning and hold our identities, there is always a cultural component. On the same lines, the proposed paper argues that Kashmir is not just a territorial conflict. This seemingly intractable conflict is also about also about acknowledgement, representation, and legitimization of different identities and ways of living, being, and making meaning. The paper will propose India should reformulate its security strategy by following the paradigm of *cultural fluency* that means acquaintance with cultures: their natures, how they work, and ways they intermingle with our relationships in times of conflict and harmony.

3. Dr Syeda Sharmin Absar (sharabsar@yahoo.com)

Visiting Fellow at the ANU Centre for UNESCO, Canberra, Australia

‘UN Arbitration and Mutual Respect for Mutual Interests in the SAARC and ASEAN Region: Turning Point in Bangladesh Foreign Policy’

ABSTRACT: The Bangladesh Government has served India and Myanmar letter of notice for UN arbitration of maritime boundary in the Bay of Bengal on October 8, 2009. This can be termed as the turning point in foreign policy of Bangladesh government. What if the UN arbitration does not end but a war begins in the Bay with Myanmar? Are the companies to leave the work without delivering goods? How much loss will the government incur in that situation and how will it impact the stability of the government in that scenario? Will Bangladesh have to pay the companies for the entire contract period even if not a single drilling is possible for the war or tsunami etc. Why? Is the contract being made in a way so that payment can be made for the work done only? Probably, like the public, the BNP also wants to know these answers. If not, they should start thinking about Bangladesh in a way so that the country benefits from their wise input and the place to give such input is the Parliament and not in a room full of press owned by BNP businessmen.

4. Dr Rajshree Jetly (isasrj@nus.edu.sg)

Research Fellow, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore

‘The Challenge of Religious Extremism in Pakistan: Domestic Imperatives and International Ramifications’

ABSTRACT: The rise of religious extremism is by far the gravest challenge that Pakistan is facing today. The militants who were earlier operating in Pakistan but not against Pakistan have now begun to turn inwards against the state itself. Pakistan today is more at odds with itself than ever before; the army is embroiled in counter insurgency operations against its own people and there is a huge humanitarian crisis of internally displaced people. The Islamic groups have clearly

spread their tentacles far and wide in Pakistan and the devastating impact of this on the domestic stability of Pakistan is all too evident. The government is today much more determined to fight the militants, there is a broad political consensus on the military operations, and more importantly, public opinion is gradually turning against the Taliban. However, the road ahead is not going to be an easy one and Pakistan may have to live with this problem for quite some time.

Linked to the issue of rising fundamentalism at the domestic level are the challenges Pakistan faces at the international and regional level. Widespread perception of Pakistan being the epicenter of global terrorism is creating tremendous problems for Pakistan's international image. It is also casting a shadow on its relations with US, the key global power spearheading the war against terrorism, as also its two important neighbours, India and Afghanistan, with whom its relations have come under grave strain. A complex web of relationships is emerging between US, India and Afghanistan in the global war against terror which has long-term implications for Pakistan's security perspectives. This paper will look at the growth of Islamic militancy in Pakistan both in terms of the domestic challenges as well as international ramifications. This assumes particular significance for Pakistan in view of the deteriorating domestic situation and a complicated regional strategic scenario emerging around it. Pakistan's future, the paper argues, would invariably be shaped by how effectively it deals with the menace of Islamic militancy on its soil and balances its foreign policy equations with its domestic compulsions.

5. Sandra Destradi (destradi@giga-hamburg.de)

Research Fellow, GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg

'An Actor-Centred Perspective on Security Relations in South Asia: India's Relations with Bangladesh as a Case of Failed Hegemony'

ABSTRACT: This paper deals with India's foreign policy strategies as the regional power in South Asia. While most theoretical approaches to regional security focus on structural factors such as the distribution of power capabilities to explain peace and conflict at the regional level, this paper takes an actor-centred perspective focused on India as the regional power, that is, the predominant country in the region. The analysis of foreign policy strategies is based on the consideration of New Delhi's foreign policy goals and means as well as of their interplay with the reactions and perceptions of the smaller countries in India's neighbourhood. This kind of analytical framework reveals that India, despite its striking superiority in terms of material power capabilities in its region, is not able to convert these power resources into actual influence, making it a failed hegemon in South Asia. One of the main reasons for India's limited leverage, I argue, is represented by the negative perceptions about India on the part of the smaller neighbouring states as well as by these countries' difficulties in asserting their own identity as distinct from that of India. This argument will be illustrated through the empirical analysis of India's security relations with Bangladesh, one of the countries most affected by geographically and historically determined threat perceptions about India as well as by decade-old identity problems vis-à-vis its larger neighbour. These issues, reflected in a high degree of politicisation of relations with India by the main parties in Bangladesh, make it impossible for New Delhi to settle issues such as immigration, terrorism, and border management in its favour.

6. Christian Wagner (christian.wagner@swp-berlin.org)

Head Research Unit Asia, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin
'India's Soft Power: Prospects and Limitations'

ABSTRACT: The international system of the twenty-first century will be characterised by contradictory trends. On the one hand, the economic benefits of globalisation will increase state power thereby strengthening the idea of a multi-polar world. On the other hand, non-state actors that challenge state authority and global institutions that exert influence on state behaviour via a variety of international regimes and regulations point at a non-polar world system. In such a scenario traditional concepts of hard power will no longer be sufficient to pursue national interests. The concept of soft power has extended the scope to include more aspects into the analysis of international politics. The attractiveness of a state and societal model, that is at the core of the idea of soft power has not only triggered a debate and policy initiatives in the U.S. and Europe but also in China. The paper will analyse the prospects and limitations of India's soft power capacities and capabilities.

7. Yang Lu (luyang313@googlemail.com)

Doctoral Candidate, University of Heidelberg, Germany

'Sino-Indian Relations and Their Implications for the South Asian Security'

ABSTRACT: The relationship between the two Asian giants, China and India, has not been an easy one since the end of the 1940s. For a long time, many analyses of Sino-Indian relations assumed an underlying element of competitiveness, due to the 1962 border conflict and the Cold War. However, as a number of structural and historical conditions have changed, their current strategic perceptions cannot be totally characterized in relative gains or neorealist terms. This paper is a constructivist attempt to use identity as an important explanatory variable to explain Sino-Indian relations. Since identity roots in actor's self-understanding and always include a relationship between self and others, we should not only try to understand India and China's self-images, but also their images towards each other. An examination of their current foreign policy thinkings and respective images towards each other will contribute to a better understanding of China and India's identities and thus their complex relations. The implications of the ongoing Sino-Indian relations for the South Asian security environment will be discussed in this paper.

8. Prof. Ummu Salma Bava (usbava@gmail.com)

Centre for European Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi

'Indian Foreign Policy: Constructing a New Identity'

ABSTRACT: International politics underwent a dramatic transformation with the end of Cold War in 1990. For India in particular, its foreign policy faced a new set of opportunities, challenges and reality with the end of Cold War in 1990. This paper offers the key points which engage Indian foreign policy today in South Asia. Taking a macro view of global order, it situates the changes at the global and regional level, particularly in South Asia and how all these are defining the contours of India's foreign policy, which is increasingly in the spotlight as an emerging Asian power. It looks at the dilemmas India faces in conducting its foreign policy and how it addresses the challenges of constructing a new image for itself as an emerging power.

9. Chris Ogden (c.c.ogden@sms.ed.ac.uk)

Department of Politics & International Relations, University of Edinburgh

‘Examining Ideational Sources of Security in South Asia’

ABSTRACT: How do identities influence national security in India? What is the impact of these identities on international relations in South Asia and beyond? This paper investigates these questions from policy formation to implementation through a focus upon national, ideological and individual identities. In particular, importance is given to the development of the norms and cultural mindsets which these identities created, influenced and embedded *over time*. As such, the paper draws together theoretical perspectives that emphasize ideational and historical sources of security, such as social constructivism, strategic culture and social psychology. These perspectives are then used to produce an analytical framework that explains both continuity *and* change in the security practice of India and the region as a whole. By bringing identity to the fore of security analysis, the paper will highlight the efficacy of ideational factors in the examination of South Asia’s contemporary security dynamics.

10. Syed Hussain Shaheed Soherwordi (syedshaheed@hotmail.co.uk)

Department of History and Classics, University of Edinburgh

‘Pakistan-US Policies Concerning the “War on Terror”: Allies at Loggerheads’

ABSTRACT: The Cold War period witnessed Pakistan and the United States as “staunch allies”. The end of the East-West confrontation, however, began a new era in Pak-American relations due to the changing priorities of the long-time ties amongst the departments of bilateral allies- CIA, State Department, the White House, and the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI). Main concerns of these policy-making bodies/agencies clashed with their counterparts in their policies toward Afghanistan following the 9/11 events. The divergence of approaches toward the future of Afghanistan and giving a casual response to the sensitivity of Pakistan’s security vis-à-vis India has further aggravated tension between the Pakistan Army and the US policy making bodies. The war on terror especially along Pakistan’s Western border in the tribal areas is infuriating the already volatile situation. The sources of policies which have brought the two countries to the brink of wrangling are discussed in this paper. It is emphasized that the lack of a common security culture is primarily responsible for most of the trouble being encountered in their bilateral relations.

11. Antia Mato Bouzas (antiajnu@hotmail.com)

Research Fellow, Centre for Modern Oriental Studies, Berlin

‘Conflicting peripheries and state security: the case of Kashmir’

ABSTRACT: The paper will examine the socio-political dynamics of the indo-pakistani borderland along the Line of Control, from its condition of being a peripheral area of India and Pakistan, but also as a crucial territory that best illustrates the enmity relationship between these two countries and the conflicting national identities behind it through the Kashmir conflict. By doing so, it intends to underline how the local narratives, as well as the state security strategies towards the disputed area, challenge certain general assumptions related to the dispute. At the same time, this approach revolves around the idea that the study of the peripheries of the state, and the cross-border relations in particular, can provide relevant information about a country’s security strategies that have ultimately implications for its neighbourhood relations.