



CONFERENCE BOOKLET

*6<sup>th</sup> South Asia Conference*

*on*

PROSPECTS FOR STABILITY AND  
GROWTH IN SOUTH ASIA

*November 6-7, 2012*

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 research and policy relevant studies on all aspects of defence and security. Since its inception, IDSA has served as a forum to debate important aspects of national and international security. Its mission is to promote national and international security through the generation and dissemination of knowledge on defence and security-related issues.

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

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



## **Research Clusters**

- East Asia
- South Asia
- Military Affairs
- North America
- Internal Security
- Eurasia & West Asia
- Strategic Technologies
- Non-Traditional Security
- Nuclear and Arms Control
- Southeast Asia and Oceania
- Defence Economics & Industry
- Africa, Latin America, Caribbean & UN



## ABOUT 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 face similar challenges, the IDSA conferences have attempted to engage policy makers, academics, civil society actors and young professionals in a dialogue on key concerns with the objective to achieve sustainable peace and security. This is the 6<sup>th</sup> 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
- Cooperative Security Framework for South Asia



## CONCEPT NOTE

### **Prospects for Stability and Growth in South Asia**

In its post-colonial phase, the regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America have experienced varying degrees of political, social and economic turbulence. The goal of political leadership in all the regions has been the establishment of democracy and achievement of economic growth in order to provide peace and stability to their people. Of all the regions, South Asia is the one which can be regarded as having achieved a greater degree of political stability and economic growth, except perhaps the Asia-Pacific region, particularly parts of East and South East Asia.

In the last 10 years or so, the trend in South Asia has been towards greater stability and faster economic growth. This can be said to be true of most countries of South Asia to a greater or less degree, even if there have been upheavals of various kinds off and on. For instance, India has had a continuous rule by the UPA alliance since 2004, although the alliance has had its normal problems. Nepal came out of the clutches of monarchical autocracy and Maoist violence, and set itself on the path of a non-violent struggle for acquiring a modus-vivendi among contending political forces in a democratic framework. Bangladesh despite being faced with the challenges of right wing extremism and threats of military activism has found it possible to stay put on the democratic path. Pakistan has fought a valiant war against the perennial strong hold of the army and the well orchestrated violence of Islamic extremists and managed to keep a democratically elected government in power at least since 2008. The successful war against Tamil terrorists in Sri Lanka has enabled this country to pay greater attention to processes of long term reconciliation



with the Tamil minority, within the framework of a united Sri Lanka. Afghanistan has gone through an epic struggle to defeat a highly motivated insurgency in the last ten years, with the strong intervention of foreign powers, and has ultimately realised the unavailability of reconciliation with the insurgents, so that the country can achieve a modicum of stability. In the Maldives, despite the recent political upheaval, the political system has found it possible to keep standing on democratic legs, in the hope of absorbing incipient challenges in due course. Bhutan, of course has gradually veered towards greater democratisation with full support of the monarchy and has tended to move towards greater long term stability. In Myanmar as well, political liberalisation initiated by the newly elected president in 2011 has led to greater political stability, enabling the most popular democratic leader to participate in the electoral process, and work within the framework of the new constitution.

In the economic field, the South Asian region as a whole has seen upward growth in varying degrees. India's rate of growth was noticeable and the optimism has not dimmed despite the recent slowdown. The Bangladesh economy has also been doing well with an average growth rate of 6 per cent in the last ten years. The growth rate of Bhutan has averaged 8 per cent during the same period. Sri Lanka has recently witnessed a growth rate of nearly 8 per cent, in the post war years. There is no doubt that there have been severe challenges to economic growth in Pakistan, partly resulting from natural disasters and partly a consequence of internal strife. Nepal's economy has also been the victim of political conflicts and contradictions, which are now in the process of being patched up. While the Afghan economy has been adversely affected by the prevailing security situation over the last decade, there have been certain years of high growth triggered by large infusion of foreign aid



and remittances. The Maldivian economy has intermittently shown years of negative growth along with certain years of above average growth. The economy slipped over the last year which could be regarded as one of the reasons for the recent political strife. The Myanmar economy showed an excellent average rate of 9% growth during the last 10 years, recording a very high rate of growth during the first 5 years of the decade, which sharply fluctuated in later years, largely due to political vicissitudes and aggravated by natural disasters.

The primary focus of this conference will therefore be to examine the forces and processes which have led to relative political stability or unleashed trends in that direction, as also the causes which are responsible for poor economic growth, in some parts of South Asia. In view of the fact that the countries of South Asia are of uneven size and resources, the relationships among them and the extent to which they affect each other's stability and growth becomes an important variable. The framework of analyses will have to include an enquiry into reasons for reduced violence in some countries and continued violence in some others. It will have to delve into the factors that have stimulated economic growth in some countries, and impeded economic growth in some others. Also, what will need to be examined is how far the positive political and economic trends in the region are irreversible or lend themselves to internal convulsions and external influences. Besides, it will be important to examine how far the inter-state relations within the region tend to lead to stronger intra-regional cooperation, particularly in the economic field.

The conference intends to deliberate on the following issues:

- What is the interplay between political and economic factors in the region?



- How do intra-regional relationships affect stability and growth?
- What is the role of external powers in promoting stability and growth?
- What is the way forward for sustaining stability and growth?



## CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

### DAY ONE: November 6, 2012 (Tuesday)

**9.30 am-10.00 am**     **Registration**

**10.00 am-10.30 am**   **Inaugural Session**

Welcome Address     Dr. Arvind Gupta, DG IDSA

Inaugural Address    Shri M.M. Pallam Raju, Union Minister  
of Human Resource Development

Release of IDSA Publications

Vote of Thanks        Brig. (Retd.) Rumel Dahiya, DDG,  
IDSA

**10.30 am-11.00 am**   **Tea**

**11.00 am-1.00 pm**    **Session I**

*Political Stability in South Asia: Challenges and Opportunities*

**Chairperson**             **Amb. Leela K. Ponappa**

**Prof. S.D. Muni**            *Stability and Development in South  
Asia*

**Amb. Jehangir  
Ashraf Qazi**                *Survival of Democracy in Pakistan:  
Imperatives and Obstacles*

**H. E. Mr. Fuwad  
Thowfeek**                  *Challenges to Political Stability in  
Maldives*

**Amb. Nyunt  
Maung Shein**                *Myanmar-A Country in Transition-From  
Military to Civilian Rule*

**Mr. Waliullah  
Rahmani**                    *2014: A Shift to Stability or a Failed State  
in Afghanistan?*

**1.00 pm- 2.00 pm**     **Lunch**



## 2.00 pm- 3.30 pm Session II

### *Political Stability in South Asia: Challenges and Opportunities*

<b>Chairperson</b>	<b>Prof. Satish Kumar</b>
<b>Prof. Ranjith Bandara</b>	<i>Regional Disparity-Challenges of Post-Civil War Development in Sri Lanka.</i>
<b>H.E. Mr. Dago Tshering</b>	<i>From Monarchy to Democracy in Bhutan</i>
<b>Dr. E. Sridharan</b>	<i>Challenges to Political Stability in India</i>
<b>Dr. Smruti Pattanaik</b>	<i>Challenges to Democracy and Pluralism in Bangladesh</i>
<b>Mr. Prashant Jha</b>	<i>Nepal's Quest for a Constitutional Settlement</i>

3.30 pm-4.00 pm Tea

## 4.00 pm- 5.30 pm Session III

### *Economic Growth in South Asia: Problems and Prospects*

<b>Chairperson</b>	<b>Amb. Rajiv Sikri</b>
<b>Prof. Bishwambher Pyakuryal</b>	<i>Economic Growth in Nepal- Need for Economic Reforms</i>
<b>Dr. Anura Ekanayake</b>	<i>Political Economy of Four Decades of Conflicts in Sri Lanka in Retrospect: Implications for Peace and Prosperity of South Asia</i>
<b>Prof. C.P. Chandrasekhar</b>	<i>India's Growth Story: Is This a Turning Point?</i>
<b>Mr. Mohammad Sulaiman Akbari</b>	<i>Economic Growth in Afghanistan: Challenges and Prospects</i>



## DAY TWO: November 7, 2012 (Wednesday)

9.30 am-11.00 am **Session IV**

*Economic Growth in South Asia: Problems and Prospects*

**Chairperson** **Amb. I.P. Khosla**

**Professor Bazlul Haque Khondker** *Prospects of Economic Growth in Bangladesh*

**Professor Ijaz Nabi** *Pakistan's Regional Trade Strategy and Pakistan-India Bilateral Trade*

**Mr. Bandhu Ibrahim Saleem** *Maldives-Sustaining Economic Growth and Issues*

**Mr. Tenzing Lamsang** *Strategy of Sustainable Growth in Bhutan- Role of Regional Cooperation*

11.00 am-11.30 am **Tea**

11.30 am- 1.00 pm **Session V**

*Sustaining Stability and Growth in South Asia: The Way Forward*

**Chairperson** **Amb. Satish Chandra**

**Dr. Arvind Gupta** *Political Stability in South Asia: Towards a Cooperative Approach*

**Dr. Sanjaya Baru** *India's Role in the Economic Re-integration of the Indian Sub-continent*

**Amb. Sheel Kant Sharma** *SAARC and South Asian Stability and Growth: Potential and Promise*

1.00 pm-1.05 pm **Vote of Thanks**

Ms. Sumita Kumar, Conference Coordinator

1.05pm-2.00 pm **Lunch**



*Profiles of Participants*  
&  
*Abstracts*



## **M. M. PALLAM RAJU**

Hon'ble Union Minister of Human  
Resource Development

Government of India, New Delhi



Shri M. Mangapati Pallam Raju, M.P., is an alumnus of the Hyderabad Public School (HPS), Hyderabad. He is a Graduate in Electronics & Communications (ECE) Engineering (BE) from Andhra University, Visakhapatnam, AP, INDIA. He is an MBA from Temple University, Philadelphia, USA.

Shri M. Pallam Raju was first elected to the Indian Parliament in 1989, and was the youngest MP in the 9<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha. He was re-elected to the 14<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha in 2004 and to the 15<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha in 2009, and was till recently the Minister of State for Defence, Raksha Rajya Mantri (RRM), Government of India, in the Council of Ministers in the Government of Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh. Shri Pallam Raju has been a very active member of the Indian National Congress (INC) Party, and has held several important positions in the Andhra Pradesh state unit, and at the National level, with his last assignment as the Chairman of the Department of Policy Planning and Coordination (DEPPCO) in the All India Congress Committee (AICC) during 2004-2006.

He was Minister of State for Defence, Government of India. (January 2006 to May 2009 & from June 2009 to October 2012). He was Chairman of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Information Technology, which comprises of the Departments of Information Technology, Communications & Posts and Information & Broadcasting. (August 2004 - January 2006) A successful entrepreneur in the field of Information Technology, he was the Managing Director of a successful IT company and has been on the boards of a few very successful Public Listed Companies until his induction into the Union Council of Ministers in January 2006.



## DR. ARVIND GUPTA

Director General

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Dr. Arvind Gupta assumed charge as Director General, IDSA on 5th January, 2012. He belongs to the Indian Foreign Service. Currently, he holds the rank of Additional Secretary to the Government of India. He is on deputation to the IDSA. He has worked in MEA in different capacities and served in diplomatic missions in Moscow, London and Ankara. He held the Lal Bahadur Shastri Chair on National Security at the IDSA from 2008 to 2011. Prior to joining the IDSA, he was Joint Secretary at the National Security Council Secretariat from 1999 to 2007. During his tenure at the NSCS, he dealt with a wide range of international and national security issues, and participated in the various working groups and task forces set up by the NSC. He also worked with the Kargil Review Committee. At the IDSA, he headed the South Asia and Internal Security Clusters and edited the Institute's flagship bi-monthly journal: Strategic Analysis. His current interests include India's security & foreign policy, diplomatic challenges before India, energy security, climate change, India's neighbours, internal security and technology. He has three books, several edited books and a number of academic publications to his credit. He has been a member of several task forces on issues such as space security, climate change, cyber security, nuclear disarmament etc.



## **BRIG. (RETD.) RUMEL DAHIYA**

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Brig. Rumel Dahiya, SM retired from Net Assessment Directorate at Integrated Defence Staff of the Indian Armed Forces in 2009 after 32 years of service in the India Army. He is presently Deputy Director General at Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses

He has had extensive command and staff experience during his military career, including that in counter-insurgency situations and has also served as Defence Attaché to Turkey, Syria and Lebanon, and with the Indian Military Training Team in Bhutan. He also served with Military Operations Directorate of the Indian Army.

He is a graduate of the National Defence College and Defence Services Staff College. He was awarded the Sword of Honour and Gold Medal from Indian Military Academy at his commissioning.





# *Session I*

## *Political Stability in South Asia: Challenges and Opportunities*

*Tuesday, November 6, 2012*

*11.00 am-1.00 pm*



## *Chairperson*

### **AMBASSADOR LEELA K. PONAPPA**

Former Deputy National Security Adviser,  
Government of India, New Delhi  
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Ambassador Leela K. Ponappa is a former Ambassador and Deputy National Security Adviser & Secretary of the National Security Council Secretariat. As a career diplomat in the Indian Foreign Service, she has worked extensively on India's relations with its neighbours in the Ministry of External Affairs, as Desk Officer for Pakistan & Afghanistan and Divisional head handling SAARC and subsequently, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Myanmar and the Maldives. Her ambassadorial assignments have been to Thailand, UNESCAP, the Netherlands and the OPCW (Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons). She has served on the faculty of the National Defence College and been a Research Associate at the Centre for South and South-East Asian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. She was Vice Chairperson of RIS (Research and Information Systems, New Delhi), an economic think tank, from 2007 to 2010. She is currently Chairperson of the India Committee of CSCAP (Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific) and was elected Co-Chair of CSCAP in June 2012.



## PROFESSOR S. D. MUNI

Visiting Research Professor, Institute of South  
Asian Studies, National University of Singapore  
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Professor S.D. Muni, presently Visiting Research Professor with the Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore, was India's Special Envoy to Southeast Asian countries on UN Security Council Reforms (2005-06) and served as India's Ambassador to Laos PDR (1997-1999). In 2005, the Sri Lankan President bestowed on him 'Sri Lanka Ratna', the highest Sri Lankan civilian honour for a non-national. He superannuated from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India in 2006 after 33 years of service. At the University, he held the prestigious Appadorai Chair of International Relations and Area Studies. He is a member of India's University Grants Commission's Standing Committee on Area Studies, and a Visitor's nominee on the faculty selection board in Social Sciences of the Indira Gandhi National Open University, New Delhi. He was the founder Editor of Indian Foreign Affairs Journal (2005-2008), (Cambridge University Press, India) and South Asia Journal (1990-94) (Sage India). He is also affiliated with the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, and Monash Asia Institute, Melbourne, as a Fellow. He served at the Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi as Director of Research-International Affairs (2006-2007). Prof. Professor Muni has had visiting assignments for teaching/research in the academic institutions/universities of US, UK, Sweden, Norway, Germany, Australia, Japan, and Singapore. Author and editor of about two dozen books, Professor Muni has published 125 research papers and articles in various academic journals of repute.



# STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH ASIA

*Professor S.D. Muni*

Development is a multi-faceted phenomenon, of which economic growth is one aspect. Stability has varied and diverse connotations. Any attempt to understand the nexus between stability and development, particularly in vibrant developing societies, such as those of South Asia, must firmly and clearly grasp the meaning and thrust of these concepts. Stability is generally meant only in terms of political systems and ruling regimes. It would however, be better to look at stability in terms of institutions and norms that govern political, socio-cultural and economic domains of a given society. Development would mean not only economic growth but also include social harmony and cohesion, a political order based on the consent and approval of the governed and an 'emancipative cultural change'. Gandhi emphasized the importance of 'spiritual development' as a measure of real progress and Bhutan has evolved the unique concept of happiness (Gross National Happiness) that includes spiritual contentment as the goal of national endeavour. All these political, social, economic and cultural components of development phenomenon correspond with each other and have a mutually reinforcing relationship.

Political stability and economic growth have a complex nexus. Political stability has a positive relationship with economic growth i.e. stability stimulates, promotes and sustains creative economic activity, but stability is not the only and sufficient condition for growth prospects. Arguments are made occasionally that conflicts, turbulence and instability may also trigger drivers of growth, by building national resolve, throwing up dynamic leadership and radicalizing policy packages. Sri Lanka even during the peak of ethnic conflict, boasted of high economic growth. Generally, however, political instability obstructs economic growth and socio-cultural development. Instability precipitates four 'D's that impinge negatively on the growth



dynamics; namely it Disrupts economic activity, Disturbs social peace and order, Delays policy priorities and implementation, Deters investments and economic stimuli and Distorts the overall vision of growth and development. South Asia has had its share of political turbulence and conflicts. The region has broadly moved towards greater order and stability since the beginning of this century. The prospects of overall regional stability, however, are not still in a sustainable mode. The 'global war on terror' in Afghanistan and Pakistan will leave an unmanageable legacy after the withdrawal of the US led coalition forces in 2014. There are pockets of persisting violence and insurgency in India, particularly in the resource rich areas. And above all, the democratic resurgence witnessed in the region is still fragile and vulnerable. The prevailing leadership does not provide the much needed sense of reassurance and confidence.

Turbulence will continue to characterize political dynamics in South Asia for years to come. The challenge of stable political order in the region is being fed by demographic pressures, ethnic alienation and exploding aspirations. All this is affecting and will continue to affect the prospect of economic growth. To add to the worries of the faster growing South Asian economies like that of India and Bangladesh, international economic climate is also not very encouraging, due to a slump in the US and European economies. What South Asia needs to do is to restore in every country the broader democratic-political consensus, reinforce their respective democratic polities and improve governance. Parameters of regional economic cooperation have improved over the past couple of years, but these parameters need to be further augmented by enhancing trade and investment prospects. South Asia may not have much say in the economic performance of the developed world, but if the region can ensure that strategic competition among extra-regional powers like China and the U.S., does not vitiate regional political dynamics, prospects of stability and growth would look hopeful.



## AMBASSADOR ASHRAF JEHANGIR QAZI

Director General

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Ambassador Ashraf Jehangir Qazi is the Director General of Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad since March 2011. He was born on April 2, 1942, and belongs to Pishin in Balochistan. His father Qazi Mohammad Musa is brother of Qazi Mohammad Isa, founder of Muslim League in Balochistan. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi received his early education at St. Francis Grammar School, Quetta, Aitchison College, Lahore, Forman Christian College, Lahore and Punjab University, Lahore. He has a master's degree in Economics. He joined Pakistan Foreign Service in 1965 and has held ambassadorial postings in Syria, East Germany, Soviet Union/Russia, China, India and the United States. He retired as Additional Secretary (Afghanistan, Soviet Union and Policy Planning). He was also associated with United Nations as the Special Representative of the Secretary General (USG) and head of UNAMI in Iraq (Baghdad) and UNMIS in Sudan (Khartoum).



## H.E. MR. FUWAD THOWFEEK

Chairperson

Elections Commission, Maldives

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H.E. Mr. Fuwad Thowfeek is the Chairperson of the first Independent Elections Commission of the Maldives (ECM) that was established on 24 November 2009, to modernize the electoral system and develop a functioning multi-party system in the Maldives. He was also a member of the interim Elections Commission that was established on 4 September 2008, prior to the current Elections Commission. Since September 2008, H.E. Mr. Thowfeek has been involved in policy level decisions, and the overall planning and management of all national elections and public referendums including the 2008 Presidential Elections, 2009 Parliamentary Elections and the more recent 2011 Local Council Elections in the Maldives. Prior to his work at the Elections Commission of Maldives, H.E. Mr. Thowfeek was the Executive Director at the Ministry of Planning and National Development, where he led the National Census Operations of 1977-1992 and 2000-2006, all Socio-Economic Surveys at the national level and contributed immensely to all the statistical publications of the country during the period. Between 1992 to 1999, he worked at the Secretariat of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation. He has also worked as a Statistician and Computer Programmer and has advised and assisted several agencies in developing their statistical systems. He underwent a graduate study and professional development program at the Graduate School of Management, Boston University, U.S.A., and holds a Diploma in Computer Data Systems from the International Statistical Programs Center of the Bureau of Census, Washington D.C., U.S.A. He also studied at the International Statistical Education Centre of the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, India and at the Statistical Institute for Asia and the Pacific, Tokyo, Japan.



## CHALLENGES TO THE POLITICAL STABILITY IN MALDIVES

*H.E. Mr. Fuwad Thowfeek*

Like most newly democratic countries Maldives, the smallest country in the region, faces a lot of challenges in maintaining the democratic gains it has achieved, with the execution of the new Constitution of Maldives that came into effect on 7 August 2008. With the new Constitution, the general public has been granted many new rights that were alien to them in the past. When the new Constitution was introduced, enough effort had not been made on civic education which according to Amy Guttman is required to “cultivate the virtues, knowledge, and skills necessary for political participation” (Guttman, 1987) and enough time was not spent on assessing the impact on the society as a result of it. The paper examines the political environment of Maldives, the challenges faced by the political parties, and the factors that contribute to disrupt the political harmony of the country. It will elaborate on the main factors that affect the political stability of the country, such as the “Media” which is mainly controlled by business tycoons with political affiliations; “Law Makers” who are perceived to prioritise their self-interest ahead of the nation; “Role of the Independent Institutions” among which most institutions' legislations still need to be completed; “Religion” which some manipulate as a means to achieve power and “Economy” which determines how much a welfare state the government can afford to be. While acknowledging that Maldives is in a very difficult situation with 15 political parties, contesting the government in a game of tug of war, the paper also discusses the paths that can be taken to overcome these challenges.



## AMBASSADOR NYUNT MAUNG SHEIN

Former Permanent Representative of  
Myanmar to the United Nations, Yangon  
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H.E. Ambassador Nyunt Maung Shein served with the Government of Myanmar for forty years, before retiring as Ambassador/Permanent Representative to the United Nations Office in Geneva in 2008. He held various diplomatic positions at Myanmar Missions in Bern, Hanoi, Bangkok, Dhaka and Tokyo. He was Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Korea (2001-2002) and the Federal Republic of Germany (2002-2005) with concurrent accreditation to Austria, Poland, Finland and the Czech Republic as well as the Ambassador/Permanent Representative to the UNIDO, UNODC and IAEA, Vienna. H.E. Ambassador Shein served in the Political Department in different capacities as Director of Boundary Division (1990-1992), Deputy Director-General (1996) and Director-General (1998-2000). He has represented his country at the Senior Official's Meeting (SOM) and other related meetings of ASEAN including summits. He holds a BSc. Degree from the University of Yangon and MIPP (Master of International Public Policy) from SAIS, the Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC, USA and a Diploma in French from the University of Foreign Languages, Yangon. He received several medals from the government for his services; the highest being the Excellent Performance in Administration Medal (First Class) awarded to him in the year 2000. Since his retirement he is involved in Track II activities under the aegis of the Myanmar Institute for Strategic and International Studies (MISIS). He has participated in various workshops organized by the MISIS in conjunction with Track II institutions in the Asia Pacific region. He has been designated to head the MISIS as Chairman soon.



## MYANMAR - A COUNTRY IN TRANSITION, FROM MILITARY TO CIVILIAN RULE

*H.E. Ambassador Nyunt Maung Shein*

Myanmar, the largest country in mainland Southeast Asia, today finds itself in political and economic transition embracing multiparty democracy and market oriented economy, abandoning decades of military rule. Pursuant to the elections of November 2010, multiparty democracy has been restored in more than fifty years. New political institutions namely the two houses of parliament, and local assemblies at regional and state levels have emerged. A new civilian government with U Thein Sein as president of the republic has been installed since 30 March 2011. Responding to the aspirations of the people, the new government is making concerted efforts to carry out reforms in the political, economic and social sectors.

Sweeping political reforms were carried out in the first year, which inter alia include the President's historic meeting with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of the National League for Democracy Party (NLD) in August 2011, the release of over 28,000 prisoners including several hundreds of prisoners of conscience, amending the Political Parties' Registration Act in November 2011, paving the way for the NLD to take part in the by elections of 1 April 2012, and concluding ceasefire agreements with ten out of the eleven armed ethnic groups.

With Myanmar set on the path to democracy, it will undoubtedly contribute to the political stability and economic progress of South Asia as a whole. Myanmar is located in a geo-strategic position and serves as a gateway to South Asia. Myanmar is a full fledged member of ASEAN as well as an observer in SAARC. It is destined to play the role of connecting the two great regions of South Asia and Southeast Asia. It is in this light that Myanmar looks forward to contribute to the enhancement of the security and prosperity of South Asia.



## MR. WALIULLAH RAHMANI

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Mr. Waliullah Rahmani is a co-founder and Executive Director of the Kabul Center for Strategic Studies. He is editor of the Kabul Direct, the monthly English language journal published by the center. Mr. Rahmani has worked with the Jamestown Foundation focusing on Global terrorism analysis. He has authored articles for many international organizations and leading newspapers. Mr. Rahmani has appeared in several high-profile media outlets. Among others, he has appeared in Washington Post, the Wall Street Journal, the Globe and Mail, Christian Science Monitor, USA Today, Al Jazeera English and BBC World Service. He is invited to speak in the House of Commons - Canada, the German Parliament and UN meetings in Geneva.



## **2014: A SHIFT TO STABILITY OR A FAILED STATE IN AFGHANISTAN?**

*Mr. Waliullah Rahmani*

The international community's goal is to have a stable Afghanistan by the time the US and NATO exit in 2014 as currently scheduled. The question is, will they achieve their goal and leave behind a stable Afghanistan? For Afghans, this question is not about victory or defeat of the international community. It's an existential question. Will they survive if the international community leaves behind a state so fragile that is bound to collapse?

What will happen to the Afghan people when the international community withdraws in 2014? Will they be caught in a massive tribal war or will they be able to continue building their lives in a modernizing stabilizing state? The first milestone on this unknown road ahead will be the next elections, also scheduled for 2014. Will they be conducted fairly? Or will they be manipulated?

This paper will address these questions. What are the prospects for stability in Afghanistan once the international community leaves? How can negative outcomes be avoided? Will Afghans come together or fight each other post-2014? What are the forces of stability and what are the forces of de-stabilization? For Afghans, the answers to these questions do not boil down to who will win or who will lose. The answers to these questions are far more grave: They boil down to who will live and who will die.





# *Session II*

## *Political Stability in South Asia: Challenges and Opportunities*

*Tuesday, November 6, 2012*

*2.00 pm- 3.30 pm*



## Chairperson

### PROFESSOR SATISH KUMAR

Director

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Prof. Satish Kumar is the Director, Foundation for National Security Research and Editor-in-Chief, *India's National Security Annual Review*. He has held several distinguished positions: Counselor of International Relations, Academy for World Watch, Shanghai (2011-2013, 2006-2008); Distinguished Fellow, Institute of Peace and Conflicts Studies, New Delhi (at present); MEA Chair, United Service Institution of India, New Delhi (1998-1999); India Chair, University of World Economy and Diplomacy, Tashkent (1996-98). He was Professor of Diplomacy, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi (1983-98); Associate Professor of Diplomacy (1972-83); Visiting Professor in International Relations, University of Turin, Italy (1990); Visiting Fellow, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley (1978); Visiting Fellow, School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C. (1978). He represented India in the Peace and Security session of the United Nations Regional Conference organized by the UN Regional Office, Bangkok, at the UN University, Tokyo, in September 1999, as Preparatory to the Millennium Assembly of the UN in September 2000. He has participated in international conferences in Brazil, Switzerland, Denmark, US, Norway and Yugoslavia. He is also a Member of the Indian delegation to the ongoing India-Pakistan Track II dialogue called the "Neemrana Initiative".



## PROFESSOR RANJITH BANDARA

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Professor Bandara is a Professor in Economics attached to the academic staff of the Department of Economics, University of Colombo. He is currently the Chairman of Sri Lanka Foundation on a secondment and is Senior Economic Adviser and Director of the Financial Service Cluster at the Strategic Enterprise Management Agency, which comes under the President's Office. He serves as a member of the Financial System Stability Consultative Committee of the Central Bank of Sri Lanka. He also serves as a Senior Director on the Board of Directors - Merchant Bank of Sri Lanka PLC, Director Merchant Insurance Co. Limited and Director on the Board of Directors of Infrastructure Developers PLC. Professor Bandara also served as a Member of the National Economic Council of Sri Lanka. He earned his B.A. Honours degree in Economics from the University of Peradeniya in 1990 and subsequently completed two Masters Degrees, M.A. in Economics from the University of Colombo in 1992 and M.Sc. in Management of Natural Resources and Sustainable Agriculture from the Agricultural University of Norway in 1995. He earned his Ph.D in Economics from the University of Queensland, Australia in 2003. Professor Bandara has contributed to a number of National and International Journals and is the author of a few books written under various themes in Economics and related subjects and has also served as the Editor of the Sri Lanka Economic Journal. He is also the Editor of the Management Digest, a premier Management Journal in Sri Lanka.



# REGIONAL DISPARITY-CHALLENGES OF POST CIVIL WAR DEVELOPMENT IN SRI LANKA

*Professor Ranjith Bandara*

The paper examines some of the developmental disparities in post civil war (i.e. post 2009) Sri Lanka. The areas of possible disparities examined here include those in the distribution of income and wealth, inaccessibility to public amenities and also disparities in regional development. In capturing these aspects of developmental disparities, a set of achievement indicators were developed using available secondary data. The data in this paper clearly establish that there are considerable developmental disparities among urban, rural and estate sectors, and also among the different regions of the country. Disparities are clearly seen at the provincial level. With liberalisation of economic policies, private investments flowed mainly to a few urban centers in the country, particularly in the Western Province where conditions were conducive to achieve high returns on investment. Regions with better physical and social infrastructure, adequate forward and backward linkages and other elements of a very favourable environment, attracted most of the private investments over the last three decades.

Accordingly, there is an evident need for higher levels of investment in social services and infrastructure in backward provinces/regions relative to the better endowed provinces such as the Western Province. Despite efforts to improve conditions, there still remain significant regional disparities in socioeconomic conditions. A principal contributory factor for this backwardness is the fiscal weakness of provincial governments, resulting in their inability to find enough resources to meet regional investment requirements. Furthermore, that markets that operate relatively freely create disparities and inequalities. As a result, the capacity of provincial governments to develop the investment climate in their respective provinces, is being undermined. This manifests the strong nexus between resource availability and development. There is a need for deliberate interventions are made by the public sector.



## H.E. MR. DAGO TSHERING

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Lyonpo Dago Tshering is the Special Envoy of the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Bhutan, Hon'ble Lyonchhen Jigmi Y. Thinley. He is also the Foreign Policy Advisor to the Prime Minister. Former Home Minister and former Ambassador of Bhutan to several countries, Lyonpo Dago Tshering has served the Royal Government of Bhutan in a number of capacities since the launch of planned development in 1961. He joined the Royal Civil Service in 1961 in the Ministry of Development. He has served twice as a member of the National Assembly (1968-1970, and 1985-1989) as well as the Royal Advisory Council (1968-1971.) Having served as Secretary in the Home Ministry (1985) and Deputy Minister (1985-1991) he was awarded Orange Scarf by His Majesty King Jigme Singye Wangchuck on 16th July 1991 and elevated to the Cabinet rank of Minister for Home Affairs, a position held upto July 1998. One of the pioneers of modern Bhutan's foreign policy, Lyonpo established Bhutan's first resident diplomatic mission in India, Geneva and Bangladesh. Lyonpo served in various capacities at the Royal Bhutanese Embassy in New Delhi (1971-1973) and in New York at Bhutan's Permanent Mission to the United Nations (1971 to 1974.) In 1974 he was appointed Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Bhutan to the United Nations in New York (1974-1980), a post which he returned to in 1984. In 1980, he served as Bhutan's first Ambassador to the People's Republic of Bangladesh (1980-1984.) More recently, he served as Ambassador of Bhutan to India, concurrently accredited to Japan, and Nepal (1998-2008). He was Dean of the Diplomatic Corp in New Delhi from 2005-2008. He retired from Government Service in December 2008 as Ambassador to India.



## FROM MONARCHY TO DEMOCRACY IN BHUTAN

*H.E. Mr. Dago Tshering*

Bhutan is nestled in the Himalayas between India and China. The written historical accounts of Bhutan begins with Buddhist scriptures. More detailed accounts of our history are available from 8th century after Guru Padma Sambhava's visits to Bhutan, and the writings of Denma Tshemang and Yeshey Tshogyal, (both close followers of Guru Rinpoche), then of Zhapdrung Ngawang Namgyal in 1616 to 1650, and by the succeeding Trulkus and the Penlops. Thereafter, Bhutan had hundred years of Monarchy from 1907 to 2008. The third King, Jigme Dorji Wangchuck established the National Assembly in 1953.

It was however during the Fourth King, Jigme Singye Wangchuck 's reign from 1972 to 2006, that Bhutan progressed rapidly with resounding success in economic development and nurturing of democracy, through the concept of Gross National Happiness (GNH). The fourth King thought the general well being of the people was more important than economic growth, which he thought is the singular activity measured by GNP. The concept of GNH has a four prong strategy: a) Promotion of Sustainable Development and Equitable Growth b) Conservation of Environment and protection of Eco System. c) Promotion of Culture and protection of heritage and Value system and c) good Governance.

It was through this “Good Governance” sometimes called the golden pillar, and strengthening of the administrative system to make it more effective in delivering the programs to the people in the rural area, that the process of democracy was also strengthened. Thus the program of devolution of power to the people by way of 'development from below', and decentralisation, which prepared the people to take responsibility for their own well being, has been most effective. With years of nurturing democratic practices, Bhutan in 2008 successfully transitioned from Monarchy to Democracy.



## DR. E. SRIDHARAN

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Dr. E. Sridharan is the Academic Director of the University of Pennsylvania Institute for the Advanced Study of India (UPIASI), (in New Delhi), from its inception in 1997. He did his B.Sc. (Hons.) in Chemistry at St. Stephen's College of Delhi University, and his M.A. and M.Phil. in Political Science at Jawaharlal Nehru University. He earned his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Pennsylvania in 1989, and was a Fellow at the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, 1989-1997. He has held visiting appointments at the University of California, Berkeley, London School of Economics, and The Institute for Developing Economies, Tokyo, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore and the Center for the Advanced Study of India, University of Pennsylvania. He is a political scientist with research interests in the comparative politics and political economy of development including party systems, coalition politics and political finance, and international relations theory and conflict resolution in South Asia, in all of which areas he has published and is currently directing projects. He has edited *The India-Pakistan Nuclear Relationship: Theories of Deterrence and International Relations* (Routledge, India and UK, 2007), *International Relations Theory and South Asia*, Vols. I and II (Oxford University Press, 2011) and *Coalition Politics and Democratic Consolidation in Asia* (Oxford University Press, 2012). He is the Editor of *India Review*, is on the Editorial Board of *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, on the Editorial Advisory Board of *Millennial Asia*, and is Adviser to the Association of Asia Scholars.



## CHALLENGES TO POLITICAL STABILITY IN INDIA

*Dr. E. Sridharan*

India enjoyed single-party majority governments with the leading party getting a simple majority of seats in the Lok Sabha based on only a plurality of the votes, in the first eight general elections from 1952 to 1984, including the victory of the Janata Party in 1977, a single party based on the unification of several non-Congress parties. This period of single-party majority government lasted up to 1989. From then, except for the single-party Congress government of P. V. Narasimha Rao, 1991-96 (which was a minority government for the first half of its term), no single party has attained a majority on its own and all governments have been multi-party minority governments dependent on outside support. The paper traces the foundations and dynamics of such shifts, to underlying shifts at the state level and speculates on future trends. The paper also explores the other challenges to political stability in India. These can be identified as those that arise from unresolved problems of nation-building or national integration such as secessionist insurgencies, non-secessionist (primarily extreme-left) insurgencies, and possible movements for secession in the future arising out of alienation, possible terrorist movements arising out of alienation due to communal/ethnic violence, or for break-up of existing states and formation of new states, and instability and violence arising out of internal migration and urbanisation.



## DR. SMRUTI PATTANAİK

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Dr. Smruti S Pattanaik joined Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis in 1998 and currently is a Research Fellow. She holds Ph.D. in South Asian Studies from the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Dr. Pattanaik specialises in the politics of identity, civil-military relations and problem of democratization in South Asia. Her current work focuses on India's Neighbourhood Policy. Dr. Pattanaik has been a recipient of many international fellowships. She was a visiting fellow at the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO), Postdoctoral Fellow at MSH (Fondation Maison des Science de l'Homme), and the Centre for International Relations and Research (CERI, Science Po) in 2008, visiting Asia Fellow at the Department of International Relations, Dhaka University in 2004. In 2007 she was selected for a follow up study grant by the Asian Scholarship Foundation and was based in Dhaka to research on Jamaat Islami and identity politics in Bangladesh. She was awarded the Kodikara fellowship in 1999 (RCSS, Colombo). Dr Pattanaik has published more than 40 articles in various journals, has contributed around 20 chapters in edited books, and delivered lectures on security issues both in India and abroad. She is the author of "Elite Perception in Foreign Policy: Role of Print Media in influencing Indo-Pak relations, 1989-99" (2004) and is editor of the books "South Asia: Envisioning a Regional Future" (2011) and "India-Bangladesh Relations: Historical Imperatives and Future Direction" (2012). She is part of IDSA's task force on neighbouring countries and is a regular contributor to the Daily Star (Bangladesh).



# CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY AND PLURALISM IN BANGLADESH

*Dr. Smruti Pattanaik*

As is the case with most postcolonial states, consolidating democracy has been a major challenge. The partition of the subcontinent not only changed the cartography but also partitioned shared history and socio-cultural heritage, apportioning it as 'ours' and 'theirs'. This political rupture also gave credence to an enemy discourse, nurtured and sustained by political actors having a vested interest in this narrative. Security of the state became a dominant feature. Democracy and pluralism became a casualty in this conception of a monolithic state whose reference point became the partition. Bangladesh's journey as a nation state cannot be divorced from these narratives. The state founded in 1971 on secularism and democracy among other principles, witnessed a military coup in 1975. The derailment of democracy coupled with fundamental changes in the constitution created space for religious political parties hitherto banned. The earlier construction of Bengali nationalism and its replacement with Bangladeshi nationalism inherently referred to an exclusive state. The authoritarian character of military regimes, their ideological stances and the temptation to court the religious right not only impinged on nascent democracy, but also affected the pluralistic character of its society and its cultural underpinnings. After the restoration of democracy; ideological contestation represented by two major political parties - the Awami League and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party - characterized by deep mistrust of each other created space for extra-constitutional entities to intervene. Political class' disregard for democratic politics based on institutional integrity, disrespect for oppositional viewpoint, patronage of *mastans* to pursue street politics and the electoral arithmetic based on permutation and combination of interests, have made both the religious political parties as well as the Army relevant to Bangladesh politics. This paper will focus on challenges to democracy and pluralism in Bangladesh in the context of political transition in postcolonial countries.



## MR. PRASHANT JHA

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Mr. Prashant Jha is the Nepal correspondent of The Hindu newspaper, and a weekly political columnist with Nepal's leading English daily, The Kathmandu Post. He has covered Nepal's peace process, the transformation of the Maoists, politics in the Terai plains, constitutional debates, and Nepal-India relations extensively. He has been a weekly columnist for the Nepali Times; a contributing editor for Himal Southasian magazine; an analyst with International Crisis Group; has contributed to several Indian and international publications; and has published a chapter on the international role in Nepal's peace process in the recently released book, Nepal in Transition; From People's War to Fragile Peace.



## NEPAL'S QUEST FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT

*Mr. Prashant Jha*

Nepal failed to meet its tryst with destiny when the term of its popular elected, historic, inclusive Constituent Assembly (CA) expired on May 27, 2012 without delivering a constitution. The constitutional settlement would have institutionalised the political gains of the People's Movement of 2006, and the Madhes Movement of 2007 by drafting a federal, democratic, secular, and republican statute. But political parties were unable to reconcile their differences on the question of federalism - whether to adopt the federal structure at all, the model of federalism, and the space of identity in future state restructuring. The divide was a reflection of the polarisation in society, between different social groups, on this question. The staggering fragmentation of Nepal's political landscape where each party is marked by factionalism, and multiple actors with conflicting ambitions crowd the theatre, made a final agreement elusive. As a result, Nepal is faced with a serious political and constitutional crisis. The interim constitution had not envisaged a situation where the CA would fail. The role and status of the executive government as well as the president have become matters of contention. There is debate over the future roadmap, with views ranging from CA's revival to fresh elections. In the meantime, the extreme-right represented by royalist forces and those seeking a reversal to the 1990 constitution, and the extreme-left represented by a Maoist splinter faction have become stronger. Both, there is suspicion, have even worked in concert to derail the political process. Nepal's quest for stability will depend on how soon and whether political parties are able to first, agree on how to break the existing political and constitutional impasse, and second, arrive at a consensus on contentious constitutional issues, particularly federalism. Related challenges include the future of the former Maoist combatants who have opted to retire and may opt for extreme-left politics, accommodating newer regional and ethnic forces in the political structure, the reassertion by royalist and right-wing forces, and most importantly, preserving and expanding the democratic space won through the historic 2006 People's Movement.





*Session III*  
*Economic Growth in South*  
*Asia: Problems and*  
*Prospects*

*Tuesday, November 6, 2012*

*4.00 pm- 5.30 pm*



## *Chairperson*

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In a diplomatic career of more than 36 years from 1970 to 2006, Rajiv Sikri served in Moscow (twice), New York, Paris and Kathmandu and as India's Ambassador to Kazakhstan. He has held many senior positions in India's Ministry of External Affairs, including as Secretary (East), Special Secretary for economic relations, Additional Secretary for Strategy and Research, Head of the Soviet and East Europe Division and Head of West Europe Division. Now a strategic consultant, Mr. Sikri is associated with leading think tanks in India and abroad. He has authored "Challenge and Strategy: Rethinking India's Foreign Policy" (SAGE: 2009), several chapters in edited books, as well as articles in scholarly journals.



## **PROFESSOR BISHWAMBHER PYAKURYAL**

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Professor Bishwambher Pyakuryal is a Professor of Economics at Tribhuvan University, Nepal since the last 38 years. He holds a Masters and Ph.D. in Economics from Tribhuvan University and Masters in International Affairs, majoring in Development Studies, from Ohio University, USA. Professor Pyakuryal has also completed post-doctoral research in Economics from the University of Maryland at College Park, United States. Professor Pyakuryal has been a professional Associate at the East-West Center, Honolulu; a Scholar-in-Residence of the Rockefeller Foundation in Italy; a visiting scholar at the International Food Policy Research Institute in Washington, D.C. and Senior Fulbright Scholar at the University of Maryland at College Park, USA. Professor Pyakuryal had been the Chairman of High-level Public Expenditure Commission of the government of Nepal, and a member of the board of Nepal Rastra Bank. He is also a member of the National Development Council of the National Planning Commission. Professor Pyakuryal is on the editorial board of South Asia Economic Journal published jointly by IPS, Colombo and RIS, New Delhi and Nepal Economic Journal, Tribhuvan University. He has written co-authored and edited eleven books and published research articles in accredited international journals. Professor Pyakuryal's recent publications include, a chapter on "Liberalization and Food Security in Nepal" by Oxford; "Policy Priorities and Role of Aid in Post-conflict Economies", Sage, Colombo; and "Trade Liberalization and Food Security in Nepal", Food Policy, London.



## ECONOMIC GROWTH IN NEPAL: NEED FOR ECONOMIC REFORMS

*Professor Bishwambher Pyakuryal*

The country is experiencing political uncertainties and economic instability. Six and half decades of development plans remain underperformed. From human development and inclusive growth perspectives, not much progress has been made to develop appropriate policy measures for addressing existing disparity. For example, according to Human Development Report, 2004, when Kathmandu is excluded, the HDI value for Nepal drops to 0.494 from 0.509. This implies a higher disparity between the people of Kathmandu and those outside the capital. HDI varies more widely by caste and ethnicity than by geographical area. This suggests the need for targeting caste and ethnicity within a particular belt or region.

Nepal has the lowest average growth rates in South Asia. After being declared a republican state in 2008, the second phase of uncertainty began with 5 prime ministers at the helm. Agriculture is largely based on low-value cereals and subsistence production, with a mere 13% of output traded in markets. Nepal is at the bottom in attracting FDI even compared to Afghanistan, North Korea and Bhutan. Recurrent expenditure has been increasing against declining capital expenditure. Total merchandise imports have surged due to a large increase in the imports of gold and POL products and trade deficit has increased by 16.7 percent during the FY 2010/11. The data reveals a high degree of horizontal imbalances among the proposed 11 States under Nepal's federal structure. Merely empowering the local governments in the new constitution will not solve the problem. The paper identifies specific areas where local governments have the opportunity to diversify and grow their revenues. In Nepal, political instability and growth has a negative relationship. The paper suggests measures to mitigate binding constraints to Nepal's growth by highlighting the possibility to facilitate broad-based inclusive growth.



## DR. ANURA EKANAYAKE

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Dr. Anura Ekanayake is the immediate past Chairman of the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce and a member of its Governing Board. He is also a past Chairman of the Industrial Association of Sri Lanka. He holds a Ph.D. in economics from Australian National University where he was a Colombo Plan Scholar during 1983- 86 and is a Fellow of the Institute of Professional Managers. In a professional career spanning three and a half decades, he has held many senior positions ranging from Senior Economist to Director General in the Public Sector and board level executive appointments in the private sector. At present he is active in business, being Chairman of Wealth Trust Securities Ltd., Lanka Commodity brokers Ltd., Managing Director of AE Consultants (Pvt) Ltd. and serves on the Boards of several listed companies and private companies. He is a member of the Board of Governors of the Institute of Policy Studies, member of the Board of Studies of the Post Graduate Institute of Management and a member of the Sovereign Ratings Advisory Committee of the Central Bank of Sri Lanka. Over the years, he has addressed many international gatherings and published widely in Sri Lanka and overseas.



# POLITICAL ECONOMY OF FOUR DECADES OF CONFLICTS IN SRI LANKA IN RETROSPECT: IMPLICATIONS FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY OF SOUTH ASIA

*Dr. Anura Ekanayake*

A study of the post colonial experience in Sri Lanka offers an opportunity to understand how the prevailing political forces affected the choice of policies, and how those policies in turn impacted future developments, creating distributional conflicts and wider political repercussions. The focus of this presentation is the Sri Lankan youth in particular, and how their aspirations and disappointments led to a series of armed youth uprisings during the period 1971 to 2009. These had disastrous socio-economic and political consequences not only for Sri Lanka but to some degree, for India as well. To the extent the strategies, tactics and experience of the Sri Lankan rebels influenced those of a similar bent elsewhere, the developments in Sri Lanka may well have had consequences for the world at large. The lessons learnt in retrospect are of great significance for peace, growth and stability of South Asia. Public policies covering education and employment generation appear to have been the most significant, in explaining the underlying political economy. A pragmatic rather than ideologically determined policy framework, promoting affordable and appropriate education to all, along with meaningful employment should be the way forward.



## **PROFESSOR C. P. CHANDRASEKHAR**

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Professor C. P. Chandrasekhar is currently Professor at the Centre for Economic Studies and Planning, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. His areas of interest include the role of finance and industry in development and the experience with fiscal, financial and industrial policy reform in developing countries. He has published widely in journals in India and abroad. He is the co-author of *Crisis as Conquest: Learning from East Asia* (Orient Longman) and *The Market that Failed: Neo-Liberal Economic Reforms in India* (Leftword Books). He is a regular columnist for *Frontline* (titled Economic Perspectives), *Business Line* (titled Macroscan), and the web edition of *The Hindu* (Economy Watch).



## INDIA'S GROWTH STORY: IS THIS A TURNING POINT?

*Professor C.P. Chandrasekhar*

After a quick post-crisis recovery, GDP growth in India has slowed considerably, raising doubts on the sustainability of the high-growth trajectory led by services, the country shifted to after 2003. The paper seeks to identify the sources of growth during the last decade, and the reasons why these stimuli have lost their strength more recently. This provides the basis for an assessment of growth and development prospects in the near future, under the current regime of accumulation and the features of an alternative, if one is needed.



## MR. MOHAMMAD SULAIMAN AKBARI

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Mr. Akbari currently works as a Business Development Manager for Mercy Corps Afghanistan, on a USAID funded project and as a Researcher at the National Center for Policy Research (NCPRI) at Kabul University. He has also served as the Deputy Director of Investment Support at Afghanistan Investment Support Agency (AISA) and as an Administrator with AWCC, a private telecom company. He is also a guest lecturer at Tabesh University. He is a member of Afghans for Progressive Thinking (APT), a non-profit organization advocating the role of youth in the society, and recently been selected as Asia Society 2012, Asia 21 Afghan Leader (the Asia Pacific region's leading next generation leadership program). Mr. Akbari was awarded a scholarship by the Indian government in 2006 to study at the University of Delhi, and has also been honored with the annual innovation award from AWCC (Afghan Wireless Communications Company) in 2005. He has a degree in MBA with specialization in Finance and International Business. Mr. Akbari is fluent in English, Persian, Pashto, Urdu and Hindi.



## ECONOMIC GROWTH IN AFGHANISTAN: CHALLENGES & PROSPECTS

*Mr. Sulaiman Akbari*

The paper assesses economic and political factors that affect growth and development in Afghanistan. It looks at the economic performance of the country since 2002, and identifies the internal and external factors that may have a positive or negative impact on growth. Structural and fiscal reforms, reconstruction process, trade, democratic institutions, foreign assistance, and regional cooperation all have contributed positively to economic growth and development in Afghanistan. On the contrary, political instability, weak institutions including corruption, terms-of-trade shocks, lack of sufficient infrastructure and financial underdevelopment are some of the factors that impede economic growth. While the country has addressed several obstacles, it still faces a number of hurdles on its way to becoming financially independent, politically stable, socially just and economically prosperous. Moreover, the paper also discusses Afghanistan's role in the region, the challenges and prospects for further regional integration and the way forward to contribute to improving stability and growth in the region. The paper concludes that Afghanistan has the potential to be on a sustainable path of development and proposes policies and reforms to achieve economic growth.





*Session IV*  
*Economic Growth in South*  
*Asia: Problems and*  
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*Wednesday, November 7, 2012*

*9.30 am-11.00 am*



## *Chairperson*

### **AMBASSADOR I. P. KHOSLA**

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Ambassador I. P. Khosla was educated at St. Stephens College, Delhi University and Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1960. Thereafter he served in Algiers, where he helped to establish the Embassy, in Myanmar and in a number of neighbouring countries. He was India's Representative in Bhutan, thereafter serving as High Commissioner to Bangladesh, Ambassador to Afghanistan and Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs. After retirement from service in 1996 he has written extensively on India's relations with neighbours, South Asian cooperation as well as on security issues particularly different aspects of non-traditional security. He is currently Member Secretary of the Indian Council for South Asian Cooperation and Editor in Chief of South Asian Survey, the biannual journal of the Council.



**PROFESSOR BAZLUL HAQUE  
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Professor Bazlul Haque Khondker holds a Ph.D from the University of Warwick and is currently teaching at Dhaka University as a Professor in Economics. His areas of expertise include: (i) constructing a technical framework for the Sixth Five Year Plan of Bangladesh, containing among others, an input-output table and a Social Accounting matrix; (ii) assessing resource gaps implications of various investment intervention (including MDGs) using consistent macroeconomic framework; (iii) construction of Social Accounting Matrices (SAM) combining micro and macro data sets; and (iv) analysis of poverty and income distribution impacts of trade and tax policy reforms using static as well as dynamic Computable General Equilibrium models. His current work on macro-economic module focuses on building consistent macro economic framework with provision for generating long term macro outlook under alternative interventions including MDG needs assessment. He has taken the lead to develop the 'technical framework' for the Sixth Five Year Plan in collaboration with BIDS. This framework has been used in Mongolia and Nigeria to develop MDG financing strategies for them. Some of the major works of Professor Khondker include: WTO Negotiations and Domestic Policy Reform-Implications for Poverty in Bangladesh: A Study in a Sequential Dynamic CGE Framework (World Bank, Washington); Globalization-Poverty Interactions in Bangladesh: What Policy Implications Can We Draw? (Warwick University, England); Poverty Impacts of Remittance and Readymade Garments in Bangladesh over 2000 to 2005: A Computable General Equilibrium Approach, (World Bank, Bangladesh).



## PROSPECTS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH IN BANGLADESH

*Professor Bazlul Haque Khondker*

The vision of the present government is to achieve a middle income status for Bangladesh by 2020. Accordingly, the long term perspective plan of Bangladesh projects to attain 10 percent economic growth rate by the end of next decade. Against this background, the paper reviews the growth experiences of Bangladesh during the last three decades. More specifically, the paper provides a detailed analysis of economic growth by major sectors of the economy and finds that a policy shift from 'inward-orientation' to 'outward-orientation' in early 1990s, has helped Bangladesh to move from the lower growth trajectory to a relatively moderate growth path. Having diagnosed the growth experiences, the paper then tries to assess the prospect of achieving high economic growth rate of 8 to 10 percent, on the basis of handling challenges in the domestic and external fronts.

Poor state infrastructure has been considered as a major impediment to economic growth in Bangladesh. The paper discusses the extent of infrastructure gaps and argues that the infrastructure bottleneck cannot be solved by a traditional expenditure management tool such as the Annual Development Programme and with local investment. The paper also argues that foreign participation, as well a new tool such as Public Private Partnership, may be needed to overcome the infrastructure gaps over the medium term. Analogously, Bangladesh must also prepare itself to reap the benefits of regional integration, connectivity and global integration by adopting appropriate strategies. The paper concludes by arguing that attainment of double digit economic growth over the longer run is not an insurmountable proposition for Bangladesh, provided the country invests adequately in infrastructure building, and pursues reforms to improve governance, as well as development of key institutions.



## PROFESSOR IJAZ NABI

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Professor Ijaz Nabi is on the Faculty of Economics at the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) and a member of Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council. He is also a member of Chief Minister Punjab's Advisory Council. Since 2009, he has served as Country Director, Pakistan Program, International Growth Center, a policy research consortium of London School of Economics and Oxford University. He was Dean, School of Humanities, Social Sciences and Law at LUMS (2008-2011) and a member of the Monetary Policy Committee of the State Bank of Pakistan (2009-2011). Dr. Nabi returned to Pakistan in 2008 after 22 years at the World Bank in Washington, where he worked on Mexico, Korea, Thailand (leading the World Bank team during the East Asian financial crisis), Malaysia, Korea, Laos and Myanmar. In 2002-2008, he was Manager, Economic Policy, for the South Asia region at the World Bank. Dr. Nabi has published extensively on economic growth, investment and finance, industrialization, international trade, agriculture, and labor markets in developing countries.



## PAKISTAN'S REGIONAL TRADE STRATEGY AND PAKISTAN -INDIA BILATERAL TRADE

*Professor Ijaz Nabi*

Historically, the region that now constitutes Pakistan, has played an important role as a connector of markets in the East with markets in the West and North, resulting in economic prosperity and cultural richness. British colonial policy and China's long slumber cut off trade routes to the North and the West, but the regions constituting Pakistan and India remained part of a large, well-integrated economy. As recently as 1949, despite the war over Kashmir, half of Pakistan's exports were to India and 32 percent of its imports were from India. Various disagreements, including over economic management and asset division, led to acrimony and later in the 1960's, a virtual cessation of bilateral trade.

The paper argues that a new growth vent in Pakistan, requires tapping into lucrative external markets, in a manner that will create multiple entre-ports for growth. This is now important given the growing wealth of the independent Central Asian economies, energy rich Iran, rapid economic growth of Western China and increasing globalization of India's economy. Such a growth vent anchored in regional prosperity, will enable Pakistan to achieve a sustained growth path, that is not susceptible to the political vicissitudes of one mega-growth node. This will be good for regional equity within the country, and will also bring new energy to the Indus Basin market. Sustained welfare improvements in this type of regional hub can occur when it transitions from being a transportation hub for goods and energy, into a manufacturing hub that creates high productivity, high-wage jobs in multiple regional growth nodes.

The paper argues that both Pakistan and India have to take a strategic, regional approach in managing the recent welcome developments in bilateral trade, to prevent future disruptions and thus maximize the growth enhancing consequences of regional trade.



## **MR. BANDHU IBRAHIM SALEEM**

Chairman

Board of Directors, Island Aviation  
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Mr. Saleem, a leader, an entrepreneur, an economist by training, a trainer in management and a key Figure in Maldives started his career more than four decades ago in 1967. Gaining a wealth of experience through several diverse positions in various areas such as finance, administration, economics and business, Mr. Saleem has held several positions in the government, public, government and private companies, government institutions, boards of companies and also the parliament. He also served at the Ministry of Finance and Audit Office. Mr. Saleem brought about remarkable changes to Maldives Transport and Contracting Company Plc (1993 to 2002) and the Island Aviation Services Limited, a Government Company (2000 to 2011) as the Managing Director. Under Mr. Saleem's leadership various successes were achieved at IAS including expansion of its fleet and destinations, diversification of its businesses and an increase in passenger figures. Since April 2012, Mr. Saleem is the Chairman of Island Aviation Services Limited (IAS), Owner and Operator of the Airline, Maldivian, the National Carrier of Maldives. He has been Member of the Executive Council, Maldives National University (2012), Member of Parliament appointed by the President of Maldives (1998-2008), and Member in the Constitutional Reform and Democratic process of the Parliament's Special Majlis (2005-2008, 2006), Chairperson of Parliament's Economic Committee, (2006 - 2008), Non-Executive Director of Bank of Maldives, Dhiraagu, Maldives Telecommunication Company and Maldives National Shipping Limited and Chairman of Maldives Finance Leasing Company, Deputy Chief Coordinator for 9th SAARC Summit (1997).



## MALDIVES: SUSTAINING ECONOMIC GROWTH AND ISSUES

*Mr. Bandhu Ibrahim Saleem*

Maldives is a small island country comprising about 1,190 islands, of which 196 islands are inhabited. The economy is highly open, depends mainly on tourism and tuna fisheries. There are no large industries and food and fuel is imported. Human Development Index was at 109 in 2010. The recent economic developments have been remarkable. The real GDP has grown by 6 percent in real terms for the period 2000-2010. This growth has been infused by growth of tourism, construction and transport and communications. The per capita income in year 2000 was USD 539 in 1995 constant prices and this reached to USD 1650 by 2010. Reducing the government deficit and improving balance of payments will remain challenges to the government.

From 2005, growth had slowed down due to the democratization process. The years that followed 2005, were overshadowed by uncertainties for the business environment, and to some extent due to public unrest and protests till 2010. This political change has led to a drain of scarce resources. The high level of expatriate labour in the work force, puts additional pressure on balance of payments. Delivering political promise in the election manifesto, under the newly introduced democratic government system, has put further pressure on public finance. On the bright side, for the first time in Maldives, taxation on goods and services (GST), corporate profit tax and business profit tax was introduced from 2009. This has increased the government revenue.

There is urgent need for training of man- power in the health and education sectors. Newly created independent institutions like the civil service, need development in the administrative framework to bring efficiency. Vocational programmes for the youth are becoming important. The agriculture sector also requires training in technical knowhow. Some of the SAARC countries, which have training capacity and are already extending assistance in these areas to Maldives, but there is a need for accelerating such programmes on a timely basis, in the short and medium term.



## MR. TENZING LAMSANG

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Mr. Tenzing Lamsang is the CEO of The Bhutanese paper in Bhutan and is also an investigative journalist. The Bhutanese newspaper focuses on serious journalism that aims to influence not only readers but also government policy. After graduating from Stephens' College (Delhi University) with History Honours in 2006, he worked as a reporter with the Indian Express newspaper in Delhi from 2006-2008. Between 2008 and 2010, Mr. Lamsang joined Bhutan's national newspaper Kuensel as the Chief Reporter. From 2010 to mid 2011, he was the News Editor of Bhutan's first Business Paper Business Bhutan after which he left to launch The Bhutanese. It was here that he won Bhutan's best investigative journalist award in 2010. The Bhutanese has been at the forefront of the Bhutanese media, breaking not only some of the biggest stories but also delving into several sensitive issues. Mr. Lamsang is interested in issues of corruption, good governance, economy and business, and strategic issues. As a journalist, he has done several in depth stories on the above topics strengthening the democratic and intellectual discourse in Bhutan. Mr. Lamsang is also a member of the SAARC think tank on Right to Information.



## STRATEGY OF SUSTAINABLE GROWTH IN BHUTAN: ROLE OF REGIONAL COOPERATION

*Mr. Tenzing Lamsang*

The Bhutanese economy is one of South Asia's fastest growing economies, but deep structural problems remain due to imports exceeding exports, and lack of capital and manpower. Though agriculture still plays a dominant role as the main employer, its percentage of the GDP has rapidly shrunk with the growth of hydropower, tourism, industry, and trade etc.

The biggest economic activity and a good example of regional cooperation for mutual benefit, is the 10,000 MW hydroelectric projects being built in Bhutan, in cooperation with the Government of India. In short, Bhutan needs the revenue which would make it an economically self sufficient country and push per capita income rates to the highest in the region, and India as a giant and growing economy needs the power. Bhutan has also opened up to the world economy by considerably liberalizing its FDI laws, that allow for greater foreign investment.

The country in a unique experiment of sorts and based on the philosophy of Gross National Happiness, is trying to build South Asia's first 'Green Economy' with hydropower at the core, supported by service industries, tourism, non-polluting industries etc. Critics say that this will hamper growth and limit expansion of Bhutan's economy, while supporters believe it is the only alternative. Bhutan, of late, is in the grip of an unprecedented financial crisis, whereby the country does not have adequate amount of Indian Rupees for imports, as the majority of its imports are from India. Coupled with this, Bhutan is also facing a credit crunch, with most banks not having adequate liquidity to give out loans. The private sector is coming to a jarring halt and this perhaps, will be Bhutan's biggest economic challenge in the next few years. In the long term, the economic prognosis for Bhutan is good, with huge and profitable mega projects and increasing trade and investment opportunities.





*Session V*  
*Sustaining Stability and*  
*Growth in South Asia: The*  
*Way Forward*

*Wednesday, November 7, 2012*

*11.30 am- 1.00 pm*



## *Chairperson*

### **AMBASSADOR SATISH CHANDRA**

Former Deputy National Security  
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Ambassador Satish Chandra joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1965 and till 1989 served in various capacities in India's missions in Vienna, Karachi, Washington D.C., Algiers and Dhaka. Whilst at headquarters he served in the Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, and the Pakistan Division in the Ministry of External Affairs. He later headed the West Asia and North Africa Division and the Afghanistan and Pakistan Division in the Ministry as well. From September 1989 to September 1992 he served as the Ambassador of India to the Philippines, from October 1992 to June 1995 served as the Permanent Representative of India to UN Offices in Geneva. Between August 1995 and December 1998, he was the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan. Ambassador Satish Chandra served as the Chairman, Joint Intelligence Committee (April 1999 - February 2005) served as Secretary, National Security Council Secretariat (concurrently, from February 2002 was also the Deputy National Security Advisor). He also served as the President of the Conference on Disarmament during his assignment in Geneva.



## **DR. SANJAYA BARU**

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Dr. Sanjaya Baru is currently Director for Geo-economics and Strategy at International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS), London. He is also Hon. Senior Fellow, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi. Dr. Baru is former Media Advisor to Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh and also Prime Minister's spokesperson and principal speechwriter (2004-08). He has been Chief Editor, The Financial Express (2000-04), Editor, Business Standard, (2009-11), Editorial Page Editor, The Times of India (1994-98) and Associate Editor, The Economic Times (1990-1994). Dr. Sanjaya Baru was earlier Visiting Professor, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy and Institute of South Asian Studies, Singapore (2008-09), Professor, Indian Council for Research in International Economic Relations (1999-2000); Departments of Economics, Jawaharlal Nehru University (1985-86) and University of Hyderabad (1979-1990), Member, National Security Advisory Board of India (1998-2001) and Member, India-ASEAN Eminent Persons Group (2011-12). Dr. Baru obtained his Ph.D and Masters Degree in economics from the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.



## INDIA'S ROLE IN THE ECONOMIC RE-INTEGRATION OF THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT

*Dr. Sanjaya Baru*

The Indian sub-continent has been an integrated economic system - with India as 'hub' economy - for centuries. The political division of this geo-economic region, has over time contributed to its economic division. The project to create a South Asian Free Trade Area and a South Asian Economic Union I aimed at re-integrating the natural economies of the sub-continent, while preserving extant political sovereignties.

The revitalisation of ancient road and maritime links will facilitate the movement of goods and people and will restore to the region its historical status as the 'Crossroads of Asia' - reintegrating 'South Asia' with Central and West Asia, and South-east Asia. Moreover, closer People-to-People (P2P) and Business-to-Business (B2B) relations will improve Government-to-Government (G2G) relations. India's economic growth has already had beneficial consequences for the region as a whole, but greater openness on India's part and on the part of all countries in the region, can only benefit the overall growth processes in the region.

This paper emphasises the need for modern infrastructure connectivity as the starting point to regional re-integration. It also emphasises the importance of strengthening the regional institutional architecture in South Asia.



## **AMBASSADOR SHEEL KANT SHARMA**

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Cooperation (SAARC)  
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Dr. Sheel Kant Sharma holds a Ph. D. in High Energy Physics from Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay and belongs to the 1973 batch of India's diplomatic service, IFS. He served as Ambassador of India in Vienna and Permanent Representative to UN offices including IAEA (2004-08) and as Governor on its Board of Governors. He headed the Foreign Office Division dealing with South East Asia and the Pacific, during initial years of India's Look East Policy (1991-94) and as Joint Secretary (DISA) and Additional Secretary (IO) headed MEA's nonproliferation, disarmament and security division, as also international organizations from 2000-2004. During his career in the Foreign Service, his diplomatic assignments were in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Geneva, Algeria and Vienna. He also had a stint as an Indian diplomat on deputation to the IAEA Secretariat from 1994-2000, as a senior professional in its External Relations Division. Dr. Sharma was the Secretary-General of SAARC from 2008-11. He was awarded distinguished alumnus award in 2007 by IIT Bombay.



## SAARC AND SOUTH ASIAN STABILITY AND GROWTH: POTENTIAL AND PROMISE

*Ambassador Sheel Kant Sharma*

SAARC is the sole expression of South Asian regional aspirations, as reflected in an official forum. In its 27 years, the organisation has brought alienation down, offered a platform for frequent meetings at high official levels and summits every 18 months, laid a framework to build mutually beneficial trade and economic relations and related engagements in infrastructure, transport, communication, energy and human resource alongside coordination of diverse social development streams. While it seeks greater effort and marshals more intensive cooperation, it is able to see the impending regional implications of supra-national dimensions of climate change and environment, food, water, pandemics and disaster risk mitigation. The evolving threats to stability in the region are constantly outstripping traditional notions and theories of military based security; and almost unbeknown to the aficionados of security and stability and balance of power impresarios, the region has evolved facing huge populations, mounting hundreds of millions of youth across borders, their needs for jobs, skills and entertainment and their vulnerability to incendiary rhetoric.

SAARC can become the paradigm of stability in this new age where military force and security establishments are fraying at the edges and revealing nothing but impotent rage, while a dynamic imperative to bring people together in sync with their geography awaits at the doorsteps - and exemplary endeavours in other regions are at hand. The 1.6 billion of South Asia must have a stronger SAARC to meet these challenges.



# *Conference Team*

## Coordinator

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Ms. Sumita Kumar, Senior Research Associate at the IDSA, joined the institute in 1993. She has been working on South Asian security issues with a special focus on Pakistan. Her research publications have covered a diverse range of issues concerning Pakistan's foreign policy, internal politics and security. She has published chapters in books and articles in journals published in India and abroad, as well as in the Indian media. Her recent research publications research have dealt with Pakistan's energy security, Pakistan's strategic thinking, Pakistan's foreign policy and the Pakistan economy. She was a member of the IDSA team that brought out the Pakistan Project Report in June 2012, titled *Whither Pakistan? Growing Instability and Implications for India*. She has co-edited a book titled *India's Neighbourhood: Challenges Ahead*, published by IDSA in 2008. Her publications include a chapter on "US Measures Against Pakistan's Nuclear Policies, 1990-2001," in *Putting Teeth in the Tiger: Improving the Effectiveness of Arms Embargoes* co-edited by Michael Brzoska and George A. Lopez, (2009). Amongst others, she has had a research stint at Tashkent, Uzbekistan and has been a guest researcher at the Bonn International Center for Conversion, Germany. She is an Associate with the Pakistan Security Research Unit, University of Bradford, U.K. since March 2007. She is an alumna of Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.



## DR. PRIYANKA SINGH

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Dr. Priyanka Singh is Associate Fellow at Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. She holds an Honours degree in Political Science from Lady Shri Ram College for Women, University of Delhi and a Ph.D from University of Lucknow. Her Ph.D thesis was titled "Indo-US Relations in the Last Decade - 1990-2000: Shifting Paradigms". Her broader research interests include Indo-US relations and US engagement in Pakistan, though currently she is focusing on Pakistan occupied Kashmir. She joined IDSA in 2007 and is associated with the South Asia Centre. She is also part of the project team on Pakistan Occupied Kashmir. She compiles and edits IDSA's monthly newsletter, *PoK News Digest*. She is the co-editor of *Proliferation and The Emerging Nuclear Order In the Twenty First Century* (Academic Foundation, New Delhi, 2009) and *Saving Afghanistan*, (Academic Foundation, New Delhi, 2009). She is the author of a monograph titled *Situating Gilgit Baltistan in the Kashmir Discourse* (forthcoming 2012). She was a contributing author to IDSA's task force report titled "Pakistan occupied Kashmir: Changing the Discourse" (May 2011).

Her select publications include: "The Diemer Bhasha Dam in Gilgit Baltistan: Concerns for India", *Strategic Analysis*, Volume 36 (4) July/August 2012, "Growing American Interest in Pakistan occupied Kashmir", *IDSA Strategic Comment*, July 17, 2012 and "Pakistan occupied Kashmir on the Periphery", *Strategic Analysis*, Volume 37(1) Jan/Feb 2013 (forthcoming).



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Anwesh Ray Chaudhuri is a Research Assistant at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi. She is currently working in the South Asia Center on Pakistan Occupied Kashmir. She has finished her Masters from the School of Oriental And African Studies, London. The areas of her interest are Kashmir, India-Pakistan Relations and Conflict Studies.



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