



## Conference Booklet



# **2<sup>nd</sup> Annual West Asia Conference** **on**



# **Ideology, Politics and New Security Challenges in West Asia**

**(January 19-20, 2016)**

Organised by

**Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses**





## **Conference Booklet**

**2<sup>ND</sup> ANNUAL WEST ASIA CONFERENCE**

**ON**

## **IDEOLOGY, POLITICS AND NEW SECURITY CHALLENGES IN WEST ASIA**

(January 19-20, 2016)

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Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses

New Delhi



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## CONCEPT NOTE

West Asia is at strategic crossroads today. Dramatic changes are taking place in domestic and regional political environments in most of the countries of the region. Despite imperative need for peace and stability, the region continues to slip into deeper conflicts and instability; the emergence of new non-state actors and increasing violence have added to the existing problems and challenges leading to an uncertain future.

The West Asian region continues to be in a state of flux for more than four years since the beginning of the Arab Spring. The pace as well as nature of transition in the countries which witnessed regime change during this period has been different but all these countries have witnessed unprecedented violence and mayhem. Moreover, there has been a clear lack of consensus among different groups struggling for power about the future roadmap for their countries. Chaos and confusion continues unabated as leaders, parties and people ponder over the probable alternatives available to them. The current trends— involving widespread use of force, increasing violence, failure of the state mechanisms, humanitarian crises, spread of terrorism, growing sectarian conflict, intervention by regional and extra-regional players and changing regional geopolitics— are not encouraging.

Ideology combined with popular aspirations for liberty, dignity and equality played an important role in the beginning but the absence of viable alternative mechanisms and incapacity of states to manage the resulting disorder have led to further escalation of the conflict. The resolution of various intra-state conflicts seems like a distant dream. Ideological differences are, in many cases, clearly evident in providing stimulus to conflicts within as well as among states. Ideological conflicts, in the absence of a democratic order, tend to give rise to an atmosphere of intolerance and provide an impetus for violence. Ironically, such violence is

legitimized as being sanctioned by the very ideologies that are in contention.

In the West Asian region, the ideological differences stem primarily from different interpretations of Islam by different schools of thought within Islam. The assertion of the “Takfiri” strain within the fold of Sunni sectarian version of Islam— which regards people from other sects as apostates and fit for physical elimination— has made violence inevitable. The appearance of Da’esh or Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS or IS) points to this reality and expansion of its ideology beyond is a matter of concern for all the stakeholders.

The mixture of ideology and geopolitics has also hampered peace building in the region and impacted inter-state relations adversely. An example of this is ideological differences among Sunnis and Shias assuming the shape of a regional conflict between the Shia- and Sunni-dominated states in the region. These differences were always there in the region, but the ongoing political turmoil has sharpened these divisions— due to unthinking manipulation of these fault lines by competing elites in these countries in their quest for power. Ideological differences have slowly and steadily escalated into major sectarian conflicts throughout the region. Saudi Arabia and Iran are now perceived to be representing Sunni and Shia interests respectively though the other countries have also been playing their part in the ideological competition. The sectarian conflict has been witnessed in the form of proxy wars in places like Syria, Iraq, Yemen etc. with Riyadh and Tehran supporting the opposite forces.

While the peoples’ aspirations remain unaddressed, their attention is diverted to the ideological competition. The rise of Islamists in Tunisia and Egypt by electoral means indicated popular acceptance of political Islam as an alternative to existing political systems in the region. This created a political tremor in the region and raised the level of expectations of leaders advocating different ideological positions in the region such as Wahhabism, Salafism etc.

The success of Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and its continuation in power for a year unleashed political Islam as a potent force in the entire region. The subsequent military intervention in Egypt leading to the end of Islamist rule—rather than reversing the trend—turned the attention away from a democratic alternative and galvanised an armed movement in favour of rule by one ideology or other.

In the regional security paradigm, the emergence of the Islamic State (IS) has become a major threat to regional peace and stability. The declaration of a 'Caliphate' over an area carved out from the geographical spaces of Iraq and Syria shows a dangerous trend that has the potential for changing the entire political landscape of the region. While some countries of the region are reluctantly fighting against it, the IS continues to spread its reach and ideology to other countries in the region. Besides, the Al Qaeda continues to grow in Yemen where it finds a suitable environment for growth in the absence of a strong central authority and a weak security apparatus. These developments not only pose a long-term threat to the regional security but also to the world at large since citizens of many countries outside the region have since joined IS.

Signing of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), colloquially called as Iranian Nuclear Deal, on 14 July 2015 is another important development which is likely to have its impact on the regional strategic landscape. With the sanctions likely to be lifted gradually, the deal has the potential to change the regional balance of power with Iran realising its full potential. That is unlikely to be received well by countries like Saudi Arabia and Israel. Heightened perceptions of mutual insecurity among leading countries in the region can give rise to increasing defence expenditure, arms race and continued proxy wars. With the nuclear deal signed, the GCC countries are already concerned about its security implications for them. Though the GCC countries have been assured by the US of continued security engagement with them, their apprehensions, nevertheless, remain high.



Among the countries of West Asia there is a complete absence of consensus over the ways to resolve major conflicts in the region or to combat and neutralize the threat posed by IS. Rather, the regional powers remain polarized and are intentionally or unintentionally fuelling the conflicts. This is witnessed most prominently in Iraq, Syria and Yemen. The differences have both political and ideological undertones, thus drawing them away from reaching any consensus and thereby making it even more difficult to find a solution.

The most emblematic feature of the regional scenario of the recent past has been increasing role of Asian countries, particularly, that of India and China. Given Asia's interest in and involvement with the region, the security and stability of West Asia has become a vital imperative for Asian countries. Simultaneously, the US interest in the region is perceived to be declining and its policy approach towards the region seems to be undergoing significant change. These new developments have led some regional experts to argue that there is an urgent need for a re-constructing of the West Asian order based on trust, interdependence and a spirit of tolerance and accommodation.

India has expressed its concerns about recent developments taking place in the region. The spread of IS remains a major concern for India as some Indian youths have joined the IS. The capture of some Indian citizens by the IS in Iraq and recently in Libya is also a matter of concern for India. India has huge stakes involved in the region. Its energy dependence on the region, increasing trade and commerce, safety of around seven million Indian citizens working in the region are some of the major concerns for India.

The hydrocarbon resources of the region have always drawn attention of the international community. The major Asian economies, both developed and still developing, have collectively become the largest purchasers of hydrocarbons from the Gulf region. Their demands are projected to keep increasing substantially in years to come. The Gulf region's role as an energy supplier for Asia will, therefore, continue

to grow incrementally for the foreseeable future, even as America's and Europe's requirements of oil and gas from the Gulf region are projected to diminish significantly. Therefore, the impact of the conflicts in the region on oil prices cannot be ignored. The current crisis has had some impact on the oil prices. A sudden spike in crude oil prices was witnessed immediately after the outbreak of the protests in 2010-11. The oil prices have moderated since then and may fall further in the short to medium term with Iran likely to ramp up its oil production in coming months. Whereas this has helped India in reducing its current account deficit and improving macro fundamentals of its economy for the moment, any deterioration of security situation in the region may impact oil prices unpredictably in future. Prolonged conflicts throughout the region have the potential to affect the production, supply as well as the market prices of crude oil in the long run besides increasing the chances of sudden spikes every now and then. Amid such a scenario, the politics among the countries over oil also adds up to the existing uncertainty.

Against this backdrop, IDSA proposes to organise the Second Annual West Asia Conference on January 19-20, 2016 to deliberate upon the above mentioned issues and trends which have emerged in the region in recent times. The challenges likely to be faced by India due to the plausible political, economic, and security scenarios in the region will also be discussed during the conference. Besides, likely future trends and prospects for the region as also ideas that can help in conflict management and possible ways of resolving regional disputes will also be discussed. The conference will focus on the following issues:

#### Day - 1

- Changing Security Paradigm in the West Asian Region
- Conflicting Ideologies and their Implications for the Region
- Resurgence and Spread of Extremism and Terrorism in West Asia: Rise of ISIS and its Impact

## Day – 2

- Strategic Transformation in West Asia and Involvement of Extra-Regional Powers
- Energy and Changing Geopolitics of West Asia
- India and the Region: Building Partnerships and Managing Challenges
- Future Trends and Prospects for Cooperation in the Region.

## CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

### Day 1: Tuesday, January 19, 2016

0945-1000hrs Registration and Tea

#### **1000 - 1115hrs Session I (Part-A)**

##### **Changing Security Paradigm in the West Asian Region**

Chair: Shri Talmiz Ahmad

- Speakers:
1. H.E. Ahmed Abderraouf Ounaïes,  
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the  
Republic of Tunisia.
  2. Shri M J Akbar, the Hon'ble Member of  
Parliament, Rajya Sabha, India.
  3. H.E. Hadi Soleimanpour, Head of the  
Centre for International Research and  
Education (CIRE), affiliated to the  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran, Iran.

#### **1130 - 1200hrs Special Session**

Welcome Remarks by Shri Jayant Prasad,  
Director General, IDSA.

Keynote Address by Shri Mohammad  
Hamid Ansari, Hon'ble Vice President  
of India.

Vote of Thanks by Brig Rumel Dahiya  
(Retd), Deputy Director General, IDSA.

1200 - 1215hrs High Tea

#### **1215 - 1330hrs Session I (Part-B)**

##### **Changing Security Paradigm in the West Asian Region**

Chair: Shri Rajiv Sikri

- Speakers:
1. Shri Rajendra M Abhyankar, Former Indian Ambassador to Syria and Turkey, and Secretary (East).
  2. H.E. Ahmed Al-Wahishi, Executive Director, Yemeni International Affairs' Centre (YIAC), Yemen.
  3. Dr Meena Singh Roy, Research Fellow, Coordinator, West Asia Centre, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), India.

1330-1430hrs Lunch Break

**1430 - 1600hrs Session II**

**Conflicting Ideologies and their Implications for the Region**

Chair: Shri Zikrur Rahman

- Speakers:
1. Prof Amr Hamzawy, Department of Public Policy and Administration, American University, Cairo, Egypt.
  2. Dr Reza Eslami, Director Human Rights Department, Faculty of Law, Shahid Beheshti University, Tehran, Iran.
  3. Shri Talmiz Ahmad, Former Indian Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.
  4. H.E. Thuraya Al-Arrayed, Member of Majlis Al Shura, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

1600 - 1615hrs Tea Break

### **1615 - 1800hrs Session III**

#### **Resurgence and Spread of Extremism and Terrorism in West Asia: Rise of ISIS and its Impact**

Chair: Shri Syed Asif Ibrahim

- Speakers:
1. H.E. Shaaban Bouthaina, Minister, Political and Media Advisor at the Syrian Presidency and Former Minister of Expatriates in Syria.
  2. Dr Haytham Mouzahem, Executive Director and Editor-in-Chief at the Levant News and President, Beirut Centre for Middle East Studies, Lebanon.
  3. Dr Entifadh Kamal Qanbar, P.E, Chairman of the Iraqi Future Constitutional Party and Adviser to the Deputy President of the Iraqi Parliament, Baghdad, Iraq.
  4. Brig Rumel Dahiya (Retd), Deputy Director General, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), India.

### **Day 2: Wednesday, January 20, 2016**

0930 - 1000hrs Special Address by Shri Anil Wadhwa, Secretary (East), Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.

### **1000 - 1200hrs Session IV**

#### **Strategic Transformation in West Asia and Involvement of Extra-Regional Powers**

Chair: Shri Ranjit Gupta

- Speakers:
1. Dr Alexander Lukin, Department Head, Faculty of World Economy and International Affairs, School of

International Affairs, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia.

2. Prof Franklin P Lamb, (USA), Visiting Professor of International Law at Damascus University Faculty of Law, Syria.
3. Prof Mustafa Aydin, Rector, Kadir Has University, Istanbul, Turkey.
4. Dr Jin Liangxiang, Research Fellow, Center for West Asian and African Studies, Shanghai Institute for International Studies, Shanghai, China.
5. Brigadier General (Retd) Alain Lamballe, the French Centre for Intelligence Studies (CF2R), Paris, France.

1200 - 1215hrs Tea Break

### **1215 - 1330hrs Session V**

#### **Energy and Changing Geopolitics of West Asia**

Chair: Commodore C. Uday Bhaskar (Retd)

- Speakers:
1. Dr Takeuchi Toshitaka, Osaka School of International Public Policy, Osaka University, Japan.
  2. Dr Jang Ji-Hyang, Research Fellow and the Director of Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Centre at the Asan Institute for Policy Studies, Seoul, Korea.
  3. Prof Girijesh Pant, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India.

1330 - 1430hrs Lunch Break

## **1430 - 1600hrs Session VI**

### **India and the Region: Building Partnerships and Managing Challenges**

Chair: Shri Sanjay Singh

- Speakers:
1. Prof Ebtesam Al-Ketbi, Founder and President of Emirates Policy Centre, member of GCC Council Advisory Board, and Professor of Political Science at UAE University, Abu Dhabi, UAE.
  2. Prof Ghanim Alnajjar, Professor of Political Science at Kuwait University and Chair of Arab Human Rights Fund.
  3. Prof Efraim Inbar, Director, The Begin-Sadat Centre for Strategic Studies (BESA), Bar-Ilan University, Tel Aviv, Israel.
  4. Dr C Raja Mohan, Head - Strategic Studies & Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi, India.

1600 - 1615hrs Tea Break

## **1615 - 1800hrs Session VII**

### **Future Trends and Prospects for Cooperation in the Region**

Chair: Shri Jayant Prasad

- Panellists:
1. H.E. Hadi Soleimanpour, Head of the Centre for International Research and Education (CIRE), affiliated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran, Iran.
  2. Dr P K Pradhan, Associate Fellow, IDSA, India.
  3. Dr Khaled Al-Hroub, Professor in Residence of the Faculty of Liberal Arts at North western University, Doha, Qatar.



4. Prof P R Kumaraswamy, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India.
5. H. E. Thuraya Al-Arrayed, Member of Majlis Al Shura, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.
6. Dr N Janardhan, Political Analyst based in the United Arab Emirates.
7. Prof Ebtesam Al-Ketbi, Founder and President of Emirates Policy Centre, member of GCC Council Advisory Board, and Professor of Political Science at UAE University, Abu Dhabi, UAE.
8. Prof Anwar Alam Department of International Relations, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Science, Zirve University, Kizilhisar Campus, Gaziantep, Turkey.

**PROFILES OF PARTICIPANTS**

**&**

**Abstracts**



## **MOHAMMAD HAMID ANSARI**

The Hon'ble Vice President of India.



Shri Mohammad Hamid Ansari is Vice President of India and Ex-Officio Chairman, Rajya Sabha. He has held various prestigious positions such as Member, National Security Advisory Board (2004-2006); Chairman, Advisory Committee for Oil Diplomacy, Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas (2004-2005); Chairman, Working Group on 'Confidence building measures across segments of society in the State', established by the second Round Table Conference of the Prime Minister on Jammu and Kashmir, held at Srinagar, 24-25 May, 2006; the report of the Working Group was adopted by the 3rd Round Table held at New Delhi, 24 April 2007; and as the Chairman, Fifth Statutory National Commission for Minorities (March 2006-July 2007);

He began his career as an Indian Foreign Service (IFS) in 1961 and served in Indian missions in Baghdad, Rabat, Jeddah and Brussels; Ambassador to the United Arab Emirates (1976-1979); Chief of Protocol to Govt. of India (1980-1985); High Commissioner to Australia (1985-1989); Ambassador to Afghanistan (1989-1990); Ambassador to Iran (1990-1992); Permanent Representative to the UN, New York (1993-1995); Ambassador to Saudi Arabia (1995-1999). Shri Ansari has held various academic positions such as Visiting Professor, Centre for West Asian and African Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi (Dec 1999-May 2000); Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh (2000-2002); Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi (2002-2006); Visiting Professor, Academy for Third World Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi (2003-2005); and Co - Chairman, India-U.K. Round Table (2004-2006).

# Session I (Part-A)

## Changing Security Paradigm in the West Asian Region

Tuesday, January 19, 2016

1000 - 1115hrs

## ***Chairperson***

### **TALMIZ AHMED**

Former Indian Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates



Shri Talmiz Ahmed was the Indian Ambassador to Saudi Arabia (2000-2003; 2010-2011); Oman (2003-04), and the UAE (2007-2010). He was also Additional Secretary for International Cooperation in the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas in 2004-2006. After retirement from Foreign Service, he is working with an energy services company in Dubai. He has published three books: *Reform in the Arab World: External Influences and Regional Debates* (2005); *Children of Abraham at War: The Clash of Messianic Militarisms* (2010), and *The Islamist Challenge in West Asia: Doctrinal and Political Competitions after the Arab Spring* (2013). He writes and lectures frequently on Political Islam, the politics of West Asia and energy security issues.

## **AHMED ABDERRAOUF OUNAÏES**

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tunisia.



Ahmed Abderraouf Ounaïes is the President of the Tunisian Association for the United Nations and Bochra al-Khayr Cultural Club. He was the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tunisia (2011). Amb Ounaies has also served as an Ambassador, Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN (1980), Ambassador to India (1981) and to USSR (1987) and non-resident status in Sri Lanka, Vietnam and the Maldives, Director for African and Asian Affairs (1978), Director for Studies and Policy Planning (1991), and Director General for Asia and the Americas (1962). Amb Ounaies has also served as a Counsellor at the Tunisian Embassy in Paris and Deputy Delegate at the UNESCO (1968), and Counsellor at the Tunisian Embassy in Moscow (1972). His educational qualifications include a Masters in Philosophy from Paris (1959), Diploma in Higher Studies in Philosophy (Paris, 1960), and Carnegie Foundation Diploma (Geneva, 1971). Academically, he has contributed to the National School of Administration, Faculty of Law and Political and Social Sciences, and Tunisian Institute of Strategic Studies apart from his publications in various periodicals and journals.

## CHANGING SECURITY PARADIGM IN THE MASHREK

*Ahmed Abderraouf Ounaïes*

In the Mashrek region, disturbing factors are considered, with the passage of time, as a form of normalcy. In this region, refugee flows pile up with no solution in sight; occupation lasts for over fifty years and colonisation and confiscation of territory persist with impunity. This is also a region where arms buildup is the highest, where the unbroken cycle of wars make it possible to resort to dirty warfare and where states' demand for a nuclear free zone is thwarted. The chaos which has prevailed in this region during the last five years and the doubts which marked the process of the nuclear agreement with Iran, have led to confusion over the real problems, and blurred the fundamentals of regional security. Converging armed hordes in Syria, supported by regional and extra regional actors, have made of this conflict a focal point of regional forces and the main item on the agenda of world powers. However, the resistance of the Syrian regime and the conclusion of the nuclear agreement with Iran can be seen as a strategic breakthrough which could curtail terrorism and the power of militias, and pave the way for a concerted political solution, putting an end eventually to the cycle of chaos in the region. Three factors may change the concept of security in the Mashrek: the strategic involvement of Russia; the collective approach adopted by the United States and Russia; and finally, the international recognition of Palestine as a state. The strategic involvement of Russia has introduced a new strategic balance of power in the region. Russia and the United States have avowed that no single power is capable of fighting international terrorism on its own. The collective approach remains necessary to face this scourge. The Contact Group established to find a solution to the Syrian conflict constitutes a turning point which lays the ground for a policy of dialogue. Furthermore, the recognition of the Palestinian state, which has adhered to several international conventions, opens the door to the implementation of the existing mechanisms of protection and guarantees its right to legally intervene to impose sanctions against the violations committed by Israel.



## **M J AKBAR**

The Hon'ble Member of  
Parliament, Rajya Sabha, India.



M J Akbar is the Hon'ble Member of Parliament, Rajya Sabha. He is a leading Indian journalist. He was the Editor-in-Chief and Editorial Director of the Sunday Guardian, a weekly newspaper that he founded. He has remained associated with the leading media houses and periodicals in India including India Today, the Headlines Today, the Telegraph, the Asian Age and the Deccan Chronicle. He has written several non-fiction books, including Byline (New Delhi: Chronicle Books, 2003), a book on Kashmir titled Kashmir: Behind the Vale, Riot After Riot and India: The Siege Within. His latest book is Tinderbox: The past and future of Pakistan, in January 2012 which discusses the themes of identity crisis and class struggles in Pakistan.

## **HADI SOLEIMANPOUR**

Head of the Centre for International Research and Education (CIRE), affiliated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran, Iran.



Hadi Soleimanpour is currently the Head of the Center for International Research and Education (CIRE), affiliated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran, Iran. He holds a PhD in Development and International Environment from Durham University, England. He is a committed environmentalist with outstanding experience in international affairs as a career diplomat.

Dr. Soleimanpour has been the Iranian Ambassador to Spain (1984-88), Paraguay and Argentina (1990-94) and Director at the United Nations Office at Geneva (1994-96). He has also been the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs for Africa (2009-11), Director General of International Economic Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Iran (2006-09) and Deputy of Natural Environment and Biodiversity, Environmental Protection Agency (2003-05). He is a member of the Strategic Counsel of Islamic World Science Database, Foreign Ministry's Representative in the Permanent Commission of the High Council for Science, Research and Technology, and member of the High Council for National Documents.

Dr Soleimanpour's research interests include international environmental issues, regional development and cooperation, and international relations. He has authored several books and articles in English and Farsi, including International Environmental Governance: Global Trends and National Priorities (The Institute for Political and International Studies, 2012); Framework of Indicators for Ecotourism Development in Iran (Azad University and Center for Strategic Studies, Tehran, 2009) among others.

He is frequent in Persian and English and knows Spanish.

# Session I (Part-B)

## Changing Security Paradigm in the West Asian Region

Tuesday, January 19, 2016

1215 - 1330hrs

## ***Chairperson***

### **RAJIV SIKRI**



Rajiv Sikri was a career diplomat for more than 36 years with the Indian Foreign Service. He retired in 2006 as Secretary in India's Ministry of External Affairs, with overall responsibility for India's relations with East Asia, ASEAN, Pacific region, Arab world, Israel, Iran and Central Asia. Earlier, he was Special Secretary for Economic Relations supervising foreign economic relations, including India's external technical and economic assistance programmes to developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. He has served as India's Ambassador to Kazakhstan, and headed the Departments dealing with West Europe as well as the Soviet Union and East Europe in India's Ministry of External Affairs. His other diplomatic assignments abroad include Deputy Chief of Mission in Paris, Political Counsellor in Moscow, Deputy Consul General and Commercial Consul in New York, and Political First Secretary in Kathmandu.

Now an independent strategic consultant, Mr. Sikri is associated with leading think tanks in India and abroad. He was a Consultant with the Institute of South Asian Studies in the National University of Singapore in 2007-2008, and a Senior Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses in New Delhi in 2000-2001. Currently, he is a Distinguished Fellow and a Member of the Executive Council of the Vivekananda International Foundation. He has authored several books and has participated in various seminars.

## **RAJENDRA M ABHYANKAR**

Former Indian Ambassador to Syria and Turkey, and Secretary (East)



Rajendra Abhyankar, former Indian Ambassador to Syria and Turkey and Secretary (East), MEA, is currently Professor of Practice of Diplomacy and Public Affairs, at the School of Public and Environmental Affairs at Indiana University, Bloomington.

He retired in August 2005 as India's Ambassador to the European Union, Belgium and Luxembourg after thirty-seven years of multi-faceted diplomatic experience of peoples, places and events. He has also been India's ambassador to Cyprus and Azerbaijan, Deputy High Commissioner in Sri Lanka and Consul General in San Francisco.

His books include *West Asia and the Region: Defining India's Role* (2008) and *Stuff Happens: An anecdotal Insight into Indian Diplomacy* (2013), *The Crossing* (2013), a story about Sri Lanka. He has co-edited 4 other books.

He speaks French, Italian, Turkish and Arabic apart from four Indian languages.

## **AHMED SALEM SALEH AL- WAHISHI**

Executive

Director, Yemeni International Affairs'  
Centre (YIAC), Yemen.



Ahmed Salem Saleh Al- Wahishi is currently the Executive Director of Yemeni International Affairs Centre. He has previously served as Chief Representative of the League of Arab States, New Delhi and was appointed as the Ambassador of Yemen to Indonesia, Singapore and Brunei, Darussalam, as Head of Mission in Dubai and Tokyo since 1990. He is a member of teaching staff of Aden University. He earned his PhD in Economics from Czech Republic, a BSc degree in Chemistry from Kuwait University, a Diploma in International Law from Moscow University and a Fellowship in International Law from UNITAR, Geneva. His research interests include politics, economics, environmental and international law related issues in the Middle East as well as issues related to peace, security, disarmament and sustainable development.

## IDEOLOGY, POLITICS AND NEW SECURITY CHALLENGES IN WEST ASIA

*Ahmed Al-Wahishi*

In West Asia, the threat of terrorism is escalating. It is shameful that terrorists are carrying out their acts in the name of religion. These phenomenon should be fought by force and wisdom, and if neglected, it will spread beyond West Asia region, to the world over. It requires a comprehensive strategic policy, as we notice how terrorism is spreading in West Asia including countries such as Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Yemen. The spread of Daesh extended to cross borders of Iraq and Syria. What we are facing is terrorism of trans-border and transnational type. Daesh attempts to fulfil its aims under the cover of Islamic religion. Daesh threat is not only in Iraq and Syria, but it is also endangering West Asia and beyond which requires a collective spirit of the US led international coalition to fight such a phenomenon, having in mind that such a fight might take long time, as terrorism did not end by eliminating Osama bin Laden and it will not end by defeating Daesh.

Although there is a consensus that there shouldn't be as much sectarian strife under the recently assembled Iraq government of Abadi, a number of questions remain: how to make the country's United States-trained military less likely to falter. And although several countries in West Asia region provided support in this fight, still the question remain: how to eliminate Daesh's extensive oil, banking and extortion funding. Also will the US president stick to his vow of no United States Combat troops on the ground? What if special operation and intelligence force are needed such as the one of October, 2015 US operation to release the Kurds hostage from Daesh in Iraq or the recent development of the strengthening of Russia Military presence to fight Daesh terrorist in Syria.

## MEENA SINGH ROY

Research Fellow,  
Coordinator, West Asia Centre, Institute  
for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA),  
India.



Dr Meena Singh Roy is a Research Fellow and Coordinator West Asia Centre at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. Her area of specialisation is Central Asia, and West Asia. She completed her Ph.D. from University of Delhi in 1994. She has been senior research scholar in the Department of African Studies, Delhi University. She has also been associated with Institute of Commonwealth Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies and London School of Economics for her research work. Has been a visiting Research Fellow with German Institute of Global and Area Studies Institute of Asian Studies (GIGA). She has presented papers in various national and international seminars and has published various research papers and articles in referred Journals and Books.

She has been involved in net assessment reports on Central Asia. She has published a books titled, *International and Regional Security Dynamics: Indian and Iranian Perspectives* (ed.), July 2009, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi; *Emerging Trends in West Asia: Regional and Global Implications* (ed.), Pentagon Press, 2014 and a monograph titled *The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: India Seeking New Role in the Eurasian Regional Mechanism*, 2014, IDSA Publication. Has just completed the joint Delhi Policy Group and the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses Task Force report on West Asia in Transition. Her Forthcoming book is titled *Linking South and Central Asia in the New Strategic Environment: Envisioning India's Future Partnership with the Eurasian Region*.



## **MANAGING CURRENT SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE WEST ASIAN REGION: IS THERE A NEED TO BUILD A NEW SECURITY ARCHITECTURE IN THE REGION?**

*Meena Singh Roy*

There are major developments taking place in the geopolitical landscape of the West Asian region today. It is also viewed as the most unstable, turbulent and chaotic of regions. In past four years, the conflict in Iraq and Syria has intensified, the Yemen crisis continues to persist without any solution, and the violent activities of Daesh and its increasing influence beyond West Asia has become a major challenge not only for the region but the entire world. West Asia appears to be swamped with intense Shia-Sunni sectarian rivalry as well as intra-Sunni rivalries. Sectarian antagonisms have acquired a new dimension in the light of execution of the Shia cleric Sheik Nimr al-Nimr by Saudi Arabia in the new year.

In this critical situation, Libya, Syria, and Yemen have already slipped into the rank of failed states providing fertile ground for proliferation of radical extremist groups. Besides, Russia's renewed interest and military intervention in Syria to fight Daesh and protect its strategic assets and interests has exposed the region to a completely new situation reflecting the complexities of external interventions. At the same time, the Iran-US détente has been a positive and welcome development in the region, as it signals a change in US policy towards Iran since the Islamic Revolution. However, the full impact and future trends of US-Iran relations are still uncertain.

These new developments have exposed the entire region to completely new set of challenges, and brought forth hitherto hidden issues and conditions. The situation in West Asia is still unfolding and the region is likely to see significant amount of turbulence for a long period, given the diverse and deepening interests of the regional and extra regional

actors involved here. Thus, amidst the great uncertainty, the region has become the epicentre of the global attention.

Whatever may be the reasons for instability in West Asia, including the varying interests and perceptions of regional and extra regional actors, there is an urgent need to resolve the problems relating to regional security. It is in this context that the present paper examines the major strategic choices available to West Asia, and addresses the current debate on the need to build a new security architecture in the region. It argues that any new security model should be based on geopolitical realities and take into account political and economic concerns of all countries and stakeholders in the region. It is equally important that this new security model should be inclusive in nature.

# Session II

## Conflicting Ideologies and their Implications for the Region

Tuesday, January 19, 2016

1430 - 1600hrs

## Chairperson

### ZIKRUR RAHMAN



Prof Zikrur Rahman is Director India Islamic Cultural Centre, New Delhi. Earlier he had established India Arab Cultural Centre in Jamia Millia Islamia and was the Director of this Centre and Centre for West Asian Studies in Jamia (2008-2015). Prior to joining the Ministry of External Affairs, Prof. Zikrur Rahman was the Programme Executive, All India Radio and Television. As a Senior Indian Diplomat, he has worked in almost all the major Arab countries including Syria, Saudi Arabia and Libya etc. He was member of Indian delegations to Arab League Summits held in Algeria (2005), Sudan (2006) and Saudi Arabia (2007). During 1980s and 1990s, he worked for late Prime Ministers Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi, and was Director of prestigious Indian Council of World Affairs, a think tank institution of national importance from 2003 to 2005. He was also the Representative of India (Ambassador) to Palestine based in Ramallah. He has a number of academic achievements to his credit which include works such *Arab Diaspora in India* and *Short Stories from India* etc. He has translated *The Indian Heritage* in Arabic, written by renowned Indian Scholar Prof. Humayun Kabir. He has researched and edited the Arabic translation of the great Indian Epic *The Ramayana* published last year. At present he is working on translation of *Geeta* in Arabic. A regular columnist on the Indian sub-continent and Arab Affairs in the leading Arabic daily *Al-Ittihad* of UAE, for the last seven years, he is currently authoring books on *India Palestine Relations from 15th Century AD*, *Indian Scholars of Arabic Language and Literature* and *Indian Hajj Missions to Mecca*. He was a member of GCC-India Strategic Partnership Dialogue and also the Annual India-Saudi Arabia structured meetings. He was honoured with India's highest Arabic Scholars Award by the President of India. He is also recipient of the Arab Ambassadors Council Award.

## AMR HAMZAWY

Department of Public Policy and Administration, American University, Cairo, Egypt.



Prof Amr Hamzawy is a Professor at Department of Public Policy and Administration at the American University in Cairo. He was member of the People's Assembly after being elected in the first Parliamentary elections in Egypt after the 25th of January 2011 revolution. He is also a former member of the Egyptian National Council for Human Rights. After finishing his doctoral studies and after five years of teaching in Cairo and Berlin, Hamzawy joined the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Washington, DC) between 2005 and 2009 as a senior associate for Middle East Politics. Between 2009 and 2010, he served as the research director of the Middle East Center of the Carnegie Endowment in Beirut, Lebanon. Hamzawy also serves as an associate professor of political science at the Department of Political Science, Cairo University. His research and teaching interests as well as his academic publications focus on democratization processes in Egypt, tensions between freedom and repression in the Egyptian public space, political movements and civil society in Egypt, contemporary debates in Arab political thought, and human rights and governance in the Arab world. Hamzawy has authored several books and contributes to a daily column and a weekly op-ed to the Egyptian independent newspaper *Shorouk*. He is the author of several books and journal articles.

## **BETWEEN THE WAR ON FREEDOM AND THE WAR AGAINST TERRORISM: THE STATE OF EGYPT**

*Amr Hamzawy*

In today's Egypt, four grand illusions are propagated to repress the idea of democracy and to put it cognitively, normatively, intellectually and politically under siege. These illusions prevent the idea of democracy from becoming rooted at the social level, and they enable - among other factors - the ruling establishment to retain its power and to "recover" from moments of popular demand for democracy. As a result, the quest for justice, rule of the law, rotation of power, national coexistence and guarantees of personal and citizenship rights - including socio-economic and political rights - remain suppressed. Egypt's democratic transition has come to a halt.

The paper examines four grand illusions - the path towards democracy leads through the achievement of socio-economic development rates capable of overcoming the crises resulting from underdevelopment, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy as well as the huge gaps existing at the level of incomes; the conditions of exceptionalism; Egyptian ruling establishment and allied elites systematically adoption of the concept of "national necessity" to legitimize its current autocratic course and finally, confusing religion and politics has been systematically used to undemocratic results in Egypt. These four grand illusions have clearly contributed to halting democratization, need to be dismantled and done away with in Egypt's public space if the principles of democracy are to have a future.

## **REZA ESLAMI-SOMEA**

Director Human Rights  
Department, Faculty of Law, Shahid  
Beheshti University, Tehran, Iran.



Dr Reza Eslami-Somea is Associate Professor and Director Human Rights Department, Faculty of Law, Shahid Beheshti University, Tehran, Iran. His research interests include International human rights law (civil and political rights, citizenship and democracy education, peace-building, development and rights of women & minorities). In addition, he is also a lawyer & Legal Consultant (International contracts and arbitration), and visiting Professor, UN University for Peace, Costa Rica. His previous work experience includes: UN Consultant in Kabul, Afghanistan, (Human Rights Treaty Reporting Workshops), Post-Doctoral Fellow, McGill University, Lecturer: Faculty of Religion, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada. He earned his LL.D. from Université de Montréal & McGill University, Canada, in International Human Rights Law, Human Rights in Islamic Law (Dean's Honor List); his LL.M. from McGill University, Canada in International Law. He has authored several books and journal articles.

## **NATIONAL SECURITY AND MINORITIES: THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE REGION FROM HUMAN RIGHTS PERSPECTIVE**

*Reza Eslami-Somea*

This article first studies the security-oriented approach towards the minority issues in the region and reviews the hardships and difficulties both governments and minorities faced as a result of this approach which prioritised security over the peaceful settlement of disputes with minorities. Highlighting examples of the matter from several countries, including Iran, the article then argues that more the human rights of minorities are violated and more they are kept undeveloped, more they will resort to violence and secessionist claims and more the security in the region will be challenged. The article suggests that the governments and societies at large should embrace the minorities and not only need to tolerate them and respect their rights but also should appreciate their culture, religion and language so that a peaceful co-existence among different groups and walks of people is established in any given country and in turn in the region.



## **WEST ASIA IN CRISIS: SECTARIAN CLEAVAGES SHAPE REGIONAL CONFLICTS**

*Talmiz Ahmad*

Five years after the Arab Spring, West Asia is now the theatre of two major military conflicts, several states deeply divided and on the edge of breakdown, and the proliferation of the jihad across the region, engaged in extraordinary brutality against enemy states, "heretic" communities and individual hostages, while its two transnational groups, Al Qaeda and the Islamic State, are involved in a region-wide competition for geographical space and doctrinal influence. The violence, the fear of jihadi contagion, and the possible breakdown of state order across West Asia have pulled in international powers into the region's conflicts. The US and Russia are engaged in military assaults on "terrorist" targets but also see the region as one more front in their larger global competitions in a world order that is being re-shaped by the emergence of new players seeking a role and influence denied them for many decades in a West-dominated system.

Though the ongoing conflicts and competitions are the result of recent developments in the West Asian state systems, the battle-lines have been deliberately shaped on the basis of primeval cleavages and animosities that have been resurrected and imbued with a contemporary resonance to serve modern-day interests. The sectarian divide, the division between the Sunni and Shia communities of Islam, is now the principal basis for mobilisation of support against the "existential" threat perceived mainly by Sunnis leaders from the "Other", the Shia.

This sectarian mobilisation is based on the most important and influential intellectual movement in Sunni Islam - Salafism. Salafism is central to the sectarian conflicts in different theatres of West Asia, Iraq, Syria and Yemen; it is also the foundational ideology of two other Sunni movements in competition, the mainstream activist Islamist movement, the Muslim Brotherhood and its affiliates, and its rivals for

appeal and power, the jihadis represented today by Al Qaeda and the Islamic State for Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and their affiliates across the world.

This paper will examine the development of Salafism, the various strands of thought and action that define it today, and how the doctrinal differences between these strands are being used by state powers and non-state actors to mobilise the sectarian divide to serve their interests, and what implications these sectarian confrontations will have for domestic and regional politics in West Asia.

## **THURAYA AL-ARRAYED**

Member of Majlis Al Shura, Riyadh,  
Saudi Arabia.



Thuraya al Arrayed is member of the Shura Council, Saudi Arabia since 2013. She is a well-known Arab thinker, opinion leader, as well as poet, writer and literary figure. She has served in different capacities such as Ministry of Education in Bahrain, Office of Educational Planning (1969), Saudi Aramco (1980-2006), Corporate Planning and Senior Analyst, Long Range Planning Department, Business Analysis Department, and Saudi Aramco Management Advisory Group member. She has participated in various international, regional and national conferences, seminars and various forums such as the Jeddah Economic forums, Abu Dhabi Strategic Conference, Manama Dialogue, Two Kingdom Dialogues, Davos, German Arab Tagen, Kober Berlin Conference, Arab Thought Forums, World Petroleum Congress, Arab Media Summit, UNDP Conference and various other literary meetings all over the Arab world. She earned her PhD degree in Educational Administration and Planning from the UNC at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, USA. Before joining the PhD she secured her MA in Educational Administration from American University in Beirut.

## CONFLICTING IDEOLOGIES AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE REGION

*Thuraya Al-Arrayed*

When the term Ideology is mentioned what comes to mind is the established major schools of thought that have driven the state of the world like nationalism, democracy, communism, fascism, and capitalism. It is usually a system of thought that determines community relationships, ethical and political code and individual behaviour. Worldwide there were changes post world war and independence from colonialism. The Middle East has a heavier element of inherited religious input into the ideological formula, as well as a political and economic system rooted in the trader way of life tied with the seasons and caravan trips across a vast desert. Between warring tribes and invaders from afar the only two permanent elements that distinguished any one individual or group were language and religion.

The two competing ideologies over time were Pan Arab and Pan Islamic both unifying a majority subgroup against other smaller ones in the population. As a modern sovereign state, Saudi Arabia is relatively a young country, even though the vast region it occupies has a rich history of both religious and political as well as social intricate active human civilization and relationships going back to ancient history. Today when Saudi ideology is discussed, most non-Saudis reduce it to a religious frame using terms such as Wahabism referring to the initial pact between the founder of modern Saudi Arabia King Abdul Aziz Al Saud and Sheikh Mohammad Bin Abdul Wahab head of the religious Salafi conservative clerics, to support the unification of the land under the reign of al Saud family. At Present what drives the current Saudi Ideology is still its responsibility for Makka, but increasingly Socio-economic reformism.

As the late King Abdullah (1996-2015) stated, it is respecting heritage, serving religion while moving to a culture of moderation and balance, shunning extremism and embracing

modernisation, development, and positive coexistence through dialogue between all different groups in and outside the country. King Salman bin Abdul Aziz, who succeeded his brother to the throne in January 2015 continues to build on it with determination, recently adding his own details in the new Program for National Transformation, emphasising economic and manpower preparation, and restructuring the government to assure stability in the new era of reduced oil revenues.



## Session III

Resurgence and Spread of  
Extremism and Terrorism in  
West Asia: Rise of ISIS  
and its Impact

Tuesday, January 19, 2016

1615 - 1800hrs

## ***Chairperson***

### **SYED ASIF IBRAHIM**



Syed Asif Ibrahim, a Madhya Pradesh Cadre IPS officer and former Director, Intelligence Bureau. Having joined the Indian Police Service in 1977, he has served in a number of challenging assignments and carries a rich and varied experience in the field of policing and counter-terrorism. He has spoken frequently on terrorism before distinguished audiences within the country and abroad.

In the initial years of service, Asif Ibrahim was assigned to the dacoity infested districts of Madhya Pradesh and served as District Superintendent of Police in Gwalior, Morena, Datia and Guna. He personally led the anti-dacoity operations and was responsible for a number of operational successes, which contributed to the elimination of the menace of dacoits.

In 1987, Asif Ibrahim joined the Government of India and served in the Ministries of Railways, Tourism and Home Affairs with distinction. He, during the last 19 years, held a number of sensitive assignments in the field and IB Headquarters besides having successfully led anti-militancy and counter-intelligence operations in Kashmir and Rajasthan. He has also served an overseas tenure as Minister in High Commission of India, London. He is currently appointed as Special Envoy for Counter Terrorism and Extremism in the National Security Council Secretariat. He was awarded the prestigious Indian Police Medal for Meritorious Service in the year 1996 followed by President's Police Medal for Distinguished Service in 2002. In addition, he has earned a large number of commendations. Syed Asif Ibrahim is a Post Graduate in History from Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi.



## SHAABAN BOUTHAINA

Minister, Political and Media Advisor at the Syrian Presidency and Former Minister of Expatriates in Syria.



Shaaban Bouthaina, was a nominee for the Noble Peace Prize in 2005. She is Minister, Political and Media Advisor at the Syrian Presidency, and former Minister of Expatriates in Syria. She has served in the Syrian government in different capacities for twenty years, and is also a writer and professor at Damascus University since 1985. Before assuming her ministerial position, Dr. Shaaban was Director of the Foreign Media Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Syria and spokesperson for Syrian government. Inspired by a strong-willed mother, Dr. Shaaban's career story has been dedicated to changing the social injustice that befell women in the Arab world. Her subsequent involvement in politics and foreign affairs, as President Hafez Assad's interpreter during peace negotiations, set her on a different career path. Over the past twenty years, Dr Shaaban has set an example for professional women working within the ranks of decision-makers in her country, trying to change not only the fate of women but the future of men and women alike. In 1990 - 1991 she received Fulbright Research Scholarship at Duke University, Durham. During the fall of 2000, she was the distinguished McAndless Professor at Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Michigan. In 2005, she received the award for "The Most Distinguished Woman in a Governmental Position in the Arab World" from the League of Arab States. Her nomination for the Noble Peace Prize in 2005 "1000 women for Noble Peace Prize" came as a culmination to her efforts in serving the cause of peace in the world. Dr Shaaban has studied in the UK, holding an M.A and PhD in English Literature from the University of Warwick. Dr Shaaban has published nine books and several articles in both languages Arabic and English and trying to create a bridge between East and West. Her latest book is *Damascus Diary: An Inside Account of Hafez al Assad Peace Diplomacy* (Lynne Reinner, New York, 2012).

## **THE RISE OF ISIS AND OTHER EXTREMIST GROUPS: THE ROLE OF THE WEST AND REGIONAL POWERS**

*Shaaban Bouthaina*

The paper will examine the role of Western and regional players in inflaming the conflict and the growth of terrorism in Syria. It will examine the attempts to break up Syria's civilian and military institutions, the delegitimisation of the Syrian government, the attempts to procure a UN mandate for a military intervention in Syria, the imposition of suffocating economic sanctions on Syria, and most importantly the support that Western and regional powers gave to a plethora of armed groups, including al-Qaeda and ISIS, to fight the Syrian government. The latter point will be scrutinised in order to highlight how the United States, and its allies in the region, cynically employed extremist groups in Syria to achieve geopolitical gains, thus leading to wider regional upheaval, the effects of which will most certainly go beyond the West Asian region. The paper will then move to examine the crucial differences between the US-led campaign against ISIS, and the Russian efforts in Syria, in addition to examining the central role of the Syrian government and army in the fight against terrorism. Finally, this paper will examine the dangers of extremist ideologies being espoused and promoted by governments and individuals in the Gulf region, and their effect on social cohesion in targeted countries, with Syria being the latest example. Throughout the proceeding points, special attention will be given to the role played by Western and Gulf mass media and the false narratives it propagated about the conflict in Syria and the wider West Asian region.

## HAYTHAM MOUZAHEM

Executive Director and Editor-in-Chief  
at the *Levant News*, President, Beirut  
Centre for Middle East Studies,  
Lebanon.



Dr Haytham Ahmad Mouzahem is Founder and Director of Beirut Center for Middle East Studies, Editor in Chief of The *Levant News*, and Editor in Chief of "Shujun Arabiyaa". He earned his PhD, Masters and Bachelor degree in Philosophy from Beirut University and also obtained a Bachelor degree in Journalism from the same university. He is the Political Programme writer and researcher at al-Mayadeen TV Channel, columnist, political commentator, and regular contributor to Al-monitor, Islamist Gate, the Atlantic Post, *Al Hayat* and *Al-Balad*. Previously he has worked for the Center for Strategic Studies and Documentation as a researcher and co-editor in its monthly journal. In early 1999, Mr. Mouzahem joined *Al-Mustaqbal* daily newspaper as a senior co-editor at the International section. He also worked for the media department of the UAE, Ministry of Presidential affairs. Mouzahem also researches and writes articles and book reviews for academic journals that deal with Middle East and Islamic affairs especially for "Al-Ijtihad" (Arabic), "Shu'un Al-awsat" (Arabic) and "Jane's Intelligence Review" (UK). He has published several articles on Middle East affairs and Islamic Affairs along with authoring two books.

# THE RISE OF JIHADI SALAFISM IN THE MUSLIM WORLD

*Haytham Mouzahem*

The Salafist and Wahhabist strains of radical Islam and their differences are worth understanding, as both ideologies have become more influential in the Middle East and North Africa since the Arab Spring revolutions. "Jihadi Salafism", "Takfiri" groups, such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS derive from Wahhabi Salafism. Since September 11, 2001 some Wahhabi Salafists have merged with radical Islamists to create "Jihadi Salafism." Islamism, and especially the Muslim Brotherhood, has influenced some Wahhabis, such as Osama Bin Laden, and in return some Islamists have been influenced by Wahhabism as a combination of what some call "Jihadi Salafists" while their enemies describe them as "Takfiri Jihadis."

Salafis reject speculative theology that involves debate, known as *kalam*, considering it a foreign import from Greek philosophy that has no place in Islam. It insisted on strict adherence to literal translations of the Quran and regarded the Sunnah, the prophet traditions, as the only authority on Muslim law. It rejected interpretation of the religious text and denied analogical reasoning - *qiyas* - and pure reasoning - *ra'y* - as sources of jurisprudence. Salafism rose and fell in the following centuries, making a resurgence again in the 18th century A.D. through the work of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab, who was born in what is today Saudi Arabia. This branch of Salafism or Wahhabism called for "pure" monotheism and condemned polytheistic practices.

The Wahhabi movement eventually came to control the Arabian Peninsula through a 1740 A.D. alliance between Ibn Abd al-Wahhab and Muhammad Ibn Saud that managed to establish a state in the central part of the Arabian Peninsula. The alliance between the Wahhabi religious establishment and the Saudi royal family has continued to support the Salafi doctrine in the kingdom and all over the Islamic world. Wahhabism has also condemned other Islamic schools of thought, including those of Shi'a Muslims, Sufis and some Sunnis. Wahhabis denounce Shi'a Muslims as apostates and refer to them as *rafidas*, or deserters. Al Qaeda, ISIS and the "Jihadi Salafism" other trends, have refused to obey the ruler as the traditional Salafism stated and they consider those rulers and regimes as infidels and call for confronting them.

## **ENTIFADH KAMAL QANBAR, P.E.**

Chairman of the Iraqi Future Constitutional Party and Adviser to the Deputy President of the Iraqi Parliament, Baghdad, Iraq.



Dr Entifadh Kamal Qanbar, P.E. is the Chairman of the Iraqi Future Constitutional Party and Adviser to the Deputy President of the Iraqi Parliament, Baghdad, Iraq. He has served in different capacities such as General Manager of Asia TV, Beirut, Lebanon ((July 2011-March 2015); Chairman of Sigma International Construction, Gulf Region, Abu Dhabi, UAE (October 2006 - March 2008); Deputy Military Attaché, Embassy of Iraq Washington, DC, USA (2005 August - September 2006); Advisor and Spokesman for the Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister, Baghdad, Iraq (June 2004 - October 2005); Deputy and Spokesman to Member of the Iraqi Governing Council, Baghdad, Iraq (June 2003 - June 2004); Director of Iraqi National Congress and Liaison with the DoD, Washington, DC, USA (October 2000 - March 2003); Senior Consultant Engineer Civil and Environmental projects at Robins Air Force Base, Warner Robins, GA (June 1997 - September 2000) and Project Engineer on Balad Air Force Base, Baghdad, Iraq (January 1981 - April 1985). He has finished his Master Degree and Doctoral studies in Civil and Environmental Engineering and Policy, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, GA (1994 to 1999).

## THE EMERGENCE AND THE ERADICATION OF ISIS

*Entifadh Kamal Qanbar*

It is widely agreed upon that the defeat of ISIS is not possible by solely military means. The failure of the Shia dominated government in Iraq to confront and defeat ISIS led to the collapse of the contract between the people and the Islamic parties which is to provide security and protection from the Sunnis in return for power. For the first time the Shias started to question the validity of their leaders in the light of deteriorating economic situation, lack of services and collapse of the country's infrastructure. The recent civil demonstrations in Iraq give hope for the emergence of a new Iraq that is inclusive to all Iraqis, respecting religious beliefs and rituals but separating religion from politics. This will set a healthy basis for a society that rejects extremism, to eradicate ISIS and any future extremist and terrorist organisations.

The Khilafa state of ISIS, the beheadings and the slavery of women which are all condemned by us were always part of our textbooks and Islamic teachings since childhood. We lived through a culture that fanaticized of an idealistic Islamic Khilafa as an ultimate solution to the world's problems. What we see now is a tragic clash between a fantasy we lived and reality. We must admit that what ISIS is doing is not foreign to Islam as we learned it and we need to make fundamental changes to modernise Islam and to utilise its great values of tolerance and acceptance.

## **RUMEL DAHIYA**

Deputy Director General,  
Institute for Defence  
Studies and Analyses (IDSA), India.



Brig Rumel Dahiya, SM (Retd) is Deputy Director General at the Institute of Defence Studies & Analyses. He is also Coordinator of the Military Affairs Centre and Managing Editor of the Journal of Defence Studies.

Brig Dahiya is an Indian Army veteran with extensive command and staff experience spanning 32 years, including in counter-insurgency operations. He previously served as a Defence Attache 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 and Net Assessment Directorate at Integrated Defence Staff. Brig. Dahiya is a graduate of the National Defence College and Defence Services Staff College. He was awarded the Sword of Honour and Gold Medal at the Indian Military Academy at his commissioning.

## **FUTURE PROSPECTS OF ISIS**

*Rumel Dahiya*

Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham also known by various other names has emerged as a major security challenge not only for Syria and Iraq but for many other countries of Asia and Africa through its affiliates. Its rapid success in capturing vast swath of territory and establishment of a proto-state with adaptive governance in captured territory of Iraq and Syria; exploitation of oil assets and other sources of income; adaptive albeit repressive governance; grand vision of establishing global Caliphate; and, skilful use of social media has attracted dissatisfied youth from the region and beyond. The fact that the regional and external powers through their actions created instability in the region provided a fertile ground for ISIS to expand. Over a period of the last 19 months, however, brutality of ISIS and the threat that it poses to many countries has helped galvanise world opinion against ISIS. Despite its ideological and spectacular battlefield successes till recently, ISIS is now facing a challenge of co-ordinated resistance from various sides. It has lost more territories than it has gained during the last six months. Despite disunity amongst countries and groups opposing it, there is a strong possibility of the ISIS being contained and ultimately dislodged even if it takes a few years before it is consigned to history.



# Special Address

Wednesday, January 20, 2016

0930 - 1000hrs

## **ANIL WADHWA**

Secretary (East)

Ministry of External Affairs



Shri Anil Wadhwa was born on 26 May, 1957 and has been a member of the Indian Foreign Service since July 1, 1979.

His previous diplomatic assignments include serving as Third Secretary in the Commission of India, Hong Kong (Sep.1981 to Sep.1983); Second Secretary / First Secretary in Embassy of India, Beijing (Nov.1983 to Feb.1987); Under Secretary / Deputy Secretary in Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi (Feb.1987-May 1989); UN Disarmament Fellow in Geneva (July-Nov.1989); First Secretary (Disarmament) at the Permanent Mission of India in Geneva (Dec.1989-Dec.1992); Counsellor in Embassy of India, Beijing (Jan.1993 - Jul.1993); Director/Joint Secretary on deputation to the Provisional Technical Secretariat and later the Technical Secretariat for the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) in The Hague (July 1993-July 2000); Chief Adviser, Ministry of External Affairs (Earthquake Relief) in Gujarat State, (Dec.2000 to Jan.2001); Joint Secretary, Central and Eastern Europe, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi (Mar.2001 to Feb.2004).

Shri Anil Wadhwa has served as the Indian Ambassador to Poland (March 2004 to August 2007), to the Sultanate of Oman (August 2007 to September 2011), and to the Kingdom of Thailand (Nov 2011 to Jan 2014).

He holds a Masters Degree in History with specialization in Chinese history and Medieval Indian history and architecture. He is fluent in English, Hindi and Chinese and knows French.

Shri Anil Wadhwa has contributed a number of articles, mainly in the field of disarmament and international security.

# Session IV

## Strategic Transformation in West Asia and Involvement of Extra-Regional Powers

Wednesday, January 20, 2016

1000 - 1200hrs

## ***Chairperson***

### **RANJIT GUPTA**



Amb Ranjit Gupta is a retired Indian Foreign Service officer. He was a member of the Prime Minister's National Security Advisory Board for the term 2009-2010. He is currently a Distinguished Fellow of the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies and a Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies. Earlier he has been Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, Visiting Professor at the Academy of Third World Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, and Ambassador-in-Residence at the Jawaharlal Nehru University. He has been delivering lectures at think tanks, universities and other academic institutions in India and abroad and participating in conferences, seminars and workshops primarily relating to India's relations with the Gulf region and the Arab world; Southeast Asia and East Asia including in particular relating to ASEAN, China, Myanmar, Taiwan, Tibet and India's 'Look East' Policy. During the past six years he has been actively involved in Track II activity pertaining to the Gulf region sponsored by the Ministry of External Affairs. During his 39 year career with India's Ministry of External Affairs he had served successively in Cairo, New York (at the Permanent Mission of India to the UN), Gangtok (at the time of Sikkim's merger with India), Jeddah (Deputy Chief of Mission), Frankfurt (Consul-General) and Kathmandu (Deputy Chief of Mission). At Headquarters he had been Head of the West Asia and North Africa Division dealing with Arab countries and Israel. Later he was successively India's Ambassador to Yemen (North), Venezuela, Oman, Thailand and Spain and was Head of India's Representation in Taiwan from May 2000 to May 2003.

## ALEXANDER LUKIN

Department Head, Faculty of World  
Economy and International Affairs,  
School of International Affairs, National  
Research University Higher School of  
Economics, Moscow, Russia.



Alexander Lukin served as an elected deputy of the Moscow City Soviet (Council) where he chaired the Sub-Committee for Inter-Regional Relations from 1990-1993. He co-authored *Three Journeys through China* with Andrei Dikarev (Moscow, 1989), wrote "The Political Culture of the Russian Democrats" (Oxford University Press, 2000), *The Bear Watches the Dragon: Russia's Perceptions of China and the Evolution of Russian-Chinese Relations since the Eighteenth Century* (M.E.Sharpe, 2003) as well as numerous articles and policy papers on Russian and Chinese politics. His major work includes: *Russian-Chinese relations, Russia and China: Four Hundred Years of Interaction* (Moscow, Ves' Mir, 2013). He is also an Honorary Researcher of Heilongjiang Provincial Academy of Social Sciences. Dr Lukin has also written on the international situation in East Asia and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. His works have been published in Russia, the United States, the United Kingdom, and China (including Hong Kong and Taiwan). He is a member of the Association for Asian Studies, the Russian National Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) and the Russian National Committee for BRICS Studies. He received a D.Phil in Politics from Oxford University in 1997, a doctorate in history from the Diplomatic Academy in Moscow in 2007. He worked at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Soviet Embassy to the PRC, and the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Geneva Center for Security Policy, and so on. He received his A.B. from Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

## **RUSSIA'S POLICY IN WEST ASIA AND ITS ACTIONS IN SYRIA**

*Alexander Lukin*

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia began participating less intensively in the affairs of West Asia. In the early 1990s, Moscow was in almost complete agreement with Western actions in that region. Later, and especially after the pro-Western Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev was replaced in 1995 by Yevgeny Primakov, even when Moscow disagreed with the actions of the U.S. and its allies, it preferred to express those objections verbally rather than through other measures. The war in Iraq in 2003 is one such example.

That situation changed with the beginning of the protests in Arab States that prompted Russia to step up its activity. Moscow viewed those revolutions as a serious threat for several reasons. First, they undermined the political stability of the Arab states, many of which were partners with Russia. Second, the ensuing chaos often enabled radical Islamists to gain significant influence and to work through their supporters to destabilise the situation in Russia and its allies in Central Asia. Third, the Russian leadership projected developments in those countries to Russia itself and became fundamentally opposed to any unconstitutional attempt to seize power.

The deterioration of relations with the West over the crisis in Ukraine also had an impact on the intensification of Russia's policy. Russia's new policy in the region intends to provide military support for the government of Syrian President Bashar Al Assad, provide support to Iran and its allies in their efforts to support Assad, expand cooperation with Iraq that is struggling with ISIL and to expand cooperation with Egypt. Russia initially tried to conduct a balanced policy by not breaking off relations with Turkey and Saudi Arabia, and even tried to exploit play to the growing anti-U.S. sentiment in those countries. However,

the increasingly distinct Shiite-Sunni confrontation in the region tends to escalate tensions between Russia and those countries. The result is a system of cooperation between Russia, Iran, Iraq and Syria in opposition to Turkey and Saudi Arabia and their allies. This is not a formal alliance, as a number of other, complex factors are also at play. On the whole, Russia's policy in West Asia dovetails well with Moscow's larger policy of creating partnerships with independent non-Western players on the world stage - including China, India, Brazil and South Africa. Iran is a fitting addition to their ranks.

## **FRANKLIN P LAMB**

Visiting Professor  
of International Law at Damascus  
University Faculty of Law, USA.



Prof Franklin Lamb is currently based in Beirut, Lebanon and Damascus doing research on regional issues and is a visiting Professor of International Law at the Damascus University Faculty of Law. In January 1983 Lamb was a witness before the Kahan Commission of Inquiry into the massacre at the Sabra-Shatila Refugee Camp in Beirut held at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He is author of several books. His latest book is titled "Syria's Endangered Heritage: An International Responsibility to Protect and Preserve" (2015) available in Arabic and English. He served as Assistant Counsel of the House Judiciary Committee in the US Congress after earning his law degree from Boston University, School of Law as well as LLM, M.Phil, and Ph.D. Degrees from The London School of Economics (LSE) and subsequently at the University College London (UCL), he earned a Diploma in International Air & Space law. He subsequently completed post-doctoral studies at Harvard University Law School's East Asian Legal Studies Center where he specialized in Chinese Law, as well as International legal studies at Cambridge University in the UK and three summers studying Public International Law at The Hague Academy of International Law at the International Court of Justice in The Hague, Netherlands.



## **US POLICY IN WEST ASIA AND AMERICA'S FUTURE ROLE IN THE REGION**

*Franklin P Lamb*

Many in Washington DC and elsewhere argue, 13 months before the end of his final term that President Barack Obama has spent the last four years operating without much of a plan in the Middle East. The argument often is that when a crisis occurs, his is a half-hearted response to the crisis. But absent is any kind of larger strategy to try to deal with what's happening in the Middle East. During the run-up to the 2016 Presidential election, there is an increasingly perceived failure by the outgoing Obama administration to develop a broader strategy and that this imperils other work the administration is doing, including the nuclear deal with Iran.

The current trends in Yemen, Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria and to a lesser but also dangerous extent, Lebanon, involving widespread use of force, increasing violence, failure of the state mechanisms, humanitarian crises, spread of terrorism, growing sectarian conflict, intervention by regional and extra-regional players and changing regional geopolitics are not encouraging in terms of future US relations with much of the region. In Syria, for example, the co-mingled, inextricably intertwined struggles for power finds the Assad government facing a deepening uprising, pitting Shia against Sunni, Kurd against Arab and Turk, Sunni against Sunni, ISIS against seemingly everybody, Druze against rebels and government forces depending on location, Palestinians against whoever they judge their oppressors and like nearly 12 million in Syria, 200,000 Palestinians have been made refugees but for a second or more time.

The United States continues to have vital interests in the Middle East, and its actions and inactions have been an important contribution to its present dismal state. Many of its problems might have been averted or mitigated by different American policies at various points over the past 30-40 years. Successive American administrations have

prioritised short-term expediency over long-term strategic benefit, and missed key opportunities time and again. Many in the U.S. Congress are asserting pressure for America to send a clear signal to the region that it will maintain a major military presence in the region. Others are advocating for substantial American disengagement in the region and in favour of reaching out to other Great Powers, India and China to play leading roles in the region. The concept being that if we are able to bring the Chinese and Indians around and to work with them with positive results for their own economic and security needs, they would then become our allies in the same initiative with better prospects for successful reforms and peace in the region.

## **MUSTAFA AYDIN**

Rector, Kadir Has  
University, Istanbul, Turkey.



Prof Mustafa Aydin is a Rector of Kadir Has University (Istanbul) since February 2010, and the President of the International Relations Council of Turkey since 2004. He is also member of Governing Board of the OECD International Management of Higher Education Programme and Member of the European Academy of Sciences and Arts. Prof Aydin previously worked at Ankara University (1994-2005) and Economy and Technology University (2005-2009); and was guest researcher/lecturer at Michigan (1998), Harvard (2002, Fulbright fellow), and Athens (2003, Onassis Fellow) Universities, as well as Richardson Institute for Peace Studies (1999, Unesco Fellow) and the EU Institute for Security Studies (2003). He is a member of Global Relations Forum (GIF), International Studies Association (ISA), Turkish Atlantic Council, Turkish Political Sciences Association, International Network on Regional Security, and the European Society for Central Asian Studies (ESCAS). He was member of Economy and Foreign Policy Study Group of the President of Turkey (2003-2009), Co-Coordinator of the International Commission on Black Sea (2010); and Director of International Policy Research Institute (2005-2011). Prof Aydin's areas of interest are international politics, foreign policy analysis, Eurasian security and geopolitics, politics of the Black Sea and the Middle East, as well as Turkish foreign and security policies.

## LIANGXIANG JIN

Research Fellow,  
Center for West Asian and African  
Studies, Shanghai Institute for  
International Studies, Shanghai, China.



Dr Liangxiang Jin is a Research Fellow at the Center for West Asian and African Studies, SIIS, is specialised in the Middle Eastern international relations, and particularly engaged in the field of Iran's foreign policy and domestic politics. He has visited numerous Middle East countries including Iran, Egypt, Tunisia, etc. He was a visiting fellow at the Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace (2002-2003), Fredrich Ebert Stiftung New York Office (2006), the Baker Institute (2011) and the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) of the US (2013). He is also a columnist of [www.china.org.cn](http://www.china.org.cn), one of the leading Chinese media in English.

## THE THREE FAILURES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE RISE OF TERRORISM

*Liangxiang Jin*

The Middle East has become the sources of global terrorism. There are three main reasons for this: the failure of industrialisation tasked with employment, the failure of state building defined as building a strong central government, and the failure of regionalism defined as dealing with security issues in a coordinated way. Though the three failures are home grown, the West has contributed more or less to the three failures.

The global efforts in fighting against terrorism have not decreased but terrorism has increased significantly in the last decade. The reasons are numerous: in most of the time, the coalition led by the United State is not serious fighting against terrorism, but instrumentalising the fight against terrorism; military means by external powers is far from being a cure to the problem; and, regional powers have by different means been in cooperation with terrorists.

The success of global efforts in fighting against terrorism will depend on the development of local economy, the building of state capacity, and the cooperation among regional powers. But what is most important is that global and regional powers should abandon geopolitical mentality so as to form a real front against terrorism.

## ALAIN LAMBALLE

The French Centre for Intelligence  
Studies (CF2R), Paris, France.



Alain Lamballe is a retired Brigadier-General from the French Army. He has a Ph D in political sociology and Diplomas of the Paris School of Oriental Languages and Civilisations in Hindi, Urdu and Hungarian; and a Diploma of the Delhi University in Hindi and Diploma of the Paris Centre of Higher Studies on Modern Africa and Asia. He is a member of the Academy of Overseas Sciences, member of the Society of general history and diplomatic history and member of Asie 21/Futuribles. He is also the Chairperson of the association Institut des Hautes Études de Défense Nationale/Asie Moyen-Orient (IHEDN/AMO) of former alumni from Asia and Middle East and a Senior researcher of the Centre français de recherche sur le renseignement. He has held various diplomatic assignments in Western Europe (United Kingdom), Central Europe (Hungary, Austria), Balkan Europe (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and South Asia (India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Maldives) besides various short term missions all over the world. His publications include three books, *The Tamil problem in Sri Lanka*, L'Harmattan, 1985, *Insurgencies and terrorism in South-Asia*, Es-stratégies éditions, 2008, *Water in South Asia: confrontation or cooperation?*, L'Harmattan, 2009, and chapters in collective books and numerous articles, mostly on political, economic and military issues of South Asia and surrounding areas.

## **WESTERN INTERVENTIONS IN WEST ASIA**

*Alain Lamballe*

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 encouraged the Western countries and NATO to intervene offensively, not to say aggressively, not only in Europe but also in Northern Africa and West Asia. The West, especially the USA, capitalised on the more or less spontaneous 2011 revolts in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Syria and in some way manipulated them. The aim was to bring down authoritarian regimes. But Western political and military interventions misfired everywhere. American and European policies followed erratic and contradictory courses. Chaos prevails almost in all the concerned countries and their economy, including tourism, has greatly suffered. Archaeological monuments have been destroyed and migrations to Europe have increased dramatically. Troubles are spreading in the Sahel region. The hostility of the Western countries towards Iran, a stable and most important country, increases the regional crisis. Meanwhile they still support Saudi Arabia and Qatar which are providing help to radical Islamist groups in Syria.

NATO, which was successful to contain the USSR, has now become irrelevant and even counter-productive, being a mere tool of the Americans. It should be disbanded. The West should totally change its policy, condemning firmly Saudi Arabia and Qatar; and try to convince Turkey to give up its ambiguous policy. It should stop to antagonise Iran. Cooperation with Russia for military strikes in Syria has to be increased. And relations have to be fully established again with the present Syrian regime in order to fight more effectively against the Islamists. In the future, the West should only intervene militarily if it is threatened, and not to impose democratic dispensations. Anyway, the financial crunch of the European countries will force them to restrain their inference.





# Session V

## Energy and Changing Geopolitics of West Asia

Wednesday, January 20, 2016

1215 - 1330hrs

## ***Chairperson***

**C UDAY BHASKAR**



Commodore C Uday Bhaskar, Director, Society for Policy Studies, New Delhi retired from the Indian Navy in early 2007 after 37 years service. He is a recipient of the Vishist Seva Medal (VSM) and the Prime Minister's Letter of Commendation. He was till recently Director, National Maritime Foundation (2009-2011) and earlier with the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi from 1989 where he served as a Senior Fellow, Deputy Director (1996-2004) and later as Director of the Institute till late 2005. Subsequently, he was appointed Member-Secretary of the Government of India Task Force on 'Global Strategic Developments' - a report submitted to the Prime Minister of India.

Bhaskar was Editor, Maritime Affairs and Strategic Analysis; and is on the Editorial Board of Contemporary Security Policy (USA). He has edited books on nuclear, naval/ maritime and international security related issues; and has contributed over 60 research articles to journals in India and abroad. Bhaskar is President, Association for Middle Eastern Studies, New Delhi and a Council member of the Takshashila Foundation. He is a regular contributor to the print and audio-visual media and is a columnist for Reuters, Daily News and Analysis (DNA) and Dainik Jagran - India's largest circulating Hindi daily. Bhaskar also hosts a current affairs program on Doordarshan - India's largest TV network.

## TAKEUCHI TOSHITAKA

Osaka School of International Public Policy, Osaka University, Japan.



Dr Takeuchi Toshitaka is a Professor at Osaka School of International Public Policy, Osaka University. He earned his BS in Environmental Engineering from Kyoto University. He has also obtained a Bachelor degree in Political Science from University of Oregon and double Masters in Political Science and East Asian Studies from University of Washington and Stanford respectively. He is certified and accredited to teach PhD courses by Ministry of Education affiliated committee. Prior to this he has held various teaching positions, worked as a legal advisor to various departments, participated in CTBT negotiations, CCW (Protocol II) negotiations, and so on. He was also an International Fellow with the US State Department. He has published extensively on security issues, International Relations, Arms Control and Disarmament and Game Theory. Recently he has edited a book on *Understanding International Relations: The World and Japan*, University Education Press, 2013.

## **JAPAN'S NEWLY ADOPTED SECURITY BILLS: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE INDO-PACIFIC REGION**

*Takeuchi Toshitaka*

In September 2015, Japan's Diet (Parliament) has adopted new security bills after a long interlocution in the both the Houses. These bills are historic in the sense that they allow Japan to exercise the right of collective self-defence, albeit with important constraints, for the very first time since the new and current Constitution was promulgated in May 1947. This is often mis-reported as an amendment, but it is a reinterpretation of the Article 9 of the Constitution, which is often referred to as "Peace Constitution". This has to do with Article 9, which prohibited Japan from having any "war potential". The interpretation of this Article has seen a drastic change in the early post war era. It is the established interpretation since the 1970s, however, that Japan as a sovereign nation does have the right of collective defence. This paper will make a preliminary attempt to explore what kind of implication this new interpretation would have to the peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific region.

It is preliminary because nothing that even remotely requires the exercise of this limited right of collective self-défense has happened and would not be expected to happen at present, and therefore no hard data, what Japan's government would do, is available. We can, though, conjecture some hypothetical scenarios that Japan might be forced to take action. Japan being an East Asian nation, her focus is mainly on the Western Pacific and East Asia. It should be noted, though, that Prime Minister Abe mentioned in the Diet interlocutions about the possibility (no matter how slim it is) that the Strait of Hurmuz might be blocked. Japan's economic well-being as well as other countries' are totally dependent on imported oil from the Middle East and, therefore, this might qualify as a situation that Japan's well-being would be gravely in danger. Then, Japan might dispatch SDF's mine-sweepers. Japan's mine-sweeping capabilities are among the

best in the world, having 25 ships compared to the US' 11 and the UK's 15. There are other possibilities that Japan might exercise the new right in the Indian Ocean when, for example, a USS comes under attack and it is somehow construed to cause a grave danger to Japan's national security. These are hypothetical scenarios that will be explored in this paper on a preliminary basis.

## JANG JI-HYANG

Research Fellow and the Director of  
Middle East and North Africa (MENA)  
Centre at the Asan Institute for Policy  
Studies, Seoul, Korea.



Dr Jang Ji-Hyang is a Research Fellow and the Director of Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Center at the Asan Institute for Policy Studies in Seoul, Korea. Dr Jang has taught comparative politics, Middle East politics, and political economy of development at Seoul National University, Ewha Woman's University, and the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. Her research focuses on the relationship between democracy, capitalism, and globalization in the Middle East, North Africa, and the Muslim World. Her recent publications include: *Islamic Fundamentalism*, in *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (2008), *Weak State, Weak Civil Society: The Politics of State-Society Relations in the Arab World*, in the *Journal of International and Area Studies* (2009), *The Democratic Implications of Capitalism in the Era of Globalization*, *Review of International Area Studies* (2010), and *Contingency and Diversity in Revolution: How Can We Explain the Middle East Spring? (in Korean)*, *Asan Issue Brief* (2011). She has also recently published a Korean translation of Fawaz Gerges' book, *Journey of the Jihadist: Inside Muslim Militancy* (Asan Institute 2011). Dr Jang received a B.A. in Turkish Studies and an M.A. in Political Science from the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies and her Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Texas at Austin.

## ENERGY, ISLAMIC EXTREMISM AND KOREA

*Jang Ji-Hyang*

South Korea's relations with the world beyond Northeast Asia have traditionally been confined to its economic interests. Oil-rich Middle Eastern countries have been a source of energy imports, manufacturing exports and a destination for construction projects. About 85 per cent of crude oil imports, 50 per cent of natural gas imports, and 62 per cent of construction contracts worth USD 20 billion are the very economic interests of Korea in the Middle East. For sixty years, Korea's Middle East foreign policy in political and security realm has been based on "passive hedging," a strategy of neutrality and 'wait-and-see.'

Yet Korea is raising its profile at the global level by participating in international peacekeeping operations and developmental assistance. It is thus becoming engaged with the Middle East beyond economic issues. As Korea deals with the changing political and strategic dynamics in the Middle East, it must begin to develop a consistent foreign policy that promotes international norms such as countering terrorism, non-proliferation, humanitarian protection, and democracy. Indeed, Korea needs an active, norm-driven Middle East policy for three reasons: Instability in the Middle East directly damages Korea's economic interests; supporting Middle Eastern countries in their challenges to gain their support in dealing with North Korea; and, enforcing key global norms enhances Korea's reputation as a principled international actor and lays the foundation for unification.

It may incur short-term costs by moving away from our traditional policy. However, middle power policy serves Korea's long-term national interests by creating international support for a peaceful unification. Patience and confidence are needed by both international and domestic constituency. Given that the North Korean threat is not limited only to Northeast Asia, more active roles of like-minded countries in dealing with North Korea are critically needed. The North

Korea regime continues to play a destabilising role in the Middle East, including missile and conventional weapons sales, sending military advisors, oil smuggling, and cooperation on nuclear technology research. For domestic constituency, the 2015 Japanese hostage killing by ISIS, despite Japan's limited role as humanitarian aid provider, raised a counter-argument. "Don't Mess with Terrorists" argument is emerging against "Pursuing Middle Power Policy and Following International Norms." However, unless Korea consistently upholds these norms, it will encounter setbacks in finding international support in dealing with North Korea. These norms are the basis of Korea's policy towards North Korea as well.



## **GIRIJESH PANT**

Prof., Jawaharlal Nehru  
University, New Delhi, India.



Prof. Girijesh Pant is an Economist by training. He earned his MA in Economics from Allahabad University with rank and then joined Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) for his Doctorate. He began his career with Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi but eventually moved to academics. Starting his work on Development Studies, his initial writings were on Political Economy with focus on South East Asia and Third World economies. He then went on to working on West Asian economies, oil economies and international energy issues. He has been the Director of Gulf Studies programme and Chairman, Centre for West Asian Studies. Prof. Pant is also the former Dean of the School of International Studies, JNU. During his career as an academician, he travelled extensively. Prof. Pant was Senior Fulbright Visiting scholar, University of Illinois, USA. He also held various other prestigious positions such as Member of UGC Standing Committee Area Studies, UGC nominee in Managing Committee of Third World Academy in Jamia Millia Islamia, and Member of Editorial Board of Indian Foreign Affairs Journal, New Delhi. He also held the position of Vice Chancellor of GGD University, Bilaspur and Doon University, Dehradun. He holds the membership of India International Centre, New Delhi and International Institute of Strategic Studies, London.

## **GLOBAL ENERGY DYNAMICS: THE 'NEW' GEOPOLITICS OF WEST ASIA**

*Girijesh Pant*

The global energy market is in transition. While surplus capacity of OPEC is at the lowest, the market inventories are high. Clearly the power dynamics is changing. Unlike the years of oil scarcity when control over West Asian energy resources was the dominant narrative of regional geopolitics, the new text is to contain the influence of the region, riddled with prolonged conflict. The falling oil prices since the middle of 2014 and the inability of OPEC to retrieve its market share underlines that the energy geopolitics is going to be determined by many new variables including the shifting breakeven price of individual producers. While the global energy dynamics is redefining the geopolitics of the region, the latter is also playing out on energy market itself. Saudi Arabia has positioned its policy not to cut oil production to ease out high cost supplier from the market, to restrict the return of Iran on the strength of its oil resources. Similarly Iran would be contesting Saudi power to dictate OPEC price-production strategy. With Saudi-Iranian tension building up, oil market might witness new rivalry between the two giants for capturing of market share. Asia could be the theatre because in contrast to past when regional energy was flowing to West, the energy market has shifted to Asia. The emerging fault lines within the region triggered by ongoing conflict too have been contributing factor in eroding market salience of the region. It is posing risk to oil asset which is pushing the oil consumer to diversify their imports away from the region. Further, the control over oil assets and trade by non-state players like ISIS and other militia has added to the market uncertainty. The central argument of the presentation is that the time of strategic salience and the financial comfort enjoyed by the oil exporting countries of West Asia is phasing out. The challenge posed by the new geopolitics of energy does not accrue them the market leverage hence fiscal solvency of the rentier state, on the contrary the fiscal ramifications are compelling the regimes to renegotiate the equation between the State and Citizen. This could turn out to be the game changer in defining a new geopolitical relationship between energy and the nation building process in the region.

# Session VI

## India and the Region: Building Partnerships and Managing Challenges

Wednesday, January 20, 2016

1430 - 1600hrs

## ***Chairperson***

**SANJAY SINGH**



Sanjay Singh, alumni of Delhi University, joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1976. He has served in Indian Missions in Mexico, Germany, Ghana and France and in the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi as Director in the Office of the External Affairs Minister and Joint Secretary and Head of Division dealing with Latin American Countries and later Establishment. From October 1997 to June 2001, he was India's Consul General in Ho Chi Minh City and from July 2001 to August 2004, Deputy Chief of Mission in Paris. He held charge in the Ministry as Joint Secretary and Additional Secretary (Gulf) from March 2005 to March 2009. He was India's Ambassador to Iran from March 2009 to March 2011. He took over as Secretary (East) in the Ministry of External Affairs in March 2011 and retired in end April 2013.

## EBTESAM AL-KETBI

Founder and President of Emirates Policy Centre, member of GCC Council Advisory Board, and Professor of Political Science at UAE University, Abu Dhabi, UAE.



Prof Ebtessam Al-Ketbi is a founder and President of Emirates Policy Center and a member of GCC council Advisory Board, and Professor of Political Science at UAE University. She obtained her Ph.D. degree in Political Science from the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, Cairo University. She is a board member of Association of Political Science. She is also member of various several trustees like board member of Arab Unity Studies Center, member of Arabic Organization for Transparency plus a Consultative, Member of Arabic Thought Foundation and member of Arabic council for social sciences. She served as a Secretary General of Gulf Development Forum (2011-2015), and also member of Consultative committee of the UAE Center for Strategic Studies, Director of woman programme in Gulf Research Center 2005 and Member of core team of Arabic Human Development Report 2006. She has published a number of papers including, *The security dimensions of military relations between GCC countries and USA*, *The global community and the war on terrorism: threat or opportunity?*, *Democratic Transformations in GCC Countries* and *Citizenship concept in the GCC countries*.

## **INDIA AND THE GCC: BUILDING PARTNERSHIPS AND MANAGING CHALLENGES**

*Ebtesam Al-Ketbi*

The GCC-Indian partnership has benefited from GCC countries' desire to diversify strategic relationships in the region. These nations spread their search Eastwards to establish new economic, political and security ties. Among other prominent factors that have prompted GCC countries to develop relations with New Delhi are its growing role at the international scene, increasing influence in the Indian Ocean and Arabian Gulf, growing defence and industrial capabilities and its rising demand for oil and gas. Furthermore, GCC countries are India's largest global trade partner as New Delhi continues to provide a promising investment climate and advanced technological base in which GCC countries can make use of.

Despite the numerous commercial and security advantages afforded by GCC-Indian cooperation, there are some regional challenges that may hinder any potential relationship with India in the future. The paper draws three possible scenarios for GCC-Indian relation, providing recommendation on how to strengthening this relationship.

## GHANIM ALNAJJAR

Professor of Political Science at Kuwait University and Chair of Arab Human Rights Fund.



Dr Ghanim Alnajar is a Professor of Political Science at Kuwait University and Director of the Centre for Strategic and Future Studies, Kuwait. Prof Alnajar has been the Chair of Arab Human Rights Fund based in Beirut; he was a former UN Independent Expert on Human Rights in Somalia, representing Mr Kofi Anan (the former Secretary General of the United Nation), founder of the Kuwait University Centre for Strategic and Future Studies, and Chair Alsalam Centre for Development and Strategic Studies (an independent think tank). Prof Alnajar is also a member and advisor to several international and regional non-governmental and UN organisations. He contributes regularly to media outlets such as CNN, BBC, *Aljazeera*, and others. He is also a Columnist with the *Aljarida daily*, where he contributes twice weekly.

## EFRAIM INBAR

Director, The Begin-Sadat Centre for Strategic Studies (BESA), Bar-Ilan University, Tel Aviv, Israel.



Prof Efraim Inbar is a Professor in Political Studies at Bar-Ilan University and Director of its renowned Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies (the BESA Center). Currently he is the Israel Institute Visiting Professor at Boston University. Inbar was educated at the Hebrew University (B.A. in Political Science and English Literature) and at the University of Chicago (M.A. and Ph.D. in Political Science). He served as visiting professor at Johns Hopkins University (2004), at Georgetown University (1991-92), and visiting scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (1996). Prof. Inbar was appointed as a Manfred Warner NATO Fellow (1998), was a visiting fellow at the (London) International Institute for Strategic Studies (2000), and was the recipient of the Onassis Fellowship (2003). Inbar's area of specialization is Middle Eastern strategic issues with a special interest in the politics and strategy of Israeli national security. He has written over 100 articles in professional journals and edited volumes. He has authored five books: *Outcast Countries in the World Community* (1985), *War and Peace in Israeli Politics*, *Labor Party Positions on National Security* (1991), *Rabin and Israel's National Security* (1999), *The Israeli-Turkish Entente* (2001), and *Israel's National Security: Issues and Challenges since the Yom Kippur War* (2008). He has also edited twelve collections of articles. Prof. Inbar served in the Israel Defense Force (IDF) as a paratrooper. He was a member of the Political Strategic Committee of the National Planning Council and the Chair of the Committee for the National Security Curriculum at the Ministry of Education. He served on the Academic Committee of the History Department of the IDF and as the President of the Israel Association of International Studies. He is widely quoted in the Israeli and international press.



## THE US EXIT FROM WEST ASIA AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

*Efraim Inbar*

Under President Barack Obama, the US exits West Asia. The reasons are rooted in a liberal ideology, following two unsuccessful wars to change for better the political systems of Iraq and Afghanistan. The adoption of a more restrained grand strategy has unfavourable consequences which are addressed in the paper. The repercussions are an image of an unreliable American ally and lesser abilities to intervene militarily when critical national interests are at stake. Furthermore, the new American posture leads to the demise of the NPT and nuclear proliferation; Russian encroachment into the Middle East, the rise of Iran as a radical Islamist Shiite power, an increase in Islamist presence in the East Mediterranean and growing European vulnerability to Muslim refugee waves and security threats from the East and South.

## C RAJA MOHAN

Head - Strategic Studies &  
Distinguished Fellow, Observer  
Research Foundation, New Delhi, India.



Dr C Raja Mohan is a distinguished fellow at the Observer Research Foundation, Delhi. He is the foreign affairs columnist for The Indian Express and a visiting research professor at the Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore and a non-resident senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington DC. His most recent book is *Modi's World: Expanding India's Sphere of Influence* (2015).

## **MODI AND THE NEW MIDDLE EAST: TOWARDS GREATER PRAGMATISM**

*C Raja Mohan*

Delhi's political and diplomatic engagement with the Middle East has not kept pace with India's growing economic and strategic stakes in the region in the era of economic reform. The presentation reviews the traditional premises of India's approach to the Middle East and suggests that the unfolding turmoil in the region demands a fundamental recalibration of India's thinking. The paper examines the prospects for such change in Delhi under the leadership of Narendra Modi and points to potential ways in which India could reinvent its policy towards the region in order to secure its expansive interests in the Middle East.



# Session VII

## **Future Trends and Prospects for Cooperation in the Region**

Wednesday, January 20, 2016

1615 - 1800hrs

## ***Chairperson***

### **JAYANT PRASAD**



Jayant Prasad is Director General, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi. He was India's Ambassador to Afghanistan, Algeria, Nepal, and the UN Conference on Disarmament, Geneva. At headquarters, in the Ministry of External Affairs, he served as Special Secretary (Public Diplomacy), and Head of the Americas and the Multilateral Economic Relations Divisions. He was Rapporteur of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, Geneva (1986-87), Fellow at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University (1998-99), member of U.N. Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters (2005-07), and Visiting Scholar, Center for the Advanced Study of India, University of Pennsylvania (2014-15). Before his 37-year public service career, he was lecturer in history, St. Stephen's College, University of Delhi, after completing his studies at Modern School, St. Stephen's College, and Jawaharlal Nehru University.

## KHALED AL-HROUB

Professor in Residence of the  
Faculty of Liberal Arts at North  
western University, Doha, Qatar.



Dr Khaled AL-Hroub is a Professor in residence of the faculty of Liberal Arts at North-western University in Qatar. His is expert of Middle Eastern studies and Arab studies. AL-Hroub is also a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre of Islamic Studies of the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge, where he is the director of Cambridge Arab Media Project (CAMP). He authored *Hamas: A Beginners Guide* (2006/2010), *Hamas: Political Thought and Practice* (2000), and edited *Political Islam: Context versus Ideology* (2011) and *Religious Broadcasting in the Middle East* (2012). He published *Fragility of Ideology and Might of Politics in Arabic* (2010). Currently, he is writing a book on a Critique of the Arab Renaissance Project. Between 2000 and 2007 he was the host of a weekly book review programme on *Aljazeera*. His academic writings appeared in *Middle East Journal*, *Middle East International*, *Journal for Palestine Studies*, *Shu'un Arabyya* (Cairo), *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, *Holy Land Studies Journal*, *New Global Studies*, *The International Spectator* (Rome), *Outre Terre* (Paris), *Internationale Politik* (Berlin). His weekly article appears in six Arab dailies (Jordan, Qatar, Egypt, UAE, Oman, Palestine, Mauritania and the UK); he has also contributed for the *Daily Star*, *International Herald Tribune*, *El Pais* and *La Razon*, and is a frequent writer for *Open Democracy.com* and *Qantara.de*.

## THE RISE OF JUDEO-ISIS AND THE PERILS OF IGNORING PALESTINE

*Khaled Al-Hroub*

'Meet Judeo-ISIS: The inevitable result of Israel's presence in the West Bank'; this is a title of an article by the Israeli writer Asher Schechter published in Haartez in 24 December, that aptly captures what has been happening recently within the Israeli occupation/settler extremist movement in Palestine. Schechter likens fanatic Jewish settlers and their killing and burning of Palestinian civilians to ISIS and its murderous acts.

Pointing at the rise of Jewish extremism and its dangers, the main argument of this presentation is to claim that the politics of ignorance by Israel and US in particular over the persistence of the Palestine question creates further space for all kinds of radicalism including Israeli/Jewish one. A few decision-making politicians from the concerned circles would sincerely admit the dangers of carelessness about the Palestine issue and relegating it to the bottom of regional and international agenda. As it continues to prevail, this ignorance is, in fact, the real substance of lip service diplomacy, boringly-known time-wasting tactics and 'business as usual' approach. While world eyes are fixated on ISIS, its atrocities and the regional ramifications of its 'state' and wars, Israeli/Jewish fanaticism is growing in Israel/Palestine at unprecedented rate, eliminating the two-state solution option and paving the way for bleak and bloody scenarios. Over the past three decades the 'settlers state' within the state of Israel, advocating an apocalyptic and doomsday outlook about the Palestinians, continues to rise. This rise has been accompanied by increasing shift to the right within Israeli politics at general. The opportunist and short-sighted politics of various Israeli right-wing parties, led to more buying into the 'settler state' trying to outbid one another in providing concessions to the settlers' extremist demands. The Judeo-ISIS growing manifestations are only one immediate outcome of such politics; its regional implications and potential scenarios for the future of Palestine/Israel would be decidedly deadly.



## **P R KUMARASWAMY**

Jawaharlal Nehru University,  
New Delhi, India.



Prof P R Kumaraswamy is a Professor at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi. He was a Research Fellow at the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1991-1999). Ever since joining JNU in September 1999, he has been researching, teaching and writing on various aspects of contemporary Middle East. His works include *India's Israel Policy* (Columbia University Press, 2010) and *A to Z of Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Scarecrow, 2009).

## **N JANARDHAN**

Political Analyst based  
in the United Arab Emirates.



Dr N Janardhan is a political analyst based in the United Arab Emirates since 2000. His recent books include *A New Gulf Security Architecture: Prospects and Challenges for an Asian Role* (Gerlach, 2014), *India and the Gulf: What Next?* (Gulf Research Center Cambridge, 2013), and *Boom amid Gloom: Spirit of Possibility in the 21st Century Gulf* (Ithaca, 2011).

He is also an honorary fellow at the Centre for Gulf Studies, University of Exeter, and Managing Assistant Editor of *Journal of Arabian Studies* (Routledge).

With a broad-based interest in the socio-political developments in the Middle East, Dr Janardhan's research areas include politics, international relations, education, media, gender, labour, migration, human rights and human trafficking in the Gulf region.

Dr Janardhan obtained his PhD in Gulf studies from the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He is a regular contributor to various newspapers and websites in the Middle East, as well as international academic publications.

## **WHITHER INDIA-GULF STRATEGIC TIES AND GULF SECURITY?**

*N Janardhan*

There has been a concerted effort to pilot India-Gulf ties beyond oil, trade and expatriates in recent years. In the search for finding new avenues to convert the reigning buyer-seller and transaction-based relationship into a more meaningful one, the new mantra is 'strategic' partnership. What does it really mean? What are the imperatives that make a relationship strategic? Is it all-encompassing or specific to the security sphere? Are India and the Gulf ready to move out of their comfort zones and explore uncharted terrains? If so, how and when? If not, why?

Attempting to analyze these future developments and questions inevitably takes us to the heart of the festering conflicts in West Asia. It also exposes the failure of regional players to evolve their own conflict resolution or security mechanism. While a window for potential reconciliation among regional adversaries is open and should be encouraged, the vested interest (or lack of it) of extra-regional powers hinders meaningful progress.

Linking the above strands of discourse, the proposed presentation and paper explores some out-of-the-box solutions, especially the possibility of evolving an alternative security mechanism. They will specifically highlight the opportunities and challenges for Asian countries, especially India, in the quest for a new collective security architecture and stability in West Asia.

## **PRASANTA KUMAR PRADHAN**

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Dr. Prasanta Kumar Pradhan is an Associate Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. He holds a doctorate degree from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Since joining IDSA, he has been researching on foreign policy, security and strategic issues in West Asia, and India's relationship with West Asia and the wider Arab world. He is also working on the implications of the Arab Spring for the region and India. He is the author of the monograph *India's Relationship with the Gulf Cooperation Council: Need to Look beyond Business*. He has also published articles in reputed journals and contributed articles to several edited volumes on West Asia. At IDSA, he is presently working on the 'Sectarian Faultlines in West Asia'.

## ANWAR ALAM

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Anwar Alam is currently full Professor at Department of International Relations, Zirve University, Gaziantep, Turkey. Prior to this he served as Professor and Director at the Centre for West Asian Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI) and Associate Professor School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi. He has been awarded a number of long term and short term fellowship including International Visitor Programme (Islamic) Scholarship, USA, (2002), Indo-French Social Scientist Exchange Programme Fellowship (2003, 2010) and Alexandor Von Humboldt Post-Doctoral Fellowship, Germany (2004-2006). He was Visiting Professor at Fatih University, Istanbul, Turkey (September 2010 -August 2011). Among his publications include *Arab Spring: Reflections on Political Changes in the Arab World and its Future* (ed.2014), *India, Global Power and West Asia* (edited 2011) and *India and Iran: An Assessment of Contemporary Relations* (2011), and so on. Besides, he has contributed several articles in national and international referred journals and chapters in edited books. His recent articles include, *Emergence of Muslim Middle Class in Post-Independence India and Its Political Orientations*, Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, Vol., 35, number 1, 2015, (Routledge: London), *The Arab Spring: A View From India* in Larbi Sadiki ed. Routledge *Handbook of the Arab Spring: Rethinking Democratisation* (Routledge, London, 2014), and *Islam and Violence*, GITAM Journal of Gandhian Studies. Vol. 3. No 1, 2014. His area of research interests includes International Politics, Political Theory, Religion and Politics, Political Islam, Globalisation and Muslim Society.

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### **M. MAHTAB ALAM RIZVI**

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M. Mahtab Alam Rizvi is an Associate Fellow at Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. Dr. Rizvi's areas of research include political developments, Economic and Trade issues in Iran and the Gulf Region and Iran-China Economic, Political and Defence Relations. Presently he is working on a project titled "Iran as an Emerging Asian Power: Implications for India." He has written a number of articles in various reputed national and international journals, books and News Papers including a Monograph titled Understanding Iran's Political and Military Institutions: An Indian Perspective. His Forthcoming book is titled Towards an Evolving Partnership between Iran and China and Its Implications for India.

Some of his recent publications are "Emerging Regional Strategic Dynamics: A Case Study of India-Iran Relations", in Kausar Azam (ed.) India in world Affairs: The Next Decade, Manohar Publishers, Delhi, 2016, pp.175-195. "India and Iran: Progress and Prospects of an Evolving Security Relationship", in S D Muni and Vivek Chadha (ed.), Asian Strategic Review 2015: India as a Security Provider, Pentagon Press, New Delhi, 2015, pp. 301-311. "Changing Dynamics of India-Iran Relations: An Assessment of Trade and Investment", in Sidda Goud (ed.), India and Iran in Contemporary Relations, Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 2014. "India's Trade Relations with Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) States", in Rumel Dahiya (ed.), Developments in the Gulf Region: Prospects and Challenges for India in the Next Two Decades, Pentagon Press, New Delhi, 2013.

## **MANPREET SOHANPAL**

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Manpreet Sohanpal is a Research Intern at IDSA. She is also a PhD Candidate at the Centre for West Asian Studies, School of International Studies, JNU, New Delhi. Her research interests include West Asia and North Africa (WANA) politics, especially foreign policy, and foreign interventions in the WANA region.

Manpreet has previously worked as a Research Intern at Centre for Land and Warfare Studies, New Delhi (2011) and took remedial classes for MPhil students, Centre for West Asian Studies, School of International Studies, JNU.

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