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IS BULLETIN

Edited & Compiled by

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From the Department

The Department of International Studies started in the year 2002 has completed eight years of its existence. Right from the time of its creation it has strived towards sensitizing young minds by organizing various awareness and capacity building programmes.

Academic initiatives such as the Scholar in-Residence Programme, Lecture series, workshops and seminars have added depth and substance to the curriculum.

In the wake of a world wide campaign on “Global Zero”, addressing the growing threats of nuclear proliferation and terrorism, the department expressed its solidarity by organizing a campaign known as the Movement against Nuclear Weapons”.

The Department remembered the martyrs and victims of 26/11 Mumbai terror attacks and organized a signature campaign for a “Safer and Terror Free India”. As a continuation of this initiative, a lecture series by experts in the field of Terrorism was organised.



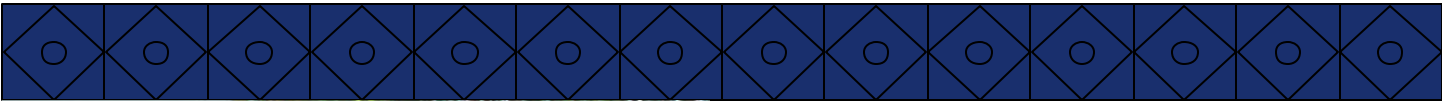
A “Workshop for Young Researchers on ”Globalisation and the Emerging World Order” was organized in collaboration with the Institute of Development Research and Corporate Ethics, Chennai . Students from the city colleges participated and presented papers on the impact of globalization .

The Department in its effort to forge a strong academia –industry interface has initiated several networks with industries, think tanks and research agencies. Such efforts have been rewarding and enriching for both faculty and students.

We are extremely happy to release the second edition of the IS Bulletin, a compilation of all the initiatives undertaken by the Department of International Studies during the year June 2009– April2010. We look forward to challenging and intellectually stimulating journey as we move into the eighth year.

Priya Suresh

Head, Department of International Studies





Report 1

July 7, 2009



SEMINAR

ON

POST WAR SRILANKA:INDIA'S ROLE



The Observer Research Foundation in association with the Department of International Studies, Stella Maris College (Autonomous) held a seminar on a very topical issue, "Post-War Sri Lanka and India's Role" on July 7, 2009 in Chennai.



The seminar was attended by the High Commissioner of Sri Lanka for India, H.E. C Romesh Jayasinghe, and the Deputy High Commissioner of Sri Lanka for Southern India, Mr. P M Amza, along with other dignitaries. The seminar was divided into two sessions.

The first session started with a welcome address by Dr Sr Jasintha Quadras, Principal, Stella Maris College and was chaired by Mr. R Swaminathan, former Special Secretary and Director-General (Security), the Government of India. In his chairperson's remarks, Mr. Swaminathan expressed concern over the prevailing conditions in Sri Lanka and urged the President, Mr Mahinda Rajapaksa, to immediately address the humanitarian crisis involving the internally-displaced persons (IDPs). He also cautioned against heavy military concentration in the war-affected areas of the North and the East of the country.

He was not sure about the ability of the Colombo Government to relieve the country of the deep morass that it has fallen into.

H.E. C Romesh Jayasinghe delivered the keynote address, and provided glimpses of the future political set-up in Sri Lanka. He indicated that President Rajapaksa could not go beyond the Thirteenth Amendment for now, as it would require an amendment to the Constitution, requiring



a two-thirds majority in Parliament, followed by a national referendum. He further said that the present Government was aware of the rigid nature of the country's Constitution and its own precarious position in a coalition set-up, in which President Rajapaksa's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) had less than a third of the total number of seats in the 225-member Parliament. He told the gathering about the President's firm commitment to hold Provincial Council elections in the North as soon as possible, on the pattern similar to the East, where these elections were held in 2008. The envoy said the completion of the Provincial Council elections in the North "will be an important milestone in further strengthening the national amity."

He also mentioned about the formation of the all-party committee on Development and Reconciliation as an indicator to President's quest for a political solution.

racial tensions between the two communities. He was of the view that the increasing role for the army might lead to its emergence as a rival power

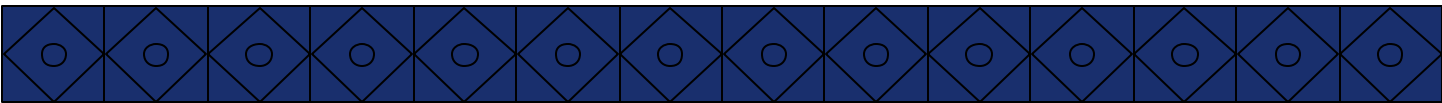


The session began with the presentation by Lt. Gen. V R Raghavan (ret'd), who is also the President of the Centre for Security Analysis (CSA), Chennai, on the "Role of Military and Militancy in Sri Lanka, and Implications for India". In his brilliantly presented paper, the former Director-General of Military Operations (DGMO), Government of India .

centre which was not good for Sri Lanka – a country known for its democratic traditions

He pin-pointed the dangers inherent in deploying 10 to 12 divisions of the Sri Lanka Army (SLA) in the reconstruction and rebuilding of the North and the East. He compared such a massive deployment of the 'Sinhala army' in the Tamil-dominated areas with the three divisions that the Indian Peace-Keeping Force (IPKF) had in Sri Lanka during 1987-89. He told audience that not only could this lead to huge maintenance costs to the exchequer but it could also lead to

Mr. N Ram, Editor-in-Chief of *The Hindu* spoke on the post-war political situation in Sri Lanka. Titled "Political Solution and the Role of India", he spoke with pointed reference to his recent visit to Sri Lanka, when he had interviewed President Rajapaksa and also visited the IDP camps. Mr. Ram was full of praise for the Rajapaksa Government's earnest efforts to rehabilitate and resettle nearly 3,00,000 IDPs. He expressed the hope that 80 per cent of the rehabilitation work would be completed by the end of this year, once the major task of demining the areas hitherto controlled by the LTTE was completed.



He praised Indian troops and the Sri Lanka Army for doing a commendable job in this regard. Lauding India's 'hands-off' policy on Sri Lanka coupled with persuasive diplomacy, Mr. Ram appreciated New Delhi's recent decision to grant Rs 500-crore assistance for Sri Lanka's rehabilitation and reconstruction tasks. He

came to an end with the Chairperson, Mr. N Sathiyamoorthy's (ORF) remarks regarding the role of the Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora in the 'pan-Tamil' nationalist movement in both the countries and pan-Tamil militancy in the island-nation. He told the audience not to underestimate their influ-



told the audience "I would be happy if India gives Rs. 1,000 crores." On the question of power-devolution, Mr. Ram categorically asked the Tamils to forget about the north-eastern merger (which has since been nullified by the Sri Lankan Supreme Court) and a federal solution -- and rather concentrate on the substance of the devolution package. He also spoke highly about President Rajapaksa's proposal to set up a second chamber like the Senate in the US or the Rajya Sabha in India in order to give due representation to the Provinces in the National Legislature so that they can resist any attempt by the Central Government to encroach upon their rights. The two presentations were followed by a lively, informative and incisive Question-Answer session, in which clarifications were sought and made. The session/seminar

ence in Sri Lanka even after the dismantling of the LTTE. He also referred to the role played by the pre-Independence Indian-Tamil expatriates in countries other than Sri Lanka in attracting domestic focus to the LTTE-led militancy in Sri Lanka, and the ability of the pro-LTTE elements across the world to be able to muster them for the purpose. There was also a word of caution for the Indian State and the Tamil Nadu Government, which he said, should continue to maintain all-round vigil. An intellectually-stimulating and thought-provoking session thus ended on a purposeful note, with positive suggestions on the future role of the Sri Lankan Tamils and a call for Sri Lankan Government to make good its promises on the peace front as on the war front, earlier.



Report 2
August 21, 2009

PUBLIC LECTURE

ON

**GEO– STRATEGIC SECURITY IN
THE NATIONAL CONTEXT**



The **Department of International Studies** in collaboration with the **Observer Research Foundation (ORF) Chennai Chapter**, organized a Public Lecture on “**Geostrategic Security In The National Context**” delivered by **Dr. Prabhakaran K.Paleri**, former Director General, Indian Coast Guard and presently, Professor and Head, School of Management Studies, NIT, Calicut.



Commander R.S Vasan (Retd) from the Indian Navy, and Director, Centre For Asian Studies, Chennai introduced the speaker for the day and also chaired the entire session while lending his valuable comments on geostrategic security and national security. Dr.Paleri began with the semantics and terminology which are responsible for expressing any idea and how the understanding of geopolitics and national security have given rise to the notion of geostrategy as an important element of national security.



He very interestingly used several different subjects to explain the idea of national security and traced about thirty-two stages in its evolution. He defined *“geostrategy as the measurable state of the capabilities of a nation to overcome the multidimensional threat to the apparent well being of its people and its survival as a nation state at any given time by balancing all instruments of state policy through governance that can be indexed by compilation empirically and is extendable to global security by variables external to it.”*

Dr.Paleri on a very ingenious departure compared the periodic table of elements in Chemistry to a table he had devised arranging the different elements of national security in which geostrategy figured amongst the most vital and important. He even drew parallels to an engineering principle model where $NS (National\ security) = SNS\ elements$ where $NS\ Max\ need\ not\ be\ equal\ to\ (SNS\ elements)\ maximization$.

Dr.Paleri's deep scientific knowledge came to the fore where once again he referred to the mathematical construct of matrices of national security and it was indeed refreshing to witness such linkages between concepts of international relations and mathematical sciences which gives the former the required substance and reliability that science provides.

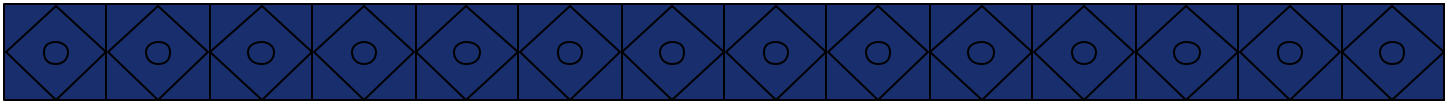


He moved on to explain the importance of perception and how variations in perception could lead to decisive changes. As he traversed through the lecture, he touched upon various aspects of diplomacy and how geostrategy could be successful through effective diplomacy. He referred to Gandhi, Kennan, Rajapakse and their use of geostrategic consideration in resolving international issues. He once again used his engineering expertise and scientific background to explain the use of bio models where one uses an existing living system consisting of humans and then amplifies it to different levels and projects a set of consequences.

He referred to primate behaviour in humans and how the use of power games was but a natural extension and necessary aspect of such behaviour. The next important aspect he stressed upon of was the principle Deception which he said would prove to be very dangerous to international relations. Suspicion and deception were deep rooted in the traditional psychology and that it was most unnecessary in geostrategy as deception is long lasting and is never easily forgotten nor forgiven. He also referred to Holsti's five models where there were different levels such as Realism, Society of States, Pluralism, interdependence, Dependency, World Society. Dr. Paleri felt the need for one more level that was the global Protective model where the nations are not bound by themselves for decisions and where there are factors beyond the nation, which provide a coercive environment, such as the Indo-US nuclear deal etc.

His lecture dwelt upon the essentials of geostrategic security stating that it was the reflection of "a nation's capability to remain in a way that its values and citizens are acceptable to others along with its existence in a world full of nations". In conclusion, it was a completely stimulating experience as the lecture traversed across several disciplines from international relations, military security to engineering, mathematics and chemistry.

It seemed an assertion of the fact that interconnectedness and interdependence of all social and real sciences are the basis of a holistic understanding any idea.





Report 3
September 10, 2009



VISIT INDIA PROGRAMME

SEISEN UNIVERSITY, JAPAN



As a part of its visitors programme Stella Maris College hosted students from Seisen University, Tokyo-Japan. The students were on a visit to India as apart of their curriculum to learn and understand the society and culture of India.

The students were given a traditional Indian welcome .



A short cultural programme was organized by the students of the college which included traditional Indian dance and music. A video explaining the culture and heritage was screened.

The visiting students were briefed about the College and were taken on a campus tour.

Indian culture, traditional art forms and places of tourist interest were explained to the Japanese

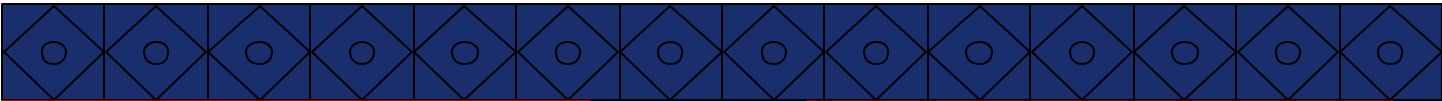


students.

The students from Seisen University participated enthusiastically and shared their experiences of travelling in India, and spoke on Japanese culture.

They enthusiastically sang the Indian National Anthem.

The interaction and visit was very interesting as both the students could share their perspectives and view points on variety of issues.





Report 4

September 18, 2009



DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

&

INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH & CORPORATE ETHICS

YOUNG RESEARCHER'S WORKSHOP

on

GLOBALISATION & THE EMERGING WORLD ORDER



The Department of International Studies organized a one day regional workshop in collaboration with the Institute for Development rResearch and Corporate Ethics (IDRCE) on September 18, 2009. Sr. Helen Vincent, Secretary of the college welcomed the gathering.



Dr. Sr. Helen Vincent herself being a specialist in the discipline of Economics considered it to be a relevant theme. She spoke at length on the need to reduce the detrimental effects of globalization. She stressed on the need for more open minded research and on the factors of interdependence. There was a need for an equitable distribution which implied not just prestige but prosperity for all. "Greatest happiness of greatest numbers" ought to be the consequence. Workshops such as these are an emergency need to highlight the fact that lopsided developments are because of the lack of ethics.

Dr. Jacob John-, Founder Trustee and Chairman of IDRCE delivered the Introductory Remarks wherein he pointed out that Globalization has a cyclic effect.

Also there are yawning gaps caused because of globalization which needed to be addressed. With this he handed it over to Mr. Raffeeque Ahmed, Chairman, FICCI, Tamil Nadu for the Inaugural Address.



Inaugural Address.

Mr. Raffeeque Ahmed said that he was happy to address the students on his favourite subject. According to him the full effects of globalisation on India will only be seen in the next 5-10 years. He addressed the impact of globalisation on India and its consequences. He said India had been shut down from the world until the last 15 years. Duty on imports which had been as high as 70-80% has come down to an international level of 10%. It had moved on from being a closed country to an open one. In a rhetorical mode he asked "Is globalisation good for us? He felt that definitely globalisation will help India and that it will help in making India a power to reckon with. He also touched on agriculture, subsidies and India's role in the Doha rounds of the WTO.

The Doha Rounds are a reflection of positive effects of globalisation. As weaker countries can have their say against corrupt economic practices such as the high lobbying for agricultural subsidies in the USA. Compromises are being reached in favor of both parties. He felt that in the WTO meetings the commerce ministers were able to stand up to developed countries- asking them to open up their agricultural sectors which are protected by subsidies as high as 70-80%. Brazil is another country that is similar to India. It too is reaping the benefits of globalisation.



Its currency has appreciated by 8%. It is headed towards becoming a regional power in Latin America said Mr.Rafeeque. Globalisation and the Indian advantage: India has the highest number of engineers. Also 2/3 of all the World Trade is through bilateral talks. An example for this is the Agreements between India and Thailand. It is the first Indian trade agreement it comprises of 64 pre harvest goods. Globalisation and the Indian disadvantage: India follows a federal system.

The states have high disparity so the globalisation effects are not evenly distributed. Another disadvantage is that Indians have great tolerance for waste. Also e-governance has to be introduced in this age of globalisation. Mr.Rafeeque agreed that Globalisation has come to stay and that the economy has become bigger, so globalisation has brought in manufacturing facilities in India unlike small countries which directly import everything. While drawing a comparison between India and China he felt that India's international trade is still very small, compared especially to China.



He pointed out that In 1980 China's international trade was \$164 per capita and in 1999 it had increased to \$4100 per capita. Also in 1980 an American earned 12.5 times the Chinese per capita in 1999 it has reduced to 7.4 times. Mr.Rafeeque's remarks were drawn from his wide travel and business experiences and he concluded that globalisation as a phenomenon had to be accepted in all its dimensions and that every nation had to make best.

SESSION I

Theme : Globalisation and the State

Moderator : Dr. Lakshmanan, MIDS

Speaker : Ms.Saranya.U. Lalapet

II MA International Studies

Stella Maris College

Topic :“Globalisation and the State”

Ms Sharanya put forth several arguments for and against globalization considering its impact on State and Sovereignty. She drew up comparisons between the Westphalia Nation State and the Modern State and highlighted the influence of interconnectedness as put forth in the Complex interdependence theory. Her paper touched upon the position of supra state global governance and the need for such governance through organizations. It was argued that the state system of today is a direct threat to the staunch nationalism that existed in the Westphalian Order.



The argument was that States cannot afford to resist globalization given the uneven distribution of resources from all over the world. She concluded that although the State's position looked compromised, it certainly was in need of interdependence and supra-national organization to oversee this interdependence.

Speaker :Ms. Mary Sophiz

II MA International Studies

Stella Maris College

Topic :“Globalisation and International Institutions”.

Ms.Mary Sophia who delved on the theme “Globalisation and International Institutions.” She very lucidly put forth her concerns on the increasing inequality caused by Globalisation today's scenario and referred to it as a powerful tool used by the richer and powerful States in order to serve the interests of their large corporations. The hope that the tide induced by globalization will raise all boats collapsed and in reality it raised only the yachts of the rich and swallowed the boats of the poor. The lack of governance among the global economic institutions the WTO and the IMF and the World Bank has also contributed to this effect. The influential role played by the industrialized States in the functioning and decision making of these institutions has set a major obstacle to their freedom and efficacy. Further the inadequacies of these institutions in fulfilling the aspirations of the developing countries and LDCs and the lack of procedural fairness within these institutions resulted in the failing confidence vested in them.

Further the inadequacies of these institutions in fulfilling the aspirations of the developing countries and LDCs and the lack of procedural fairness within these institutions resulted in the failing confidence vested in them. These two lively and interesting presentations were very well received by the audience. Dr.Laksmanan presented valuable comments and insights.

SESSION II

Theme : **Globalisation and the International Economy**

Moderator: **Mrs. Aarti Santhanam,**
Stella Maris College

Speaker : Ms.Namratha

I MA International Studies
Stella Maris College

Topic :“Impact of Globalisation on Developing Economies “

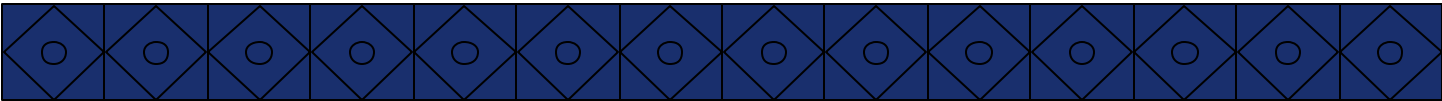
Mrs. Aarti introduced the topic by remarking that globalisation has become one of the most relevant issues in International Relations today, with it being part of every country’s agenda. She quoted Thomas Friedman who said that many countries have perceived globalisation as a leveller but that the previous speakers of the day have pointed out the uneven impact that globalisation has had.

The focus of Namratha's presentation was the impact of globalisation on developing countries. She began by pointing out that the terms used in this context before delving into the subject. Globalisation in this case referred to the ‘neo-liberal form of economic globalisation’. Increasing economic integration has resulted in the emergence of a global

market place. She talked about the division of States into two categories in this respect: most financially integrated and less financially integrated. Namratha then went to discuss the impact of the financial factors of globalisation on developing countries, keeping India in mind. The positive impacts she mentioned were: The emergence of a new economy, Cost stabilisation in the real estate market, Rationalisation of salary structure in the IT industry, with a better quality of work being produced, Performance appraisals gaining around, with increased customer expectations making employees link performance and financial success and opportunities for international trade. The negative im-



acts she discussed were: Greed for expansion, with people being lured to invest more and more and thus suffering during recession, Cash-oriented youth, Foreign Institutional Investors and Foreign Direct Investment being both a blessing and a menace as FIIs would withdraw themselves during recession and an excessively dependent economy would thus collapse. Namratha then went on to



discuss the impact on the socio-economic system such as the ability of the people to remain connected and increasing possibilities of personal contact and mutual understanding between world citizens. She also touched upon exploitation of women when corporate empires expand, the increasing gap between the rich and the poor, lifestyle changes which can be detrimental to a nation's culture and discrimination between social classes.

She finally concluded by listing certain steps that States should adopt in general: They must act to foster growth in the short term so that long term goals are thus met; the youth should be aware and thus ensure that they are not exploited and that developing countries must identify and thus rectify economic weaknesses.

extremely relevant to economies like India and China today. She also spoke out the increase in Purchasing Power Parity that has led to several cultural lifestyle changes that we are all aware of. The session was then opened to discussion with the audience. The question of globalisation and women was brought up.

Mrs. Aarti then spoke about the increase in opportunities for women and how they have managed to break the glass ceiling but at the same time rural India does not witness the same growth. She talked about how access to and availability of resources would determine the way women can move forward.



The Chairperson Ms. Aarti remarked that Namrata's approach to this topic was rather refreshing and commented on her use of India as an example. She pointed out that globalisation in the service sector is



Ms .Aarti concluded the session by commenting that she viewed this seminar as a positive step to encourage young researchers and that it brought out the qualitative aspect of research and creativity combined.

SESSION III

Theme : Globalization and Gender Perspectives

Moderator : Dr. Mini Jacob
Tamil Nadu NGR Medical
University &
Ms. Vanitha Lakshmi
Director, IDRCE

Speaker : Ms. Soona Raj
II MA, International Studies
Stella Maris College

Topic : "Globalisation and Gender"

Ms. Soona Raj addressed the impacts of globalization in the field of employment, education, welfare regimes and culture. It dealt with the political, cultural, economic and social integration of globalization. Gender is a set of characteristics that humans perceive as distinguishing between men and women. Finding out the gender roles is quite a difficult task. The paper also covered the gender perspectives in the West and Middle East. It also threw light on the negative impact of globalization on gender especially in the sphere of employment. According to the ILO report 2008, out of 3 billion employed people, 1.2 billion were women. In the global unemployment rate women accounts for 7.4% and men 7%. In the last 30 years we have come a long way ahead. Globalization has given women the power they lacked in the past. However the cultural factors and gender inequality still proves to be a barrier to development.

Speaker : Ms. Neethu Thottamariyal
I MA, International Studies
Stella Maris College

Topic : "Changing perspectives of gender in the age of Globalisation"

Ms. Neethu It mainly focused on the shift in gender perspectives in the present scenario. In the pre globalization era masculinity had the characteristics of bold, brave, tough and being the breadwinner etc and the woman's characters included being soft spoken, obedient, gentle, care taker, self sacrificing and so on. It is interesting to note that there is now masculinisation of female gender and feminization of masculine gender. The new economic forces, need for skilled labour, increased competition, demand of the job market are some of the factors which brought about this shift. The redistribution of gender traits is evident in various fields these days. Ms. Neethu's presentation was a vociferous demonstration of the power of the fair sex and the enhanced status of women today.



Speaker : Ms. Shakthi Manickavasagam
I MA, International Studies
Stella Maris College

Topic : “Redefining the role of women in India: Cultural compromise and urban-rural divide”

Shakthi spoke on the changing roles of women from vedic period till the present scenario. Women enjoyed equal freedom in the vedic period. There was a gradual lowering of status in the 500 BC and medieval period witnessed further suppression. There emerged an urge to fight for reforms in the British rule. The years 50's and 60's were regarded as the silent period of women movements.



The present situation opened doors for more jobs and opportunities, economic independence, confidence, greater exposure, awareness of rights and greater purchasing power for women. However the modern educated women still face the challenges of finding a balance between their diverse roles.

The paper also covered various aspects like modernization vs westernisation, rural realities, widening urban-rural divide etc. Various observations and questions were put forward during the interaction session. The third session was concluded with the statement that gender is just an identification and therefore one should give dignity to gender.

SESSION IV

Theme : Globalization and Corporate Social Responsibility

Moderator : Dr. Jacob John
MIDS & Director IDRCE

Speaker : Mr. J. Gowtham
Anna University

Topic : “Globalisation & WMD”

Gowtham explained how the increased technological capabilities of regional terrorist cells have made them trans-national threats, citing the example of the Al Qaeda which, supposedly, has influence in over 90 countries thanks to the internet. The Speaker went on to analyse the spread of WMD terrorism which includes theft or purchase of material or design. Globalization has created a category of non-state actors and facilitated their proliferation networks. He concluded by saying that WMD acquisition has become easier and less detectable due to decreased efficiency of security measure.

Speaker : Mr. C.Nagarajan
Anna University

Topic : *“Impact of Globalisation on Science and Technology*

Nagarajan divided his speech into positive and negative effects of globalization. Globalization has been conducive to emergence of technology, information sharing, processing and storing and improved sophistication of communication systems. Detrimental effects of globalization include deterioration of the environment as a result of vast amounts of pollution and a consequent need for sustainable development.

Speaker : Ms. Teresa & Ms.Chandini
Anna University

Topic : “Globalisation and Cyber Crimes”

Ms. Teresa of Anna University gave a brief introduction to computer crimes. Cyber crimes are unlawful acts where the computer is a target or tool. Cyber crimes are committed by a wide variety of perpetrators ranging from children – 6-1 aged six to eighteen to professional hackers seeking sensitive information for money. The co- presenter **Ms.Chandini**, spoke about government action on cyber criminals. She mentioned the Information Technology Act (2000) which was an important initiative in the movement against cyber crime in India. Ms.Chandini also mentioned the need for a world-wide, uniform cyber law since cyber crime poses uniform threats. Some solutions were also given such as the formation of a ‘

cyber army’, a well-equipped task-force to deal with cyber crime.



The Chairperson, Dr. Jacob John gave his concluding remarks about corporate social strategies in India and stressed on the importance of optimum utilization of resources in the corporate sector in meeting its social responsibilities. This one day workshop was an extremely encouraging forum for the young researchers who presented their own original and innovative thoughts and ideas on the theme of globalization and its varied dimensions.

The Department places on record its sincere appreciation to IDRCE and its Founder Chairman Dr. Jacob John for collaborating with the department and providing an opportunity for young scholars to demonstrate their scholastic skills.



Report 5
September 22-23 , 2009



Report 5

September 22-23 , 2009

THEORY MEETS PRACTICE

SIMULATION ON KASHMIR





Peace For Kashmir

Trying to bridge the gap between theory and policy making has been one of the initiatives of the Department of International Studies. The issue of Kashmir Conflict, an unresolved agenda warranted a very close examination and study. This Workshop on Kashmir was the outcome of this need based agenda to create a better understanding and address a model for long term solution.

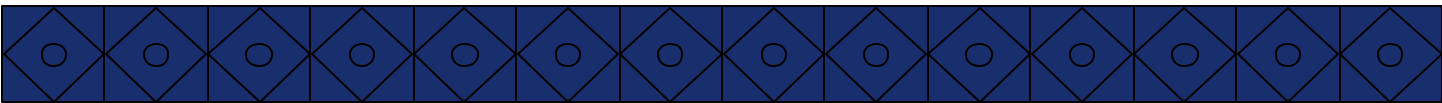
The issue of the Kashmir problem dates back to the partition of India and has dominated the India-Pakistan agenda since independence. Kashmir is a disputed territory between India and Pakistan with one third of the original state of Jammu and Kashmir now with Pakistan and two thirds with India. Quoting on the issue of Kashmir Ashutosh Varshney said "The core of the Kashmir problem is religious nationalism embodied by Pakistan, secular nationalism embodied by India and ethnic nationalism embodied by the Kashmiri's called Kashmiriyat".



Kashmir has been the trigger point of conflict between India and Pakistan. The two countries have fought major wars from 1948 onwards. The Kargil was a Limited war under the nuclear umbrella. Kashmir has on and off drawn international mediation. There has been innumerable Confidence building measures between India and Pakistan inspite of these peace seems to be a far fetched reality and Kashmir remains an issue of contention between India and Pakistan

The two day Workshop on Kashmir aimed at addressing the roots of conflict, impact on politico, economic and social stability, human rights violation, environmental impact of the conflict and models for a long last peace in Kashmir

The first session addressed the Roots of the Kashmir conflict. The Second session dealt with the socio, economic and political aspects in a conflict ridden society. The third session analysed the im-



Impact of the conflict on the environment. The fourth session analysed the violation of International Humanitarian Law and human rights abuses in Kashmir. The Fifth session dealt the various peace building initiatives and models for a solution to the long drawn conflict .

“Kashmir's accession to India was accepted by us at the request of the Maharaja's government, and the most numerously representative popular organization in the State which is predominantly Muslim National Conference”.

SESSION I

HISTORY OF THE CONFLICT IN KASHMIR

The first session was on the history of the conflict of Kashmir. The roots of the Kashmir problem could be traced to the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947. It is almost half a decade now and we are still groping in the dark looking for a peaceful and amicable solution to the Kashmir issue.

Pakistan was born with an argument that Hindu's and Muslims are not only two religious communities but also two separate nations. Kashmir being a Muslim majority state and should have come to Pakistan at the time of partition.

The emergence of two independent dominions vis a vis India and Pakistan on 15 August 1947 followed by the attack on Kashmir in October the same year prompted the Maharaja of Kashmir Hari Singh to accede to India under the Instrument of Accession Act.

On October 22, 1947 approximately 60,000 tribesmen from the North west Frontier Province of Pakistan swept into Kashmir. Signing the Instrument of Accession Act Kashmir became an integral part of India. Writing on Kashmir to Prime



Kashmir is a disputed territory between Indian and Pakistan and with one-third of the original state of Jammu and Kashmir now with Pakistan and two-thirds with India. The growing antagonism between India and Pakistan resulted in the First war in 1947 followed by the second war in 1965. An armed insurgency in 1990 brought the two countries close to a war and the Kargil 1998 was a nuclear brinkmanship.

The core of the Kashmir problem largely is the result of three forces : religious nationalism represented by Pakistan, secular nationalism as epitomised by India and the ethnic nationalism as embodied by the Kashmiri as what they call Kashmiriat ,The biggest challenge that has emerged is how long and how far will the stalemate continue was well analysed.

SESSION II

Impact of Polity, Society & Economy of Kashmir

The second session analysed the impact on the society, economy and polity of Kashmir. Kashmir is a product of the partition of Indian subcontinent and ethnic and religious issues surrounding the partition. The portion of the population in Kashmir have divided loyalties that has led to significant civil disturbances. Non-State actors pose a seri-



ous a serious threat to Indian political control in the region. Kashmir issues have emerged periodically in the United Nations. The Kashmiri's have been seeking their independence from domination and exploitation by Hindu Dogra rulers since 1846. However when the Indian Constitution came into force on 26 January 1950 it gave to the State of Jammu & Kashmir a special status and unique position among the

Indian states as under Article 370. The political upheaval of recent years has exacted a heavy toll on the state's economy, and the richest source of income has become the threat and use of violence. The State of Jammu & Kashmir comprises of three regions Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh. Kashmir is 76 % Muslims, Jammu 82% Hindus and Ladakh 90% Buddhists. Between 1950 and 1970 Jammu was poorly represented in state politics and received very little grant allocation. This has led to considerable discontent and most of the insurgency



has occurred in the Kashmir valley.

Mired in poverty, young people are easily recruited into predatory terrorist and paramilitary organizations, some of which are financed and trained by Pakistan's security services, some of which enjoy the protection of Indian authorities.

With the emergence of the neo-fascist brand of political philosophy accompanied by hatred, intolerance and terrorism has dominated the society.

SESSION III

War in Kashmir and its impact on the environment

The third session discussed the environmental impact due to war in Kashmir. Kashmir once known as "paradise on earth," home to vast wild-life reserves including some species so rare they existed only in Kashmir, are now quickly falling victim to the desolation which has encompassed much of this piece of land. Rare species like the Snow Leopard frequently hunted by military offi-



cial and poachers for its precious skin and teeth has now almost become extinct. The consequence has been that some of the rare species like the Snow Leopard, Flying Squirrel and Long Tailed Himalayan Marmot have been pushed to being on the verge of extinction. Black Bear, Shapu, Ibex, Blue Sheep, Marmot and Lynx may soon become extinct if their unrestricted slaughter

is not checked. Hangul's have been sighted between 1991-1994 in their usual habitat, "the winter zone." Barking Deer, Cheetal, Nilgai, Musk Deer was well highlighted. Kashmir's ecological balance has been severely disturbed as a result of unabated environmental destruction over a period of nearly five decades. Permanent snowfall on mountains has receded, average temperatures in the valley have risen and the amount of rain and snowfall has significantly diminished. The combined effect of deforestation and mismanagement of water resources has resulted in soil erosion which is responsible for frequent flash floods



now seen in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Major lakes and rivers in Kashmir harbor serious diseases due to lack of maintenance, neglect and pollution. Dal Lake, one of the world's largest natural lakes housing hundreds of floating house boats and home for vast reserves of aquatic life is rapidly shrinking in size. Compared to 15 years ago, the changes which have taken place in the Dal Lake are shocking and drastic in proportion. of serious degree of pollution.

SESSION 1V

Humanitarian Law and Human Rights issues in Kashmir

The fourth session addressed the issues of International Humanitarian law and gross human rights violation in Kashmir. Kashmir has been a major problem ever since 1947 and troops have been deployed in the region. To counter the militants India has adopted counter insurgency tactics that have often contravened the International Humanitarian Law and some would be considered as war crimes.



There has been a foreign element and strong militant activity in the region and among the groups that are predominantly active are Harakat-i-Mujahidin and Laskar-i-Toiba. The grass human rights abuse committed by these groups range from kidnapping to massacring of innocent civilians.

There has been repeated case of violation of the Geneva Convention in Jammu and Kashmir and often there has been violation of International humanitarian Law with regard to the treatment of the Prisoners of War. Many case of human rights violation stem from abuse of power and repressive treatment unleashed against the people of Kashmir . Often the mandates of International Humanitarian Law are disregarded. Deaths, rapes and disappearance have been constantly increasing in the region and this poses a grave concern for the people in the region was discussed.

The role of the civil society in Kashmir has been fundamentally weak due to political uncertainty and lack



of democratic space. Due to internal and external terror lot of fear, distrust and suspicion is generated among the people. There have been demonstrations and voices against the atrocities but there are no effective strategies adopted by the civil society . The civil society has to work and strive towards a peaceful solution to this Kashmir imbroglio.

SESSION V

Peace Initiative Models for Kashmir Conflict

The fifth and the last session addressed various peace initiative models for Kashmir. The role of the government, civil society, external actors, international agencies were analysed.

The prospects for peace and the role of Indian and Pakistan governments were put in perspective. The role of civil society and their constant need to get involved in the peace process was highlighted.



Over the years numerous CBMS have been initiated between India and Pakistan ranging from establish people to people linkage, trade across the LOC, expanding linkage in the cultural sectors and new areas of cooperation in environment and forest resource management..

The discussion also led to some understanding on the right to self determination as enshrined in the charter of the United Nations and the denial of this

right to the people of Kashmir is a fundamental issues. It was argued that the voices and aspirations of the people of Kashmir needed to be effectively addressed and unless such time peace would be a difficult task.

The concerted role of international organizations and the civil society to implement peace in Kashmir was discussed at length and an effective partnership and collaboration would be a step forward to addressing peace in Kashmir. Another approach that was discussed was a step by step approach to self determination.



Kashmiri's are the central party to the dispute and that the need to include them in the peace process dialogue between India and Pakistan was well highlighted.

Various models like the Treatise Model, The Andorra Model, the Irish Model, the Conflict Transformation model and faith based reconciliation model were discussed.



Report 6

October 12, 2009



TIBET:

AN ISSUE OF CONCERN



The **Department of International Studies** in collaboration with the Chennai Center for China Studies organized a Lecture on “**Issues relating to Tibet**”. The Lecture was delivered by **Mr. Claude Arpi, Author and Journalist**.



Mr. B. S. Raghavan IAS introduced the speaker for the day and shared some perspectives on Tibet

Mr. B. S. Raghavan acknowledged the website developed by Mr. Claude Arpi and the repository of material available in the website. Mr. Raghavan said the website would serve as a primary source for those interested to read on the speeches by former Prime Minister Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Mr. B. S. Raghavan speaking on Tibet said that India has been in an ambivalent position from the beginning. Utmost what India could do is to facilitate a dialogue between His Holiness Dalai Lama and the Chinese government. Further he said that India should address the Tibetan issue with wisdom and sagacity.

Mr. Claude Arpi began the Lecture by congratulating Mr. B. S. Raghavan for his Middle Policy approach on Tibet. Mr. Claude Arpi explained the geostrategic importance of Tibet and the Chinese interest to move towards Tibet



Mr. Claude Arpi traced the History of Tibet from 7th Century AD . He explained at length the expedition undertaken by the people of Tibet and the reasons for the people of Tibet to convert to Buddhism. Spoke on the uprising fifty years ago on March 10, 1959, the people of Lhasa revolted against the Chinese. Immediately after this Dalai Lama, the Tibetan temporal and spiritual leader fled to India.

Mr. Claude Arpi spoke on India-China relations and traced back to the 1962 Sino-Indian war. He explained elaborately on the conflict and the areas defined as Chinese areas in the map. He explained how the Chinese and the Indian perspective on most of things varied.



Report 7

**November 16,
2009**



PAKISTAN:

RECENT TRENDS & DEVELOPMENTS

Priyanka Subramaniam II MA



The **Department of International Studies** in collaboration with the **Observer Research Foundation (ORF) Chennai Chapter**, organized a Lecture on the “Recent Trends and Development in Pakistan” **and was delivered by Dr. D.Suba Chandran**, Associate Director, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi.



In view of the recent political and internal instability in Pakistan, Dr. Suba Chandran attempted to put the situation in perspective from his first-hand view of the country. The talk was divided into three parts, the first focused on the current situation in Pakistan. In this section he detailed the identity crisis that the Pakistanis are facing, putting the matter into perspective succinctly by saying, “They’ve been Pakistanis for 60 years, Muslims for 600 years and Pashtuns for 6000 years.” The identity crisis was also explored in terms of how Pakistanis would see themselves

in the future, whether as a secular, Islamic or anti-western nation. Dr. Suba Chandran also spoke about the current wave of violence hitting the country with bombings in major cities almost everyday since October, 2009 and the causes and consequences of Talibanization and radicalization of the country. In his talk, Dr. Suba Chandran pointed out the difference in perception among the citizens about the Afghani Taliban, the TTP (Pakistani Taliban) and the the second part of the talk focused



on Pakistan’s self-view in terms of politics. Dr. Chandran detailed the effects of regional identity, Balochis, Sindhis, Pashtuns, on internal politics. He also mentioned that a common identity is forged in the nation only in the face of common threat, i.e India. Dr Suba Chandran also singled out a few leaders, such as Zardari and Sharif and gave his opinion as to their motivations and the public’s view of them. He also spoke about prevailing problems in the country such as the energy and sugar crises, the

the army's political position in the country and the roles of different political parties of the nation.



and the possible ramifications of a burgeoning Sino-Pak relationship for India.



The third and final part of the talk was centered on foreign relations with India, Afghanistan, China and the United States of America. With regard to India, Dr. Suba Chandran, glossed over the issue of Kashmir and instead focused on other issues such as the Indus water problem, the Mumbai blasts and militant outfits such as the Laskar-e-Toiba. With regard to Afghanistan, he spoke about Pakistan's unease and India's activities in Afghanistan and possible consequences of America's proposed withdrawal in 2012.

With regard to US-Pak foreign policy Dr Suba Chandran mentioned the Kerry-Lugar Bill and the upheaval it has caused in Pakistan. Concluding with Pakistan's relations vis-à-vis China, he spoke about the possibility of Pakistan being included in China's 'String of Pearls'





Report 8

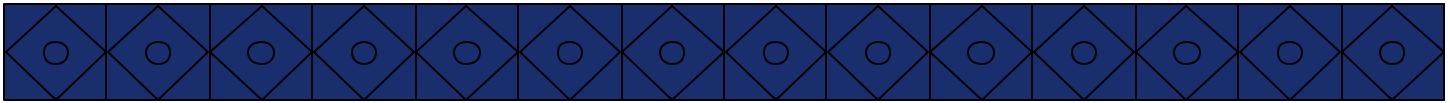
November
23,2009



TRACING THE HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA

Priyanaka Subramaniam, II MA





The **Department of International Studies** in collaboration organised a Lecture on the “**Recent Trends and Developments in Latin America**” was delivered by **Dr. Ash Narain Roy** Associate Director, Institute of Social Science, New Delhi.

Dr. Roy began his lecture by defining the term Latin America. Latin America was a term coined by the French and they called it as “Ibero Peninsula”. Infact large number of people settled in the Caribbean speak French. The people of Latin America is a composite of ancestries, ethnic groups, and races



making the region one of the most diverse in the world. While there is diversity the region does not have a great narrative because of conquests and control. It would be appropriate to say that Latin America was invented rather than discovered. Infact many call it as a Land of Tomorrow. Survival has been one of the most important aspects for the Latin Americans because the region saw the domination of the Europeans in the early days and later

followed the N. Americans. In spite of imperialism and domination by colonial powers the countries in the region have refused to play a subservient role and have always ensure that the right to self determination has been one of the foremost aspects in the politics of Latin America. Identity is a very important factor because complexities prevail over this issue.

Dr. Roy explained the “New World and Old State syndrome”. Latin America is always known for its literary tradition and is also a laboratory for socio-political and economic resurgence. The biggest challenge the region faces is poverty and underde-



velopment. This unequal development is a major threat and challenge to the region. This has led to the rise of indigenous and Left movement was seen as a the first modern rebellion. There has been a strong anti-globalization movements in the region and there has been strong movements to preserve the language and culture .



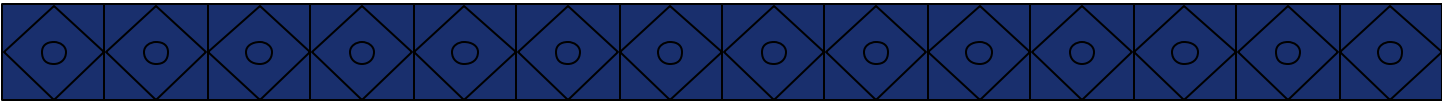
Report 9
November 26,2009



EXPRESSING SOLIDARITY FOR A SAFER & PEACEFUL INDIA

**REMEMBERING THE VICTIMS
OF 26/11MUMBAI ATTACK**





The Anti-American wave is very strong in the region. Dr. Roy spoke about the revolutions in Latin America. He also analysed the development and trends in some of the Latin American countries like Uruguay, Mexico, Chile.



It would be interesting to note that in Latin America there has always been a tendency for the People power to dominate the politics while the Presidential power lacks that kind of a status. Dr. Roy gave the examples of Ecuador and Bolivia and explained how the Presidential power was dominated by the people power.

Latin America has created its own trajectory of growth process and has opened diplomatic missions in almost all the countries. Dr. Roy explained the role of external powers like China in the region. The discussion generated a very good response.





The Department of International Studies, Stella Maris College

Peoples Union for Civil Liberties
&
Movement Against Nuclear Weapons

*Cordially invite you to the
screening of the movie*

*“War & Peace”
by*

Anand Patwardhan

Followed by a

*Panel Discussion
on*

*“Growing Global
Nuclearisation
&
Movement Against
Nuclear Weapons”*

Date : 10 December 2009

Time : 1.30 pm

Venue : Hall 0-1
17, Cathedral Road
Stella Maris College
Chennai 600 086

Panelists:

Dr. Ramanujam

Institute of Mathematical Sciences
Tharamani, Chennai

Mr. J. Sri Raman

Senior Freelance Journalist

Dr. V. Suresh

President

People's Union for Civil Liberties
Tamil Nadu & Pondicherry





Report 10
December 10, 2009

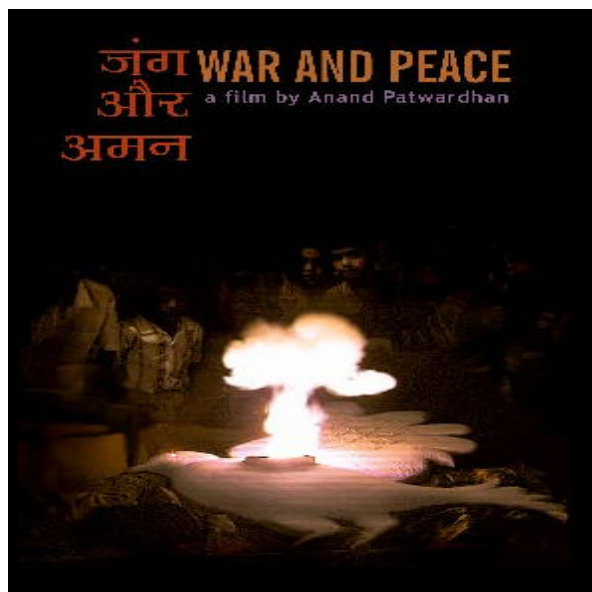


Global Zero

MOVEMENT AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS



The Department of International Studies in association with the People's Union for civil Liberties (PUCL) and the Movement against Nuclear Weapons (MANW) organized the screening of the movie War and Peace by noted film and documentary maker Anand Patwardhan on 10 December 2009.



The movie was followed by a panel discussion led by eminent activists and experts. The film **War and Peace by Anand Patwardhan** has been widely acclaimed for its bold and unbiased narrative and filmography. The movie traverses the nuclear test sites in India and the villages around the site to assess the levels of awareness amongst the rural poor on the consequences of the test at Pokaran. The movie also captures the motivations of the religious and caste based parties in India to capitalize on such issues and strengthen their vote banks. Filmed in different parts of India, Pakistan and Japan, it was a revelation to many on the impending disaster of growing nuclearisation.

The movie provoked several questions and the students expressed their horror and dismay at the way things were unfolding in front of them. One of the students expressed her shock at the callous and dangerous manner of handling uranium waste and that stones and brick from the mines were being used to build schools in Jadugoda dist of Bihar.



To another question raised on the need to distinguish between all kinds of weaponisation and nuclear weaponisation, the observation on this point was the need to possess and implement definite distinctions in the acquisition and use of the armaments.

Mr.J.Sri Raman an independent Journalist and active member of MANW while responding to these questions also pointed out to the shoddy treatment of the recent issue of mixing of tritium in drinking water in the Kaiga atomic power plant. He pointed out the absence of any independent enquiry com-

committee to investigate such serious lapses and the need to ensure the same. The health well being and safety of all people living in and around such radioactive zones did not seem to high on the agenda of politicians or governments.

He also dealt at length with the censorship practices of the state and quoted the example of how history text books in the country overlooked the emergency period in India which was amongst the darkest days in recent history.



Dr.V.Suresh, President of the PUCL Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry and a lawyer by profession spoke vociferously on the deplorable conditions that prevailed in the country today, especially focusing on the impact of radiation from radioactive substances. He quoted several scenes and episodes from the movie, which he felt was a powerful creation and a popular medium to convey the need for collective activism.

He cited the use of thermobaric bombs in the recently concluded Eelam war in Sri Lanka where several thousand lost their lives and expressed his deep fear that it may not be too soon when thermo-nuclear devices are used for military purposes. He raised serious concerns over the need to secure the Indian peninsula.

He concluded with the need to create an international order, which was not reliant on weaponisation, and to debunk security as the primary concern and look at more pacifist and holistic approaches.

Dr.Ramanujam, a mathematician from the Institute of Mathematical Studies, Chennai, explored the logic of dominance, which completely ignores the people, and which justified the development of weapons programmes. He also referred to several enigmatic moments from the movie especially the fact that the film maker had consciously used the word "my country" on several occasions. Dr.Ramanujam felt that there was a mixed emotion of shame, guilt, sadness and helplessness every time the words "my country" was used and it reflected the author's deepest emotions of a

disappointed citizenry.

He referred to the booklet published by MANW on 'The Tragedy Of Hiroshima' based on the declassified historical documents and how the bombing of



Hiroshima "was a naked act of technological superiority and aggression". He provoked the intellectual integrity of the entire audience and left several questions in our minds on the entire process of mass weaponisation and growing nuclear arsenal, all of which simply defied any logic or justifications. It would be but fit to end with these words of Terry Tempest Williams:

"The eyes of the future are looking back at us and they are praying for us to see beyond our own time. They are kneeling with hands clasped that we might act with restraint, that we might leave room for the life that is to come"....





Report 11

DECEMBER 17, 2009



60 YEARS OF

INDIA –PAKISTAN RELATIONS

Priyanka Subramaniam, II MA



Dr Suba Chandran, Assistant Director, Institute of Peace and conflict Studies, New Delhi in his introduction compared Indo-Pak relations to a movie, characterized by repetition and relations seem almost scripted where phases reoccur. He likened this relationship to that of Germany and France who fought for several generations before reconciling. India and Pakistan, he said, are young countries and there is hope for reconciliation but not in the immediate future. He said that it was important that the relationship should not be pitched to any particular world event – cold war, nuclear testing etc.



The relationship is a work in progress and does not take place in a vacuum. The international environment is viewed as the largest circle encompassing the regional environment – Afghanistan, India, China, which in turn circles the nation's internal affairs. Dr.Suba chose to transform the session from a simple lecture to a group discussion about Indo-Pak relations in the last six decades involving the students' active and enthusiastic participation

The group discussion first addressed the factors that drive a country's foreign policy. These factors include, national interest, threat perception, diplomacy, economy, culture/history, status, prestige balance of power in the international system, quality of leadership, domestic politics and geopolitical factors. The second part of the discussion aimed to determine what drives India's policies toward Pakistan and vice versa. In terms of history Dr. Chandran mentioned that the Indo-Pak relations merely



started in 1947 as relations between nation states but the history itself can be traced far back and is incumbent on people's interpretation of history. Ideology is an important aspect of the relations especially because Pakistan's main claim to Jammu and Kashmir is their religious identity. Ideology plays a role not only in the perception of each state about the other but also in Pakistan's perception of itself vis-à-vis South Asia and the Middle East. Other factors that drive Indo-Pak relations are the civil-military relations, the balance of power in the regional system, power asymmetry and influence of

Essential factors such as United States, U.N, China, Soviet Union, SAARC, Middle East, Afghanistan and international institutions like the IMF and WTO. Leadership was also given as a major driving force in terms of origins of foreign policies an individual personality characteristics that influence domestic politics. In the third part of the discussion Dr.Chandran mapped Indo-Pak relations as they

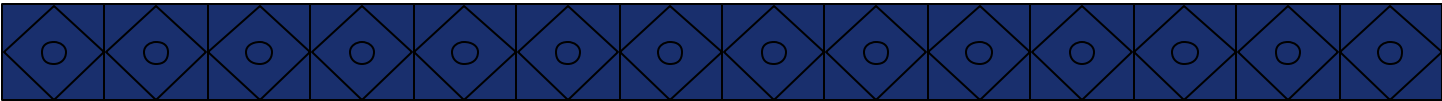


occurred decade by decade. The 1940s were characterized by Partition, 1947 Indo-Pak War and the ceasefire agreement. Dr Chandran pointed out that it is common to concentrate on all the things that went wrong between India and Pakistan but positive events such as the ceasefire agreement also play a major role. Wars have to be considered in terms of geographical spread, weapons, duration and casualties. Nehru's decision to take the matter of Jammu and Kashmir to the United Nations, his idealism, belief in the partition and the U.N changed the dynamics of the relationship.

In the 1950s one positive event was the resettlement of the massive numbers of refugees, and another was the work that began with the involvement of the World Bank toward the signing of the Indus Water treaty. The 1950s were also characterized by the absence of war primarily due to nation building happening on both sides. Other reasons include ideology, international institutions, national domestic politics.



In the 1960's the 1962 Sino-Indian war and subsequent 1965 Indo-Pak war were benchmarks, but on a positive note the Tashkent Declaration made the attempt to normalize relations between the two nations. After the 1962 war, Pakistan and China began to move closer, this development played a major role in the balance of power in the region. Leadership also played a major role, especially in terms of Ayub Khan vis-à-vis Lal Bahadur Shastri. Another important development was the souring of relations between East and West Pakistan. The first Chinese nuclear test changed the balance of power in the international and regional systems



The 1970s, apart from the Bangladesh war of Liberation, were witness to the Shimla Accord, the nuclear tests at Pokhran, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The Iranian revolution which resulted in Khomeini's rise to power also influenced the ideological perceptions of the region. The creation of Bangladesh resulted in Pakistan viewing India as trying to break Pakistan up further and brought about the still existent need for vengeance. The use of proxy wars as a successful strategy, low-investment, high-returns, spurred the support for armed militancy.



Operation Brasstacks was a benchmark event in the 1980s as was the military operation over the Siachen glacier. Relations were also influenced by the leadership of people like Rajiv Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto. The culmination of the Cold War and nuclear weaponization of both countries also played a major role. Some of the major events in the 1990s include the Kargil War, the initiation of the bus and railway services between the two nations. Pakistan's use of the Lashkar-e-Toiba as a strategic tool is another important development.

A major reason for the Kargil war was the civil-military relationship in Pakistan. India's economic growth after trade liberalization also influenced foreign policy decisions.



Relations between Pakistan from 2000, till date were influenced by the terrorist attack on the parliament, U.S's war on terror as a response the 9/11 attacks , Afghanistan's increased involvement in the region and the September 11th Mumbai blasts.

In conclusion Dr.Chandran speculated about possible Indo-Pak relations in the next decade, the group was asked to give their opinions about the possible increase or decrease in the intensity of terrorist activity, the involvement of external agencies in the region, the changes in domestic politics of both nations, the consequences of Pakistan's political instability, the possibility of further war, steps toward peace or even a return to nuclear brinkmanship.



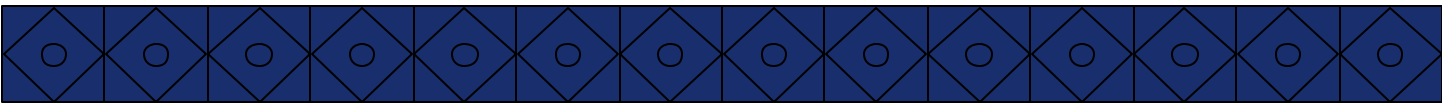
REPORT 12
JANUARY 11, 2010



Lecture on

POST WAR SRI LANKA





Dr Sarveshwaran, Associate Professor, Colombo University began his talk by clarifying some common misconceptions about the country and its people. He differentiated between the 'Sri Lankan Tamils' who have lived on the island for around 2500 years, the Sri Lankan Tamil speaking population i.e. the 'plantation Tamils' and the influential Tamil Diaspora around the world.

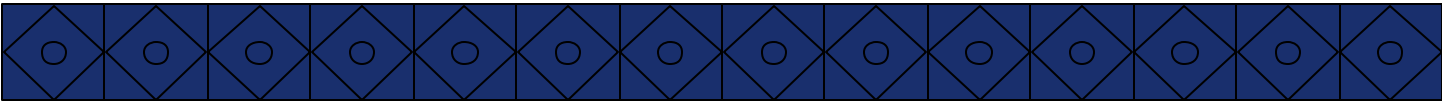
The speaker then sketched a brief history of the conflict, he said that some experts believe the roots of the conflict extended to the 1948 Citizenship Act, the 1956 language Acts or the commencement of ethnic violence in 1983. Dr. Sarveshwaran believes the rift began in the

interests of the Tamils and Muslims were not considered. The 1948 Citizenship Act left almost half the Tamil population without voting rights. From 1948-76, represented by the Tamil Federal Party, the Tamils demanded a federal system but contained their struggle to Gandhian methods. By the early 70s, the minorities were left with no avenues with which to seek justice, and began considering the use of force. In 1976, the Tamil United Liberation Front came out with a demand for a separate state (Vattukotai Declaration). In 1977 it was decided that 'Eelam' could not be achieved through non-violence, subsequently the armed struggle



1930s with the revival of anti Tamil and Muslim feelings by the Singhala Buddhists. Tamils and Muslims were considered aliens while the Singhalese remain the constitutional reform movement that followed the interests of the Tamils and Muslims were not considered. The 1948 Citizenship Act left almost half the Tamil population without voting rights and 'sons of the soil.' In the constitutional reform movement that followed the

began under the leadership of the LTTE and continued until March 2009. 1983 saw the beginning of the Indian involvement in the situation. India's policy toward Sri Lanka was influenced by the ethnic affinity between Sri Lankan and Indian Tamils. India asked for the conflict to be resolved with dignity. The Indo-Lanka pact was signed, this pact introduced the Provincial Council System, this



remained 'mere paper'. The LTTE dominated Sri Lankan politics for the next three decades. Although the international community sympathized with the Tamil cause, the LTTE was considered as setting an example for other militant groups in terms of capability and influence,



as a result the international system frowned upon the movement. The world believed that however just the cause, the means did not justify the end. Norway entered the scene as facilitator between the two parties. The Tamil demand for third party intervention showed the extent of mistrust between them and the government. Subsequent amendments by the State were considered too little too late. Negotiations were used for political gains, each major party promising different benefits to the different ethnic groups. The Cease Fire Agreement became a political tool as the President and Prime Minister at that time belonged to different parties with different agendas. The failure of the CFA resulted in gross violations of human rights, mass kidnappings,

and preferred to treat the conflict as a 'terrorist problem', the LTTE was just one aspect of it. The freedom of the press was severely curtailed. As the war reached an end in 2009, the international community began demanding restoration of human rights as well as accounts of violations during the war. The freedom of the press was severely curtailed.



Tamils have now lost any bargaining power they once held and with it they have lost any chance of a solution. The post war situation is characterized by grave human rights violations which have come to light only due to the efforts of NGOs and IGOs. Nearly 3.5 lakh Tamils were sequestered in armed camps and thousands died due to lack of adequate sanitation, food and health care. The IDP resettlement process is ongoing. Election campaigns have reopened talks but nothing concrete has been settled as yet.



Second Lecture
February 15, 2010

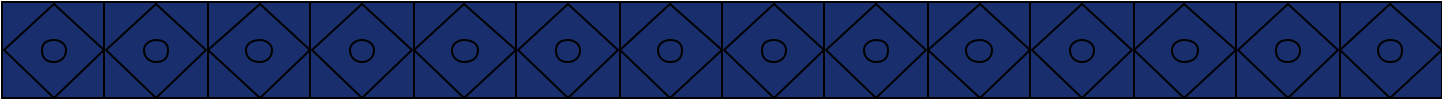
February 15, 2010




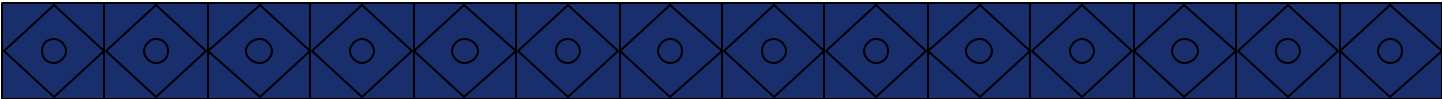
Dr. KAMALA ARAVIND ENDOWMENT LECTURE

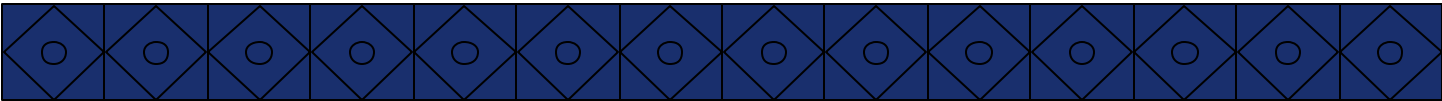
**RE-IMAGINING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IN INDIA**






**The Management, Principal, Faculty and Students of
The Department of International Studies
Stella Maris College (Autonomous)**
Cordially Invite you to the
Dr. Kamala Aravind Endowment Lecture
on
"Re-imagining International Relations in India"
by
Dr. Navrita Chadha Behera
Professor
Department of Political Science
Delhi University, New Delhi
on 15 February 2010 at 10.00 am
In
The Helene de Chappotin Centre
Stella Maris College
17, Cathedral Road, Chennai 600 086





Dr. Navnita Chandha Behera, Professor, Department of Political Science, Delhi University delivered the Second Dr. Kamala Aravind Endowment Lecture on **“Re-imagining International Relations In India”** on February 15, 2010. Dr. Navnita began the lecture by looking at International Relations from pedagogic and discursive angles, and she stressed on the need to enhance the limited scope of International Relations in India.

Dr. Navnita stressed that the talk was not meant

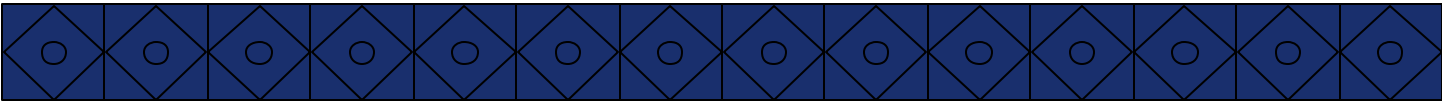


to formulate an ‘Indian’ theory of I.R, instead it was an attempt to redefine the discipline from the Indian vantage point and pointed out several intriguing notions in the development of I.R in India. Post-1947 India had the potential for being the leading source of knowledge on International Relations but 60 years later I.R hasn’t taken off in a big way in the country, there is still no undergraduate school in the country offering I.R. There are two points of issue with regard to I.R studying I.R in India I.R is predominantly studied in the departments of political science across the country and as a result there

involves Area Studies. There is very little distinction between I.R and Area Studies in India, as Area Studies is a multi-disciplinary field involving politics, economics, history, sociology and I.R. There is also a lot of inadequacy in terms of study material available in regional languages in the discipline, students at the post-graduate level come from several different disciplines which requires the I.R base to be laid at the M.A level. Funding is also an issue, the subject has as a result become more Delhi-centric. The



Speaker believes that this is detrimental to the development of I.R. Dr. Navnita emphasized the practice of I.R is based on Nehruvian ideals and under Jawaharlal Nehru’s aegis training was given only to bureaucrats and policy makers and unlike with economics, there wasn’t much importance given to research in the field of International Relations. Subsequently, there is a divide between the policy makers and the academicians. As a result the academicians are unable to develop policy relevant work and policy makers for the same reason refuse to take their contributions seriously.



Dr.Navnita chose the example of Non-Alignment to explain Systemic and Sub-systemic applications of I.R theories. Non-Alignment, despite its contributions to foreign policy is very rarely considered by International Relations theorists to have contributed anything systemic to I.R. In fact, it never made it to the mainstream I.R literature; other ideas such as Panchsheel are also victims of this bias. The disciplinary boundaries of I.R are limited to such an extent and constituted in such a manner that it is very

knowledge making pre-1947 India irrelevant to the study of I.R delegitimizing Indian history , The power of defining what is scientific is given to the Western world resulting in a complete absence of non-western I.R theory. The scope of producing something original is negated by traditional I.R theory. The problem in India is that I.R theorists do not acknowledge contributions from development Studied, Feminism, Post-Colonial Studies etc as relevant to the field. Feminism for example, is far more inte-



difficult for such ideas to make an impression .This, according to the speaker, could be the result of the internalizing and universal acceptance of Realism as a starting point of I.R theory and the fact that India is not engaged critically by other nations instead there is a an inability to question I.R theory with regard to the Indian State. The silences of Indian I.R contribute as much to the study of the subject as do the concepts to which attention is paid. Dr.Navnita said there are two underpinnings to this issue, scientific studies must be produced and secondly Western knowledge is the base of theoretical knowl-

grated in the fields of history, anthropology, sociology and development studies than in I.R. Dr. Navnita said there exist criticisms about expanding the field to such an extent that it completely loses focus but the speaker believes that it will only result in the introduction of new ideas. I.R has the tendency to put itself in an Ivory Tower, considering itself separate from day-to-day life issues, the speaker insists that there has to be a certain amount of interplay between the two. Until this is done, there will be a dearth of policy relevant work that is not grounded in reality.



Report 13
FEBRUARY 15 –17, 2010

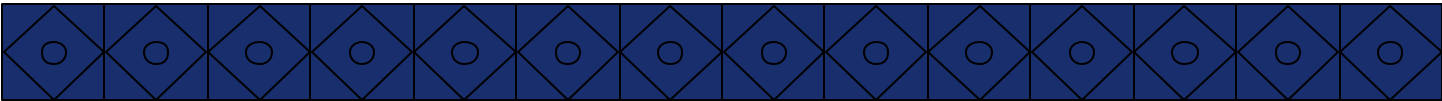


SCHOLAR-IN-RESIDENCE PROGRAMME

Dr. Navnita Chada Behra

**SOUTH ASIA: AN UNDERSTANDING OF INDIA
AND PAKISTAN**





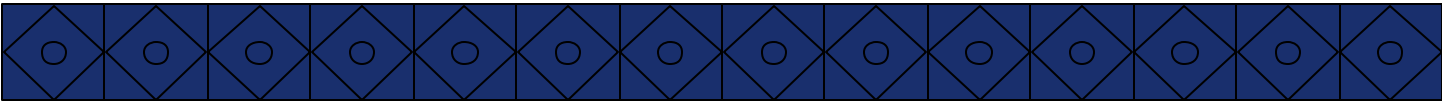
Dr. Navnita Chadha Behera, Professor, Department of Political Science, Delhi University, started her lecture series by discussing the security problematique in South Asia and explored the possibility of alternate discourse to security in South Asia. She asked the question what is security? Whose security and what is the alternative schema of security. Answering to the question Dr. Navnita gave a theoretical

From the South Asian perspective “security is a much contested term” because certain questions remain yet to be answered like whose security, who is threatening and how do we tackle it. The conspicuous or the indomitable presence of India “economically, politically and militarily” has put the “question of security” of the smaller states in a constant flux.



definition and explanation to the concept of security as “a threat to the state from outside”. Having defined security broadly she went on to explain the problems that are largely faced by South Asian States in the twenty first century and referred that it would be appropriate if we could identify alternate security discourse rather than just address it from the realist paradigm of security. It would be appropriate if there would be alternates in debating security discourse in South Asia. Security discourse is an important paradigm in international relations as states largely face “security dilemma” and the question as to how to defend themselves.

States in South Asia largely face the contestation of security because of the micro and macro state syndrome and this emergence face the contestation of security because of the micro and macro state syndrome and this emergence could be attributed to the dominance of Indian hegemony. The conspicuous or the indomitable presence of India “economically, politically and militarily” has put the “question of security” of the smaller states in a constant flux. The nuclearisation of India and Pakistan in 1998 has further created a security-insecurity paradox among the other countries in South Asia and it is referred to as the



Heterogenisation and plurality dominates the Indian context and right from 1947 there has been contestation of security from within the State. Dr. Navnita deliberated at length on the social appropriation of the states by a particular community and cited the examples of the Chakmas, Baluchis, Mizo, Nagas and cited a common feature of all these groups has largely



been towards contesting the centralized authority of state power.

Dr. Navnita spoke on the alternate discourse to security like the

- ◆ Feminist understanding of security and cited examples of the Indian state and highlighted the fact that “women and State” are a largely contested term.
- ◆ Environmental security was another important aspect that Dr. Navnita spoke and raised a few issues especially with regard to the displaced people because of issues relating environmental problems.

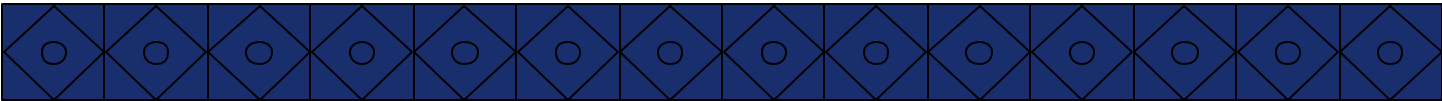
- ◆ Good governance, Democratic resilience and global war on terror were the other aspects that were discussed.

Having started the lecture by addressing the issue of a largely contested term security, Dr.Navnita theorized the conflict situation in South Asia. She



said it was misnomer to address security from a realist lens and suggested a social constructivist angle in characterizing the conflict situation in South Asia especially the India-Pakistan problem. A viable solution could be brought to a conflict only by the way we define the conflict a “perspective understanding of conflict from all angles including that of all the stakeholders in the conflict is very crucial and relevant”. It is a misnomer to say that all International relations theories provide tools to address conflicts and there has been a gap between the tools available and the study itself.

Dr. Navnita elaborated the fact that resolving conflict would be too daunting task unless there is an



involvement of all the stakeholders otherwise solution would be a bleak possibility She spoke on Kashmir and cited the fact that “involvement of people” would be the most important factor in addressing the conflict. Dr.Navnita critiqued the majoritarian syndrome which often dominates a conflict and there are tendencies for these majoritarian groups to hold the State at ransom.

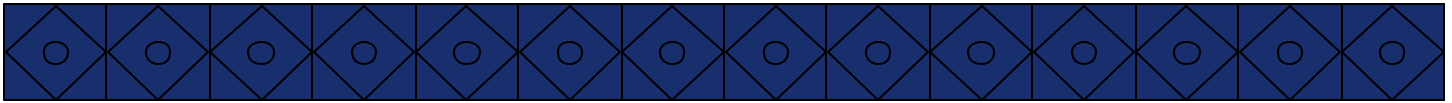
A typical feature in a South Asian Society which is largely diverse and plural. Dr. Navnita analysed the



lack of credibility that SAARC has in the region. She attributed this to the ineffectiveness and the psychological dimension that India often associates SAARC with “India being ganged up by the smaller states”. SAARC lacks effective institutional linkage and there has been a conspicuous absence of knowledge creation strategy that would create a “South Asian Consciousness”. What is required is the creation of “A generation of South Asian Leaders” who could create and instill this commonality and vision.

Having contextualized International Relations theory and South Asia, Dr. Navnita spoke on “Demystifying Kashmir”. Demystifying Kashmir is an attempt to “redefine Kashmir from the conventional assumptions and perspectives. History unravels the mystery and this has been largely true in the case of Kashmir and Dr. Navnita put the Kashmir issue in perspective by tracing the history of Kashmir. She attributed that there has been a neglect of understanding the generic query and a stereotype notion of examining Kashmir issue has largely dominated this conflict spectrum. What is ultimately required is the right perspective of understanding the Kashmir issue and unless it is understood in the right sense solutions would be a long drawn process.

Having placed the issue of Kashmir in context, Dr. Navnita traced the history of Kashmir with the “British decision to partition India and the proposed plan to carve the state of Pakistan from the Muslim majority provinces in India with the boundaries to be drawn by the Radcliffe commission”. After the departure of the British larger conflict began between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League crept in as they were trying to expand the territorial boundaries of India and Pakistan. The two Nation theory was widely accepted by both India and Pakistan and Dr. Navnita “explained that there was no fixed formula for apportioning the princely states between the two domains”. The acceptance to the idea of partition by the National Congress came after much debate and that the division would be a final settlement and it would not be done on communal lines. Dr. Navnita broke the



conventional assumption about issues underlining the many facets of the conflict in Kashmir and rightly pointed out the skewed understanding of the conflict. She elaborated the various missing links in the Kashmir issue and reemphasized the need to adopt an inclusive methodology while discussing the Kashmir problem. What seems to have happened over the years is “this absence of inclusiveness” which has left many groups unheard.



A typical understanding of Kashmir is “the territorial dispute between the two neighbours in South Asia. Even after sixty one years of partition it is apathy that both countries still regard Kashmir as a homogenous entity of both India and Pakistan. It has been rather very unfortunate that complex scenarios dominate the Kashmir conflict like the demand by the Kashmiri people to secede from Indian administered areas, the majority vs. the minority syndrome largely has been misleading.

Kashmir is a ground with the spread of Indian, Pakistani and Kashmiri nationalism. Dr. Navnita reiterated the fact that amidst this spirit of nationalism there lives the “unheard voice of the lesser mortals – the few groups of people of Kashmir”. She rather quoted the basic understanding as the “right to self determination as interpreted by different groups of people”. The question posed by Dr. Navnita was will ever the issue of Kashmir be resolved?

Having largely analysed the issue of Kashmir



Dr. Navnita examined the issue of plurality vs. uniformity: Indian ways of thinking and theorizing IRT .She narrated the India’s historical past and explained the way we could use history to understand the inward reality that would help us to examine the present situation. Dr.Navnita stressed on the importance of identity as a crucial factor and bone of contention in most of the conflict and she cited the example of Kashmir the use of the term “nag” testified the large adoption and usage of the terminology borrowed from the Hindu religion. However with the advent of Islam in Kashmir it is interesting to note that structures

today in Kashmir largely bear the imprint of Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism. This has led to the prioritization of social identity and has led to the transformation of the social space and politicization of identity and Kashmir is classic example to this “aspiration of identity. Over the years the issue of



identity has predominantly dominated the Indian political space and large struggle that has been taking place in the subcontinent has been associated with this kind of struggle to establish the identity in the realm of political space. and politicization of identity and Kashmir is classic example to this “aspiration of identity. Over the years the issue of identity has predominantly dominated the Indian political space and large struggle that has been taking place in the subcontinent has been associated with this kind of struggle to establish the identity in the realm of political space. understanding of India and Hinduism and Sadia largely seemed to be the flag bearer of Pakistani nationalism with a perceived image of anti-Indianism at its core.

The phrase “Ideology of Pakistan” has mutilated the past when children studied early history of South Asia that included pre-historic times. An antagonistic image of India largely drew the minds of Pakistanis that was largely depicted through various medium. The curriculum in the textbooks, visualization in the electronic, the open pages and editorials in the print media over the years have gone through a gradual dissemination or a brand imaging process of “demonstrating superiority if Islam vis-à-vis Hinduism”. This stereotype branding in Pakistan has led to the negation of the Hindu past of the Indian subcontinent and the history texts have erased the ancient Hindu past.

Dr. Navnita argued that “Social knowledge is not neutral and it is deeply contested in a society and largely derived from the social interactions among distinct social groups characterised by competition between the worldview of non-dominant actors seeking social change”. A similar situation of State influence could be seen during the BJP regime in some states in India when certain questions in the Mathematics textbook were related to the work force required for the demolition of Babri Masjid.

The Scholar-in-Residence Programme was a very enriching experience bot for the students and the faculty. The perspectives which Dr. Navnita shared were really interesting. She traversed the lectures by unraveling the human space in the India-Pakistan conflict and firmly believed that unless a people to people contact or a dialogue is developed the entire India-Pakistan problem would simply remain a political game plan.



Report 14

February 24, 2010

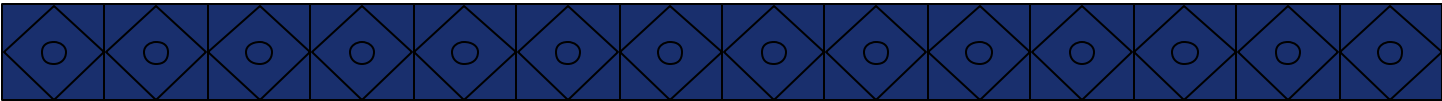


PAKISTAN:

YOUR DISTANT NEIGHBOUR

Priyanaka Subramaniam II MA





Mr. Fakir Sayed. Aijazuddin began the talk with an introduction to Pakistan from the Pakistani viewpoint. He believed it was important for students of International Relations and related subjects to see Pakistan from different perspectives. Mr. Aijazuddin said that, contrary to common belief, Pakistan was more than just a Talibanized country with a distinctive Islamic ideology. He briefly mentioned Pakistan's diversity with different ethnic groups like the Sindhis, the Balochis, the Punjabis etc. making up the whole.



Pakistan is located in a volatile region, with China, Iran, India and Afghanistan at its borders, while at the same time being aware that it is a vital part of the South Asian community. Pakistan's history can be traced back to the Indus Valley civilization. India and Pakistan share common ancestral bonds and histories. The involvement of the United States of America in the equation, according to Mr. Post Cold War, Pakistan and the U.S had a strategic relationship of security against communism while today, the relationship is one of security against terror. From 1945 until 2009 Pakistan has received up to \$165 billion in aid from the U.S and the country is Pakistan's second largest trading partner.

Indo-US relations have improved since the end of the cold War. India signed a ten year defense pact with the United States in 2005 and has also entered into a civilian nuclear agreement. In fact the Indo-US relationship is stronger and more durable as it is *strategic* while the Pak-US relationship at present is merely *operational*. Mr. Aijazuddin then made a comparison between India and Pakistan in terms of success of democracy, energy, water, agriculture and economic development. While both



countries have shown positive trends in all aspects the scale of successes is different. Mr. Aijazuddin made a special note of water sharing being one of India and Pakistan's diplomatic successes. Mr. Aijazuddin touched upon the Kashmir, Siachen, and Sir creek disputes. Pakistan's primary concerns at present are security against India and security against extremism. Nuclear warfare is another potential problem. In conclusion Mr. Aijazuddin summarized Pakistan's concerns as the Gold Star Doctrine, the Hindutva movement, Indian hegemony in South Asia and finally dehydration of the region. He saw continued high-level dialogues and increased confidence building measures as probable solutions to the India-Pakistan protracted regional conflict.



Report 15

**February 25 &
March 4, 2010**

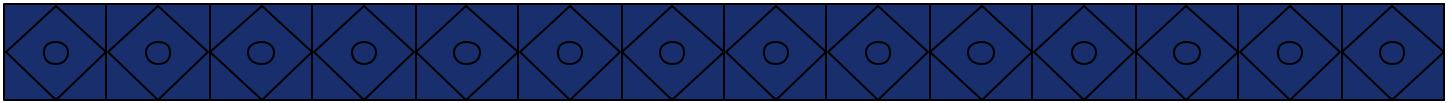


LECTURE SERIES

on

**TERRORISM & COUNTER TERRORISM
MEASURES**





The Department of International Studies organized a lecture series by Mr.B.Raman a retired intelligence officer and former additional secretary, Cabinet secretariat, Govt of India on "International Terrorism." In the course of his first lecture, Mr. Raman gave his expert views on the lack of consensus while defining Terrorism and the complexities involved in the process.He spoke at length on the evolving modes of Terrorism including a brief history of the origins of terrorism.



The speaker clearly elucidated the distinction between Terrorism and insurgency and explained the differences in the ideological orientation and the marked absence of any claim to territory or demands for setting up of government on terrorist agenda. While the agenda of the insurgents would be mainly to oppose the policies of the state and to either overthrow an existing government or to demand a separate territory or autonomy the intention of the terrorist would be generate a message and target victims indiscriminately without any real

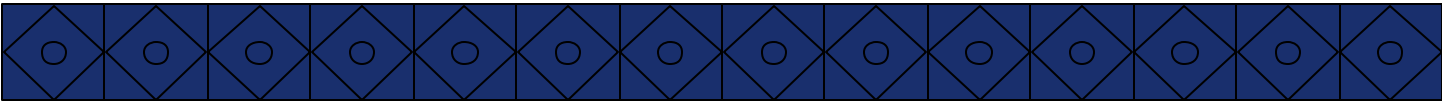
intentions to occupy power.

Mr.Raman also spoke of the 'new terrorism', which he said was accompanied by technological advancement and the increasing sophistication of terror attacks. He emphasised on the element of fear and anxiety caused to both the ordinary citizens of a State and the machinery of the state itself because of such "Catastrophic Attacks". This brought the speaker into explaining the catastrophic nature of present day attacks and he cited the cases of 9/11,Bali, Madrid and London attacks.

Mr. Raman also dealt with fundamentalism and growing radicalisation of Islam as potentially dangerous and the need for some degree of moderation, in the absence of which such attacks would continue or worsen in the name of 'Jihad'.Mr. Raman also stressed on the need for an international consensus on what constitutes acts of terror and what measures needed to be adopted for countering the growing menace of terrorism.

In his next lecture Mr. Raman spoke at length on the counter terrorism methods adopted by various states. He elaborated on the increased levels of security and the enhancement of security standards world over post 9/11 such as the Patriot Act and Homeland Security initiative of the United States .

He explained the role of intelligence gathering in foiling a terrorist attack and also commented on the biased media representation which only pointed out the defects and deficiencies of such intelligence agencies in not stopping a terror attack and almost never reporting on how many such bids had been thwarted by advance intelligence.



He also pointed out the strengths and weakness of the various intelligence agencies like the Israeli Mossad, the CIA, the ISI and the Indian agencies such as RA&W and IB. He stressed on the need to modernize the Indian agencies with better infrastructure and sophisticated equipment and a better command control set up, the absence of which during 26/11 was a glaring factor.

The speaker also presented views from his books on 26/11 Mumbai terror attacks titled **“Mumbai 26/11 A Day of Infamy”** and **“Terrorism:Yesterday,Today and Tomorrow”** which the Department was fortunate enough to receive copies from the author himself.




Mr. Raman also pointed out the strengths of the Indian intelligence agencies and rated them amongst the best in the world and that a lot of work was being done unnoticed, as was the nature of their task. He appreciated the latest policies of the GOI in stationing the NSG hubs at various locations across the country and increased allocations for Anti terrorism Squads and task forces. He also appreciated their functioning and that there was no room for pessimism or a gloomy picture and that things are looking positive for a safer and peaceful India.

The highlight of the programme was the authenticity of perspectives and facts mostly drawn from his personal experiences and coming from a veteran in the field, it was filled with conviction and vigour.



Report 16

March 8, 2010



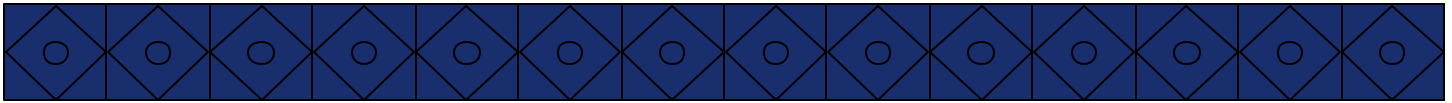
INDIA SERIES

INDIA-CHINA :FRIENDS,FOES OR FRENEMIES

**&
INDIA & DISARMAMENT**

Priyanka Subramaniam, II MA





Dr. Swaran Singh, Professor, School of International Politics and Disarmament, Jawaharlal Nehru University spoke of India-China relations and called these two Asian powers as the rising power who see their trajectories in relation with the United States. One of the most important power symbols of India and China is human resource. Their respective populations which were once seen as liabilities are now seen as assets, although the



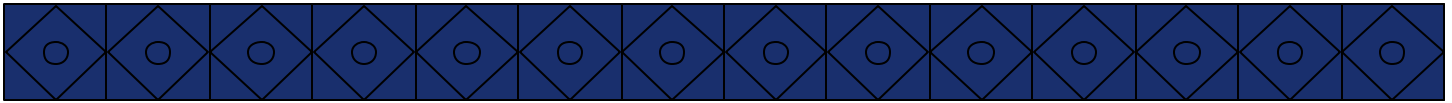
quality of the population still does not match that of developed nations like the United States.

The growth rates of the populations when compared shows that while China's is maintained at around 0.6% India's is at an undesirable 1.33%. According to Dr. Singh, India has tremendous potential in the mid-term and long term in terms of human resource while the United States and China possess the upper hand. In terms of GDP defense expenditure US again outstrips India and China.

The relationship between China and India has moved from a bilateral relationship to a regional relationship and finally to a global one. India and China have interacted sporadically throughout history but now through increased interconnections, interests and interactivity interactions have also increased as a result China and India can no longer ignore each other.

India has resolved border issues with Myanmar, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Nepal. India and China have issues with unresolved boundaries along large parts of their shared border. The fundamental problem of all Asian countries is the dynamic frontiers of historical kingdoms. A sense of territoriality was only the result of colonialism. As a result of colonization, India and China have almost become obsessed with territorial boundaries.

Border resolution efforts have been going on since 1980 when Border talks began, a Joint Working Group was set up and later upgraded. Some accomplishments have been made with regard to Tibet and trade etc. China-India bilateral trade is the most agreeable and dependable pillar of the India-China relationship. Trade with China has fallen since 2007-2008, China-India trade which was once balanced now faces a deficit of around \$16 billion. Taking a broader view of China's trade with South Asia, trade with Pakistan which was almost at 50% in 1993 has reduced to around 17% while trade with India has increased to almost 70%. Border trade between the two countries has improved because of confidence building measures but has not reached anticipated levels. .



Nehru's idealism and his policies for peace and non-alignment continue to affect India's disarmament policies. There are five fundamental features to India's disarmament policies,

- ◆ Disarmament only as a 'means' not an end, the end is peace and development
- ◆ Non-alignment implies only steering clear from military alliances and functioned as an alternative model of nation building
- ◆ Non alignment, internally meant an 'independence' of foreign policy which made shifting externally from disarmament to arms control easy
- ◆ Prefers a time-bound and 'step-by-step' approach compared to China's 'packaged deal' approach – China focuses on outcomes while India focuses on processes
- ◆ Seeking universal a non-discriminatory regimes unlike Beijing's policy of playing the China card.

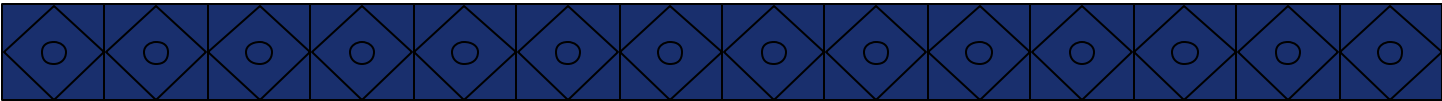
The evolution of India's disarmament policy.

1930-1950s: World Peace Focus – Nehru was an active in India's foreign policy making since the 1930s as the Congress party's official spokesperson. As a result his ideas and aims continue to affect India's policies, Nehru has built India's foreign policy foundations. Although Western experts suggest that Nehru's policies were always ambiguous with regard to nuclear weaponisation but his most em-

statements have always been against the use of atomic energy for 'evil purposes' (1957). As a result India continued to have strong faith in the United Nations, Test bans and multilateral initiatives.

1960s-1970s" National Security Focus – This period saw several events that changed the country's security focus. The 1962 Sino-Indian war, China's nuclear test in 1964, the Indo-Pak war of 1965, the Bangladeshi Liberation war of 1971, the war saw India taking up a realpolitik approach to foreign policy. Lal Bahadur Shastri during this period contributed to Indian nuclear weaponisation. He green lighted the Subterranean Nuclear Explosions. During this period India participated in the Partial Test Ban Treaty and denounced the Non-Proliferation Treaty for its discriminatory nature.

1980s: Enhancing National Stature – India was emerging as an important lobby on behalf of emerging nations with the 'Six nations, Five Continents' initiative. Rajiv Gandhi began a double edged policy of active disarmament accompanied by a weapons programme. There were several pressures on India at that time, not least of which was Pakistan's emerging nuclear programme.



This is primarily due to poor infrastructure, the Nathu La route is the only motorable route between India and China.

The problems of India-China economic engagement include the increasing trade deficit, the skewed nature of exports, trade rules and mutual suspicions. India and China have a mosaic relationship, which has moved from a dragon-elephant rivalry



to a dragon-elephant tango. The relationship is characterized by competition within an overall relationship of cooperation.

The move from a bilateral to regional to global framework might positively affect the relationship in terms of revealing similarities in concerns. The United States will continue to be a decisive factor in the foreseeable future.

India's Nuclear Disarmament Policy:

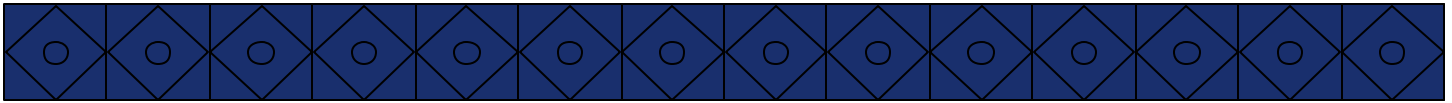
Disarmament historically has, almost until the treaty of Versailles, been dictated to the vanquished by the victor. In the 1930s, for the first time the idea of

disarmament being mutual and voluntary, under the League of Nations emerged. In the 1950s general and complete disarmament was an important formulation of the United Nations as a result of the Second World War.

The idea of disarmament then was modified into a more achievable idea of arms control. In the 1970s, in the time of the Cold War détente, arms control evolved from arms control to non-proliferation. In the 1990s, the collapse of the Soviet Union changed international security in such a manner that counter-proliferation, the threat of coercion in the face of continued proliferation, became the primary focus of disarmament efforts. In the 2000s disarmament moved on to regime change and pre-emption, preventing proliferation through the use of force. The 9/11 terrorist attacks further changed the focus of disarmament and arms control as the fundamental threat to states now came from non-state actors.

Experts believe that nations will that the share the bigger, common problem of terrorism. Disarmament efforts till date have depended on National control but the initiatives now have new stakeholders. The Civil Society is playing a bigger role in international relations today.

India's approach to disarmament has been influenced by the golden mean approach from Buddhism to Gandhianism. As a civilization we are rather non-committal and prefer centrist positions while being subtle pacifists.



The 1990s.: New Pragmatism, Bold Initiatives

- Covert testing of nuclear weapons, Operation Shakti. India had to deal with the fall of the USSR, the rise of China and the effects of The US's unilateralism. At the same time the country was experiencing economic reforms with the liberalization of the markets resulting in better growth rates. Internally, India also viewed the rise of non-congress/regional forces, caste politics etc.

The nuclear tests conducted the were by a very different India from the India of 1974.

- ◆ Disarmament has taken a front seat again globally. With regard to India's nuclear disarmament policy there have been several changes. The country now has an Ambassador for Disarmament and is willing to talk about non-proliferation efforts, it displays stakes in norms and regime building.

India's defence expenditures and forces have continued to be relatively low. India is also open to Peace Initiatives with China and Pakistan and plays a continued role in UN peacekeeping

India's nuclear disarmament vision now

Includes :

- ◆ General and Complete disarmament as an ultimate goal
- ◆ operative methods include Credible and minimum deterrence and a no first use policy and India's nuclear weapons are clearly only for self defense. India does not provide a nuclear umbrella. India has also maintained a self-imposed moratorium on nuclear testing.
- ◆ Displays openness to new innovative initiatives such as those offered by Non-Governmental Organizations and Civil Society initiatives.

