

SOUTH ASIA REGIONAL SECURITY 2025: FROM IDEA TO REALITY?

Discussion Workshop

November 8, 2011
New Delhi, India



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This workshop is organized by The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR), with generous support from the MacArthur Foundation, as part of a three-year (2009-2012) NBR initiative exploring a “Nontraditional Regional Security Architecture for South Asia.”

The in-country host for this workshop is the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), New Delhi.

Workshop Agenda

SOUTH ASIA REGIONAL SECURITY 2025: FROM IDEA TO REALITY?

Hotel ITC Maurya | Diplomatic Enclave, Sardar Patel Marg | New Delhi 110021

9:00-9:30 Registration (*North Arcade*)

I. Welcome and Introduction

9:30-9:40 **Welcoming Remarks**
Mallika Joseph, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies

9:40-10:30 **Introduction & Project Overview**
Mahin Karim & Roy Kamphausen, National Bureau of Asian Research

Project Background: Mahin Karim

NBR Futures – Why Scenario Analysis? Roy Kamphausen

Phase 1 and Phase 2 Synopsys; Phase 3 Objectives: Mahin Karim

10:30-10:45 Break

II. South Asia NTS Cooperation Framework 2025: A Hypothetical Scenario

10:45-10:50 **Introduction by Chair**
Roy Kamphausen, National Bureau of Asian Research

10:50-11:20 **Scenario Presentation: South Asia NTS Cooperation Framework – A Hypothetical Future**
Tariq Karim, High Commissioner for Bangladesh to India

Respondents

11:20-11:30 *Shivshankar Menon, National Security Advisor for India*

11:30-11:40 *Dipankar Banerjee, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies*

11:40-1:00 **Moderated Group Discussion**
Roy Kamphausen, National Bureau of Asian Research

1:00-2:00 Lunch (*West View*)

III. South Asia NTS Cooperation Framework: Plausible Pathways?

2:00-2:10 **Introduction by Chair**
Roy Kamphausen, National Bureau of Asian Research

Discussants

2:10-2:25 *Amal Jayawardane, Regional Centre for Strategic Studies*
2:25-2:40 *Mallika Joseph, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies*
2:40-2:55 *Farooq Sobhan, Bangladesh Enterprise Institute*
2:55-3:10 *Arun Sahgal, Institute of National Security Studies*

3:10-3:30 Break

IV. Roundtable Discussion: South Asia NTS Cooperation Framework 2025 - Pipedream or Blueprint?

3:30-3:40 **Introduction by Chair**
Mahin Karim, National Bureau of Asian Research

3:40-4:40 **Moderated Group Discussion**
Mahin Karim, National Bureau of Asian Research

V. Roundtable Discussion: South Asia NTS Cooperation 2025 - Implications for Traditional Security Environment?

4:40-4:50 **Remarks by Chair**
Dipankar Banerjee, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies

Respondents

4:50-5:05 *Tariq Karim, High Commissioner for Bangladesh to India*
5:05-5:20 *C. Raja Mohan, Strategic Affairs Editor for Indian Express*

5:20-6:20 **Moderated Group Discussion**
Dipankar Banerjee, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies

VI. Conclusion

6:20-6:25 **Wrap-Up**
Mahin Karim, National Bureau of Asian Research

6:25-6:30 **Concluding Remarks**
Mallika Joseph, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies

6:30-8:00 **Closing Reception (Dublin)**

Project Background

About the Project: Nontraditional Regional Security Architecture for South Asia

South Asia today possesses all the ingredients for a geopolitical nightmare. State failure in any one of the region's most vulnerable countries could prove potentially devastating for stability on the subcontinent as a whole. Agreement on traditional security concerns is often hampered by the conflicting domestic political and foreign policy priorities of South Asian states. Yet there are emerging nontraditional security issues in South Asia that are of common concern to countries across the region.

The 21st century is wrought with “nontraditional” challenges such as looming food and water resource crises, the often devastating environmental impacts of climate change, and the threat of pandemic diseases that cut across geographical boundaries. All these challenges, as witnessed in recent years, have an immediate human impact, with implications for both domestic and regional stability in the future. Calamities in these areas bear the very real potential to exacerbate the conditions contributing to traditional security threats in the region.

Developing effective mechanisms in the near term for regional cooperation on nontraditional security issues may yield dividends in the long term toward resolving some of South Asia's long-standing traditional security problems. In 2009, under the aegis of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation's Asia Security Initiative, the National Bureau of Asian Research launched a three-year initiative to examine opportunities for cooperation on shared nontraditional security concerns as potential building blocks toward developing a viable regional security architecture for South Asia. Applying NBR's unique “alternative futures model” of scenario analyses, the project invited participation from a diverse group of regional experts, including representatives from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, the Maldives, China and the United States, and partnered with regional institutions for a series of workshops.

Phase 1 Workshop: “Nontraditional Security Challenges in South Asia: 2025”

The first phase of the project (2009-2010) focused on identifying and discussing key trends and challenges South Asia will likely face in the next 10-15 years in the nontraditional areas of food and water security, environmental security and disaster management, and health and human security. NBR commissioned a series of papers from the project team for presentation and discussion at a November 2009 workshop organized in partnership with the Bangladesh Enterprise Institute (BEI) in Dhaka, Bangladesh. A key component of the workshop was a dedicated full-day scenario exercise to examine and tease out the implications of three potential future scenarios for South Asia's nontraditional security challenges in 2025.

Phase 2 Workshop: “Nontraditional Security Challenges and Opportunities for Cooperation: South Asia 2025”

Building on the findings from the first phase of the initiative, in December 2010 NBR partnered with the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS) in Colombo, Sri Lanka, for the project's second phase (2010-2011) workshop, which expanded the

discussion from assessing the nontraditional security challenges South Asia faces in the future and their implications for security and stability to exploring potential frameworks of regional cooperation to address those challenges. The workshop discussed the implications of three hypothetical future scenarios commissioned from select members of the project team.

Project Outcomes and Deliverables

The third and final phase (2011-2012) of the project will culminate with a November 2011 regional workshop in partnership with the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS) in New Delhi, India. A final briefing will be held for NBR's U.S. policy audience in early 2012 in Washington D.C.

NBR is publishing a series of reports emerging from the project white papers and workshop series during 2011-2012. The first two of these reports, on "Ecological and Nontraditional Security Challenges in South Asia" (Pirages et al, June 2011) and "Nontraditional Security Threats in Pakistan" (Sheikh, September 2011) are already available for dissemination, with the third report on Nontraditional Security Challenges in India: Human Security and Disaster Management (Joseph, Chakrabarti) to be released in November 2011. Forthcoming reports in the series will address such issues as nontraditional security challenges in Nepal, and health security challenges in Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. The series will culminate in a special report dedicated to the futures component of the project, drawing in particular on the essays and discussions emerging from the project's second and third phases.

NBR will leverage its extensive network in both the United States and in Asia for wider dissemination of project findings across relevant academic, business, and policy communities for optimal policy impact through, as appropriate, briefings, publications, conferences, congressional testimony, and online forums.

Workshop Framework

Phase 3 Workshop: “South Asia Regional Security 2025: From Idea to Reality?”

NBR is pleased to partner with the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies in New Delhi, India, for the project’s third regional workshop. This final phase of the project will build on the discussions from the phase 2 effort—which focused on extrapolating the potential political, geopolitical, economic, and security implications of a hypothetical future nontraditional security cooperation framework for South Asia—toward envisioning *how* such a framework might come into being.

The purpose of the exercise is to engage workshop participants in *imagining* a plausible future, and in the process tease out the potential points of conflict and/or convergence that may arise through (representative) group discussion to, thereby, encourage new thinking and innovative and pragmatic solutions to the challenges confronting South Asia’s future.

Toward this effort, workshop discussants are tasked with offering ‘plausible pathways’ toward actualizing the hypothetical scenario framework laid out in the following pages. In doing so, discussants are asked to ‘suspend their disbelief’ and, accepting the scenario as a future model for regional cooperation, tasked with offering their own respective ‘blueprints’ for making it happen.

Further, this phase of the project will also attempt to assess whether, and the degree to which, effective cooperation toward addressing the region’s looming nontraditional security challenges might offer creative pathways toward resolving some of South Asia’s long-standing traditional security problems.

Discussant Guidelines

Imagine you are a member of a policy implementation task force assigned to come up with a specific agenda action plan toward implementing the cooperation framework proposed. As you develop your proposal, some questions you might consider addressing are:

- What steps/measures do you envision would be required at the country and/or regional level?
- What entities and/or individuals would be required to take action?
- What might be some challenges/opportunities encountered? How might these be addressed?
- What might be a feasible timeline for implementation?

As you develop your ‘blueprint’, feel free to select 3-4 key priority issues addressed in the proposed framework that you deem most salient for policy focus. Finally, based on your assessment, what policy recommendations/action plan would you suggest for the way forward?

Phase 3 Scenario Narrative

An Architecture of Cooperative Mechanisms for Addressing Nontraditional Security Challenges: South Asia 2025¹

Tariq Karim

Recapitulating the Challenges

In 2025, total global population is 8.108 billion, having registered an increase by a little under 18% over the base figure of 6.892 billion in 2010. Significantly, South Asia (that is the region comprising Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka) has a combined aggregate total of 3.372 billion, registering a staggering 135% increase over its figure of 1.431 billion fifteen years earlier. Its youth bulge, that is the ratio of population between those under 15 and those over 65, has also widened with the former comprising 34% and the latter declining to 5% of the total population. Whereas the average density of the population in this teeming region was 387 persons per square mile in 2010, it has taken a quantum jump to 1578 persons per square mile. This figure is calculated taking into account that, collectively, the nations of the region have been able to protect their vulnerable coastlines from being inundated by sea-water rises as well as prevent any massive loss of land by flood-related erosion of river embankments, a malaise that had plagued most of the countries until the 2010s.

Nevertheless, the sheer increase in population and the cumulative effects of glacier melts in the Himalayas and depleted ground water aquifers has significantly tightened availability of fresh water supplies. Although the momentum of increase of the population juggernaut has been slowed, the sheer volume continues to keep it growing and invasively moving forward, taxing the capacity of the region in a number of related areas. Collaborative human ingenuity has continued to result in higher crop yields per acre, but the balance continues to be tenuous. At the same time, even though in the aggregate, economies have maintained relatively high growth rates, the steady expansion of the youth bulge continuously challenges the capacity of the countries to totally eradicate the numbers of jobless. The demographic-economic landscape is also marked by increased internal migrations within countries from rural to urban centres, and between countries themselves, reflecting the intra-development gaps still persisting. Any one, or a combination of some or all, of these factors could tax the already somewhat stretched capacities of governments.

All the countries, and their respective governments and peoples, are already having to cope with worsening environmental conditions, the cumulative and deleterious effects of global warming. Himalayan glaciers have shrunk from 500,000 square kms coverage to 160,000 sq kilometers. The increased rate of melting has resulted in more waters being poured into the rivers, which has increased the scope of rivers flooding, as well as creating numerous lakes at the base that have shown tendencies already of bursting their banks and aggravating the flooding perils. Weather phenomena have become unpredictable, with more oceanic storms being spawned and higher and

¹ Please note this working paper draft is proprietary to NBR and should not be disseminated without permission from NBR. NBR plans to publish a final revised version of this paper in a forthcoming project report.

stronger tidal surges battering coastal areas. Sea levels have already risen and coastal embankments are increasingly being threatened with breaching and large-scale inundation. Countries are also seriously concerned that the progressive and inexorable retreat of the glaciers, that historically made the rivers perennial, will render these same rivers to transform into seasonal rivers, heavily dependent upon the monsoons. The monsoons themselves have shown increasing signs unpredictability, marked with unexpected but heavy cloudburst but overall with an aggregate decrease in total rainfall as compared with historical patterns a couple of decades earlier.

For deltaic regions like Bangladesh which is the natural drainage for most of the Eastern Himalayan rivers, a double-whammy effect is in progress: on the one hand, with increasingly lesser volumes of water pushing down into the sea, but at the same time increasing higher and stronger tidal surges pushing inland from the sea, the delicate equilibrium between fresh water and salt water is increasingly threatened. A gradual but inexorable process of inward creeping annexation of sweet water territories by encroaching salt water is changing the PH factor of the formerly rich agricultural land rendering it useless for traditional agriculture, while the decline of keystone species appears to be in progress. This complexly intertwined phenomenon is already triggering mass scale internal migrations, as well as external migration. Similar tendencies are being observed in the area of drainage of the western Himalayan rivers to a somewhat lesser extent, but the phenomenon in the eastern sector is harbinger for what could also happen in the western sector.

These conditions described above pose a number of challenges for the entire region. Governments have to cater for overall ecological and environmental security, food security, water security, energy security, employment security, and health security. Additionally, governments also have to prepare for unexpected disasters (wildcard events) from natural phenomena or disease pandemics. Towards this end, all governments have collectively evolved regional mechanisms for meeting these challenges.

Ensuring ecological security: The South Asian Regional Ecological & Environmental Security Authority (SAREESA)

Recognizing that all these inter-related phenomena have to be addressed holistically, they have established an umbrella body with supra-national jurisdiction called the South Asian Regional Ecological & Environmental Security Authority (SAREESA). Having learnt the lesson from the inbuilt weaknesses of their previous attempt at regional cooperation within the ambit of the South Asian Association of Regional (SAARC) that had no authoritative writ over its member nations, the South Asian countries collectively decided that, considering the over-riding importance for ensuring ecological security, they needed an authoritative body that would be an umbrella body with the mandate and authority to enforce adherence to its collective decisions. This body takes decisions by simple majority that are binding on everyone; no one has any veto power.

Recognizing the extreme vulnerability of its smallest member, Maldives, these countries deliberately chose that country's capital city, Male, for locating the permanent secretariat of this authority with supra-national jurisdiction.

The SAREESA has six sectoral cells to deal with food security, water security, energy security, employment security, health security, and environmental security, respectively. Each cell is headed by an officer with the rank of Principal Secretary to the government (thus giving him a higher status and over-riding clout over the bureaucratic heads of permanent ministries in member-nations' bureaucratic hierarchy).

A minister-level governing body, the Governing Council, comprising full cabinet-rank minister from each member country, oversees the work, activities and programmes of the SAREESA. The Governing Council meets once every three months, by rotation, in each member-country's capital. It is chaired by the Head of Government of the country where the meeting is held. Decisions are arrived at by a simple-majority consensus. Decisions once taken, are mandatorily binding on every member state. The Governing Body looks at ecological security issues holistically while evaluating the work of each of its component cells, and its decisions reflect this holistic perception of the ecological landscape to which the region belongs. Its decisions are like laws passed by the national parliaments, but where the SAREESA decisions are in conflict with national laws, they over-ride the latter. Possessing this privileged position vis-a-vis national bodies, it initiates and ensures real-time information-exchange between all related national bodies in the sectoral areas of its jurisdiction.

The funding of SAREESA is through mandatory contributions from each of its member states, the amount proportional to its population but weighted by its GDP. Where necessary, SAREESA may dictate levying of taxes on income according to income slabs to meet such emergencies. For wildcard events, it maintains an emergency fund of a predetermined amount raised through taxes as well as central funding. SAREESA also may seek international donor funding to augment its own budgeted resources should a specific project so require. There is complete transparency in SAREESA's governance process. At the same time, this institution has a proactive public outreach program, that includes among other tools, mass awareness and mass education programs on various aspects related to its mandated work and jurisdiction that affect the public good and well-being overall.

Ensuring food security: the Food Security Cell of SAREESA

The SAREESA requires each member state to maintain a minimum reserve of foodgrains (rice, wheat or maize, as may be the case) stock sufficient to meet consumption requirements of its nationals for four months, at any given time. This is to meet national emergencies within its own domestic jurisdiction. The cost of this buffer stock is met from the domestic national budget of each member state.

Additionally, SAREESA also requires that a pre-determined quantum of foodgrains, pulses, powdered milk, bottle water, salt and sugar is also stored along centrally designated locations, (close to airports/railway stations/ports) and along the borders with adjacent countries for fast movement to disaster areas in times of extraordinary emergencies.

SAREESA directs that both categories of the above reserve stocks will have specifically designated shelf lives. These items will be put on the market at least two

months before expiry of such shelf life but also replenished simultaneously with new stock with new shelf lives.

The cost of these emergency buffer stocks will be raised through a system of food security tax/levy raised monthly at a rate not less than a minimum percentage of an individual's regular income (say a monetary unit per person irrespective of par value of that unit vis-à-vis the strongest unit in the region). This principle of compulsory contribution adds a sense of value and participatory ownership that raises the importance of this scheme in the public perception.

In case of a disaster outside the region (another region located near or far away, in the same or another continent), SAREESA enjoins individual countries to contribute in aid to the afflicted outsider region from its own domestic reserve, provided it has the capability or a viable plan for replenishment of its own stock in a timely manner. Similar contribution may be made from the regional reserve also, in consultation with SAREESA, provided replenishment is lined up within a reasonable time-frame.

SAREESA has the authority to requisition multi-modal transportation vehicles (marine, air, riverine or road) from any or all of its member-states' civil and military resources. For this purpose, it maintains a data base of all such transportation, listing what is available and where at any given time. For this purpose, the national civil and military bureaucracies are required to update the data-base at SAREESA on a regular, continuous and real-time basis.

Ensuring Water Security: the Water security cell of SAREESA

SAREESA's water security mandate covers overall jurisdiction over all types of water bodies, viz. ground water, surface water, rainwater and even sea water.

This cell of SAREESA has put in place a subsidiary authority under its ambit, known as the South Asian Water Security Authority (SAWSA), which is tasked with monitoring and managing all water resources in the region in a holistic manner, to regulate conservation of these resources as well as to prevent abuse or wastage. To execute its mandate, SAWSA draws up meticulously formulated rules and regulations. National laws and regulations are required to be brought into conformity with SAWSA rules and regulations, but where they are not, SAWSA writ prevails.

Managing Ground Water Resources

The region is keenly aware that years of unplanned and profligate overuse of groundwater aquifers has not only depleted many of these aquifers but also triggered unintended consequences, like arsenic leaching spreading to ever widening areas. Since ground water recharging needs a long time, with the approval of SAREESA, SAWSA has imposed very strict and stringent restrictions on sinking new tube wells of any type (whether deep or shallow) . At the same time, continuing use of existing tube wells is very strictly regulated and monitored. SAWSA regularly maps existing ground water reservoirs/aquifers using sophisticated technology globally available for the purpose. Where it finds that such reservoirs are in precarious condition, it orders removal of all tube wells drawing water from that reservoir, and bans further extraction until such time as it determines the reservoir's health has been sufficiently restored and it is sufficiently viable for water extraction once again.

Managing Surface Water Resources

To manage surface water resources, with SAREESA has established three subsidiary bodies, namely:

- The Eastern Himalayan River Basins Management Body – deals with the Ganges, Brahmaputra and related basins;
- The Western Himalayan River Basins Management Body – deals with the Indus and related basins; and
- The Central-Southern River Basins Management Body – deals with the Narmada-Cauvery and related basins.

Considering that each sub-region has its own distinctive morphology, these bodies undertake river training and management on sub-regional basis. Each body undertakes to train the entire course of each river, including its tributaries and distributaries through building embankments, dredging, creating small to medium sized pondage areas serve not only as reservoirs but also as run-of-the-river hydroelectricity generating projects. Where deemed necessary, flood drainage canals are also excavated to distribute/disperse sudden/seasonal surges of flood water evenly. The electricity produced may be fed into the local/national/sub-regional grid as may apply. Service roads are constructed along one or both banks along the entire course of the river to the extent possible. Also each bank is lined with a belt of several rows of indigenous trees that serve to enhance carbon sequestration areas. Maintenance of these is done throughout the year on a continuing basis, involving the local population along the course of the river. This creates a constant bank of employment for the local people and is more labour-intensive rather than capital-intensive, generating local wealth, as well as giving a sense of local ownership of the commons besides ensuring continuous maintenance.

Moneys for initiating these projects are raised through domestic and regional taxes, as well as through multilateral donor financing. Moneys for regular maintenance are raised through a system of local taxes, and tolls where applicable.

Simultaneously, local filtration plants are established that draw surface waters, treat it for human consumption and then feed it to defined areas along the entire river course. This may augment or completely replace dependence on ground water extraction and usage.

Rainwater Harvesting and Management, & Seawater desalination

Rainwater harvesting and management is under direct mandate of SAWSA. All new buildings/property development projects, whether personal, commercial or public, in urban, peri-urban/suburban and rural areas are required by SAWSA regulations approved by SAREESA to incorporate rainwater harvesting as an integral component. Older structures must also make suitable conversions for including this process, for which they may be eligible for some subsidies initially to undertake the inclusion.

New projects that fail to comply, however, are liable to heavy penalties as well as mandatory amendments to layout plans; otherwise they risk complete demolition without compensation.

Rainwater harvesting may be done either by the entire rainwater harvested being allowed to directly recharge the groundwater, or being channeled into storage

schemes for local, communal and individual households, wells and ponds, agro irrigations channels and reservoirs to serve industries. Depending on the morphology of the terrain, SAWSA will decide which component, or what mix serves a given area's needs best.

SAWSA also undertakes small or medium sized sea water desalination plants, where considered feasible, after locating suitable technology that may be available at reasonable prices and also after having done a cost-benefit evaluation to justify such ventures.

NOTE: [Considerable R&D work is taking place to try and make this process of extracting potable water from saline water, and a competitive market is beginning to appear globally].

Ensuring Energy Security: SAEnSA

All countries of the region have ambitious development goals, but continue to constantly endeavour to bridge the gap between power required to fuel those goals and power shortages. Recognizing the critical importance of the relationship between energy and development, as well as the need to reduce global greenhouse emissions from burning fossil fuels, the SAREESA has set up a subsidiary authority under its aegis known as the South Asian Energy Security Authority (SAEnSA). SAEnSA ensures that all national grids are interconnected to each other, and that electricity produced anywhere by multi-modal means is fed into the regional grid. The SAEnSA overseas a regional power exchange market mechanism where power is traded according to need, and the numerous substations/stations become buyers and sellers. This trade in power is strictly regulated to avoid malpractice and surreptitious or unauthorized siphoning of power.

Moneys for operating, maintaining and administering the total grid system are raised through fees built into the tradable power. Moneys for new/additional stations are derived from a mix of central funding reserves held and administered by SAREESA as well as from local taxes levied from communities where energy security is to be reached.

Countries have progressively reduced dependence on fossil fuels and supplemented them by a mixture of hydro-electric, solar, wind and nuclear fueled power plants. SAEnSA has a R&D cell that is constantly scouring the global market place for new technologies being developed elsewhere and adapting it for local use. It also puts in place the regulatory mechanism for adopting adequate safety procedures in place (particularly in respect of nuclear powered plants, which also require adequate arrangements and safeguards to be inbuilt for safe storage of nuclear fuel, safe operation of nuclear power plants, and safe disposal of nuclear waste so as not to endanger public safety and health.

Ensuring Health Security: SAREESA's Health cell

With global and regional movements of people and all sorts of goods, including flora and fauna, and particularly microbial or viral passengers having become easier with the communication revolution and induction of super jumbo aircraft, ensuring regional health has become a greater challenge than ever.

SAREESA mandate includes regional health management issues linked particularly to communicable diseases that may escalate into epidemics or pandemics. For the purpose, SAREESA maintains a central information system of networking that links all national / or designated hospitals to a regional information centre at SAREESA. It monitors the instances of communicable diseases that are known to spread easily, and tracks movements of such diseases if they occur. The centre also maintains a regional health registry, where it stores and updates on a continuing basis, data from its network of hospitals across the region.

SAREESA also monitors animal diseases linked to poultry and livestock on a similar basis.

SAREESA has the authority to impose very strict quarantine regulations in order to forestall spread of man or animal borne diseases across borders.

Ensuring Employment Security: SAREESA's Employment opportunities cell

Recognizing that an unbalanced job market regionally could trigger unregulated or uncontrollable migration, SAREESA is also charged with overseeing matters related to employment creation and manpower deployment. The entire regional labour market is linked through SAREESA's interlinked network of national databases that displays job vacancies available according to categories and location as well as data of people available for employment grouped under professional categories. Free movement of labour is permitted across the entire region but on a strictly monitored and regulated basis. SAREESA serves to link up the vacancies with available persons. SAREESA, for the purpose also outsources some of this function to local agencies, but acts as central server to all these agencies, monitoring the exchanges and maintaining vigilance to ensure that no exploitation takes place.

Preparedness against Wildcard events: SAREESA's Environmental Protection Cell

The unpredictability of the weather on account of increasing manifestations of climate change, as well as increasing tectonic movement along sea beds worldwide, particularly in areas of the world established by advanced geophysical science, has displayed tendencies of triggering massive earthquakes, tsunamis, cyclones or extraordinary floods. SAREESA is also tasked with monitoring this on a continuing 24/7/365 basis. For the purpose it is linked up with other similar centres worldwide, as well as oceanic and volcanic monitoring units spread across the adjoining seas of the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

At the first signs of an event occurring or likely to occur, it triggers off a regional warning system that keeps vulnerable populations informed, and evacuates endangered populations where deemed necessary. It also activates across the region emergency related services to go into standby mode.

SAREESA maintains a fund for such emergencies. Moneys for this fund are raised through levying taxes on specific/related activities, like travel, entertainment, retail sales, etc. While the amount of the levy is relatively very small, since it is collected on a daily basis from a wide swath of the population across the entire region, cumulatively it translates into a not inconsiderable amount which is deemed sufficient to cope with an extraordinary emergency in its immediate aftermath.

Participant Biographies

Dipankar Banerjee is a retired Major General of the Indian Army and an eminent defense, foreign policy, and strategic studies expert. He is the Founding Director of the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, a leading independent defense policy, foreign policy and strategic studies think tank based in New Delhi, India. General Banerjee served in the Indian Army for 36 years until his voluntary retirement in 1996. In recognition of his distinguished service to the Indian Army, General Banerjee received the prestigious military honor Ati Vishist Seva Medal (Highly Distinguished Service Medal) from the President of India. General Banerjee has previously served as Deputy Director of the Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, Director of the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, and consultant to the United Nations as well as International Committee of the Red Cross. His areas of interest include South Asian foreign policies and security issues, confidence building measures, Asia-Pacific security with an emphasis on China military policies, nontraditional security, counterterrorism, developments in ASEAN, Indo-U.S. relations, and disarmament to include nuclear weapons elimination. He has published extensively on these subjects in books, periodicals, and journals.

Amal Jayawardane is Executive Director of the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies in Colombo, Sri Lanka. He is Professor at the Department of International Relations at the University of Colombo, Sri Lanka. Previously Dr. Jayawardane served as the Dean of Faculty of Arts at the University of Colombo, Sri Lanka. Dr. Jayawardane has also served as Consultant to the National Integration Programme Unit of the Ministry of Ethnic Affairs and National Integration; Member of the Coordinating Committee, Centre for the Study of Human Rights, University of Colombo; Co-Director, Centre for Policy Studies and Research, University of Colombo; Member of the Board of Directors, Institute of International Studies, Kandy; Member on the Board of Management, Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies and the Sri Lanka Institute of International Relations. During the period 1994-1997, he served as a Member of the Presidential Committee of Inquiry in respect of involuntary removal and disappearances of persons.

Mallika Joseph is presently Director at the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS). She has a PhD from JNU where she worked under the supervision of Professor Amitabh Mattoo on *Interpol* within the context of emerging threats to international security from transnational organized crime. Her areas of interests include security sector reforms, transnational organized crime, international policing, human security, and Left Extremism. In 2009, she received the UK Chevening Fellowship which enabled her to undergo a 12 week training program at the National Policing Improvement Agency at Bramshill, UK on the subject on transnational organized crime. She is member of the Association on Security Sector Education and Training (ASSET), and has been placed on the UN Roster of SSR Experts since 2009. She is also an independent consultant on security sector reforms and has consulted for the DFID, GFN SSR and DCAF.

Roy D. Kamphausen is Senior Associate for Political and Security Affairs (PSA) at The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR). He advises and contributes to NBR research programs on political and security issues in Asia. Mr. Kamphausen previously served as Senior Vice President for Political and Security Affairs and Director of NBR's Washington, D.C., office. Prior to joining NBR, Mr. Kamphausen served as a U.S. Army officer—a career that culminated in an assignment in the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) as Country Director for China-Taiwan-Mongolia Affairs. Prior postings included assignments to The Joint Staff as an intelligence analyst and later as China Branch Chief in the Directorate for Strategic Plans and Policy (J5). A fluent Chinese (Mandarin) linguist and an Army China Foreign Area Officer (FAO), Mr. Kamphausen served two tours at the Defense Attaché Office of the U.S. Embassy in the People's Republic of China. His areas of professional

expertise include China's People's Liberation Army (PLA), U.S.-China defense relations, U.S. defense and security policy toward Asia, and East Asian security issues. Mr. Kamphausen holds a BA in Political Science from Wheaton College and an MA in International Affairs from Columbia University. He studied Chinese at both the Defense Language Institute and Beijing's Capital Normal University. He is a member of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), the Asia Society, and the Council for Security and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP).

Mahin Karim is Senior Associate for Political and Security Affairs (PSA) at The National Bureau of Asian Research. Ms. Karim previously served as Vice President for Political and Security Affairs at NBR. Ms. Karim specializes in the politics and cultures of Muslim societies in Asia. Her areas of interest include transnational terrorism and security, political Islam, and the international relations of South, Southwest, and Central Asia. She has lived and traveled extensively across Asia. She currently serves as research director for NBR's initiative on a "Nontraditional Regional Security Architecture for South Asia" and advises on NBR alternative futures initiatives. Ms. Karim holds an MA in International Studies, with a concentration in Central Asian studies, from the University of Washington's Jackson School of International Studies and a BA in International Relations and Modern Languages, with a minor in Asian studies, from Beloit College, Wisconsin.

Tariq Karim was appointed High Commissioner of Bangladesh to India in July 2009, with the rank and status of a Minister of State in the Bangladesh cabinet. Prior to this appointment he was Vice President and COO of the Bangladesh Enterprise Institute. A career diplomat since 1967, Ambassador Karim opted for early retirement from the Bangladesh Foreign Service in 1998 to return to academia. He joined the University of Maryland initially as Distinguished International Executive in Residence (1999-2000). With his expertise in the structure of government institutions, diplomacy & negotiation, and contemporary Islam, he was Senior Advisor at the Center for Institutional Reforms and the Informal Sector (IRIS) of the University of Maryland (2002-2005). He taught courses on government & politics and International Relations as a member of the Adjunct Faculty at the University of Maryland at College Park, George Washington University in Washington D.C., and the Virginia International University, Fairfax, Virginia. As Bangladesh's Additional Foreign Secretary for the South Asian region (1995-97), Ambassador Karim played a critically important role in finalizing in December 1996 the landmark 30-year Ganges Water Sharing Treaty with India. He was also instrumental in incorporating in the government's agenda the promotion of sub-regional cooperation between Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, and Nepal, as a means of working toward economic development and security for that region. He has served, notably, as Ambassador of Bangladesh to the United States, and earlier as High Commissioner to South Africa, Ambassador to Iran, Deputy Chief of Mission in Beijing, and Deputy High Commissioner in New Delhi. During his current assignment as High Commissioner to India, he has acted as a leading catalyst in qualitatively improving the tone, tenor and substance in Bangladesh-India relations and in forging the architecture of the new cooperative relationship now unfolding between the two countries.

Shivshankar Menon is the present National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of India. Prior to his appointment as NSA, he served as India's Foreign Secretary. A career diplomat, Ambassador Menon has had ambassadorial postings in China and Israel, and served as High Commissioner to Sri Lanka and Pakistan. His last diplomatic posting as India's Ambassador to China was also significant as it marked improvement in Sino-India relations. As Foreign Secretary, Ambassador Menon was instrumental in facilitating the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal.

C. Raja Mohan is an Indian academic, journalist, and foreign policy analyst. He is currently Strategic Affairs Editor for The Indian Express, and a Senior Fellow at the Centre for Policy Research in New Delhi. He has previously served as professor at the S. Rajaratnam School of

International Studies at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore, and professor for South, Central, Southeast Asian and Southwest Pacific Studies at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, in New Delhi. Dr. Mohan was the Henry Alfred Kissinger Scholar in the John W. Kluge Center at the Library of Congress, Washington D.C. during 2009-10. He has a Master's degree in Nuclear Physics and a Ph.D. in International Relations. Dr. Mohan has worked as Diplomatic Editor and Washington Correspondent of The Hindu, and was a member of India's National Security Advisory Board during 1998-2000 and 2004-2006. His recent books include *Crossing the Rubicon: The Shaping of India's Foreign Policy* (2004) and *Impossible Allies: Nuclear India, United States and the Global Order* (2006).

Arun Sahgal, PhD (Retd) is Joint Director, Simulation and Net Assessment, Institute of National Security Studies and Visiting Fellow, Vivekananda Kendra International. He is founder Director of the Office of Net Assessment, Indian Integrated Defence Staff (IDS), created to undertake long-term strategic assessments. Research areas include scenario planning workshops, geopolitical and strategic assessments related to Indian and Asian security. He has been a member of Task Force on Net Assessment and Simulation, under National Security Council and is a resource faculty at premier Indian and international training institutions. He undertakes simulation and net assessment studies for Integrated Defence Staff, National Security Council and National Defence College in addition to international clients.

Farooq Sobhan is a former Bangladeshi career diplomat and civil society leader. During his thirty-five year career in government, Ambassador Sobhan has served in Cairo, Paris, Belgrade and Moscow. Ambassador Sobhan served as Ambassador and Deputy Permanent Representative of Bangladesh to the United Nations in New York, during which time he was elected Chairman of the Group of 77. He also served as High Commissioner of Malaysia, Ambassador to the People's Republic of China, High Commissioner to India, as well as the Foreign Secretary of Bangladesh, the highest ranking diplomat in the country. He also served as the Executive Chairman of the Board of Investment and as Special Envoy of the Prime Minister, with the rank and status of a State Minister. For the past ten years, he has served as the President of the Bangladesh Enterprise Institute, a non-profit independent think-tank in Bangladesh that focuses on private sector development, foreign and economic policy, regional and sub-regional cooperation and security-related issues. He is currently serving on the Boards and Advisory Committees of several organizations both at home and abroad. He has written extensively on foreign policy and international affairs and has edited a large number of publications.

Institutional Background

About NBR

The National Bureau of Asian Research is a nonprofit, nonpartisan research institution dedicated to informing and strengthening policy. Established in 1989, NBR conducts advanced independent research on strategic, political, economic, globalization, health, and energy issues affecting U.S. relations with Asia. Drawing upon an extensive network of the world's leading specialists and leveraging the latest technology, NBR bridges the academic, business, and policy arenas. The institution disseminates its findings through briefings, publications, conferences, Congressional testimony, and email forums, and by collaborating with leading institutions worldwide. NBR also provides exceptional internship opportunities to graduate and undergraduate students for the purpose of attracting and training the next generation of Asia specialists.

WHAT DISTINGUISHES NBR?

NBR's unique structure is extraordinarily efficient and flexible. Rather than maintaining a large in-house research staff and supporting infrastructure, the institution draws upon the best specialists wherever they may be based. NBR cooperates with other top research and educational institutions in North America, Asia, and Europe.

- **Global Expertise.** NBR's unique business model draws upon the best specialists, wherever they may reside, on a region or topic.
- **Collaborative Approach.** NBR regularly collaborates with other top research and educational institutions in North America, Europe, and Asia to ensure the greatest impact.
- **Broad Funding.** NBR research funding comes from a wide variety of foundations, corporations, government, and individuals.
- **Objective Research.** NBR is committed to providing research that adheres to the fundamental principles of integrity, objectivity, and independence.
- **Exclusive Focus.** NBR focuses solely on Asia, including East Asia, Central Asia, South Asia, and Russia.
- **Unique Network.** NBR draws upon an international network of renowned scholars and top level specialists on issues ranging from politics and national security to international trade and technology.

NBR'S RESEARCH

NBR's extensive interdisciplinary research agenda draws upon leading specialists in Asian politics, economics, business, energy, environment, health, and defense. NBR organizes its research around three broad topics: politics and security, economics and trade, and societies and health. Our current research initiatives within these topics include:

- **Politics and Security:** Innovative, forward-looking policy research on a range of issues, including Asian security; Muslim Asia; strategic studies—through NBR's signature *Strategic Asia Program*; energy security; futures studies; and political cultures. NBR's research on politics and security spans the entire

Asia-Pacific region, from Northeast and Southeast Asia through South Asia to Russia and Central Asia.

- **Trade, Economic, and Energy Affairs:** Policy research on the rising economic importance of Asia to the United States and global economy. Specific initiatives focus on issues relating to energy security, the environment, and natural resources; on policy issues affecting innovation; on developments in trade and investment relations, including free trade agreements and other forms of regional economic cooperation; and on the economic trajectories of China, Japan, India, and Southeast Asia.
- **Societies and Health:** NBR's work on health issues is the focus of the *Center for Health and Aging (CHA)*, which organizes the flagship *Pacific Health Summit*, an annual Davos-level meeting that brings together global leaders from science, policy, medicine, and industry to launch a transformation of healthcare based on the early detection and treatment of disease through emerging science and technology.

NBR is committed to leveraging research across the organization in order to provide creative insights on major policy issues. Several cross-cutting research brands within NBR work within and across these broad topics to accomplish this multi-disciplinary approach to research. Three of the Centers bear special mention:

- **John M. Shalikashvili Chair in National Security Studies:** NBR's national security and defense-related projects are coordinated under the *John M. Shalikashvili Chair in National Security Studies*. These projects address challenges and opportunities in the traditional and nontraditional realms, ranging from classical territorial disputes and uncertainty over military modernization programs, to environmental degradation and human insecurity—all with a particular focus on the implications for U.S. interests in the region. The Chair was endowed by NBR to honor General Shalikashvili, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, for his thirty-nine years of service to the United States as well as for his leadership on the NBR Board of Directors and role as Senior Advisor to NBR's Strategic Asia Program. The Chair seeks to inform, strengthen, and shape the understanding of U.S. policymakers on critical current and long-term national security issues related to the Asia-Pacific.
- **Pyle Center for Northeast Asian Studies:** NBR's longest-standing research program, the Pyle Center integrates the organization's Northeast Asia-oriented projects and focuses on the region's security, political, and economic dynamics.
- **National Asia Research Program (NARP):** Launched in 2010 in partnership with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the National Asia Research Program is a major national research and conference program designed to reinvigorate and promote the policy-relevant study of Asia. The NARP includes a class of 39 National Asia Research Associates and Fellows

working on a range of national security and other policy issues in Asia that effect the United States.

NBR PUBLICATIONS AND OUTREACH

NBR's publications, online services, and outreach programs are the portal through which the organization brings its research and analysis to policymakers. Our work in these areas includes:

- **Publications:** NBR publishes a peer-reviewed scholarly journal *Asia Policy*, the annual *Strategic Asia* volume, and the *NBR Analysis* periodical, as well as special reports, conference reports, and other papers. NBR often partners with academic and commercial publishers on scholarly book projects.
- **Online Services:** NBR's flexible, cutting-edge website—an Asia policy portal—positions the organization to become the internet “hub” for expertise, analysis, and opinion on Asia policy issues and serves the needs of NBR's core constituencies.
- **Congressional Outreach:** NBR uses a relationally-intensive approach as it reaches out to members of Congress and staff, for whom we provide regular briefings and research findings. Specialists working on NBR projects often provide Congressional testimony, and we organize regular briefings with our network of experts for key groups and committees within Congress.

About NBR “Alternative Futures”

NBR employs a number of innovative approaches in research design, methodology, and delivery with a particular goal to provide, to the extent possible, a unique “outside the beltway” and “inside the Asia-Pacific” perspective on issues of key importance to U.S. interests in Asia.

Building on NBR’s expertise in scenario-based analyses, NBR’s Alternative Futures models explore potential trajectories of emerging trends in Asia and address the implications for the United States. NBR has engaged in several projects designed to provide strategic value to organizations interested in exploring future scenarios.

Scenario analysis is not an attempt to predict or forecast the future. Rather, it considers multiple, equally plausible futures based on different assumptions about the forces driving outcomes and takes account of a variety of different uncertainties. Scenario analysis is ultimately an exercise in learning—it provides opportunities to rethink, reinvent, and broaden the scope of possibilities under consideration in a collective, mutually reinforcing environment. Moreover, in several previous projects using alternative futures, the ability to think in a context freed of the sometimes intractable contemporaneous policy challenges often has a liberating effect which carries over when scholars return to discussing challenges of the day. A number of NBR projects have successfully implemented this process to inform policy debate.

NBR primarily employs two models of scenario analyses for “Alternative Future” projects:

ALTERNATIVE FUTURES MODEL I: BACK STORY—PATHWAYS TO PLAUSIBLE FUTURES

This model sketches out a range of plausible future scenarios and requires participants to trace pathways from the present to each of the future scenarios identifying the trends, drivers, signposts, and wild cards that would lead to the outcome. This approach first jumps ahead into the future and examines the circumstances that would lead to each future scenario. Participants then walk backward from each future scenario to present-day conditions in an effort to enhance understanding of the multiple variables that could lead to each particular outcome.

Example: China 2020 Future Scenarios (2006)

In 2006 NBR organized a project that brought together scholars and conference participants in an exercise that used scholarly concepts and rigorous academic methodology to assist policymakers by 1) offering alternative scenarios for developments in China’s foreign policy, domestic politics, economics, and society; and 2) deriving from these scenarios possible future outcomes, or “futures” for the PRC roughly fifteen years down the road. The main task of this scenario-mapping exercise was not to compare and contrast the likelihood of any of these particular outcomes but rather to help inform decision-makers of aspects of the Chinese system that merit monitoring.

The initiative created an exclusive salon-like environment in which NGO leaders collaborated with representatives from the academic, corporate, and policymaking

communities to examine plausible paths toward China's future. More than merely educating participants about current and future issues in China, the workshop introduced tools for trend analysis that will enhance their organizations' strategic planning processes.

First, NBR assigned focused research responsibilities to four leading U.S.-based China scholars to fully support three alternative futures in an assigned dimension (foreign/security policy, economics/trade/finance, socio-cultural, and domestic politics). The specialists were asked to fully support each alternative future (without demonstrating a preference among them). The experts presented findings to the workshop participants in a panel-like setting. Following the presentations, NBR outlined four coherent and plausible comprehensive future scenarios using elements of the scholarly presentations and facilitated small break-out group discussions. Participants then assessed how the particular futures evolved by identifying the trends, drivers, and signposts for each scenario and recording them on scenario matrices. Finally, workshop participants conducted individual group read-outs to plenary for collective learning.

ALTERNATIVE FUTURES MODEL II: JUMPING AHEAD— IMPLICATIONS OF A HYPOTHETICAL FUTURE

This model assumes a hypothetical future scenario and requires participants to analyze various implications of that given future on several dimensions. The model sheds light on today's circumstances by evaluating the costs and benefits of a plausible, but significantly different, future scenario. This approach does not address how a given future scenario unfolds.

Example 1: A North Korean “Bold Switchover” (2006)

NBR conducted a nine-month project, which resulted in an international conference, eight conference papers, one published final project report, and a Special Roundtable in *Asia Policy* (2006). The initiative was led by project Principal Investigator Dr. Nicholas Eberstadt (research fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and Senior Advisor to NBR) and culminated in a conference in Beijing on January 18–19, 2006. The project analyzed the potential domestic and regional economic benefits that would emerge from a hypothetical North Korean “bold switchover” in security policy, employing NBR's *Jumping Ahead: Implications of a Hypothetical Future* approach. Conference participants—representatives from the United States, ROK, Japan, Russia, and China—examined the ways in which a hypothetical relaxation of North Korea's security posture would affect regional trade, investment, output, and employment for the regional economy.

Example 2: The World without the U.S.-ROK Alliance—Thinking about “Alternative Futures” (2007)

NBR conducted a one-year project designed to examine the value of the U.S.-ROK alliance by conducting an “alternative futures” exercise (utilizing the *Jumping Ahead: Implications of a Hypothetical Future* approach) in which participants assumed a future in which the U.S.-ROK alliance ceased to exist.

No longer supported by the same shared sense of purpose that characterized it in earlier decades, the alliance today appears to be heading into a more unhealthy and

uncertain middle age. Despite this deterioration, there has been remarkably little serious thought given in either country to what the region would look like if the alliance ceased to exist, or what elements of it must be maintained to safeguard mutual Korean and American interests.

Participants were not asked to describe how this circumstance could develop, but rather, to analyze various components of the bilateral relationship between the U.S. and ROK as well as other regional dynamics that would be affected by such a development. The participants discovered that removing this one variable had profound implications for a wide range of issues, including the South's relationship with the North, South Korea's position in the East Asian region, and even South Korea's prospects for security and economic growth. One of the objectives of this exercise was to revisit the present dilemmas of the alliance by seriously contemplating this alternative future with new and enriched perspectives on the benefits and costs of this relationship for stakeholders in South Korea, the U.S., and greater Northeast Asia.

ALTERNATIVE FUTURES: COMBINATION OF MODEL I AND MODEL II

NBR has also applied both models of alternative futures—i.e., *Pathways to Plausible Futures* and *Jumping Ahead: Implications of a Hypothetical Future*—to particular projects.

Example: Managing Unmet Expectations: The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance (2009)

Recognizing the rapidly evolving security environment in Asia and the emergence of new challenges, NBR assembled a team to critically explore the U.S.-Japan security alliance and the expectations each partner has for its continued relevance and its ability to withstand potential future crises. The project leveraged NBR's experience conducting alternative futures scenarios approaches.

The project was conducted over a one year period and was conducted in three distinct phases. In the first phase, the project's principal investigator and a core team of Japan and Northeast Asia security experts utilized the NBR-developed *Pathways to Plausible Futures* approach to fully develop a range of plausible future paths that could potentially deliver the alliance to a crisis of confidence. This approach first jumped ahead into the future and examined the circumstances that would lead to each future scenario. The participants then worked backward from each scenario to present-day conditions in an effort to enhance understanding of the multiple variables that could lead to each particular outcome.

In the second phase, NBR convened a U.S.-only workshop that included broad participation from regional security specialists as well as the policy community in order to gain insight into the U.S. government perspective on the issues being examined. This workshop in part utilized another NBR-developed approach, *Jumping Ahead: Implications of a Hypothetical Future*, which began from the point of the assumed hypothetical crisis points developed in the core group meeting and required participants to analyze various implications of the given future on several alliance dimensions and from the perspective of both allies. This approach specifically did not address how the given future unfolds but, rather, attempted to shed light on today's

circumstances by evaluating the costs and benefits of individual and allied reactions to the future scenarios.

In the third phase, the principal investigator and select core group members convened a joint workshop involving Japanese academics and officials in which the findings from the earlier U.S.-only workshop were presented and discussed in order to solicit Japanese reactions and input. This followed a method and format similar to but not exactly the same as the expanded U.S.-only workshop. Because this project was examining the alliance in a manner that could be sensitive to some Japanese academics and officials, the principal investigator and a senior advisor travelled to Japan prior to the workshop to lay the intellectual foundation and familiarize key Japanese participants to the initiative's methodology.

The project sought to catalyze a wider debate, particularly among the next generation of alliance managers, which would cut through conventional wisdom and emotion to achieve a critical analysis of the costs and benefits of the alliance based on shared interests.

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NBR looks forward to continued collaboration with all of these individuals and institutions as it further develops and disseminates the research presented at this workshop.

THE NATIONAL BUREAU *of* ASIAN RESEARCH
1414 NE 42nd Street, Suite 300
Seattle, WA 98105
USA
Phone: 206-632-7370
Fax: 206-632-7487
Email: nbr@nbr.org

INSTITUTE OF PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES
B-7/3 Safdarjung Enclave
New Delhi 110029
India
Phone: 91-11-4100 1900; 4165 2556-59
Fax: 91-11-4165 2560
Email: officemail@ipcs.org

