Organised by the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), in collaboration with Hanns Siedal Stiftung

A Report of the dialogue in New Delhi on 03-04 March, 2014
GERMANY-INDIA-BRAZIL-SOUTH AFRICA (GIBSA) QUADRILLOGUE – 03-04 March 2014

IPCS in collaboration with the Institute for International and Security Affairs (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, SWP), Berlin; Centro de Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais (CEBRI), Rio de Janeiro; and the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), Pretoria organised a two day Quadrilogue on 03-04 March 2014. The conference was supported by Hanns Seidel Foundation (HSF). The Quadrilogue was divided into four sessions on the theme ‘Af-Pak, Global Economy and Maritime Security’.

In the first session there was discussion on the future of Afghanistan, the withdrawal of the American forces and the larger implications for the region. The questions ranged from the Bilateral Security Arrangement and the power struggles of the numerous extremist factions in the area and the bringing the Taliban into the talks.

The second session took shape from the debates on the global recession and the slowdown of growth momentum in the emerging economies and ways and means to bring back growth trajectory.

The third session held in collaboration with the National Maritime Foundation explored the traditional and non-traditional threats arising at the maritime bordering nations. The panelists also shed light on the need to strengthen the UNCLOS and other multilateral governing bodies. The discussant spoke about the fallacy of ADIZ and gave a proposal for a common charter for the governance of the commons and tackling of sea piracy and militancy.

The final session of the dialogue was a Round Table Conference in collaboration with the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. There was consensus on the need for a more inclusive United Nations Security Council, which is in tune with the changing global scenario. They concluded with the note that GIBSA should evolve a structure that takes up more issues of strategic interests and convergence and become a veritable platform for debating concerns of national and global significance.

Report Edited by Teshu Singh
Rappourtered by Shreya Upadhyay and Vivek Mishra
Formatted by Kuhan Madan and Amit Saksena
Programme:

Inaugural Session

Introduction & Initial Remarks:
Dr. D. Suba Chandran, Dr. Susanne Luther, Amb. Luiz Augusto de Castro Neves, Prof. Dr. Volker Perthes, Amb. Salman Haidar and Dr. Paul-Simon Handy

I
Beyond Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran: The Regional Security

Chairpersons: Amb. Marcos Azambuja and Amb. TCA Rangachari
Panelists:
Cmde. Uday Bhaskar
Dr. Christian Wagner
Mr. Jeffrey Sehume
Discussants: Dr. Lars Brozus and Mr. Arvind Gupta

II
Global Economy: Addressing the Challenges

Chairpersons: Professor Dr. Hans-Peter Keitel and Major General Dipankar Banerjee
Panelists:
Dr. Stormy-Annika Mildner
Ms. Kasturie Maharaj
Dr. Rajath Kathuria
Discussants: Dr. Leonardo Paz Neves and Dr. Akshay Mathur

III
Maritime Security and Protection of Sea lanes Communication
(In Collaboration with National Maritime Foundation)

Chairpersons: Adm. Pradeep Kaushiva and Amb. Luiz Augusto de Castro Neves
Panelists:
Prof. Dr. Volker Perthes
Dr. Paul-Simon Handy
Vice Adm. Vijay Shankar
Cmde. Sujeet Samaddar
Discussant: Vice Adm. AK Singh

IV
Round Table Discussion, GIBSA: Perspectives on Emerging Forms of International Cooperation
(In collaboration with the SIS, Jawaharlal Nehru University)

Prof. Ummu Salma Bava
Prof. Varun Sahni
Prof. Ajay Dubey
Amb. Marcos Azambuja
Prof. Dr Volker Perthes Dr. Paul-Simon Handy
Major Recommendations

- Although we should strive but we should not expect all the problems to disappear from this region, particularly because, when we look at the four sides of this region; east, west, north and south, all we see is uncertainty.
- Developments in the Af-Pak region are of importance to Asia and therefore it is only pertinent that the current GIBSA theme deals with it.
- As the world economy is recovering, the GIBSA countries should focus on this recovery in a more cooperative manner between themselves. This initiative is still to take off.
- Most of the world trade takes place in the form of maritime trade and therefore there is a need to make it secure. GIBSA as a group can come together to talk on maritime security and freedom of navigation in the concerned areas.
- There is immense amount of uncertainty facing the region in the likely event of a US troop pull-out from Afghanistan. This uncertainty in the Af-Pak region can be looked at within a spatial and a temporal dimension.
- With the changed security situations in Asia, the rise of Asia and the constant flux, Asia has become inevitable in the global security dialogue.
- There is an immense sense of uncertainty in what lies ahead for the region comprising Afghanistan and Pakistan. This concept of uncertainty incorporates a mix of challenges. But beyond the uncertainty we also have opportunities in the “beyond” situation. A very complex metaphorical “churning” is taking place in the region at concern. These churnings are bringing about many transformations. India should be prepared for these uncertainties.
- Two kinds of transition in Afghanistan are possible; formal and informal. A formal transition will involve the US troop pullout and an informal process will result in Afghanistan’s neighbours taking the responsibility of its security.
- We need a more “informed assessment” about the region and the developments in the region.
- Any pursuit of harmony in Afghanistan-Pakistan has to harmonize
Dr. Susanne Luther, Director, Hanns-Siedel-Stiftung (HSS), Munich, Germany

Special thanks to the organizers and to so many experts present in the GIBSA quadrilogue being hosted by New Delhi. Thanks to ISS Pretoria, IPCS and the HSS foundation for organizing the GIBSA 2014. A positive outcome in the final round of the second leg of the GIBSA dialogue is hoped. Each of the participant countries would present their perspectives on regional and international issues over the two day deliberation. GIBSA “complements and supplements” the regional and international issues of global international relations discourse.

Even as the world economy is recovering; GIBSA as a group needs to focus on the recovery in a more cooperative and sustained manner. The issue of maritime security and international Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC) is very important for a forum like this, as most of the world trade takes place in the form of maritime trade and therefore there is a need to make it secure. GIBSA’s discussions should involve this issue.

The developments in the Af-Pak region are of importance to Asia and therefore it is only pertinent that the current GIBSA theme deals with it. It was pointed out that there is immense amount of uncertainty facing the region in the likely event of a US troop pull-out from Afghanistan in 2014. This region is also faced with the implications of Iran’s nuclear conundrum. Discussions involving the Af-Pak region should discuss the role of Pakistan in regional security as having vital importance.

Old powers have not lost their importance but new powers are coming up and they need to be accommodated on the global high table. It is in this transition of the small powers and developing countries to the global high table, that an organization like GIBSA will/should play a role.

Amb. Luiz Augusto de Castro Neves, Chairman, Centro de Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais (CEBRI), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

GIBSA is a very important platform for the participant countries to exchange views. Protection of sea lanes and international trade is a very important point for discussion. Brazil’s acceptance as part of the globalised world is very important. GIBSA as a forum provides yet another
opportunity to Brazil, as it does to other countries of the group.

The unification of Germany and the breakdown of Soviet Union have been the two defining events of world history that have shaped great power relations in the post-Cold War period. The world has changed since it faced unipolarity ensuing from the American dominance. There has been a change in the world politics, particularly after the 9/11 attacks which has proved things to the contrary of the theory of the “end of history” propounded by Francis Fukuyama. In fact, now the world faces multiple histories and interpretations of them.

The global economy has been marked by international cooperation and new forms of organizations like the GIBSA should foster cooperation among themselves, particularly of economic nature.

The two day discussion under the GIBSA forum could add a number of other international issues like problems in Syria and Ukraine. The international security issues are much more complex in the present times. In the example of Ukraine the adverse impacts of internal security can be seen. In the current international situation, the strained China-Japan relations also add to the complexity. Present China-Japan conflict and the intense contestation between them give justification to the US presence in that part of Asia.

Brazil was very inward looking country & economy, not too far in history. But as part of the globalised world it had to shed its erstwhile approaches to global economy and global cooperation.

If GIBSA is to become part of the globalised world we have to deal with such challenges.

Prof. Dr. Volker Perthes, Executive Chairman and Director, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Germany

The second cycle of the GIBSA dialogue gets complete with the Delhi edition of this dialogue. When the GIBSA dialogue started 8 years back all the members promised to help each other and one should be glad that it has continued that way.

It was initially felt that the G-8 would not be sufficient to address all the challenges and therefore the four countries comprising the GIBSA thought that they could form a different platform to address the global and regional challenges specific to these countries. It was after this that GIBSA was formed and the countries comprising the forum met from time to time to discuss not only regional but global issues of relevance.

All the four countries comprising the GIBSA have different size, population and interests. There are many commonalities between these four countries; all the four countries are democracies, they believe in the protection and upholding of human rights, peaceful
change of governments etc. It is only appropriate that we are discussing Af-Pak issues and maritime security. Both these topics are as relevant as important for the four countries concerned in the GIBSA forum.

Why is GIBSA comprised of these four countries? Because there were certain commonalities between these countries and they share some basic ideas for peaceful resolutions of conflict. The countries have to strike some valuable coordination among themselves. In this regard Germany’s coordination and cooperation with the group is assured.

GIBSA countries should open up their economies. There is a concert of nations that is keeping the world in harmony. GIBSA should try and be a part of this group. It is important that countries like these should get together. The geometry of this group should be left open; thus it should have a variable geometry.

Amb. Salman Haidar, Former Foreign Secretary, Government of India and President, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), New Delhi

It should be put in perspective as to why the GIBSA meet is being held. With changed security situations in Asia, the rise of Asia and the constant flux, Asia has become inevitable in the global security dialogue. Over time the forces determining Asia’s security have changed and the spectrum has widened.

However the caution is that the political issues in Asia are not to be set aside when regional security and prosperity of the region are being talked about. For this think-tanks could come together and put in their contributions to work in parallel. This can add much more value to track-two initiatives like GIBSA. The progressive evolution of the role of foundations and think tanks in taking multilateral agenda forward should be lauded.

One of the essential topics of discussion vis-à-vis Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran is the issue of global security. On the issue of security in this region all the members of GIBSA converge. As a group GIBSA’s canvass cannot be too narrow if the issues concerned with these countries are to be incorporated. As a group GIBSA should increase its outreach to be able to include inputs from others.

There is hope that the discussions over the two days will serve the larger purpose of addressing regional security concerns.
Dr. Paul-Simon Handy, Head, Conflict Prevention and Risk Analysis Division, Institute of Security Studies (ISS), South Africa

GIBSA quadrilogue started eight years ago but it seems like a small span of time seem like a very small time. Eventually, the dialogue has come a long way. The member countries have to be congratulated for having sustained and carried forward this initiative and the dialogue. The GIBSA gathering should think of some form that we would like for our dialogue and locate the issues of our common interests.

The global economy is changing and so are security situations of the region concerned. GIBSA members should try and make sense of the changes ahead through the exchange of views and common understanding.
**Beyond Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran: Implications for Regional Security**

In this session it was almost a consensus that it will be impossible to cover all the countries mentioned: Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran

**Chairpersons:** Amb. Marcos Azambuja and Amb. TCA Rangachari

**Panelists:**

**Cmd. Uday Bhaskar, Member, Executive Committee, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies**

The GIBSA group represents an amalgam of interests of different countries. The question what lies beyond Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran should be probed?

The one word which answered the question what lay beyond the Af-Pak and Iran conundrums was ‘uncertainty.’ This concept of uncertainty incorporates a mix of challenges. But beyond the uncertainty there are some opportunities too. A very complex metaphorical “churning” is taking place in the region of concern. These churnings are bringing about many transformations in the Af-Pak region. And the global dynamic has been mediated by this churning.

Globalization is an old process and not a new one. Hannibal’s crossing the Alps was a process of Globalisation. In this era, the pace of change is as important as the change itself.

How should one approach Iran or the Af-Pak question? For this, one should use a spatial dimension and a temporal dimension to view the region. A fitting spatial dimension to study these countries would be South Asia itself and the temporal dimension can be located to the year 2014 and the US troop drawdown.

Drawing an analogy and exemplifying the temporal dimension a hypothetical temporal dimension would be as following:

X – Time
Y – Space
Z – An equivalent of a dynamic that is changing both time and space.
The Af-Pak region has a high density of population. With the X-axis representing the demography of this region the change in the X-axis will represent the change in the demographics. A notion of ‘change’ is associated with the demography of this region. There are four directions that can be associated with this region. Towards the west of this region there is West Asia which has its problems emanating from the ‘political Islam.’ In the north of the Af-Pak region there is the Central Asia. In Central Asia too there is a lot of disturbance. In the east of the Af-Pak region there is India where there is a lot of uncertainty due to the coming elections this year. Further east, lies Bangladesh, which has had to see a very turbulent electoral process recently. Further east we have Myanmar and Thailand with their own set of problems, and in the south we have the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). With very complex issues involving Maldives and Sri Lanka and China, in all the directions to the region under discussion we see a common situation shrouded in uncertainty.

Other countries contiguous to this region, like China, have their own priorities that are domestic. The example of the Dalai Lama and Kunming was given to highlight China’s problems. In the relevance of external countries to this region, Russia’s role will be important too.

Highlighting the changed nature of the state it should be pointed out that in the last 15 years there has been a transformation of the State. In the post-Cold War we are seeing a dilution of the efficacy of the State.

The conclusion on a solution for this region GIBSA needs to do a more informed assessment about the region in consideration. And any pursuit of security in this region has to harmonize. The challenge for GIBSA as a group is exactly here, to reach a consensus. The pursuit to manage these challenges in the most equitable manner is an opportunity in itself. Countries should not get affected by the King Alfred’s syndrome.

Pakistan is a strategic area for China. In China there are four specific think-tanks dedicated only to Pakistan which should explain the importance of Pakistan for China. In Afghanistan- Pakistan there is an intrinsic South Asian character that permeates. We have to make the discourse about the Af-Pak region more malleable. The role of think-tanks is to irrigate the discourse about the Af-Pak region; the actors of this region have to take the onus for this.
Pakistan has a very strong state and a weak sense of nationhood and Afghanistan has a very strong sense of nationhood but a weak state. The spectrum of international leverage of India in Afghanistan is expanding. India should use its considerable leverage with the Afghan elite. The demography of Afghanistan and the Afghan populace that has educational links to India should be tapped. For resolving the problems of the Af-Pak, Iran region, concurrence should be the order of the day.

Dr. Kristian Wanger, Head, Asia Division, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Germany

There are more troubles for Afghanistan ahead. When we talk about regional security there are two possible transitions we can talk about;

- A formal transition (the US pullout from Afghanistan)
- Informal (we hand the Afghan problems to neighbours)

Regarding the formal transition the long term development in Afghanistan will depend on two developments within the region; the Presidential Elections which are coming up in Afghanistan and on the nature of continuing military presence in Afghanistan. However the regional actors are likely to face problems in the peace process with the Taliban and that any compromise on the issue of human rights will lead to frustration in the West.

In relation to the second transition (Informal) the informal transition will put a lot of responsibility on the neighbouring countries of Afghanistan, including India and that the neighbours of Afghanistan are not in a position to handle either Pakistan’s Afghanistan’s problems. Finally, Afghanistan’s new policy is no interference.

In relation to Pakistan; will there be a coherent Pak policy for Afghanistan? It has to be asserted that in Pakistan there is a silver lining in the government led by PM Nawaz Sharif. The recent military strikes against the Taliban shows Pakistan’s commitment and in the near future we may see a further hardening of stance by the Pakistan government, especially in North Waziristan.

In Afghanistan we are seeing further troubled relationship between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The recent killings of 26 members of Pak Frontier Corps by Taliban militants
which took place in Afghanistan is the most burning example. This has driven the wedge further between their bilateral relations.

There are other problems too. Since many years we are seeing ethnic conflicts between Shia and Sunni. Afghanistan’s relations with Iran have become different over Iran’s pipeline. Saudi Arabia-Iran rivalry is going to impact on Pakistan Saudi relations (we saw a glimpse of that in 1990). Thus, we still have neighbours that have different interests

As far as the consequences for Europe are concerned, Europe has a long term interest in the Af-Pak area. It has to focus on the Middle-East (particularly on energy and terrorism) and Africa. For the region’s neighbouring countries like India there are more troubles ahead. India should prepare itself with the answers for such troubles.

Mr. Jeffrey Schume, Senior Researcher, Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (MISTRA), Johannesburg, South Africa

To speak on regional security is to wade through difficult waters because whatever is done in this region will have consequences for the entire world.

Among some of the positive developments that have taken place in this region in the last two years, Iran’s new President who is more flexible than his predecessor, stands out. This was a positive development for the region. The second development that stood out was that Pakistan elected a new PM. As the third important development, Afghanistan’s forthcoming elections carried importance.

Three other issues Flagged by Dr. Sehume

1st Issue: What sustains conflict in this region?

Regional insecurity has increased since 9/11 and the Arab Spring. The Af-Pak region has become the centre for terrorism and insurgency. Given the acts of acts of violence, what we have is a situation which does not differentiate between political and criminal violence. Religious difference is the cause of violence in this region.

Is there a direct link of causality or is there an ideological link between terrorist groups of this region and terrorist groups operating in other parts like Boko Haram in Africa?

Whether a model like South Africa would be applicable to this region is very difficult to predict. But something like the convention for a democratic South Africa should be applied to this region as well.

2nd issue: What can we do to arrest violence in Afghanistan?

Culture has replaced ideology in present times, especially in this region. In so far as the Afghan security is concerned; 2014 troop pullout by the West will create a security
vacuum in the region. Afghanistan has distrust in foreign powers. This will play a role in shaping the security situation in Afghanistan post-pullout. He further added that Afghanistan’s Structural Violence emanates from unequal distribution of power and hence unequal opportunity. Instability and violence are correlated. So long as we fail to address this issue, the region will continue to be disturbed. Proxy wars in the region benefits the military-industrial complex.

3rd Issue: How can Iran be brought back in the fold?

The P5+Germany is trying to get Iran into its fold. With H. Ruhani at the helm there is a balance of Realism in Iranian policy which focuses on mutual confidence building measures with its neighbours.

Iran has realized that it is an interdependent world and that no country can solve its problems on its own and that negotiations are the only way forward. The alternative to negotiations is another nuclear build up by Iran which will not be in the interest of the international community and a peaceful West Asia.

If Afghanistan is pushed to the brink, it can hit back, just as Iran can so the best way forward would be to consider negotiations. It is because of the same negotiations that the Taliban has declared a month long ceasefire.

Diplomacy and democracy are the alternatives for Iran. Conflict Resolution and reconciliation in South Africa can be used to solve Afghanistan’s problems.

Discussants:

Mr. Arvind Gupta, Director General, Institute of Defense and Strategic Analysis (IDSA), India

The question: is there a link between Ukraine and Afghanistan needs to be probed. In both the conflicts Russia is the common factor. The 1979 Russian invasion of Afghanistan was followed by civil-war and terrorism and eventually many actors got involved. In the Georgian conflict we saw a coming together of Russia and China. Ukraine too looks poise for a similar situation.

Another question is: if we are to have an informed assessment of the Af-Pak region, what methodology should we adopt. In conclusion, today’s conflict do not have many solutions, they can at best be only managed.

Dr. Christian Wagner

The point about formal and informal transition in Afghanistan discussed earlier was a very important point made. Afghanistan will be its neighbours’ problem. The Chinese role
In Afghanistan post-2014 is very important. Whole Chinese trajectory might get affected if the security situation does not improve in the Af-Pak region.

There is going to be a decline in the European/US interests in Afghanistan. If the security situation in Afghanistan worsens, most of the initiatives taken will be thrown out of gear.

With regard to the issue of ‘churning’; who has the reins of this churning process? There are no institutions left which looks in control.

Dr. Lars Brozus, Senior Researcher, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Germany

Four themes vis-à-vis the Af-Pak-Iran region need attention;

(a) Uncertainty  
(b) War troubles ahead  
(c) The butterfly effect  
(d) Rise of identity politics

If one looks at all these themes, the future of regional security looks bleak. Particularly, the last factor; the rise of identity politics, has been an intrinsic character of the region comprising Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan.

The question; what is the European reaction to what is happening right now, is also very important, Europe feels that there is going to be a power vacuum in Afghanistan but is not sure about who is going to fill this power vacuum.

Another question that was raised was what GIBSA, as a collective, should do to solve the problem of Afghanistan? GIBSA has a lot to offer and the countries in GIBSA should offer some solution to the Af-Pak/Iran region.

Prof. Dr. Volker Perethes

We can predict demographic trends of region. The task for think tanks is to find out and locate important people who are going to play an important role in the next 30-40 years.

Prof. P.R. Chari

One is not certain that the US will leave Afghanistan completely. Iran is not giving up its nuclear weapons completely. At least Iran has agreed to talks with the international community, North Korea has not done so.

Amb. Salman Haidar

The role Afghanistan’s neighbours, including India, will be enlarged in the coming times. Even if the governments may not be willing to speak, think tanks should take the initiative. He further said that such informal processes should be encouraged.
Amb. Eric Gonsalves

The neighbors of the Af-Pak region can do a better job than outsiders. So far outsiders have been involved in this region and we have seen the result. The example of Kampuchea was cited to justify the point made earlier. The solution of the Kampuchean problem came out of ASEAN and not outside players. The clout of the West has diminished.

Lt. Gen. A.S. Lamba

Whenever a region gets redefined, old problems persist. There was a redefinition when the region was called Af-pak. If this region’s problems are to be solved, it will be through the identification of a focal point in the region. If one starting point can be identified for the resolution of the region’s problems, Pakistan has to be that focal point of this region.

Brig. Sahgal

Within Afghanistan there is an attempt to bring in more players for collective security. Within Afghanistan alone, there are 1400 movements. These movements in Afghanistan want to take the onus of Afghanistan’s security. There even is instigation for the local populace to get involved in the whole process. The narrative of Pakistan is changing.
Global Economy: Addressing the Challenges

Chairpersons: Major Gen. Dipankar Banerjee and Prof. Dr. Hans-Peter Keitel

Prof. Dr. Hans-Peter Keitel, President, Board of Trustees, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Germany

Over the past few years, Europe has gone through a major economic crisis and this has hurt the European countries and their economies more than anything else. An economic crisis of this magnitude had never struck Europe. As a result of this crisis, predicting its future for Europe looked extremely difficult. As much as it was a challenge, there were real opportunities for the Europeans in the economic crisis, as well. In this regard, the first question that is worth asking is, whether the Europeans grasped the new opportunities after the crisis as and when they came by? The second question is whether Europe is progressing to address the challenges successfully after the crisis? The answer to these questions, from the angle of an individual company, is ‘Yes’. The European economy has grown considerably for the last year. But the question in this context is that how far economy itself does contribute to the stability and to the welfare of the states and the society? Have Europeans progressed in the last five years? And, to these there are a few positive answers. For example, one very important concern for an economy facing downturn is to stabilize economic development. Financial reforms in Europe are identified as a necessity for it to take the economy in a positive direction. The first gatherings of G-8 and G-20 seemed to have a very positive response.

The London Meeting of the G-20 was among the most productive meetings we had. If the financial markets in Europe are to be looked at, there have been and there will be regulations for the banks when it comes to financing but more importantly European countries will cut more stability because of more equity on balance sheet. So, there is some positive development in retrospect.

When it comes to the BRICS states, despite of lot of positive trends there are a few incidents which are just erasing the efforts of years and decades. BRICS was not able to sign an agreement like the DOHA agreement in past five years. Germany looks at this as there is less integration, less discipline, unfortunately no less bureaucracy and no less corruption.

The underlying trend in Africa is very positive, not saying for individual country but for the whole Africa.
Europe is moving from urgency-driven risk management to more collaborative efforts to strengthen the self-reliance for the benefit of the global society. This is an important issue because any country could be facing the two different risks or challenges: short-term challenges and long-term challenges.

Short Term developments

1. Slow recovery
2. Fiscal crises
3. Unemployment/Income disparity
4. Inequality
5. Exchange of rate movements
6. Rising Protectionism

Europe is doing pretty well and moving out of the crisis now. Europe has withstood the crisis well. Getting the global economy back on its track by addressing the short term challenges (with regard of problems facing the global economy which are difficult to address) has been a challenging task. After the recession, with economic dip, worldwide cost-reductions have been seen. The IMF report says that the global GDP growth in 2013 was 3.0%, and that in 2014 it will be 3.7%. Slowly, the global economy is moving out of the second double dip. The IMF is predicting a global increase of world trade growth, 2.7% in 2013 and 4.5% in 2014. The global economy and the global trade have picked up in recent months but the road to recovery is bumpy. Before the financial crisis in Europe the average growth rate was 6%. However, the growth engines for the growth for this year and the next year are not expected to be the emerging economies but the US, the UK and Japan.

Japan is engaging in an economic program with an extensive monetary policy which has resulted in problems like increase in its inflation and decrease of imports. And, it is not clear whether it would really lead to a long term global economic growth of Japan. In the OECD countries, the growth trend is high for instance, in the Unites States. There are problems in growth trend for China, Brazil and India where the trends are below average. Those countries which have been the growth engines in the recent past might not be working as growth engines for future.

With regard to fiscal crisis, the general government debt of a country is measured as a percentage of the GDP. In the US it accounts above 100-105% of the GDP. It is very high in France, the UK, and Germany as well. For Brazil, South Africa and China, the debt is less.
What are the problems causing high indebtedness? One reason is the unproductive use of capital. On the top of this the indebtedness is taking out the credit from the market and pushing up the interest rates. It pushes the private capital which affects public demand and public investment. With regard to unemployment or income disparity, the high structural unemployment can be seen in many European countries especially in US, France and South Africa. And, depriving the next generation of the opportunities to join the job market creates all sorts of long term challenges. High youth unemployment rate of minority can be seen in South Africa, France and the US.

Regarding the inequality, Gini Co-efficient can be seen; the higher the Gini Co-efficient, the higher the inequality. The countries in the ascending order with Gini Co-efficient: South Africa, Brazil, China, US and UK. The debate whether inequality is good or bad for economic growth has been a long one, particularly because sometimes high income inequality can actually push forward people move from lower income groups to higher income groups. There has also been evidence that higher income inequality also leads to social unrest and political instability in many regions of the world. In so far as exchange rates are concerned, there is an expectation that the US is going to tighten its monetary policy. As the US currency depreciated, it also meant that its current account deficit would worsen and import would become more expensive. A parallel can be found in the 1980s. With regard to protectionism, over the last decades, the world has become more open than it was before measured tariff barriers and non-tariff barriers set in. Having census, there is murky protectionism behind the poorer protectionism, using trade remedies.

Longer term challenges and risks

Water crisis:

The Davos Economic Forum carries the highest concern. The OECD estimates that the global water capacity will reduce by 55% by 2050. The reason for today’s mounting water scarcity problem, both on the demand and supply sides, has to do with growing
population, modernization of society and industrialization. The other reasons are water mismanagement and bad infrastructure.

Climate change:

Extreme weather conditions, rising temp, insufficient rain, rising urbanization, increasing population density and insufficient infrastructure have a bearing. Bad weather events are also because of mismanagement.

Food crisis:

In 2013, the world was reported to be inhabited by 8.5 billion people among whom hunger was still prevailed. Some of the main regions include South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa where 842 million people are hungry; this constitutes 12% of the total world population.

Global governance:

Part of the blame, for the failure to address global problems, lies with some international institutions and organizations. Some of these organisations work pretty well but most of them don’t. G-20 is an example of an organization that works well. To sum up, “The global future can be shaped by a collective effort from the leaders of business and politics.”

Inputs:

Medium and long term economic growth prospects for Germany are not so great. The OECD projects that the medium and long term economic growth prospects for Germany are not so great. Among the challenges for the German economy, the demographic change and the lack of infrastructure stand out. There are a few things that can be done in this regard: investments in education, opening up Germany for more migration especially skills migration and investments in infrastructure. By implementing dual education programs, Germany would import labor in the long run but it will have to change its migration laws.

In so far as shale gas as a game changer is concerned, the figures of the US are really impressive. The US will become an exporter of shale gas by 2016 which in turn will reduce its energy import dependence from 16% today to 4% by 2040. With regard to energy prices, the US industrial consumer pays less than Europe’s industrial consumer which gives advantage to the US.
With regard to Foreign policy changes, there is less probability that increasing energy independence will change the priority of US foreign policy, to the extent that the US lessens its energy interests in the Middle East.

With regard to protectionism, there are few positive signs. The ‘Bali Meeting of the WTO’ in December last year (2013) provided more options for food security and facilitated trade which targets non-tariff barriers. The trade facilitation package is a step in the right direction. With regard to MIGA, PTA, we should keep our disputes.

Ms. Kasturie Maharaj, Deputy Director, Directorate, Economic and Regional Organizations – Middle East/Asia, International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO), South Africa

Africa has been forecast by the World Economic Forum, as the 2nd fastest growing economy in the world. The continent’s average GDP is projected as 5.3% in 2014.

The crisis in Europe has had an effect in the region but not to the extent that it derails the growth of the region.

Farming is an issue in Africa, and the World Bank projects with African farmers to have them enable the potential to feed the continent and generate the growth and an additional US $ 20 billion if trade barriers would be dismantled. At the beginning of the last year, the Chairman of African Union Commission (AUC) Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma wrote a visionary letter to the President Zuma giving him a future outline for Africa in 2063. In this letter, Zuma wrote “This is 2063 and, we have just celebrated the Africa as a Confederation. It is the 20th anniversary of Africa. Africa will then become the 3rd largest economy of the world driven by infrastructure, social services and industrialization centers. The continent will succeed in economic integration and in establishment of African economic community. Economic integration together with infrastructure development will see Africa in Intra-Africa trade flourish at 12% in 2013 to 50% in 2045. The greatest investment will be the empowerment of the women and young people. The skill-revolution sparked in 2013 will transform the education system to produce young innovators and entrepreneurs with strong Pan-African value. It includes the returning of the diaspora to Africa with its investment and experience. And, in 2063, when we will celebrate 20th anniversary as Confederation of African States, it will be well deserved dipped in African value with solidarity, self-reliance and, self-belief.”

When it comes to the population statistics, in 2012, it was estimated that there were 257 million people in the region and DRC/Democratic Republic of Congo had the largest population with 72 million people. 39 % of the population in the region was urban. The collective GDP of the region was US $ 471 billion. The region is also well integrated and well established for an investment. The global economic crisis has significant impact on economy. However, in 2010, the economy began to grow and economic activity in
return increased by 2.3% in 2009 to 5.5% in 2010. In 2011, the GDP growth reported 4.7%, a slight drop from the previous year. These are figures released by the South African Reserve Bank.

Our intrinsic challenges are high unemployment rate, inequality and poverty. South Africa like most emerging markets will have to undertake structural changes to unlock the growth. South Africa’s trade with the traditional partners has been sluggish while it is increasing its trade with the emerging markets. To address these challenges, South Africa has put into effect the national development plan (NDP). The key targets include raising employment from 13 million to 20 million by 2030; to raise annual income from US $ 5000 – 12000; to establish competitive base of infrastructure and human resources; to increase quality education, to establish effective and affordable public transport and provide sufficient energy while reducing carbon emission. With the NDP launched in 2012 the program focused on large range of policy areas: Infrastructure, education and training, health care and building of a state. The NDP is being implemented in phases; the first phase has started in 2013 with the investment of over US $ 100 billion. The second phase will be implemented in between 2014 and 2019. The regional growth is expected to accelerate above the global growth and positive spillover is expected into Africa. South Africa’s market is small and hence the emphasis is on regional growth and regional integration. The need for regional integration to grow is critical so that there is demand for intrinsic services. Based on the effective implementation of the robust infrastructure and spending, the African finance minister revealed that the robust nature of the growth is expected to take the economy from 2.7% in 2014 and 3.2% in 2015.

Inputs:

One of the South Africa’s future plans is to broaden the tax payers circle through the export based system. Africa has larger inequality where 50% of people do not pay taxes because they are below the US $ 6000 annual salary mark. Shale gas would be a game changer. Although China is exporting a lot of resources to South Africa, the latter does not get much benefit from them.

Dr. Paul-Simon Handy

Many myths regarding land grab and remittances in Africa have settled in. Remittances comprise very little contributions to the African growth. The investments in land especially come from foreigners. The game changer in Africa was actually telecommunication. This development has completely changed the African fortune. China has been quite an important player in Africa, not only in the telecommunication sector but in other sectors as well.

Particularly, France has lost opportunities in Africa which can be attributed to many factors. Europeans had never considered Africa as an investment destination but this scenario is changing now. China has had a different approach to Africa when compared to Europe. The magnitude of China’s investment is enormous and new. The economic link between china and Africa has been doubled in last 20 years and it continues to grow. Although China is exporting resources to Africa, Africa has to learn from the past and put conditions for the benefit of the African community.
In what ways does India stand out in terms of magnitude of problems?

After the global financial crisis, the forecasts are better than the past as has been predicted by the IMF. The US is showing healthy signs for its economic recovery. This raises optimism for the global economic recovery. The common sentiment today is that one part of the world is going to do better than the other part. South Asia and East Asia are doing better than in the past.

If we look back to the past of BRICS, there was an opinion that India should be replaced by Indonesia. But, India will firmly remain as an indispensable part of BRICS. Growth today is more accorded to China than to India.

India is coming closer to Japan in terms of economic engagement. Japan is successfully implementing its policies that it announced through increased accommodative monetary and fiscal policies. European economy will take time to pick up, however, Germany will do well compared to the rest of Europe. Europe as a whole is going through difficulties like aging population, slow growth (growth is a necessary condition to address most of the problems), banking and fiscal union, climate change but the most important issue is youth unemployment. This problem could lead to a vicious cycle. And, Europe needs to address this issue at the soonest.

There is a high public debt across the world including in India. Rising protectionism is the easiest thing to do when the world is going through a recession. Long-term tariff - barriers have become the most pervasive way to protect in post-recession period despite the existence of the WTO. There are many innovative ways to protect the economy but the tariffs are not the only way to protect an economy. So, there is rising protectionism albeit in different form. Multilateralism is going ahead strongly with a lot of emphasis on regional trading. If what is on the block (IE, TPIP, or the TPP) goes through, 80% of the world’s GDP will come under multilateral arrangement. The dialogues of India with the TPP are going on. India is already a part of the ASEAN. There is a huge debate surrounding the question whether India should join the TTP or not? The G-20 forum has become a talking shop with little action as a result of which the G-20 has not been very successful until now. There is a lot of criticism of the G-20. There is a need for restructuring of international financial institutions. The center of the gravity of the world will shift to China, South Asia and India and by the year 2030, China and India will represent 48% of the world’s GDP.

In this context, what is likely to happen in India? Why was India affected by the rest of the world in terms of the slowdown? India’s growth rate has fallen from 9% to 4.5% which was a spectacular fall for such a short period. Research shows that the two-third of the fall can be attributed to what is happening within India and, one-third of the fall can be attributed to what is happening in rest of the world. It means India is not
affected by the repercussions of the world economy. India is more decoupled compared to the rest of the world. There is a need for structural reforms which India should undertake. There is also a need to address the fiscal deficit issue by increasing the expenditure on both social and physical infrastructure and reduce the expenditure on subsidies. The IMF research study on India shows that most of the subsidies go to the people who don’t deserve it. This is also true for Africa and therefore more targeted subsidies are needed for both India and Africa.

Since the general election is around the corner in India, it will be difficult for an incumbent government to reduce public spending.

The other important issue that India needs to address is to bring down the inflation rate; because inflation has consistently been high for the last many years now. The consumer price inflation which touched 10%, came down to 8% but is still very high. The real interest rates are very negative. Again policy making is an art not a science. Inflation remains a problem which should be solved.

The last thing which needs a serious consideration in a forum like this is the magnitude of the problem posed by its burgeoning population currently at 1.2 billion. A good 66% of the GDP of India is likely to come from its cities by 2030. Climate change emissions are going to become a huge factor because India is going to be driven by coal for some time to come. So, how is India balancing its growth? If India’s BPL (below poverty line) limit can be increased and called the ‘empowerment line’ then 50% of India’s population will come under below the ‘empowerment line’. The inequality quotient in India is very high and the urbanization of cities is not going to help. So the magnitude of the problem is immense.

The Infrastructure Backbone Implementation Network (IBIN) could address some of the infrastructure deficits in India.
Inputs:

The role of G-20 has rightly been criticised for not delivering much in peacetime efforts. And the answer to the question of how domestic and external factors affect India’s growth slowdown is to be seen along with how globally integrated India is with the rest of the world. However, there are many other reasons for the same: India has very large domestic market, there is lot of market consumption capacity; lot of FDI is pouring from India which doesn’t go for export. Part of the slowdown happened in India due to its infrastructure deficits, fragile governance problems, incapable government institutions and the most important factor, corruption. These problems are preventing India to be integrated globally in a better way. With the changing world, India is changing too.

There is immense competition for resources. Companies should be regulated in their investments in India. In this regard the burning example is that of POSCO which saw regulations by the government. The prisoner’s dilemma seems to be present always. The global impact of the Chinese economy is large. There are many aspects that can be linked to this (like China having US $ 4 trillion reserve). However, the immediate fallout of the change in China is likely to be of some benefit to countries like India, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Last but not the least, bilateralism, multilateralism and regionalism will go hand in hand.

Discussants:

Dr. Leonardo Paz Neves, Study and Debate Coordinator, Centro de Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais (CERBI), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

I would like to highlight three things:

- How to get global economy back on track and the challenges should be a priority for GIBSA.
- The biggest issue is the make arrangements.
- In the energy sector, shale gas might/might not prove to be a revolution, so the energy focus could shift to the Atlantic.

- The challenge in India is the magnitude of its problems. A different approach can help to tackle the challenges of mega cities like unemployment, inequality, food crisis and climate change.
BRICS countries, especially India, have defined its international economic needs very narrowly. Some of the expectations that G-20 had set with respect to global policy coordination has not been met. G-20 could have taken a leadership role.

There are other needs that we do not talk about, for instance, how natural gas is priced for emerging/importing countries. There is no ‘natural gas pricing hub’ in the world except for US which is a highly developed country. Natural gas pricing in India should addressed at the soonest. Though it is not easy to develop pricing hub in India but we could develop a pricing hub on the lines of the US in India.

**Question/Inputs**

- How to broaden the tax payer’s base in India and South Africa?
- Is it possible to disaggregate the data for the whole of Africa? What about land grabbing in Africa? What about remittances?
- What is green growth or sustainable development?
- How to bring out uncompetitive elements under global resources?
- What is the global impact of the Chinese economy and what are the likely long term effects on Asia?
- Can shale gas play a game changer?
- How does India plan to reap the demographic dividend? To what extent would it help Germany to reap the benefits of demographic dividend which is currently predisposed towards India and Bangladesh?
- What would the policy shift of China towards Africa be in the context of the US-France meet regarding Africa, which is coming up? In this regard, would the growth of TPP, TIPP and other regional organization prove to be the precursor to the doom of multilateral forum?
Maritime Security and Protection of Sea lanes Communication

In collaboration with National Maritime Foundation, New Delhi

Chairpersons: Amb. Pradeep Kaushiva and Amb. Luiz Augusto de Castro Neves

Amb. Luiz Augusto de Castro Neves

The theme has importance in a world that is intertwined and interdependent. In a globalised world no country can act as an isolated island. International trade has been growing at a faster pace. This also brings out a number of challenges. Conflicts happening at one place can have multiple consequences throughout the world. Economies are integrated, sophisticated protection of the Sea lines or any international lane has acquired upmost strategic importance for the very functioning of the world economies.

Panelists:

Prof. Dr. Volker Perthes

Security is increasingly being linked to Seas. European Union had direct access to Atlantic Ocean, Baltic Seas, Black Sea, South China, East China Seas and the Indian Ocean. As much as 90 per cent of Europe's external trade and 40 per cent of Europe's internal trade is through Seas with strong dependence on maritime Sea routes and linkages. Thus, it is crucial to preserve Sea routes, security, integrity of Sea lines of communication and sustainable development of the maritime environment. Protection of integrity and safety of individuals, goods, vessels and maritime infrastructure from state or non-state actors of domestic and international orientation is important. It is necessary to safeguard access to maritime space. Enforcement of sustainable use of maritime environment has to be seen as a global common.

Four points have implications with respect to the maritime security.

1. Geopolitics: Till now the US had been the principal guarantor in preserving the freedom of Seas. However, the emerging powers are projecting themselves aggressively.
on the territorial front in return unsettling neighbours and initiating conflicts. Such behaviour is likely to disrupt free trade. China is developing its blue water navy and is trying to change the UN convention of law of Seas particularly when it comes to freedom of navigation.

2. Geography: The change of geography due to the environmental change is affecting Europe. While, the retreat of Sea ice in the brings with itself promise of shorter ship routes it also raises questions regarding Maritime security, questions about the delineation of borders of Russia, Norway, Greenland etc. It also brings out the questions of management, sustainability and security etc in the Arctic once it becomes shippable. As underwater Sea based mineral and oil become accessible it might lead to several conflicts.

3. Emergence of failing and weak states: This is spilling lawlessness around the Sea coast in Indian Ocean, Gulf of Guinea etc. Such factors increase the risk of piracy as well other organised crimes such as Sea based terrorism.

4. Reduction in fishery stock: Excessive fishing has led to reduction in fishery stock. This has also intensified conflicts between stronger and the weaker states.

The European Union maritime strategy comprehensively combines the instruments of foreign policy, environment politics, political science etc. The EU aims to work multilaterally, with NATO and support regional arrangements with the other littoral states to protect maritime environment and security. The European states are likely to increase their hard presence in Indian Ocean in cooperation with other forces in the next 10-15 years. They would also seek and give cooperation with monitoring and surveillance of Sea routes, capacity building for weaker states, enforcing policing in maritime security, anti pollution units etc. as part of the mid-term goals. In the legal sphere, European states would try to ward off any attempts to redefine the UN convention on the law of the Seas particularly on the freedom of navigation because less free access mean more territorial conflicts.
Dr. Paul-Simon Handy

It is important to contextualize maritime security from the African perspective. There are several challenges linked to maritime security in Africa and cooperation regarding the Maritime Security.

Maritime security has been an emerging topic in Africa in the global growing market and rise of global powers. In Africa the geopolitics of the Sea are poorly developed due to high cost and poor technical capabilities. Countries like South Africa are a few exceptions. Sea is becoming a territory and yet putting borders on the Sea lanes happens quite weakly on the African countries. When African Union was developed in the early part of the year 2000, there was no definition of the security threats from the Sea. Only threats from the land were given importance. This is interesting as the continent is sandwiched between two oceans: Atlantic and Indian and yet has not started to exploit its maritime resource. Securing ties in maritime lanes are important for maintaining the flow of revenue from oil and gas development. Maritime resources like fish and aqua are also important as they provide livelihood of coastal nations.

Maritime security has been a deeply researched subject in the Indian Ocean. It has also been an emerging issue in the Gulf of Guinea. The attention of many regional organisations and states are concentrated on the region because the region accounts for 5.4 million barrel of oil and gas with Angola and Nigeria being the biggest producers. Safeguarding Sea routes is not the only way to achieve security of the Seas. Many African centres are rather building stable institutions on land to safeguard waters. In recent years African Union has been designing maritime strategies and building naval capacities. He said that securing of Sea lanes cannot happen in isolation. There was a need for international cooperation in capacity building and sharing of experiences. Talking about the major threats in the Gulf of Guinea and the Indian Ocean, Dr Handy argued that it emerges from the non state actors. This is because African countries do not fight with each other on land and even less on Seas. Non state actors are, however, taking advantage of the weak capacities of state on land and Seas to challenge the sovereignty on Sea.
There has been an increase in sea piracy in the Gulf of Guinea. He stated that oil theft is becoming sophisticated, less violent but more efficient costing massive revenue from companies and the countries involved. However, there is no expectation that there will be any decrease on the African coast as there cannot be an international global mobilisation for the coast of Africa as it is financially not sustainable. Thus, piracy will tend to take different forms in the years to come. Illegal fishing by foreign and local vessels is leading to depletion of stocks. Waste dumping is another area of concern in the Indian Ocean and Gulf of Guinea. Dumping of nuclear waste has increased in the last 20 years and has had a huge impact on ecology of Seas of these regions.

Vice Adm. Vijay Shankar, Distinguished Fellow, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), India

Conflicts have continued to occur with the end of cold war. While some are driven by religious issues but some are driven by very different issues. There have been tensions of multi-polar, tyranny of economics and polarisation on religious-cultural lines stirred by technology. Thus, as nations prepare for uncertainty, frictions can arise.

Geography and the nature and magnitude of commerce play a major role in the maritime security. It is important to know what the waters of the region are being used for. Sea is being used to transfer several goods and services from these countries. There has been missile material movement from reprobate states like North Korea, Pakistan. Assistance to these nations has a potential to trigger conflict. Vice Admiral Shankar also mentioned how resource access and its free and unimpeded flow were being debated as new powers emerged. India is also concerned with the development of Chinese maritime military strategies from Gwadar to South China Sea and denying access to maritime space, establishing territorial claims and ADIZs. This explains what could occur in these waters. Moreover, emerging alliances in the region is worrying China and it is making attempts to secure its interests in the region. Countries like China are upsetting the status quo causing instability in the region. Talking about piracy, he argued that while the concentration of piracy moves from Indian Ocean to the horn of Africa, with surveillance piracy will be stamped out.

Vice Admiral Shankar stated that the US and its model at the Seas need to be taken into regard to bring about stability in the waters. Indo-Pacific pivot explains the importance of this area. He proposed to GIBSA that the only way to secure maritime interest is to hammer out a common charter that can be universally applied, which has a common resource access, provides security against piracy and terrorism so that there is unimpeded growth of commerce and status quo is maintained.
Maritime security and safety encompass all operational and technical issues that permit authorities responsible for maritime environment together with mariners on fixed and floating maritime assets, vessels, cargoes and passengers to continue their activities in a timely fashion safely and free from interference.

Contemporary maritime threats can be listed into three parts:

1. Direct maritime threats in contemporary world from state and non state actors.
2. Indirect threats emerging from smuggling and illegal immigration.
3. Environmental degradation due to human induced and natural disasters.

Maritime cooperation among different countries is thus important to have safe and secure oceans for the growth of trade and promotion of security. The safe Ocean Initiative regulates global oceanic commons for the maintenance of maritime order at Sea. There is a need to build a networked surveillance system having a collaborative response structure. It is important to prevent Wanton degradation of Ocean Eco systems, toxic wastes dumping, over exploitation of minerals and fish, global warming and carbon capture process. For this, there is need for synergy in maritime security at international and bilateral level and burden sharing to address maritime crime. There is a need for structured governance of the global oceanic commons. Regulation of global Sea borne traffic through surveillance and monitoring and enforcement by bringing multinational constabulary for the maintenance of maritime security was an option to deal with maritime threats. He talked about identifying generation after Maritime Security Issues and the need to introduce next generation platforms, offshore surveillance systems and intelligence capturing and sharing and ensure a coordinated response mechanism. Innovation for an integrated maritime security ecosystem and synergising industrial capacity and capabilities in maritime manufacturing activities were need of the hour.
Discussant:

Vice Adm. A.K. Singh, Governing Council Member, National Maritime Foundation (NMF), India

There is a need for common maritime law to save ships against piracy. Floating armouries can have serious security implications. Recently, the Italian marines killed innocent Indian fishermen mistaking them to be pirates. Threat of piracy has led to armed people on warships and even merchant ships. There is need for a global common law so that innocent people do not get killed and pirates are booked. In order to tackle piracy, a voluntary reporting system could be structured. India, Japan and French all have electronic systems of surveillance that can be integrated. There was also a need for a global common law.

There are several triangles active in the Indian Ocean. The triangle of mischief—China, Pakistan and North Korea keep India on boil. The emerging India, US and Japan is a logical triangle. There are others that can be used to benefit the region— the India, China and US triangle and India, China and Russia triangle of the Lenin era. There is a need to institutionalise regional institutions. The Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia (RECAAP), a multilateral agreement between 16 countries in Asia, with a secretariat in Singapore is step in this regard. The Indian Ocean Naval System (IONS) also seeks to increase maritime cooperation among navies of the littoral states of the Indian Ocean Region by providing an open and inclusive forum for discussion of regionally relevant maritime issues. However, it does not have a secretariat. Thus, for its efficacy to be sustained it needs to be institutionalised.

Questions/Discussion

- What remains a bigger concern for the Indian Ocean: the interstate conflicts, non-state actors, state failure of littoral states in Africa or in the Persian Gulf or environment concerns?
- What importance do demographic development in the Persian Gulf have for the Indian navy given that in some states there are more Indian nationals in the Persian Gulf than the locals?
- Whether the US continues to remain the guarantor of security in Asia or other emerging powers with commercial interests such as India, China and Japan and European states will also come in the picture?
- What is European Union’s capacity in the Indian Ocean? Whether European Union is going to act as a junior partner of NATO or it has a strategic framework in place in the region?
- EU has economic interest passing through Indian Ocean. Thus, EU has a right to deploy judgement. What is the role of NATO in Indian Ocean?
• Recently India has been given an observer status in the Arctic Council. India has accepted that the littoral states have a “carte blanche” in the area. There is an argument that this will also be imposed on the Antarctic? How can India prevent a gold rush in both the Antarctic and the Arctic council?
• With regard to marine resource Japan, Norway and Iceland have been hunting dolphins and whales though barred by the International Whaling Commission (IWC). Are these institutions losing significance as multilateral forum?
• Piracy statistically extends through south East Asia, horn of Africa, Gulf of Guinea. However, there are different drivers for piracy in different areas. It is thus important to address those issues to tackle piracy.
• Private security needs to be seen with some concern. Bringing private security providers at the Sea threatens the same on land as well in future.
• There is a need for a cooperative framework in Indian Ocean to deal with threats covering a spectrum of state failure to strategic conflicts. A government to government understanding for technical assistance from European countries to countries like Ghana and Nigeria is required to deal with maritime security.
• A framework of security to deal with the non traditional threats such as climate change for littoral states was required. Failure of managing disaster can lead to radicalisation of state leading to conflicts.
• There was a need for hammering out a charter in multilateral forum such as GIBSA and develop on the common ideas to deal with the uncertainty at the Sea.
GIBSA: Perspectives on Emerging Forms of International Cooperation

In collaboration with the SIS, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

Prof. Varun Sahni, Chairperson, Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi

Why do states get together -- for problem solving or for power? This has remained to be the core issue for countries coming together. But old approaches to regional problem solving have ceased to work effectively. And therefore, there has been a renewed emphasis on multilateralism. GIBSA locates itself to that renewed effort.

There has been a new intent in the global south towards addressing global problems. If we look at GIBSA, three out of four countries belong to the global south. Besides GIBSA, G-77 has been a good platform to enunciate regional concerns of the global south.

There is a three-model approach to address regional problems;

- Community of interest model
- Leadership Model
- Reciprocal model

There is a possibility that the global south could rupture. On the issues of environment, ethnic and religious conflicts and population, few countries are precariously placed. The global south lacks charismatic leadership. There is a need for South-South solidarity.

Present times show that this is an era of ‘variable geometry.’ There are smaller states and there are bigger states. But who is going to speak for the smaller states? For an equitable representation of global concerns, GIBSA will have to be more accommodative of concerns of small states. We can take the examples of BRICS and the G4 and chart out a future course which is different for GIBSA. BRIC has not been making much headway. In the G4 grouping the Indian and Brazilian factors weigh high and hence there is lopsidedness.

In so far as India is concerned, India cannot speak for its neighbours. India has singularly failed to have a successful regional policy.

UNSC Reforms

Asia could have three countries (China, India & Japan) as permanent members in the UNSC, if Europe can have two (Britain & France). Africa has three contenders for
permanent UNSC seats. Countries can come together to settle issues outside the UN. The UN Charter should be reformed as it has been amended only once.

There are many things that the countries of GIBSA can come together and do without amending the charter. The countries comprising the GIBSA should not obsess themselves about a permanent seat in the UNSC as it may not be the right way forward.

Are we going through a period of system transition?

**Dr. Paul-Simon Handy**

What we have been seeing in the recent years is renewed regional cooperation. In Africa too we are seeing more regional cooperation coming up. Regional organizations are becoming part of international efforts for countries to come together. New forms of cooperation are becoming benign if we are stuck with old rules to solve new problems.

There is ‘the challenge of uncertainty’ as we search new forms of international cooperation. In GIBSA, we have a group of countries which are willing to have a louder voice. These countries are in search for a larger platform like the G4 countries which wants enhanced representation through the UNSC. But nothing can be said about whether addition of countries will help or damage a group like the GIBSA. Equally nothing can be said about a common market for the GIBSA countries. The example of MERCOSUR highlights the point that the addition of Venezuela to MERCOSUR has served little economic and more political purpose. We are in the beginning of a new international relations era, the forms of which are not clear. New agreements are more normative and regulatory.

---

**Prof. Gulshan Sachdeva, Chairperson, Centre for European Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi**

There are larger sets of interdependence between countries now. In such a scenario, how can individual countries get their individual economic interests? There are hardly any internal compulsions for this in the developing countries.
There three sides to the multilateral triangles are:

- Power
- Interests
- Rules

Rules appear to be the weakest component. Most of the international and regional problems ensue from the violation of international rules and norms.

There are three major “takeaways” from the session that were pointed out;

- Different preferences do not mean that we cannot cooperate among ourselves
- This kind of cooperation enables communication
- The argument that we necessarily have to look at a ‘structure’ to move forward as an organization may not hold

Major questions raised:

- What constitutes the collective interest of GIBSA?
- How can we convert everything that we discuss into policy?
- What if China and Japan reach a strategic agreement between them? In the event of such an agreement how will the role of the US change in Asia, particularly in East Asia?
- What lies ‘beyond’ Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran?
- Can we (GIBSA countries) manage these challenges emerging out of the Af-Pak-Iran region in the most equitable manner?
- What is the external influence in the region comprising Af-Pak and Iran?
- How does the US see the region in short term as well as long term?
- How does one link Syria, Ukraine and Thailand?
- Can we arrive at a consequence, should be the main question.
- We should ask among ourselves (these four countries) as to what constitutes the collective interest?
- Will there be a coherent Pak policy for Afghanistan?
- What is the European reaction to what is happening right now?
- What are the elements that we should study for post-2014 regional security of Af-Pak and Iran?
- What role is India planning for itself in the post-2014 period?
- What do you think is the leverage of India over Afghan elites? What are ways to harness the leverage?
- What is the role of India’s soft-power in the region?
- How is the Saudi-Pakistan nexus going to affect the energy security of the region under discussion?
- How do we sustain global regimes that are changing?
- Who picks up the bill in the post-2014 in Afghanistan?
- Can the variable geometry, earlier referred to, push the agenda forward without destabilising the region?
- Is there a need to mix inter-governmental elements with supranational ones within GIBSA? Is GIBSA evolving?
- Is it the beginning or the end of global south?
- Is India in a position to talk for Nepal?
- Who is in control? Who is likely to gain control?
- How would the struggle between Shia-Sunni play out in Afghanistan in post-2014?
- Shouldn’t China be more worried about Pakistan?
- If we assume that the Taliban is the main problem, would the panelists agree then that Taliban should be engaged?
- Whether India would enhance its role in Afghanistan or will it be marginalized by Pakistan’s role in Afghanistan?
- How can non-state actors be called so when a state like Pakistan is complicit in funding and providing support to terrorists?
- Lastly, the Chinese factor cannot be ignored, especially, the Chinese presence in Gwadar and its economic corridor in the north.