



International Strategic & Security Studies
Programme (ISSSP)

National Institute of Advanced Studies



Armed Conflict, Peace Audit & Early Warning

Decennial Review 2016

09-11 June, 2016



Report drafted by

Adarsh Vijay, Albertina Nithya B, Anu Abraham, Nazrin Hussain, Sanjal Shastri & Sourina Bej

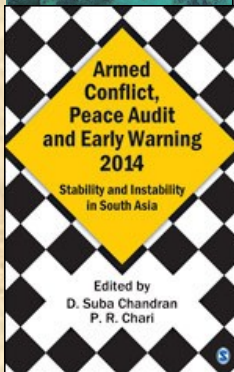
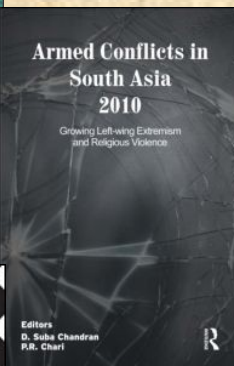
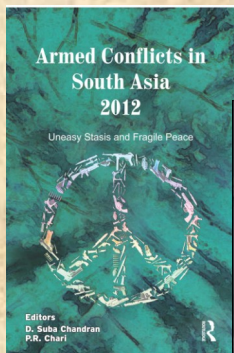


Prof Baldev Raj

Director, National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS)

Conceived and established by the visionary JRD Tata, the National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS) is a unique institution dedicated to conduct advanced research in multidisciplinary domains. The Institute also aims to serve as a forum to bring together administrators, industrial leaders, eminent personalities in public affairs, leading members of the academic community. With focus on Natural & Social Sciences, and Arts & Humanities, the NIAS is ideally placed not only to conduct research but also to provide actionable inputs to the government and civil society on issues relating to conflict and peace.

The NIAS-KAS workshop on Armed Conflict, Peace Audit and Early Warning, and the subsequent report should be a beginning for a larger initiative on advanced research on issues relating to peace and conflict not only within India, but at global level. It is important for the stakeholders to be sensitive, when the issues are at the dormant level itself; when it gets manifested, there has to be timely actions to address them. Also there is a need to think out of the box, and provide actionable suggestions to the stakeholders, which Institutions like the NIAS could contribute.

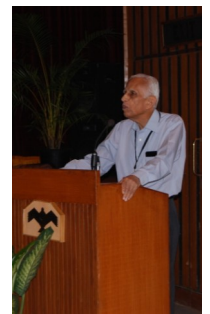


Prof Rajaram Nagappa

Coordinator, International Strategic & Security Studies Programme (ISSSP), NIAS

Conflicts have been an inherent element of societies from times immemorial. Equal and unequal conflicts have led to peace accords of varying natures - accepting the superiority of a rival, being a vassal, paying compensation, smoking the peace pipe distributed across individuals, armies and states are examples.

Conflicts and peace processes are cyclic in nature and require patience, understanding, negotiation, accommodation and a host of other attributes to manage and contain events from becoming dysfunctional. The decennial review of Conflict, Peace Audit and Early Warnings in South Asia essentially tends to address such underlying themes. The workshop no doubt has added to our understanding and paved the way for deeper interrogation of the underlying issues.



Dr Lars Peter Schmidt

Resident Representative, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, New Delhi



Promoting freedom, liberty, peace, and justice worldwide being the fundamentals of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS), we, at the India Office, are happy to partner with the International Strategic and Security Programme (ISSSP) at the National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS) Bengaluru to look at issues of peace and conflict during the last ten years, and also forecast the next decade.

We hope that our partnership with the ISSSP, NIAS will further the cause of achieving peace and avoiding conflict.



Prof D. Suba Chandran

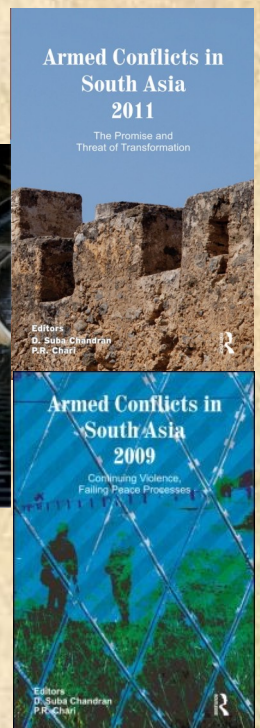
Editor, *Armed Conflict, Peace Audit & Early Warning*

The decennial review is an important milestone to the entire process started a decade ago. While the initial focus was primarily on the armed conflicts, the process subsequently

expanded to include peace processes as well, and later early warning. It is now also being discussed, whether the process will success in making concrete recommendations to the State and Civil Society on early action—both to conflict and peace.

Along with the annual, it is also important (and essential as well) to work on issues and recommendations on “walking the last mile” in ending the conflict and taking the peace process forward. It is hoped, that this idea would be pursued as separate interventions outside the annual processes.

During the last decade, the following have remained as pillars of support for this process: Dr Lars Schmidt, Mr Tomislav Delinic, Dr Beatrice Gorwantschy and Pankaj Madan from the KAS; and Mr. PR Chari, Gen Banerjee and Dr. Mallika Joseph from the IPCS, New Delhi.



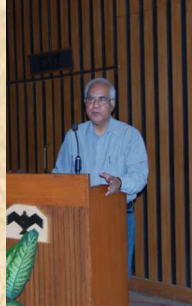
Armed Conflict, Peace Audit & Early Warning

Decennial Review 2016

09-11 June, 2016

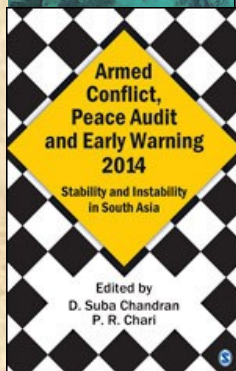
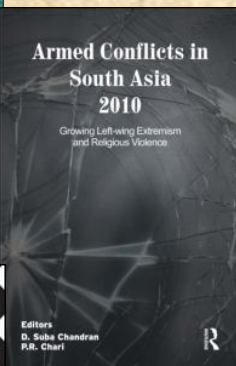
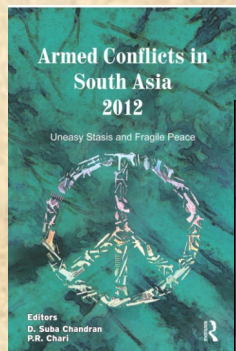
Introduction

The ISSSP at the NIAS during 09-11 June 2016 organised the tenth annual conference of the Armed Conflicts project started in 2005-06. Partnered by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS), the NIAS organised this conference in its auditorium.



Prof Rajaram Nagappa welcomed the authors of the conference. Prof Baldev Raj, Director NIAS delivered the inaugural address, underlining the need for policy oriented inputs to address issues of conflict and peace.

NIAS being truly a multi-disciplinary institution, both agreed that the project and NIAS would benefit mutually. Mr Pankaj Madan from KAS traced the history of project and agreed that this should be taken forward.



The conference started with focussing on J&K. Mr Meenakshi Sundaram (Visiting Faculty, NIAS) chaired the session. The first essay by Dr Kavita Suri (University of Jammu) focussed on conflict and peace

process in J&K during the last decade, while Dr Ashok Bhan (Director General of Police, J&K. ret'd) looked into the next ten years. Dr Bhan also underlined the need to take calculated risks, when the situation is ripe.



The second theme of the conference was on India's Northeast. Three essays were presented during the session, which was chaired by Dr Priyanca Mathur Velath (St Joseph's College). Mr. Pradip Phanjoubam

(Editor, Imphal Free Press) presented on “Conflict Transformation in India’s Northeast” during the last ten years, and Dr. Haans J Freddy (Madras Christian College, Chennai) presented on “Peace Processes in India’s Northeast”. Mr Wasbir Hussain and Arunav Goswami (Centre for Development and Peace Studies Guwahati) focussed on “Conflict & Peace in India’s Northeast: The Next Decade.”

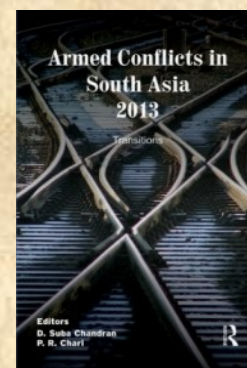
Third theme of the conference focussed on the naxal conflict and was chaired by Prof MJ Vinod (Bengaluru University). Dr. Bibhu Prasad Routray (Director, Mantraya, Goa) presented on “Naxal Conflict: A Profile of Naxal Spread, Ideology, Leaders and Movement.” Dr Anshuman Behera (NIAS) presented on “Naxal Conflict: A Critique of State’s Response.”



The fourth theme was on Pakistan and Afghanistan, chaired by Dr BM Chengappa (Christ University). Ms. Rajeshwari Krishnamurthy (Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi) presented on

“Taliban, War on Terrorism and the Democratic Governments: Afghanistan in the last Ten Years” and Prof D. Suba Chandran (NIAS) presented on “Conflict Transformation in Pakistan: From Ethnic to Sectarian?.”

Fifth session focussed on Bangladesh, Maldives and Sri Lanka. Dr. N Manoharan (Christ University) presented on “Conflict Transformation in Sri Lanka .” Two more essays in this session focussed on radical threats facing Maldives and Bangladesh. Dr. M Mayilvaganan (NIAS) presented on “Early Warning: Threat of Radicalism in the Maldives” and Ms. Aparupa Bhattacharjee on “Early Warning: Threat of Radicalism in



Bangladesh.”



Sixth session focussed on Nepal and Myanmar. Dr. Nishchal Nath Pandey & Ms. Dipika Dhakal discussed “Maoists, Constitution and Conflict in Nepal,” and Mr Sohan Sha presented on “Madhesi, Constitution and Conflict in Nepal.” The essay titled “Democracy, Conflict & Transition in Myanmar” was discussed by Dr. Bibhu Prasad Routray.

Seventh session had two special essays. Prof Narendra Pani (NIAS) presented an essay titled “Sources of Future Threats in South Asia” and Srinivasan Ramani (The Hindu) on “Media and Conflict: Breaking the Symbiotic Relationship in South Asia.” Dr M Mayilavaganan chaired the session.



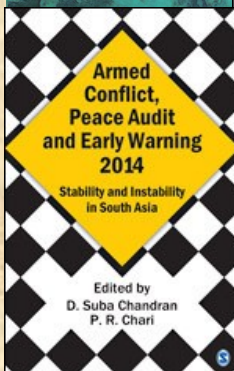
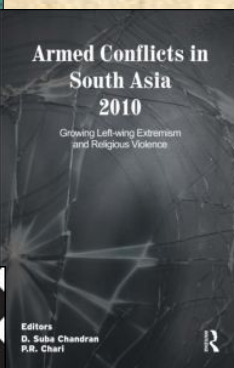
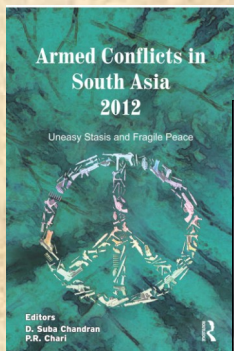
Eighth session had an interesting interaction with Prof S Chandrashekar (NIAS) on “Peace & Conflict: Towards Mapping and Networking .” Prof Chandrashekar with his network analysis model on China explained how to prepare a map and also analyse the conflicts in South Asia.



Dr Christian Wagner (SWP, Berlin) as the external discussant for the conference provided his expert comments on the conference, themes and sub-themes along with a critique of issues and problems.

The final session amongst the authors introspected the sessions and themes. An understanding was reached amongst the authors on the format of each essay and what should be the focus, keeping in mind the need for uniformity, without compromising the content of each individual essays. Authors also discussed towards the preparation of conflict map for South Asia, and the parameters needed to do so.

Prof D. Suba Chandran, as the coordinator of the project thanked the authors, NIAS and KAS for their support.



Theme-I Jammu & Kashmir

Conflict, Peace and Transformation in J&K: The Last Decade

Dr. Kavita Suri
University of Jammu

Jammu and Kashmir is witnessing new trends in conflict transformation. A significant number of young militants are among the fresh recruits joining the local conflicts. Increased women's participation has also given it an unconventional dimension in the 'agitational terrorism.' Social media is emerging as a catalyst in mobilising tech-savvy militants with members like Burhan Muzaffar as a role model.



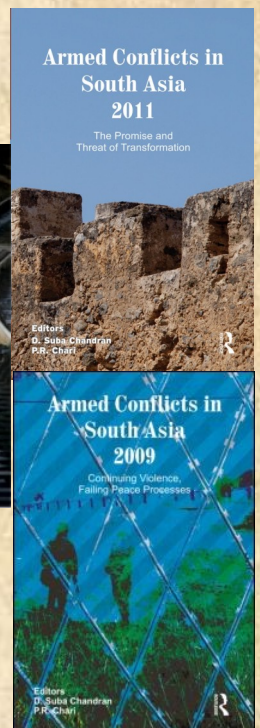
Home-grown and media-friendly military cadres are the new face of Kashmir militancy. The Valley has witnessed a steep rise in over-ground workers within the militant apparatus and these groups are also silently partnering with various external terrorist organizations. The change in modus operandi, increased influence of Wahabi ideology is striking as the militancy echoes of 'Azadi.'

The Early Warning in Jammu and Kashmir: Peace Process facing rough weather?

Ashok Bhan
Director General of Police, J&K. Retd



The improving security situation in since Kargil war; holding of credible democratic exercises through periodic elections; and CBMs and progress in Indo-Pakistan bilateral talks from 2003-2007 when Gen Musharraf's was the president, are the three most significant increments to the peace process in during the last



decade.

Indo-Pak relations have not improved since 2008 Mumbai terror attack. The present deadlock is unlikely to be broken any time soon thereby jeopardizing addressing of external dimension of the J&K conflict. Poll promises with political connotations, particularly in the Kashmir valley have been put on the backburner as the coalition partners have serious ideological differences on these. These unfulfilled promises and periodic eruption of some avoidable controversies after 2014 assembly elections have provided separatists' a shot in the arm. There is rise in radicalization and incidents of terrorist violence have shown an upsurge in recent weeks.

Democratization has not led to demilitarization even of the limited nature. In this backdrop even a faithful implementation of the development agenda of the alliance is unlikely to meet the expectations of the people or address alienation.

Peace process and consequent conflict resolution is likely to slow down and face a rough weather.

Theme-II India's Northeast

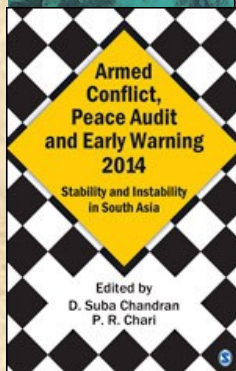
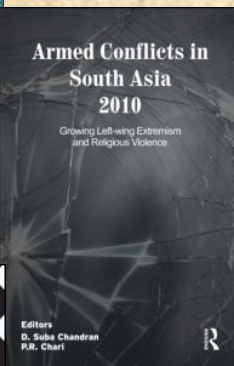
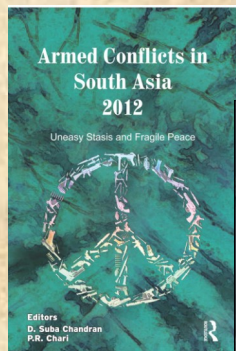
Conflict Transformation in India's Northeast

Pradip Phanjoubam
Editor, Imphal Free Press



The conflict transformation in the Northeast is directly associated with the military's role in the region. It's vital to question the necessity of the military. Rise of the secessionism has made the region into a theatre of insurgency and frequent clashes between armed forces and tribal groups. Every successive government has failed in complying with the

demands of the local populace and redressing their grievances. The controversial AFSPA continues to remain in force which created a wave of setbacks in the peace processes.



Separatist movements have showed its spillovers to the neighbouring countries as well. There is an increasing trend in terms of youth engagement in the militant activities. The Naga Peace Accord signed in 2015 between the Centre and the National Socialist Council of Nagaland is a landmark anti-insurgent measures. Besides, the increasing turn out in the state elections is also a token of progress from the volatile environment. Conflict is transforming but State transfixing on one target is not resulting in conflict resolution. If the region is viewed as sub-region bordered by Bangladesh and Myanmar, the Act East policy could be made part of conflict transformation.

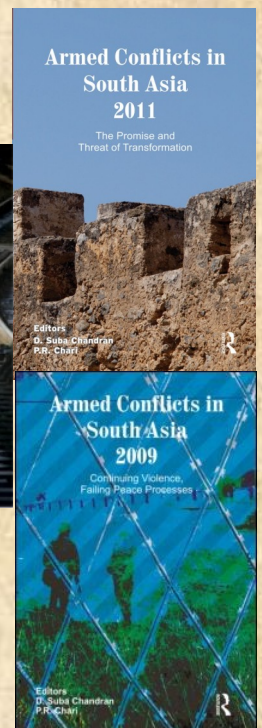
Peace Processes in India's Northeast: The Last Ten Years

Dr. Haans J Freddy,
Madras Christian College

A look at the peace processes in Northeast indicates three trends. Firstly, there has been no loss of territory indicating an equal management of the insurgent movements in the region. Secondly, the peace process has not been inclusive. Containment of violence doesn't essentially mean existence of peace. The government policies towards the region have solely been aimed at one target: reduction of violence. In the process, violence perpetrated by the State actors themselves has been ignored. Thirdly, there has been a loss of ideology amongst the insurgent groups.



In order to overcome the challenges in the peace process, it is important to acknowledge the role of the civil society in spearheading the provincial settlements. The civilian groups should be included collectively in the holistic peace process. Secondly, human security approach should be adopted by the State for conflict resolution. Human development, involving both structural and individualist, could result in the restoration of trust on the State machinery. Lastly, the increasing number of young recruits in the militants groups could only be





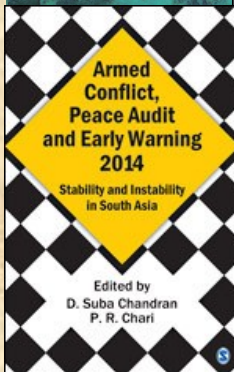
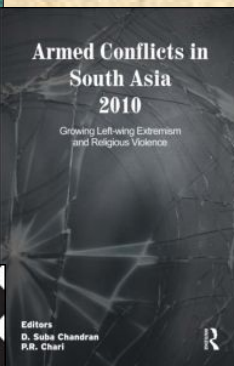
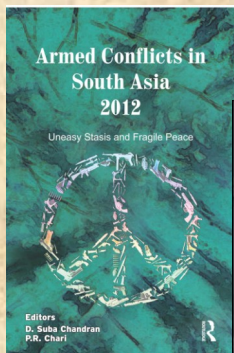
countered by an equal participation of the youth bulge in the peace process.

Armed Conflicts and Peace Processes in India's Northeast: The Next Ten Years

Wasbir Hussain & Arunav Goswami

In the next 10 years, five major trends would determine the peace and conflict scenario in the Northeast. These are India's strategic ties with its neighbouring countries; the Act East Policy; the extent of spread of the Maoist rebellion in the region; the rise of Islamist fundamentalist forces; and, lastly, the fate of the ongoing peace talks with the insurgent groups, signing of new peace accords and the activities of the active rebel groups of the region.

It is important that the Indian government takes a proactive role in strengthening its strategic ties with the neighbouring countries, especially China and Myanmar. It is also necessary that security is made a comprehensive part of the Act East Policy. Development initiatives and tackling unemployment should be the focus of the state to prevent the spread of Maoism and Islamist fundamentalism in the region.



Theme-III The Naxal Conflict

Naxal Conflict: A Profile of Naxal Spread, Ideology, Leaders and Movement

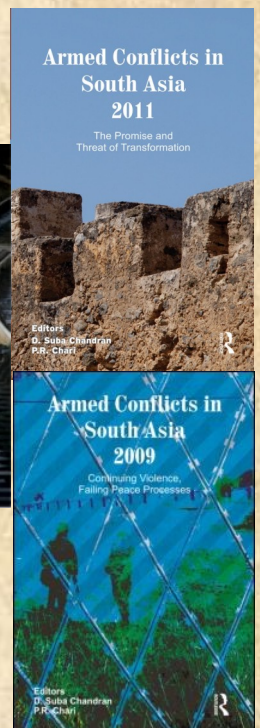
Dr. Bibhu Prasad Routray,
Director, Mantraya, Goa



Mapping the 12 years of left-wing extremism, the spread of its ideology and emerging leadership from 2004 to 2016, shows that 194 districts were under Maoist influence. From one third of the total districts in 2004, Maoist spread has decreased down to only four in 2015. In 2003, Maoist incidents were recorded to be 1,595. The accounted deaths that were registered

at 515 have lowered to 226 in 2015 thereby signifying a further shrink.

The Maoist spread in India can be analysed in three phases. Firstly, the surge from 2004-2010 that happened predominantly in Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand. Secondly, the decline from 2011-2015, which started after the biggest military attacks in Chhattisgarh in 2010. Thirdly, the revival from 2015, where new members are striving to return to their fundamental ideology and strategy. An apprehensive road lies ahead: with a vacuum



in leadership and waning trust on the mass movement, the Naxals could use over ground cadres for survival.

Naxal Conflict: A Critique of State's Response

Dr. Anshuman Behera

NIAS

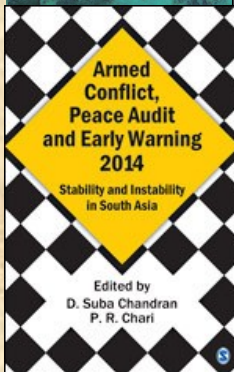
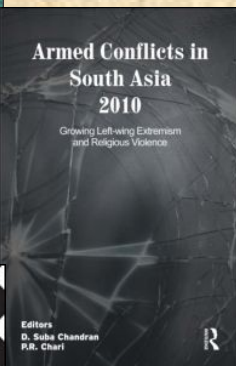
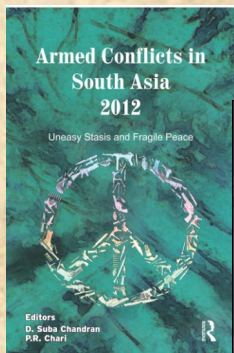


The security approach of the State to respond Naxal issues needs greater concentration. The Planning Commission Report of 2008 reported that poverty and lack of development are major causes of Naxal rise. Thereon there was a shift in the states' approach in both security and developmental aspects.

The security approach focuses on the armed policy in the Red Corridor. The security approach

has brought down the incidents of violence, creating less Maoist attacks. But violent activity is temporary and the number of deaths alone cannot determine the success of the approach. A question that arises: Is this a security threat to sovereignty of India or to its people?

The developmental approach on the other hand gained momentum in 2010, with an integrated action plan. The State believes that development is the solution to the Maoist problems whereas the same development structures like the mobile towers and other government aided facilities are misused by the Maoists, leading to the question that has the development sustained the Maoist in the area? As developmental activities involve more money, more Maoist involvement will keep the conflict broiling.





Theme-IV Pakistan & Afghanistan

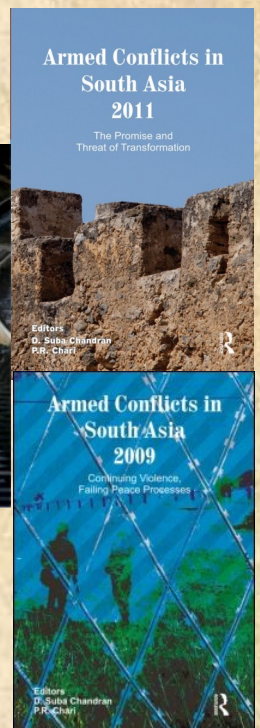
Taliban, War on Terrorism and the Democratic Governments: Afghanistan in the last 10 years

Rajeshwari Krishnamurthy
Research Officer, IPCS



Afghanistan has undergone both positive and negative changes. Persistent problems like insurgency continue to contribute to the deteriorating environment of the State. Additionally, unemployment is skyrocketing among the burgeoning youth, insecurity is rising and the decision-making processes of President Ashraf Ghani and CEO Abdullah Abdullah's coalition government is slow. On the positive side, the role of women has considerably improved. More women are involved in peace-building efforts and in three key sectors – politics, economy and security. However a lot requires to be done.

Heavy dependence on foreign aid is proving detrimental for Afghanistan since a large part is spent for the country's defence-related needs. External actors are concerned with securing the environment in Afghanistan to avoid possible repercussions for their own country. Their policies seem to lack



the foresightedness necessary to ensure a sustainable environment in Afghanistan. Russia does not like being left out from the quadrilateral co-ordination group backed peace talks. Meanwhile, Pakistan's policy – of trying to pit Russia against US over Afghanistan has further complicated the on-going peace process.

Institutional reforms are the need of the hour. Coordination between the various actors in the government as well as in the peace process is necessary; funds allocation need better prioritization and institutions need to be made sustainable and efficient. Afghans have accepted foreign presence for the first time; but this should not be taken for granted.

Conflict Transformation in Pakistan: From Ethnic to Sectarian?

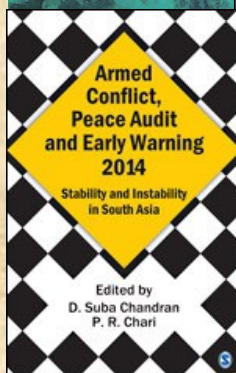
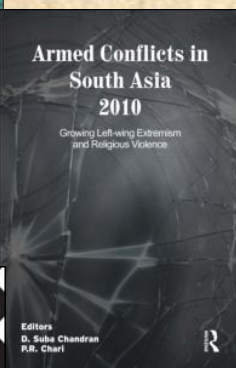
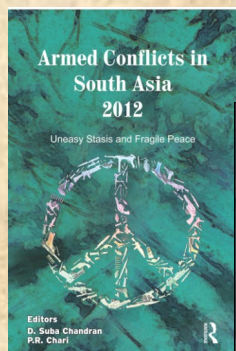
Dr. D. Suba Chandran

Professor, International Strategic and Security Studies Programme, NIAS

The events in Pakistan show a conscious shift from the usual trends. The military seems to have had a greater engagement in operations that create an impact for a particular target group. They seem to be instrumental in creation of new terrorists. This shows that sectarian conflict in Pakistan is under the patronage of the State. Analysing the relationships of Pakistan with Afghanistan and US, suggest that they are intrinsically connected to each

other and the cause and effect in these relationships cannot be distinguished.

There is worsening of the relationship between Pakistan and Taliban as seen from Taliban's reluctance to hold peace talks in Qatar with the presence of Pakistan. The prediction is that this relationship will continue to worsen. A franchise and franchisee relationship is developing between the various militant groups with every franchisee striving to become a franchise in itself. This was the case with Taliban and was implemented before by many other groups who owed their affiliates to Al Qaeda. There seems to be an Islamic State presence in the state only because certain militant networks are adopting the banner of IS. In the present situation, the



Pakistan Taliban, that is a franchisee of Afghan Taliban, maybe taken over by the Punjabi Taliban.

The suicide attacks, which used to be 60 to 70 per cent anti-state in nature, are transforming and being rampantly used as sectarian devices. Sind and Baluchistan are in the process of slow burn due to structural flaws and will continue. Saudi Arabia and ISIL are playing a major role in spreading Wahabi ideology in the state. The State is engaging in sectarian violence to undermine the ethnic movements in the country. Worsening the situation for the minorities is the CPEC deal, which many like Baluchistan, view as China-Punjab deal rather than being China-Pakistan deal.

Theme-V Bangladesh, Sri Lanka & Maldives

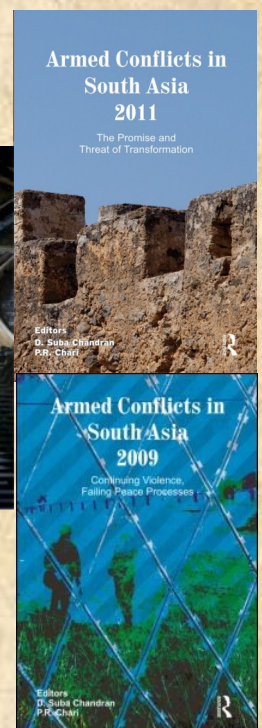
Conflict Transformation in Sri Lanka

Dr. D Manoharan
Professor, Christ University

The conflict in Sri Lanka brings to two key issues. Firstly, who is going to fill the vacuum left by LTTE? Historically, the LTTE has been the one representing the interests of the Tamil minorities. Secondly, how will the State carry out the post conflict developmental program?



The process of peace building and development must be internally driven. The current transformation process is completely externally driven. As long as the drivers for the transformation process are from outside, there is a risk of the process failing. The civil society must play a central role in this



process. The rise of radicalization amongst the various groups will prove to be a challenge for the new constitution. Just like Madhesi protests in Nepal, the Sri Lankan constitution risks going down the same road if radicalization goes unchecked. There are several challenges ahead for Sri Lanka. The success of the conflict transformation process hangs on the internal push as well as the role of the civil society.

Early Warning: Threat of Radicalism in Maldives

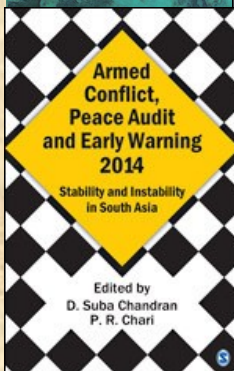
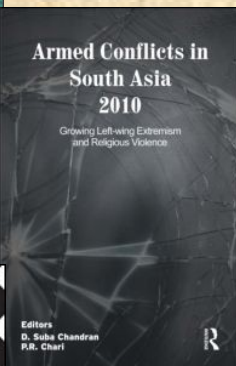
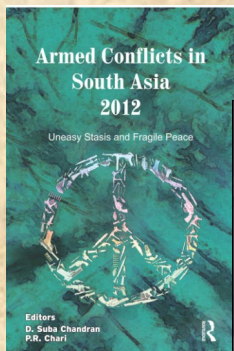
Dr. Mayilvaganan

*Professor, International Strategic and Security Studies
Programme, NIAS*



While Maldives is a paradise for tourists, it is also becoming a haven for Islamic radicals. Over the last few years several individuals have travelled to Syria to fight with the ISIS. Currently there are roughly 200 individuals fighting with the ISIS in Syria.

Religion and religious identities are being used as tools to forward political objectives. This has contributed to the rise of radicalization. One has seen fragmentation of religious consciousness. Traditional Maldivian Islam has been fairly liberal. Today, with the rise of radical elements, there is a friction between the two groups. It also seems that President Gayoom's rule has contributed much to the friction with his emphasis on moderate strand of Islam that has provoked 'The Opposite.' The democratic transition has provided a place for activism. The conservative



groups have used the opening up of the system to forward their extremist ideals.

Many young Maldivian students have travelled to Pakistan to study in their madrasas and have returned conditioned by Wahabi ideology. The opening up of the economy to FDI and tourism has resulted in a development disparity. The lack of proper punishment and political will, violent extremism will be a reality in the Maldives. In order to control radicalization, the government will need to take concrete steps. Better judiciary and rehabilitation of radicalized youth is going to be crucial.

Early Warning: Threat of Radicalism in Bangladesh

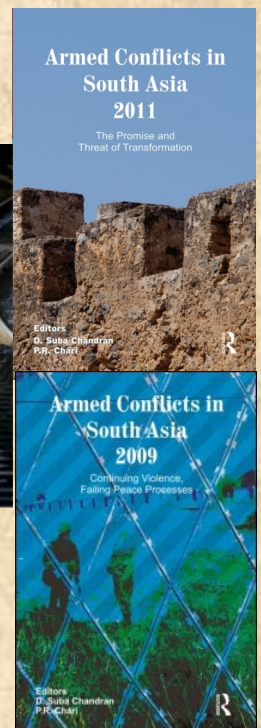
Aparupa Bhattacharjee



There has been an increase in violence in Bangladesh in the past few years. The ISIS has claimed responsibility for several attacks but the government has denied existence of an international terrorist organization and blames the violence on the opposition. Therefore a question arises: Is the threat of radicalisation real?

The threat is definitely real as bloggers, atheists and other religious minorities are increasingly becoming a target of violent killings. The Shahbag movement can be seen as the source for recent spate in target killings. Post this movement an Islamic group released a list of 84 individuals who were on the hit list. Bloggers are an important part of the list. A pattern seems to be emerging with bloggers being targeted in urban areas while the minorities are being attacked in the rural areas.

Violence inflicted on the minorities has always been a problem. This time the situation is different because the targeted groups are not only Hindus but all minorities like Buddhists monks, LGBT, Sufi preacher and Christians. Bangladesh was formed on the core idea of socialism, secularism and democracy. With the death of Mujibur Rahman, the welfare policies were systematically reversed by his successor Zia Rehaman for political edge and so were the countries' secular clauses.



The power vacuum and institutional decadence have resulted in radicals filling the void with their own definition of punishments. Both the Awami League and BNP have used the Islamist parties for furthering their political objectives. External factors and returning diaspora has resulted in inculcation and assimilation of Wahabi ideology in Bangladesh, thereby indicating a slow shift from Sufism towards Wahabism.

Theme-VI Nepal & Myanmar

Maoists, Constitution and Conflict in Nepal

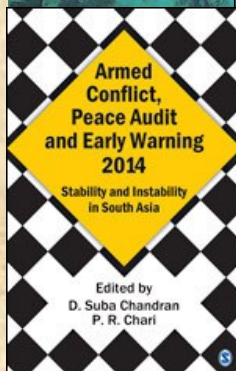
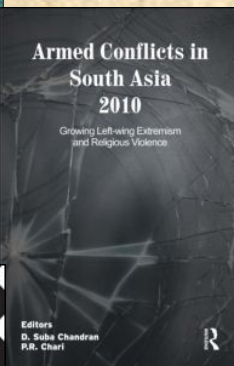
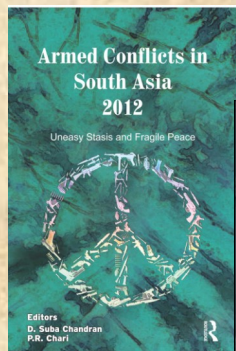
Nishchalnath Pandey & Dipika Dhakal

Centre for South Asian Studies, Kathmandu



The end of a decade-long civil war, promulgation of a new constitution, women participation in politics: but still Nepal has a long path ahead for stability. Nepal has been going through a series of political turmoil for the past ten years. The government and the Maoists signed the comprehensive peace treaty (CPN) on November 2006 that ended the war. The government was re-instated by the Seven Party

Alliance (SPA) and the Maoist Party that had led to the People's War. An interim constitution was drafted. The Maoists entered the political mainstream in April, 2007. But instead of bringing peace it led to the birth of a trilateral





conflict between the Monarchy, other political parties and Maoists.

In the 2008 constituent assembly elections Maoist party emerged as the largest political party, monarchy abolished and Nepal was declared a Republic.

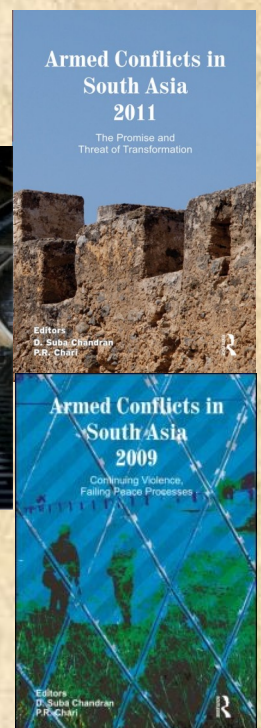
The Maoist party formed a coalition government with the Nepali Congress Party. However, the Maoists success was short-lived as the party witnessed several factions. This has led to new political instabilities within the nation. There is a need for conflict transformation in Nepal. The issue is not just the political instability; it is the economic troubles arising out of it. Nepal was severely affected by the earthquake in 2015 and the unofficial blockade added havoc. The tourism sector, which is the shining block of Nepal's economy, has been affected. Conflict resolution can be achieved only if there is consensus amongst the leaders.

Madhesis, Constitution and Conflict in Nepal

Sohan Sha

PhD Scholar, Jawaharlal Nehru University

Nepal has promulgated its new constitution. This is the seventh constitution that it has been formed in the last sixty seven years. A constitution is usually a sign of peace, but in Nepal a new constitution has proved to be the birth of a new conflict. The country has been divided into two: a victim of fight for rights and a victim over the hegemony of rights. When the constitution was first drafted an overwhelming majority had signed it. The best constitution seemed to have a problem.





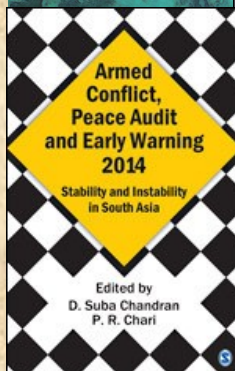
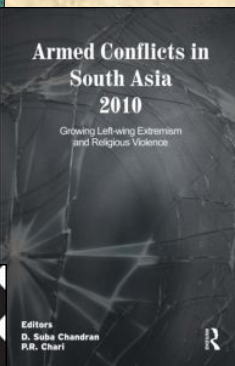
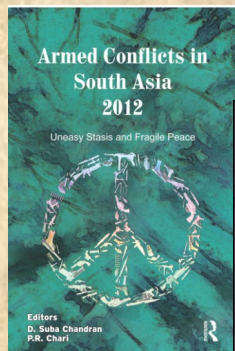
Nepal as a state has a failed experiment with majoritarian government and this instance was also not very different.

The major setbacks of the constitution that need to be addressed are boundaries, electoral representation, social inclusion and citizenship. Under the 16-point agreement, Nepal was to be divided into seven federal states. But dividing the country will reduce the electoral representation of most of the ethnic groups. Thus started the struggle of different ethnic groups for fair representation in the constitution. The Madhesi are considered as lesser citizens in Nepal. Only the Khas Arya community was good enough to get a mention in the constitution, which is a majority in Nepal. None of the other ethnic groups have been defined under the new constitution. It is high time the government starts acting before the issue gets out of hand. Conflict resolution is necessary and the time is now.

Democracy, Conflict & Transition in Myanmar

Dr. Bibhu Prasad Routray,
Director, Mantraya, Goa

After a series of constitutional revisions and military coups, Myanmar finally embraced democracy. The journey to democracy and peace in Myanmar can be divided into three phases: period of absolute despair (1948-2011), period of relative despair (2011-2015) and period of uncertain hope (2016 onwards). Though the



country has formally entered into a democratic framework, the role of military is still substantial. After the 2010 polls, Myanmar military was holding 25 per cent of the seats in parliament which also concurrently controls the key portfolios in the government.

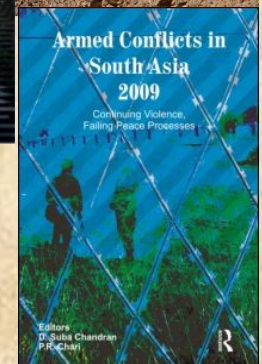
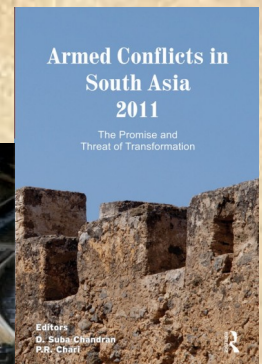
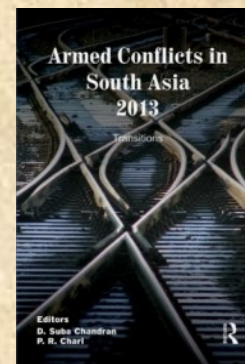
Military was successful in gaining 77 per cent of other seats with the support of the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP). Even the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) of 2015 emerged as a failure which left behind a myriad of issues such as new clashes, internal displacements and human rights violations. The newly elected National League for Democracy government is confronted with a set of serious internal problems. Besides, the new political leadership will have to sacrifice interests of the marginal groups for furthering its own political trajectory.

Theme-VII Sources of Future Threats

Sources of Future Threats in South Asia

Prof Narendra Pani
NIAS

The source of future threats in South Asia can be examined through a neo-Gandhian method of viewing international relations. M K Gandhi has always been sceptical of Bolshevik revolutions, Nazi theories and saw society as a process. Society as a state of continuous bargaining could bring about empowerment





options including revenue generation with an element of fairness thereby ensuring certain phases of stability. On the international system, empowerment, material strength, mobilization of rights, identity politics, and option for developing countries to tap global powers will determine the future relations in South Asia.

This process will have two major drivers: globalization and local identity. With globalization, and institutionalised economy, tapping and allying with global powers will ensure growth. Simultaneously a local consciousness will assert as a response to global exposure.

The effects on South Asian countries: Bangladesh could push for an access in WTO with American support. After 2008, United States would require other developing countries to stabilize. Simultaneously, religion as identity politics, state's response to restriction on illegal migration and if borders are put up in Bangladesh, there is a dilemma over the Bangla identity will assert. Similarly, in Sri Lanka and Nepal, majoritarian politics has brought the periphery to the core.

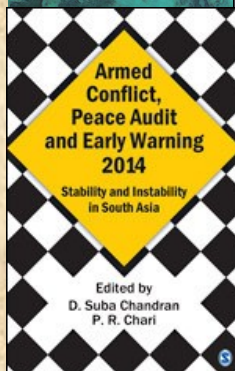
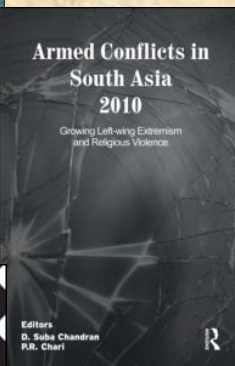
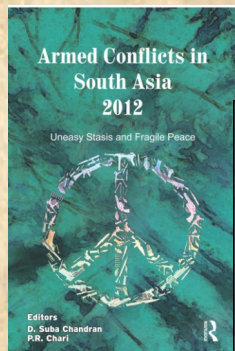
Theme-VIII Peace, Conflict & Media

Peace, Conflict & Media

Srinivasan Ramani
The Hindu



There exists a symbiotic relation between Media and Conflict reporting. While conflict has been seen as the best way to garner readership, the best reporting on conflict have also been the best academic contribution on the discourse of conflict studies.



The problems with conflict reporting are: firstly, the reporting on conflict often embraces the State narrative. For example, reports on left wing extremism, Punjab and Sri Lanka has often been based on anonymous sources and lacks a generic understanding of the inner working of the State structures. The problem escalates when external actors are involved.

Secondly, a romanticised nature of conflict reporting often overlooks the deep analytical nuances of the issue. Thirdly, sensationalism over fact-finding has marred conflict reporting. Filled with jingoism and over importance to infotainment than information, consumerist driven journalism has overwhelmed conflict reporting. There should be structural consensus on ethics of reportage, the methods to quote sources and the number of times anonymous sources are quoted during reportage.

The Road Ahead

Peace & Conflict in South Asia: Research and Practice

Dr Christian Wagner



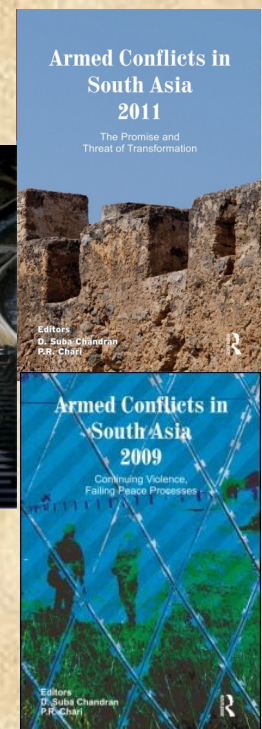
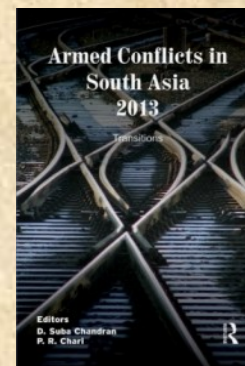
Any research on peace and conflict should not only be an academic endeavour, but also should have a policy relevance. How to make such studies relevant to the academic and policy communities will always remain primary challenge.

There has to be adequate focus on the role of judiciary in studying peace and conflict.

Generally, there has been an underestimation of their importance in addressing peace. Why are the militant groups getting legitimacy? For example the Taliban and Naxalites – who are seen as providing justice. Taliban received legitimacy to a large extent, as it was seen as providing justice.

Besides justice, there is also a need to focus on the social-economic conditions. In this context, it is also essential to address the human rights issues. An important issue that needs further focus is on the social base of militancy: Is it shifting? Can this be mapped? Also the role of Social Media and new form of radicalization need to be addressed.

There are also problems of coordination between the security forces, especially with the police. Also, as a rule, ministries all



over the world do not talk to each other. Bureaucracy has to be brought in such dialogue processes.

Peace & Conflict in South Asia: Towards Mapping & Networking

Prof S Chandrashekar



Can conflicts be mapped? Is it possible to find out whether they are networked with each other?

Geography plays a vital role in mapping and networking. If each actor is placed in a map, and who they are aligned with—in terms of having a good or a conflicting relation, a trend could be identified. For example, if one has to trace the relationship patterns of China with all its neighbours, one could easily identify the nodes.

Quantitative computation play a role in such endeavours, but qualitative analyses are also important.



*International Strategic & Security
Studies Programme*

**National Institute of Advanced
Studies (NIAS)**

About the Project

This project started with a group of young scholars during 2004-05, attempting to look at various armed conflicts in South Asia during that time. The scholars were working with different institutions and Universities at that time, but came together to see whether they could do a study and publish it as an annual. The Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS) in New Delhi under the leadership of late Mr PR Chari gave the platform to the young scholars, and the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) provided financial support. The first annual was published in 2006. Ever since, the KAS has been supporting this initiative.

The Routledge had agreed to publish this is an annual initially titled “Armed Conflicts in South Asia.”. The primary focus of the project and thereby the annual was on armed conflicts in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Northeast, Sri Lanka, Nepal and the Naxal.

Later, it was realised that there are more peace processes in South Asia, than the armed conflicts. While these peace processes existed in paper, there was not much of peace achieved in the regions, and hence the conflict continued, though with reduced violence. It was then agreed by the core group, that the project will cover peace processes as well. Also the team was ambitious to see whether they can do forecasting in armed conflicts and peace processes. Thus “Early Warning” also included in the project.

Meanwhile, some senior scholars with enormous background in working with various conflict regions in different capacities also joined this process. Dr Ashok Bhan - a former Director General of Police from J&K, Dr Nishchalnath Pandey – Director of a leading NGO and research institute in Nepal, and Mr Wasbir Hussain – a senior journalist from Northeast and head of a think tank in Guwahati also joined the core team. This mix further strengthened the process.

In 2016, the NIAS has agreed to host the annual conference, supported by the KAS.



**Konrad
Adenauer
Stiftung**

50 YEARS OF WORLDWIDE COOPERATION