From the Editors' Desk...

UN at 75: For a Secure and Peaceful World

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After some initial hiccups, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) finally held its 75th session on September 15, 2020, with a special event listed for 21 September 2020. It was titled, 'The Future We Want, the UN We Need: Reaffirming our Collective Commitment to Multilateralism'. In the midst of Covid-19 surmounting a global health and economic crisis, this sentiment was underlined by Volkan Bozkir, the Turkish diplomat, and the incoming president of the UNGA. He reiterated the need for reformation of the Security Council (UNSC) urging to make it more contemporaneous, democratic representative of our times.

Last time it was in 1965 that the rapid decolonisation had suddenly doubled UN membership resulting in expansion of UNSC by increase in non-permanent members from six to ten. The debate for similar reforms was triggered again at the end of cold war and articulated by UN General Secretary Boutros-Bourtros Ghali's An Agenda for Peace and carried forward in Kofi Anan's In Larger Freedom and his Action Plan of 2005 recommended expansion of UNSC from 15 to 24 by adding new permanent members. This is where India -- along with Brazil, Germany and Japan -- had emerged as Group of Four (G4) spearheading the campaign for obtaining a permanent seat at the UNSC.

However, this had resulted in several contrarian narratives as well, especially by another group of nations led by Italy and Pakistan called Uniting for Consensus. As a result, in spite of G4 nations since agreeing to accommodate various alternative templates of UNSC reforms this debate has remained largely academic.

Now from January 2021, as India joins UNSC as its non-permanent member for the eighth time and with a support of 184 votes out of 193 member states the credibility of India stands tall and it must be recognised. While whole world agrees on the need to democratise global governance, it is high time this largest democratic nation must be conferred a permanent seat at the UNSC. Covid-19 has exposed the inherent connectivity of humanity and this again highlights how India remains home for nearly 15 per cent of humanity. Aspiring young population of India -- that constitutes two-thirds of its population -promise for holds great collective adaptation, mitigation and conservation redress unprecedented strategies to like pandemics or global challenges warming.

In his online address to the UNGA delivered on September 26, 2020, Prime Minister Modi aptly underlined that the UN must reform itself if it seeks to remain relevant for the 21st century. He said, the "stability in the United Nations and empowerment of the United Nations are essential for the welfare of the world". As the world celebrated the 150th birth anniversary of the apostle of peace —Mahatma Gandhi — India's transformed and rising stature and especially its historical track record of an unstinted commitment to building a just, peaceful and harmonious world perhaps increasingly puts the onus now on the UNSC to protect its legitimacy and credibility.

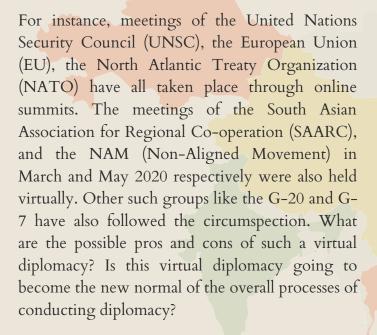
Prof Swaran Singh Dr Reena Marwah Editors



Diplomacy and its Evolution in the Era of Covid-19

At a basic level diplomacy is understood as a peaceful conduct of relations among political entities. The nature of these political entities has evolved from empires to modern states. Equally the institution of diplomacy has also evolved depending upon the social, economic,

depending upon the social, economic, political and technological context in which it operates. The Covid-19 pandemic has affected all domains of human existence in myriad ways. As it has forced entire countries under lockdowns and work from home methods, the practice of diplomacy was also equally affected. From being conducted in a face to face manner in both traditional closed-door settings and open platforms of intergovernmental organizations, diplomacy has been forced to go virtual.



The proliferation of virtual diplomacy which has been accelerated by the pandemic needs to be contextualized within the ongoing revolution in information and communications technology (ICT). Since negotiations is the fundamental bedrock of diplomacy, this ICT revolution had already made substantial impact on the actors, issues and processes of diplomacy. This has



by Dr. Gazala Fareedi

brought new terminologies in the theory of diplomacy, such as, rapid reaction diplomacy, networked model of diplomacy, digital diplomacy, public diplomacy, media diplomacy and others. The Covid-19 pandemic has accelerated

the pace of these changes.

From being dependent on diplomatic pouches and encrypted embassy cablegrams, diplomatic communications being are conducted increasingly by using open sources of social media. Traditional diplomacy was conducted between governments and was only lately supplemented by public diplomacy, where the government of a country directly reached out to the public in a foreign country. The logic of such outreach being that a favorable public opinion can reap benefits in foreign policy towards the host country. This became one of the core instruments of augmenting a country's soft power. Such outreach could also bring about an awareness and interest in foreign policy among the domestic population of a country. Fast paced digital diplomacy effectively improved consular services especially in times of human-made and natural calamities that needed a quick response from the external affairs division.

Prevailing modes of virtual diplomacy during the pandemic are only a continuation of this broad evolution of the diplomatic processes. It may have begun as a necessary stop gap measure when the world had literally come to a standstill in the second quarter of 2020. But its benefits have ranged from its cost-cutting nature to the relative openness of negotiation. However, there are also some drawbacks and challenges. The first one being cyber-security. Since such meetings have sensitive and confidential material exchange, the threat of leakage and hacking hampers the free



flow of information among the negotiating parties. Secondly, some developing countries are at a loss as they lag far behind in internet penetration, bandwidth and technological expertise to be able to conduct online meetings with the same finesse and ease as developed countries. Face to face meetings provided diplomats and political leaders with the opportunity of building a personal rapport with their counterparts, which is considered important not only for effective negotiations but also in building long lasting partnerships.

"If the diplomatic public sphere has to be broadened and deepened, then the virtual is only a small part of this engagement, especially in developing countries."

In this age of virtual information overload, fake news and post-truth, diplomats have to play an important role in bringing about a semblance of direction and legitimacy to the conduct of foreign policy narratives. Likewise, in the evolution of diplomacy, the use of social media outreach using the tools of ICT by the diplomatic community are a reality that can be ignored only at our own peril. This transformation of course opens up the black box of foreign policy negotiations for the general public and that could contribute towards democratizing diplomacy. However, this does not mean that most of diplomacy will be continued to be conducted in the realm of the virtual after the pandemic is over or that virtual diplomacy is the new normal.

Diplomats invest a lifetime in the building of several inter-personal bonds in their host

countries which goes on to become only one of the several methods in their diplomatic skillsets. The processes of diplomacy are far too dynamic to be restricted to the virtual sphere. The pandemic has surely expanded the diplomatic public sphere but it will remain only a small part diplomatic engagements especially developing countries. It cannot in anyway replace face to face diplomacy and direct engagement over joint programmes of various kinds both inter-government and people to people diplomacy. All social and political institutions have adapted themselves to the forced situation created by the pandemic and the realm of virtual diplomacy is one such adaptation. It should not be over-hyped as it only supplements traditional processes complements the diplomatic practice, at best introducing few piecemeal changes.

The author is currently Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Southfield College, University of North Bengal. Views expressed are personal.



Indian Foreign Policy for a Peaceful Afghanistan

Afghanistan has seen regimes marked by contrasting and, more often than not, antagonistic ideological leanings. Government operation in the country has consistently witnessed power struggles, coups and unstable (and



unsustainable) transfer of power. The country has seen a flux of military conflict and cumbersome political leadership since the late 1970s that hopefully will see an end in the aftermath of the scheduled peace talks in Doha, Qatar.

The February 2020 agreement mandated retrieval of NATO troops from Afghanistan along with an effective ceasefire by the Taliban with the US coalition. That was followed by US-mediated negotiation between the Taliban and the Ashraf Ghani government, which were halted since March due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Since India currently shares a strong relationship with both the US and the Afghan government, such an axis can prove instrumental in highlighting Indian diplomatic potency and securing Indian interests in Afghanistan by keeping power away from the Taliban, while also reducing Pakistani influence in the region.

Indian policy towards Afghanistan demonstrates the dichotomy between its aspiration for a larger role in its northwestern neighbourhood and the constraints that follow. High-level visits by both countries are a routine practice with the two overseeing numerous collaborations and consistent cooperation on economic and developmental fronts. New Delhi has invested a generous amount of over US\$ 3 billion towards reconstruction and nation-building endeavours in Afghanistan. Human resource development and capacity building initiatives constitute a vital segment of Indian assistance in Afghanistan. Since 2005, the

two have collaborated over community development under the High Impact Community Development Projects (HICDP) in areas of education, health, water management, government buildings, sports facilities, agriculture and

irrigation, and so on. Therefore, India stands as an important stakeholder.

Amidst this reconfiguration of government, Indian presence is seen as a provocation and as evidence of an Indian strategy of encirclement by Islamabad. It has complicated Indian cooperation with Afghanistan. Similarly, Pakistani interests in the Afghan negotiations are a matter of concern for India. Traditionally, the Taliban has an anti-Indian stance, and hence New Delhi sees the Taliban as a Pakistani installation in Afghanistan. Reciprocally, any Indian presence in Afghanistan is seen by Pakistan as an attempt to open a second Western front, threatening Pakistani interests.

The Taliban houses its very own pro-India and pro-Pak factions contesting for power with the dissolution of the Taliban in sight. With the two verging on an outright military confrontation, Pakistani willingness to back its faction looks very troublesome for Indian prospects. The Taliban remains Pakistan's most preferred choice for government in an running the Afghanistan. The Indian government, opposition to this, is anxious about yielding control to the Taliban. Moreover, if the Taliban clashes with the Afghan military, Pakistan will face a dilemma wherein it can lose either as an ally. This will present India with either an opportunity to stand on the same side as Pakistan, for once, or against it.



The Afghan peace talks happen in the backdrop of American troops pulling out and in the face of grievous atrocities inflicted on the government officials as well as the civilians. The negotiations are complicated, at every turn, by the threat of continued insurgent assaults, deep political

"In light of the invitation by the American interlocutor Khalilzad to play a key role in the Afghan negotiations, India has fervently welcomed a peace process that is "Afghan-led, Afghan-owned and Afghan-controlled".

divisions after a disputed election, decades of loss and grievance, and by foreign powers pulling Afghan factions in opposing directions. Nevertheless, the sheer opportunity of negotiating a lasting solution is a historic one that Afghanistan should grab by the horns lest a vacuum makes way for yet another foreign military intrusion. While both, the government and the Taliban, agree on ousting foreign troops, consensus over political recourse for the future is left to achieve. In this situation of humanitarian, though unlikely permanent, ceasefire by the Taliban and foggy political prospects, India finds itself in a position that expects it to be more proactive and reconciliatory.

India has proven its political and diplomatic capabilities not just regionally but also internationally. Its continued investment in Afghanistan for infrastructure and developmental purposes lends it massive credibility as a

democracy promoter and peace negotiator. This has prompted the US to invite India to play a central role in the Afghan dialogue, in consonance with the American South Asian policy that calls for stronger ties with India. Evidently, New Delhi's situation will become even more complex when the Taliban takes part in the Afghan government, and Indian-friendly elements in the administration get replaced or sidelined.

Pakistan, however, has been reckless in its action of linking the peace process in Afghanistan to the Kashmir issue, as reiterated by the Afghan Foreign Ministry. Moreover, it lacks influence on not just some segments of the Taliban factions but also on anti-Taliban forces. New Delhi, however, could help bridge this gap. In light of the invitation by the American interlocutor Khalilzad to play a key role in the Afghan negotiations, India has fervently welcomed a peace process that is "Afghan-led, Afghan-owned and Afghancontrolled". India must use its new-found diplomatic pragmatism and economic pull to ensure that the Afghan government pursues a favourable policy, while maintaining a sovereign democratic character. Furthermore, it must balance between the US and Afghanistan in a way that helps it stand its ground. Bitterness from past experience might remain between the US and Afghanistan. Indian Afghan policy, however, will get influenced by the outcome of the peace talks.

Author is currently pursuing BA Political Science, Honours, from Lady Shri Ram College for Women, Delhi University. Views expressed are personal.



Webinar Session 19, 16 September 2020

Dr. Meghna Guhathakurta; Women, Peace and Security in Post COVID-19 Asia



Link to webinar here

The session began with Dr. Guhathakurtha discussing the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 which was formalised in the year 2000. This resolution discussed the impact on women during armed conflicts, recognizing that their experience was different from men. It further elaborated the absence of women in peace building exercises. According Guhathakurta, the main thrust of 1325 was to bring women within peace building negotiations. Later the parameter was extended from armed conflict to empowerment. To put this resolution into action, more than 60 member countries adopted their own National Action Plans.

Dr. Guhathakurta explained the four pillars that the NAP of each country was based on. These were prevention, participation, protection, and relief and recovery. She further drew on these points and applied it to the pandemic, emphasizing on the goals of linking short term strategies with long term policies and institution building. In this context she gave the example of South Asian countries being more prepared to deal with the Covid-19 virus. According to her this

was because countries in South Asia were prepared and had institutions and research already in place as they had experience with SARS of 2003. In the context of the effect of the pandemic on women's issues, she raised two important themes. Research shows that underlying structures of gender inequality have negatively affected women during the pandemic. Apart from this she analyzed how the pandemic overshadowed and sidelined many of the existing WPS agendas. In the situation of an emergency, governments tend to look at crises first as a result of which many democratic processes are temporarily suspended. However Dr. Guhathakurta raised the question of whether these were temporary or aiming to become systemic.

In light of the current pandemic, she discussed how countries should prepare to face these situations. She brought into focus the gender disparity the pandemic had unveiled, negatively impacting women households. She also emphasized on the importance of healthcare and the need for it to be locally capacitated since the pandemic hinders mobility.

by Edha Garg



Webinar Session 20, 23 September 2020

Ms. Sharmin Ahmad; The War of Liberation of Bangladesh: Reflections on Faith and Harmony



Link to webinar here

In an emotional and impassioned tone, Ms. Sharmin Ahmad shared a personal account of her experiences as a seven-year-old during the 1971 War of Liberation. She laid down her argument by elucidating that there exist two tiers that affect national policies - human experience, and how political leadership uses those experiences to formulate policies that promote peace and social justice. After drawing up the historical background of the War of Liberation to provide the assembly with the context of her talk, she cited instances about what she calls 'a story of faith and harmony'. With her father as a leader of the Awami League, her family was subjected to political scrutiny by the West Pakistan forces along with the adoration of the East Pakistani people. She also recounted how freedom fighters like him wished for posterity to carry forth the legacy of the War of Liberation, and she hopes for the same.

The talk was followed by a question and answer session. Multiple questions were asked regarding whether the essence of one of the founding principles i.e, secularism that guided 1971 was still present in Bangladesh's politics. Ms. Ahmad explained that although the government was

trying, elements in society propagating communalism were present. She further elucidated that because of the poverty in Bangladesh many orthodox religious groups were able to monopolise on this by providing economic aid and ideologically framing the minds of children.

Another question that appeared multiple times was regarding the souring of India Bangladesh relations. In Ms. Ahmad's opinion there was a fear in Bangladesh of Indian economic hegemony. This was based on rumours. However, many groups on both sides were capitalising on this fear to further their own narrow gains. Political leadership according to her should not dwell on this. A continuous emphasis was made throughout her session to build on the values of peace and facilitation of interfaith activities and she drew examples from the Quran to reiterate this. Ms. Ahmad's answers were supplemented with personal anecdotes and experiences from her life which made it more relatable.

by Ankita Ghosh



Webinar Session 21, 30 September 2020

Dr. Patrick Mendis; U.S.-China and the Two Unsinkable Aircraft Carriers



Link to webinar here

The webinar commenced with Dr. Reena Marwah's welcome address, followed by the speaker's introduction by Prof. Swaran Singh. Dr. Mendis began by elaborating on the two visions of America namely Hamiltonian (focusing on the economy) and Jeffersonian (stressing on freedom). This resulted in the joint idea of facilitating peace through trade. The motto of America's foreign policy could be seen in Jefferson's statement, "Commerce with all nations, alliance with none".

Dr. Mendis discussed what he calls the Chinese experiment tracing the journey of Chinese economic foreign policy as well as individual freedoms from Confucian times right up till current president Xi Jinping. According to him, while Jinping has facilitated trade he has curtailed freedoms. He further spoke about Jinping's 'China Dream' through which he envisions the revival of the Celestial Empire of China. This is the vision which has caused border conflicts with India, Bhutan and Kazakhstan.

These two divergent ideas of the empire of liberty which America wishes to create and the Celestial Kingdom of Jinping's vision, are incompatible. The two routes modelled in China as part of the One Belt, One Road Initiative (BRI), are based on the Economic Silk Belt of the Tang Dynasty and the Maritime Silk Road of the Qing Dynasty. According to Dr. Mendis, China wants to get rid of the Empire of Liberty and to replace American influence across Asia. The end of BRI is to recapture Taiwan. Recognizing this, the USA government has initiated the Taipei Act of 2019 recognizing the independence of Taiwan and preventing diplomatic isolation.

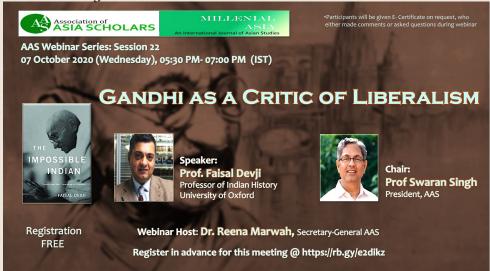
Into this context, Dr. Mendis brought up the idea of the "Unsinkable Aircraft Carrier", proposed by McArthur in 1950. According to Dr. Mendis, Taiwan and now Sri Lanka act as two unsinkable aircraft carriers for China to extend its influence in Asia. In his opinion China has control over Sri Lanka like a 'tributary state' and hence the US cannot exert its influence. The reason China chose Sri Lanka as its second 'unsinkable aircraft carrier', according to Dr. Mendes was because of its shared historical past. Furthermore he discussed the choice now in front of the Asian countries of either an alliance with the US led Quad or China.

by Chudamani Iyer Akshara



Webinar Session 22, 07 October 2020

Professor Faisal Devji; Gandhi as a Critic of Liberalism



Link to webinar here

Professor Devji spoke about how liberalism in England and elsewhere in Europe was established at least in part because it exported violence abroad to its colonies. It did so in this peculiar arrangement of the universal and particular. The liberal universality applicable in Britain was opposed to the exception (particular) that was applicable to the colonies. The arsenal of illiberal and exceptional arbitrary laws in the latter served as the site for colonial violence.

Gandhi was fully conscious of these complexities and hence submits the procedural language of liberalism to intense interrogation. The categories that Gandhi focuses upon are first, the idea of interests (interests being the crucial political category specific to liberalism); second, contract (being the chief way in which the relationship between interests is conceptualized); third, mediation (as interests come into agreement through a contract that is being mediated by the liberal state) and lastly, rights (the establishment of interest is protected by a legal regime of rights).

For Gandhi and many of his contemporaries in India, interest was a difficult category as it was made possible by property, both of a physical nature (land, material) and conceived in

metaphorical ways (identity as one's property).

Without a regime of property, one could not have interest as a political and intellectual category. Gandhi was of the view that since most Indians were poor and deprived of property and because capitalism was relatively new to India, property could not define social relations. Gandhi valued sacrifice as a way of thinking and a form of action and that depended upon renunciation of these propertied relations for others, one's country, goodness, virtue and in the cause of non-violence. Social relations anywhere cannot be and should not be defined by interests and if it does, then it results in the destruction of the entire society. With regard to rights, Gandhi valued duties more than rights, as rights were given and taken away by the state, but duties were not given by anyone and nor could they be taken away. Both exist together but this foregrounding of duties over rights by Gandhi is a foregrounding of disinterest and sacrifice as set against interest, mediation and contract.



Webinar Session 23, 14 October 2020

Dr. Paul Bueno de Mesquita; Gandhi, King and the Antidote to the Virus of Violence



Link to webinar here.

Dr Paul Bueno de Mesquita commenced the lecture by highlighting the links between Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. He spoke about the dreams of King Luther and the importance of internationalising non-violence training. He also spoke about the evolutionary process in which he discussed situations of order and disorder. He elaborated on the present turbulent times and the ways in which the virus of violence was spreading. He addressed perspectives of health i.e. global pandemic, environment i.e. climate change, economic, i.e., rich versus poor and social injustice i.e. human rights violation and political violence.

He further discussed different types of violence. He suggested ways in which violence can be countered. According to the speaker, Gandhi was an evolutionary thinker, who believed in the survival of the friendliest and most adaptive. He was the first person to use non-violence in a mass organised way to alter political realities. The speaker then shed light on the influence of/on Gandhi on writers like Leo Tolstoy, John Ruskin and King Luther. He also spoke about five core principles of Gandhi— Ahimsa, Satyagraha, Sarvodaya, Swaraj/ Swadeshi and Tapasya.

Kingian nonviolence, he asserted, was influenced by Gandhi, Thoreau and Tolstoy. The speaker elaborated King's Principles of Nonviolence– Courage, Beloved Community, Problems not People, Accept Suffering, No Internal Violence, Justice

He also discussed the six steps of methodology or strategic steps to achieve the six principles, as being Information Gathering, Education, Personal Commitment, Negotiation, Dramatic Direct Action and Reconciliation.

He further compared the dialectical reasoning of Gandhi and King and concluded that "Truth is in the whole". He also discussed the top down bottom up model of social change. He concluded that "Gandhi + King = Antidote of Violence". The session was followed by a question and answer session. The session concluded with reinforcing the non-violence views of Gandhi and King and added another successful event for AAS.



News in Pictures



TURKEY: Turkey sails into contested Mediterranean waters, angering Greece. Credit: Al Jazeera



UNHRC: China, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Cuba and Pakistan expected to join UN human rights council. Credit: TASS



JAPAN: Second Ministerial Meeting of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue. Credit: Reuters



CHINA:Mainland China reports first local COVID-19 infections in nearly two months. Credit: Reuters



VIETNAM: Floods, rough seas from South China Sea flood villages in Vietnam, killing 18. Credit: AFP



NAGORNO-KARABAKH: War between Azerbaijan and Armenia aggravated by new tchnology and weapons. Credit: Reuters



BANGLADESH: Gang violence erupts between rival factions of drug trade in Bangladesh Rohingya camps forcing families to flee. Credit: AFP/Getty



JAPAN: Japan's Foreign Minister Toshimitsu Motegi speaks during a meeting in Tokyo, Japan October. Credit: Reuters



INDONESIA: Indonesia Islamic groups, students join movement to scrap jobs law. Student protesters light fires during rally against bill. Credit: AP Images



NORTH KOREA: Kim Jong Un unveils massive new ballistic missile in military parade. Credit: CNN



AAS has impressively seized the opportunity to engage very learned scholars from across the globe through a webinar series on issues of regional security and now on Gandhi. It is very interactive, engaging and more important has objectivity. We look forward to it every week. Kudos!

> - Dr. Nausheen Wasi Assistant Professor & Director, Program on South Asia Studies Department of International Relations, University of Karachi

Excellent presentation by Prof Faisal Devji on Gandhi in the last AAS Wednesday Webinar. It's great way of making celebrated experts of global repute accessible to young Indian scholars. Thanks to the AAS team for this wonderful combination of quality and commitment.

> - Mr Manish Dabhade, Assistant Professor, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

AAS Webinar is a huge platform for interaction with distinguished, well-read experts of international recognition which provides wide ranging exposure to scholars on topics of strategic, geo-political importance. Congratulations to Prof. Swaran Singh, Dr. Reena Marwah and AAS team.

> - Dr. Balbindar Kumar, Faculty, ULIS, PUSSGRC Hoshiarpur, Punjab

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