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SAND98-2442
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Printed November 1998

CMC Participation in the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS) Workshop: Defense, Technology and Cooperative Security in South Asia

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Prepared by
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CMC Participation in the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS) Workshop: Defense, Technology and Cooperative Security in South Asia

Shanghai, China
September 20-26, 1998

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Abstract

As an ongoing part of the collaborative efforts between the Cooperative Monitoring Center (CMC) at Sandia National Laboratories, the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), and U.S. Department of Energy (DOE), staff from the CMC served as faculty in conducting a workshop in Shanghai, China. Sponsor of the workshop was the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS) based in Colombo, Sri Lanka. The workshop included participants from throughout South Asia and China. The CMC presented four sessions related to the role of monitoring technologies in promoting regional security and building confidence among nations. Participation in these workshops supports U.S. efforts to further regional cooperation and promote arms control, nonproliferation, and other cooperative security measures and supplements efforts funded by DOE and ACDA over the past four years. The RCSS Shanghai meeting permitted a continued CMC involvement in regionally conducted training for a new generation of leaders in government, the military, and academia throughout South Asia and China. Nuclear issues are clearly a dominant South Asian concern since the nuclear tests of May 1998. However, there remains a strong interest in identifying opportunities for increased trade and reduced tensions in other areas. The RCSS and other regional organizations are enthusiastic about continued CMC involvement in future regional courses.

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Acronyms and Definitions

ACDA	Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (United States)
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party, ruling Indian political party (India)
CBM	Confidence Building Measure
CMC	Cooperative Monitoring Center (Sandia National Laboratories)
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
DOE	Department of Energy (United States)
FMCT	Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty
GAD	General Armament Department (China)
GLD	General Logistic Department (China)
GPD	General Political Department (China)
GS	General Staff (China)
LAC	Line of Actual Control (between India and China)
MTCR	Missile Technology Control Regime
PLA	People's Liberation Army (China)
RCSS	Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka
SNL	Sandia National Laboratories

Executive Summary

As an ongoing part of the collaborative efforts between the Cooperative Monitoring Center (CMC) at Sandia National Laboratories, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), and U.S. Department of Energy (DOE), staff from the CMC served as faculty in conducting a workshop in Shanghai, China. Sponsor of the workshop was the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS) based in Colombo, Sri Lanka. The workshop was entitled "Summer Workshop on Defense, Technology and Cooperative Security in South Asia." This was the sixth such workshop held since 1993 and included participants from throughout South Asia and China. The CMC presented four sessions related to the role of monitoring technologies in promoting regional security and building confidence among nations. CMC staff participated in six of the ten days of the workshop that was held September 21-29, 1998. Participation in these workshops supports U.S. efforts to further regional cooperation and promote arms control, nonproliferation, and other cooperative security measures and supplements efforts funded by DOE and the ACDA over the past four years. The trip included six days in China and associated travel days.

The meeting venue was the Center for American Studies at Fudan University in Shanghai. Professor SHEN Dingli was local host for the meeting. Dr. Iftekhar Zaman, executive director of RCSS, was the co-director of the workshop. Thirty-one South Asian participants were selected from several hundred applicants to attend the workshop. While ACDA and DOE supported CMC participation, several foundations paid for the participation of South Asians and for the majority of food and lodging expenses of all faculty and students. A list of participants and faculty is provided later in the report. Plans for this workshop began shortly after similar CMC participation in the fifth summer school held in Kandy, Sri Lanka, in September 1997. Preparation for this workshop included development of new briefing materials, portable demonstrations, and exercise elements. The Shanghai workshop was successful in reaching a wide audience of young South Asian analysts, academics, and government officials with the concepts of cooperative monitoring, the technologies available, and applications in which the technologies are already deployed.

The workshop in China represented a successful continuation of our activities in South Asia and Northeast Asia. This was the first workshop for CMC in China. Kent Biringen and John Olsen conducted the CMC portions of the workshop. In addition, the CMC benefited from interacting with other faculty and students and from hearing other presentations on issues and policies of South Asian nations and China.

Report Details

The “Summer Workshop on Defense, Technology and Cooperative Security in South Asia” was held in Shanghai, China, September 21-29, 1998. The meeting was organized by the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in collaboration with the Center for American Studies at Fudan University in Shanghai. This was the sixth in a series of annual workshops held since 1993.

The main objective of the workshop was to provide a forum for young South Asian and Chinese professionals to mutually and collectively examine and understand the major issues of defense, national security, regional stability, and confidence building in South Asia. It also encourages a new generation of analysts, commentators, and opinion shapers to introduce fresh ideas, perspectives, and initiatives to the security debate in the region.

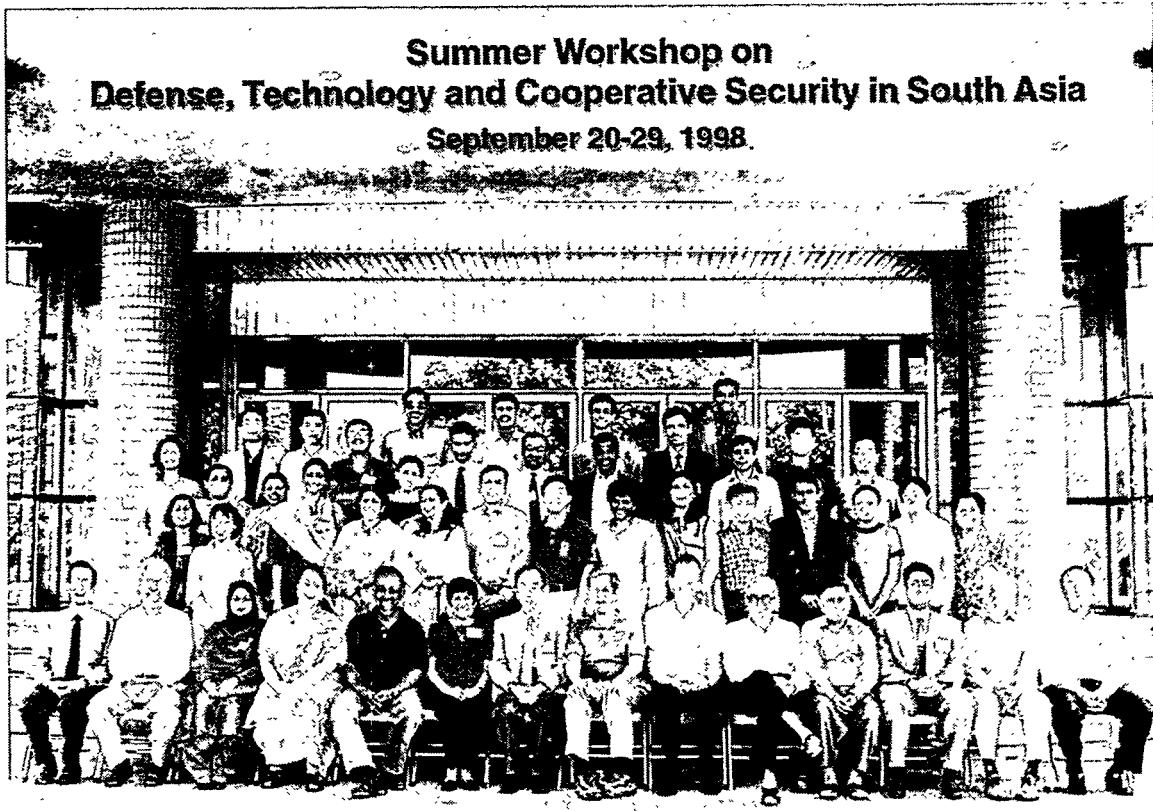


Figure 1. Shanghai Workshop Faculty and Participants

The course content included sessions dealing with:

- Security: Conceptions and Context
- Defense and Technology: Conventional and Nuclear
- Confidence Building and Cooperative Security

This was the third workshop in which staff of the Cooperative Monitoring Center (CMC) have served on the faculty. The four CMC sessions addressed the technologies and concepts for cooperative monitoring among nations to promote security and build confidence. CMC participation was limited to the first half of the workshop, September 21-25.

The format for the working sessions included faculty presentations followed by discussion and question time between faculty and participants. This year, a total of 31 participants from seven nations were chosen for the workshop from hundreds of applications. Those nations represented included India, Pakistan, China, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal, and the Maldives. Likewise, the faculty was made up of individuals from several nations. They included India, Pakistan, China, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, United Kingdom, and the United States. A complete listing of participants and faculty are included in the appendix. In order to maintain open communication between participants and with the faculty, the meeting was conducted without attribution.

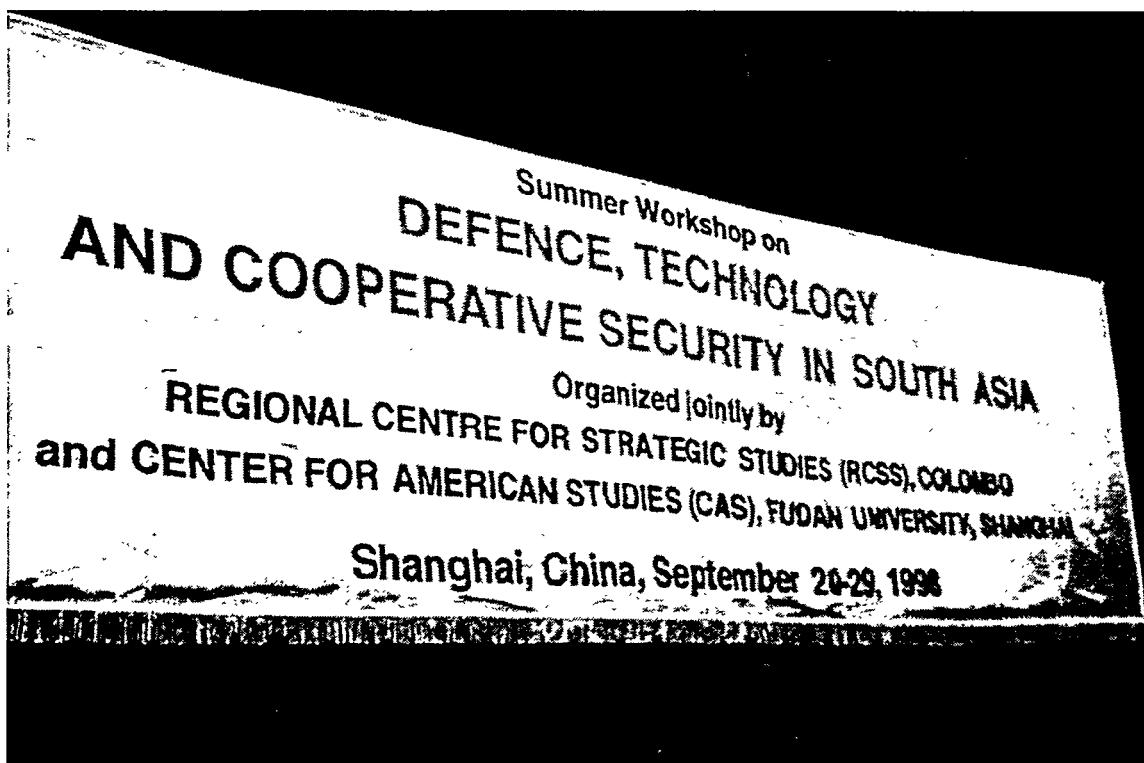


Figure 2. Conference Banner at Fudan University

South Asia Discussions

Much of the meeting focused on the rationale and results of the nuclear tests that were conducted in South Asia in May 1998. There was a consensus that the internal politics within India and the rise to power of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) were primary drivers in the Indian decision to conduct nuclear tests. The BJP stance for strong national power translates to military power and accompanying nuclear capability. Other discussion centered on the strong role exercised by the scientific community in India to demonstrate and test their capabilities. Other

factors contributing to the Indian decision to test were the perceived lack of progress by the acknowledged nuclear states to proceed with nuclear disarmament and the lack of recognition afforded India by their nuclear restraint since their nuclear test of 1974. In a letter from Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee to President Clinton, rationale for the tests was given as perceived threats from China and Pakistan. Contents of the letter served as a setback in Sino/Indian relations.

Presently there is a moratorium on nuclear testing in South Asia. However, there are differing views on whether India will need more nuclear tests. More missile tests are anticipated and the status of nuclear weaponization remains unclear. While serious consideration is being given to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) in India, there are still concerns about issues such as subcritical tests and lack of broader commitment to disarmament. Nevertheless, India has now gone on record as planning to sign the CTBT by September 1999. It is also expected that India will begin to participate in discussions on the concept of a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT). One large question remaining is the nuclear doctrine in India that will drive the future of the program. A series of options was outlined that varied from that of a global power with ability to project nuclear deterrence worldwide to minimum levels of deterrence.

The consensus view on Pakistan was that their decision for nuclear testing was a politically required response to the Indian test. The internal political pressures in Pakistan demanded that they demonstrate their capability against the larger neighbor. This was required despite the fact that other nations were prepared to offer incentives not to test and the fact that the imposition of sanctions due to testing would further stress the Pakistan economy that is on the brink of collapse.

The issue of Indian and Pakistani intentions with respect to the CTBT were also discussed. While it was felt that both would eventually sign the agreement, the time frame and conditions under which they will sign remain an open issue.

Chinese Perspectives

With the workshop venue in China, there was a marked increase in Chinese participation compared to previous workshops. This was true both in terms of faculty and participants. A significant portion of the workshop was devoted to Chinese perspectives. A comprehensive view of Chinese security concerns, strategies, and policies were articulated. The relationship of China with South Asian nations was also presented.

Considering the Indian nuclear tests as a political rather than military measure, the Chinese exercised restraint in their initial response. Similarly, there was little or no tension with China over the 1974 Indian nuclear test. However, following the letter of India Prime Minister Vajpayee to President Clinton in which he justified the tests because of the threats posed largely by China, there was a setback in India/China relations. Despite the tests, Chinese policy remains one of adhering to the CTBT, remaining committed to the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), and supporting an India/Pakistan resolution of the Kashmir dispute.



Figure 3. Professors SHEN Dingli and CHENG Tiamquan Welcome Participants to Shanghai

Chinese speakers outlined aspects of Chinese military and foreign policy. With respect to South Asia, they highlighted their objectives of nuclear weapon elimination, multipolarization, no military alliances, and India/Pakistan signing the CTBT. China is committed to improving relations with its many neighbors. China has more immediate neighbors than any other nation and recognizes the need to maintain stability on its borders. They acknowledge 16 land neighbors and six sea neighbors representing 20 different nations (North Korea and Vietnam are both land and sea neighbors). Therefore they are committed to resolving direct disputes with neighbors and to seeking cooperation among neighbors who themselves have disputes. Two areas of border dispute remain with India. One in northeast India covers 90,000 sq. km and the other in the Aksai Chin area in western India covers 33,000 sq. km. While not resolved, there is a de facto settlement being maintained along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) and China is in no hurry for a final agreement.

The Chinese also stressed the need for political stability in addition to military capability in order to maintain national security. To achieve these goals, China is seeking:

- to avoid being drawn into military conflicts,
- to defend Chinese territory with its 20 neighbors without the use of military force,
- to maintain national unity and deter separatist movements, and
- to prevent proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

The specific regional security concerns mentioned were 1) war in Korea, 2) rejuvenation of Japanese military capability, 3) South China Sea disputes, and 4) Afghanistan civil war. For these and other reasons, the Chinese employ a concept of active defense in which they seek to reduce the threats to China's security in order to avoid military conflict.

This concept of Chinese active defense includes several strategies, including the following:

1. Increasing contact of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) with militaries of other countries.
2. Developing defense self-reliance based on expansion of its own military industry.
3. Developing counter-attack deterrence and relying on defensive military strategy.
4. Modernizing and placing a greater emphasis on technology and reduced dependence on military manpower.



Figure 4. Dr. YAN Xuetong Discusses His Lecture

The Chinese policies necessary to help achieve these strategies consist of plans for modernizing the defense capability, developing international security cooperation, and seeking improved political relationships.

The policy of modernized defense capability in China is being implemented through planned reductions in manpower to help fund improved equipment. Plans are to reduce military forces by 500,000 troops. In addition there is a reform underway in the structure of the military system. One example is the recent (last 6 months) establishment of the General Armament Department (GAD) under the Central Military Commission. The GAD is responsible for managing the transition to greater military use of technology. This department joins the General Staff (GS), General Political Department (GPD), and the General Logistic Department (GLD) within the military structure. Military forces themselves are categorized as active, reserve, armed police, and militia. Claims are that the reform of the active forces (army, navy, air force, and second artillery) is underway. Finally, modernization will include elements of improved training.

Elements of Chinese International Security Policy include adherence to a non-aligned status, focus on bilateral contacts, participation in multilateral security dialogues, and arms

control. They believe their policy has common ground with India and they stated a desire to maintain evenhanded relations with both India and Pakistan.

Improving political relationships will involve establishing partnerships with countries such as Russia, the U.S., and France. It will also consist of efforts to reduce potential border conflicts, including those with South Asia. The Chinese seek to reduce troop levels deployed on their borders as well as seek areas of cooperation.

CMC Sessions

The CMC workshop participation included four working sessions conducted over a two-day period on September 23 and 25. The first two were presentations of cooperative monitoring concepts, precedents, and technologies and the latter two were devoted to a cooperative monitoring simulation exercise in which the participants were asked to evaluate border security and cooperative monitoring options for a hypothetical situation.

The first session included two briefings entitled, “Cooperative Monitoring Concepts and Precedents” and “Nuclear and Environmental Monitoring for South Asian Agreements.” Initially the concepts presented met with some skepticism. However, as it became apparent that the CMC was presenting tools and concepts for use by those in the region and not outside intervention, there was a strong enthusiasm for the role of cooperative monitoring in South Asia. The second session went on to present additional technology options including “Remote Sensing Contributions to Cooperative Monitoring,” “Introduction to On-Site Inspection,” and “Monitoring India-China Border Agreements.” This second session included demonstrations of an extensive amount of CMC hardware including active and passive seals and tags; seismic, magnetic, infrared break-beam, and passive-infrared ground sensors; and video capture technology.

Following the sessions there were question and answer periods in which additional concepts could be clarified. This also provided additional time to view the technology exhibits. CMC interactions with Indian and Chinese experts on the Sino-Indian border dispute were also helpful. Several faculty members offered opinions and estimates of the current status of negotiations for implementing existing confidence building measures (CBMs.) These will help guide on-going studies at the CMC on this topic. For example, it appears that an implementation that fosters increased trade across the border would help meet the economic goals of both parties. Throughout the balance of the workshop, informal discussions were held with many of the participants.



Figure 5. Workshop Participant Views Monitoring Demonstration

A highlight for many was the application of the cooperative monitoring principles and technologies in the simulation exercise conducted during the final two CMC sessions. The participants were divided into two teams and asked to evaluate a hypothetical security agreement between two countries and to serve as technical advisors in recommending to their governments the monitoring options that could be employed in this conventional forces scenario. Participants took their roles seriously, while having a good time in conducting the exercise. The CMC demonstration hardware was again set up for consideration by the participants. All expressed a great deal of enthusiasm for the process and the way in which it enhanced their understanding of the cooperative monitoring concept and technologies.



Figure 6. Workshop Participants Engage in Monitoring Simulation

Several requests for additional materials were received. There is also interest in publishing some CMC South Asian research in regional publications. CMC participation again proved valuable in promoting the objectives of dialogue and confidence building in South Asia which are promoted by ACDA, the State Department, and DOE.

Conclusions

The RCSS Shanghai meeting permitted a continued CMC involvement in regionally conducted training for a new generation of leaders in government, the military, and academia throughout South Asia and China. The CMC was well received in this South Asian confidence building workshop. This was the first CMC project in China and served to unite CMC interests in both South Asia and Northeast Asia. This meeting represented an increased level of Chinese openness and participation in this ongoing workshop series.

Nuclear issues are clearly a dominant South Asian concern since the nuclear tests of May 1998. However, there remains a strong interest in identifying opportunities for increased trade and reduced tensions in other areas. The Chinese are also committed to seeking resolution of conflicts among their neighbors including those in South Asia as articulated in presentations on Chinese policy.

Support by ACDA and DOE for cooperative monitoring training provides the opportunity for the CMC to promote the concept, make new regional contacts, identify scholar candidates, and assess potential study and experimental projects. The RCSS and other regional organizations are enthusiastic about continued CMC involvement in future regional courses.

Contact Lists

RCSS Workshop Participants

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Regional Centre for Strategic Studies
Colombo

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Dr. Iftekhar Zaman, Regional Center for Strategic Studies (Colombo, Sri Lanka) and Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies

China

Mr. CHENG Ruisheng, China Center for International Studies (former Chinese ambassador to India)

Dr. NI Shixiong, Fudan University

Dr. SHEN Dingli, Fudan University

Dr. YAN Xuetong, China Institute of Contemporary International Relations

India

Dr. Kanti P. Bajpai, Jawaharlal Nehru University

Professor P. R. Chari, Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies

Professor Giri Deshingker, Institute of Chinese Studies

Mr. Shekhar Gupta, Indian Express

Pakistan

Dr. Samina Ahmed, Asia Foundation

Mr. Shahid H. Kardar, Systems Limited

Dr. Maleeha Lodhi, *The News*

Mr. Ahmer Bilal Soofi, Ahmer Bilal Soofi and Company

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Dr. John H. N. Gooneratne, Regional Center for Strategic Studies

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Dr. Patricia M. Lewis, United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), Geneva

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Mr. Kent Biringer, Sandia National Labs

Professor Stephen P. Cohen, Brookings Institution

Dr. John Olsen, Sandia National Labs

Dr. George R. Perkovich, W. Alton Jones Foundation

Professor Clifford E. Singer, University of Illinois

Appendix - Program Agenda

September 20, 1998 **Sunday**

Introductory Meeting

Welcome Dinner

September 21, 1998 **Monday**

Key-note lecture: Security of South Asia: Searching for the Key Variable
Stephen P. Cohen

Discussion

China's Relations with South Asia: Recent Trends and Future Outlook

Cheng Ruisheng

Participant Group meetings

India's Nuclear Policy and Posture: Looking Ahead

P.R. Chari

Pakistan's Nuclear Policy and Posture: Looking Ahead

Samina Ahmed

China's Nuclear Policy and Posture: Looking Ahead

Dingli Shen

Living with Nuclear Reality in South Asia

Samina Ahmed, Kanti P. Bajpai

Nuclear South Asia: NNWS Perspectives

September 23, 1998

Wednesday

United States, China and South Asia
Stephen P. Cohen

Issues and Challenges in Global Nuclear Disarmament
Patricia M. Lewis

Cooperative Security in South Asia
Kanti P. Bajpai

Cooperative Monitoring Concepts & Precedents; Nuclear & Environmental Monitoring
Kent Biringer, John Olsen

Remote Sensing, Inspections and Border Monitoring
Kent Biringer, John Olsen

September 24, 1998

Thursday

Excursion to Suzhou

September 25, 1998

Friday

China's National Security Policy
Yan Xuetong

Nuclear Nonproliferation: Think Again
George R. Perkovich

South Asia and China
Giri Deshingker

Ballistic Missile Proliferation
Eric Arnett

Cooperative Monitoring Simulation Exercise (2 sessions)
Kent Biringer, John Olsen

September 26, 1998 **Saturday**

Media and Security Debate
Shekhar Gupta

CBMs in South Asia: Scope and Perspectives
P.R. Chari, Samina Ahmed

Trade and Economic Links as CBMs in South Asia
Shahid H. Kardar

Nuclear Engineering and International Security
Clifford E. Singer

September 27, 1998 **Sunday**

Sino-US Relations: continuity and Change
Ni Shixiong

Technology and Risk of War in South Asia
Eric Arnett

Landmines and International Security
Chris N. Smith

NPT and CTBT: Legal Issues
Ahmer Bilal Soofi

September 28, 1998 **Monday**

Arms Control and US Administration
Stephen P. Cohen, Clifford E. Singer

Light Weapons and Security
Chris N. Smith

Local Sightseeing

September 29, 1998 **Tuesday**

Group Meetings

Course Evaluation

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