

India Trilateral Forum 12

April 27-28, 2017 | New Delhi, India

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About

India Trilateral Forum

The India Trilateral Forum is the leading regular dialogue between Americans, Europeans, and Indians involved in influencing, crafting, and implementing national and foreign policies. Twice each year since 2010, the Forum has convened government officials, intellectuals, media commentators, and business representatives for an intimate conversation on shared political, social, and economic objectives as well as the implications of India's rise for the transatlantic community. The Forum has been held in Europe (Stockholm and London), and in three cities in India (New Delhi, Mumbai, and Bengaluru). In eleven editions over seven years, the Forum has engaged over 250 key individuals, including leading politicians and government officials, influential columnists, representatives from top businesses, and renowned policy experts from India, the United States, and Europe.

Format

The café style format of the forum is designed to create a conversation between peers. While panelists are expected to help lead the conversation, they are only asked to give scene-setting remarks of around 5-7 minutes, preserving the majority of the session for an open back and forth between all of the participants in the room.

India Trilateral Forum is held under the Chatham House Rule, which states that:

When a meeting, or part thereof, is held under the Chatham House Rule, participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed.

The intellectual content generated by the forum helps in producing spin-off papers, videos and podcasts over the course of the year. A list of past forums, including the papers, podcasts, interviews, and photographs can be found at <http://www.gmfus.org/forum/india-trilateral-forum>.

Logistical Information

Venue and Accommodation

Participants traveling from overseas will stay at the Taj Mahal Hotel located at No.1 Mansingh Road, New Delhi, India 110011. The telephone number is +91 11 6656 6162.

The conference venue, as well as the opening dinner, will be at the Taj Mahal Hotel. The closing reception will be held at the Swedish Ambassador's Residence at the Embassy of Sweden, 4-5, Nyaya Marg, Chanakyapuri, New Delhi 110021. All participants have received an email invitation for the buffet reception hosted by the Ambassador of Sweden. We will have printed invitations available for you before the reception.

Transport

The hotel is located approximately 35 minutes from the Indira Gandhi International Airport. Transportation to and from the airport has been arranged by the conference organizers for those who requested it and provided travel information. Please meet your driver outside the arrival gate number 5. If you have trouble locating your driver, please contact Shubh Soni at +91 9818924849. If you are staying at the hotel and have requested a transfer to the airport on departure, you will receive an email during the forum with your departure details.

Dress code

The dress code for the forum is business casual.

Internet

Wireless internet access will be provided throughout the hotel and in the conference venue.

Twitter

While the conference is held under the Chatham House rule, participants are welcome to tweet without attributing any comments made during the forum using #ITF12. @gmfus and @orfonline will be live-tweeting parts of the forum.

Contact Information

- Danielle Piatkiewicz, dpiatkiewicz@gmfus.org, +1 202 384 0659
- Shubh Soni, shubh.soni@orfonline.org, +91 9818924849

Discussion Model

Guidelines for Moderators, Panelists, and Participants

The India Trilateral Forum was created to strengthen networks and understanding between the policy communities of India, the United States, and Europe. Skillfully moderated sessions between experts on the specified topics will maximize the Forum's impact. Here are some rules of thumb to help the Forum accomplish its goal of providing a compelling participatory format.

- The Forum is about creative conversation as opposed to formal presentations.
- The purpose of the Forum is to foster real dialogue that involves all participants in the room. The format does not allow for unplanned formal presentations, speech-making during discussions, or seminar-like presentations.
- No one should prepare to deliver lengthy remarks or a speech of any kind during the panel sessions. Long speeches or remarks would disrupt the proceedings and interrupt what we seek to accomplish.
- Designated moderators should briefly introduce the panel – name and affiliation is sufficient. All panel speakers should keep their opening remarks to five minutes or less. The moderator will not hesitate to intervene if the opening remarks run long.
- The purpose of each discussion is to focus on the trilateral dimension of the topic. All participants are asked to think in the framework of trilateral aspects of each session and topic.
- Designated moderators will be the guides for the open discussion sessions and will be looking for your participation.
- All participants are asked to restate their names and affiliations when they begin to speak for the sake of other participants.
- All participants, as they engage in the discussion, are asked to give succinct observations and questions to allow time for others to contribute.
- Moderators will state explicitly in their sessions that the Chatham House Rule applies. Chatham House Rule is an honor-bound agreement that states, “participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed.”

Agenda

Thursday, April 27, 2017

*Participants travel to New Delhi and check into hotel
Taj Mahal Hotel - Mansingh Road, New Delhi, India 11001*

Conference Venue: Diwan-i-Am, Taj Mahal Hotel

12:30-13:00 *Registration*

13:00-14:00 *Inaugural Lunch*

14:00-14:15 **WELCOME REMARKS**

- Samir Saran, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation
- Erik Widman, Deputy Head of Asia Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sweden
- Daniel Twining, Counselor, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

14:15-15:30 **ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION? DEMONETIZATION, GST, AND MODI'S REFORM SCORECARD**

India has emerged as the world's fastest-growing major economy. Yet, it has a long way to go in order to expand its manufacturing base, and produce the million jobs per month that its demographic boom demands. Most Indians still work beyond the formal reach of the economy. This panel will explore the economic performance of the Indian government since it took office in May 2014. It will assess some of the landmark policies of the current government, such as the political and economic impact of the demonetization policy, and the mechanics of the Goods and Services Tax. This panel will also discuss the government's policy positions on issues including, but not limited to, land acquisition, labour reform, and changes to campaign finance regulations.

Chair:

- Ashok Malik, Distinguished Fellow, and Head Neighbourhood Regional Studies Initiative, Observer Research Foundation

Speakers:

- Tanvi Madan, Fellow, Brookings Institution
- Dhiraj Nayyar, Officer on Special Duty & Head, Economics, Finance and Commerce, NITI Aayog, Government of India

- Ila Patnaik, Professor, National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, Government of India

15:30-16:00 *Coffee break*

16:00-17:15 **INSURGENT POLITICS, NEW MEDIA, AND ELECTIONS IN INDIA, THE U.S., AND EUROPE: COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES**

Prime Minister Modi's continued electoral victories, President Trump's win, and Britain's vote to leave the European Union have ushered in a new genre of politics. In this context, this panel will discuss the impact of the recent political developments in the three regions. How are fresh political actors, new media, and popular revolts against elite establishments changing politics in the world's biggest democracies? What effect have insurgent politics had on their foreign policies? Will the political outlook in Europe, India, and the United States support closer collaboration in global affairs? Are there mutual lessons to be learnt on issues of nationalism, populism, and new media?

Chair:

- Ankhi Das, Public Policy Director, Facebook

Speakers:

- Sadanand Dhume, Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute and Columnist, Wall Street Journal
- Sebastian Groth, Deputy Director, Policy Planning Staff, German Federal Foreign Office
- Kanchan Gupta, Commissioning Editor & Commentator, ABP News
- Maya Mirchandani, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation

17:15-17:30 *Coffee break*

17:30-18:30 **BUILDING A ROBUST DIGITAL ECONOMY: CRAFTING POLICY TO PROMOTE INNOVATION AND GROWTH**

The reach of the digital arm today transcends north-south binaries. Exploring the themes of affordable connectivity, digital empowerment, and access in Asia, this panel will discuss policies around which governments, businesses and civil society can work together to promote a sustainable digital economy. How can we capitalize the start-up economy and emerging digital platforms? What steps can states take – beyond increasing connectivity and enhanced local language content – to tap into the substantial workforce? With the workforce progressively migrating online, how can skill development programs be better aligned with the new realities of the marketplace?

Chair:

- Nisid Hajari, Asia Editor, Bloomberg View

Speakers:

- Sudha David-Wilp, Senior Transatlantic Fellow & Deputy Director, Berlin Office, The German Marshall Fund of the United States
- Arvind Gupta, Founder, Digital India Foundation/ National Technology Head, BJP, India
- Chetan Krishnaswamy, Director, Public Policy, Google India
- Ratna Viswanthan, CEO, Microfinance Institutions Network

18:30-19:00 *Cocktail Reception*

19:00-19:40 **KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY H.E. NICOS ANASTASIADIS, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS – “THE EU-INDIA STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP IN THE 21ST CENTURY: A CYPRUS PERSPECTIVE”**

- Welcome remarks by Sunjoy Joshi, Director, Observer Research Foundation
- Keynote address by H.E. Nicos Anastasiades, President of the Republic of Cyprus
- Vote of thanks by Samir Saran, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation

19:40 **Opening Dinner - Taj Mahal Hotel**

Friday, April 28, 2017

Conference Venue: Diwan-i-Am, Taj Mahal Hotel

09:30-10:00 *Coffee reception*

10:00-11:15 **TRUMP’S WORLD: CHANGING GEOPOLITICS IN ASIA, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND EUROPE**

America’s new president campaigned on a worldview distinct from those of his internationalist predecessors, both Republican and Democratic, who have been in office since 1945. What would an “America First” foreign policy mean for regional security in a Middle East torn by terrorism and insurgency? How will it affect an Asia anxious about China’s growing assertiveness and reach, and a Europe where Russian influence remains a major concern? More broadly, is the United States now a force for stability or for instability in world affairs? Could Trump’s focus on American power in fact move him closer to the foreign policy mainstream than President Obama’s efforts at retrenchment? How are India, Europe, and other American friends and partners adapting to the new administration in Washington, DC?

Chair:

- Hardeep Singh Puri, Chairman, Research and Information Systems (RIS)

Speakers:

- Hans-Christian Hagman, Director of Strategic Analysis, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sweden
- Dhruva Jaishankar, Fellow, Foreign Policy, Brookings India
- Kathy Leach, Joint Head Policy Unit, Foreign & Commonwealth Office, UK
- Daniel Twining, Counselor, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

11:15-11:30 *Coffee break*

11:30-12:30 **KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY H.E. JAYANT SINHA, MINISTER OF STATE FOR CIVIL AVIATION, GOVT. OF INDIA, MODERATED BY SUNJOY JOSHI, DIRECTOR, OBSERVER RESEARCH FOUNDATION**

12:30-13:30 *Lunch*

13.30-14.00 **KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY H.E. SANTOSH JHA, JOINT SECRETARY, POLICY PLANNING & RESEARCH, MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, INDIA MODERATED BY SAMIR SARAN, VICE PRESIDENT, OBSERVER RESEARCH FOUNDATION**

14:00-15:15 **A LA CARTE GLOBALIZATION: CAN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE ON CLIMATE, TRADE, AND THE INTERNET SURVIVE THE NEW NATIONALISM?**

This panel will discuss how domestic political exigencies in various major powers are implicating the future of collective action and global governance. The impact of the new U.S. administration on the Paris climate change agreement – in which Europe and India remain invested – is undeniable. In addition, the future of the liberal trading architecture, and the contours of the international regime around cyber security and Internet governance are all being interrogated by the new mood on globalization. Can multilateralism survive this new nationalist moment? Are we witnessing de-globalization, or are countries pursuing an a-la-carte version of global integration – and is that sustainable? Can India and China bear the burden of furthering the globalization agenda, when traditional powers are exhibiting fatigue?

Chair:

- Hans Kundnani, Senior Fellow, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

Speakers:

- Asoke Mukerji, Former Ambassador of India to the United Nations
- Deepa Ollapally, Research Professor of International Affairs, George Washington University

- Lydia Powell, Senior Fellow, and Head, Energy Initiative, Observer Research Foundation
- Eva Svedling, State Secretary, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden

15:15-15:30 *Coffee break*

15:30-16:45 **INDIA, AMERICA AND EUROPE: TOWARDS A 21ST CENTURY DEFENCE & SECURITY PARTNERSHIP**

India is the world's largest arms importer and wields one of the world's largest militaries – deployed from the Himalayan frontiers to the waters of East Asia and the Persian Gulf. It faces border disputes with its two nuclear armed neighbours – Pakistan and China, and continues to suffer from cross border terror attacks. This panel will examine India's military modernization requirements and its changing strategic posture, and the role that the U.S. and Europe can play in assisting Indian management of its security in South Asia and beyond. How can Europe and the United States partner with India on its "Make in India" agenda to scale up domestic manufacturing in military hardware? What are the policy hurdles that restrict this partnership from developing? How can skills, know-how, and technology be transferred and applied to the India defence industry?

Chair:

- Indrani Bagchi, Diplomatic Editor, Times of India

Speakers

- Nitin Gokhale, CEO and Founder, BharatShakti.in
- Sumit Ganguly, Tagore Professor, Indiana University
- Abhijit Iyer-Mitra, Senior Fellow, Institute of Peace & Conflict Studies
- John Rydqvist, Head, Defence Policy Studies Programme, Swedish Defense Research Agency

16:45-17:00 *Coffee break*

17:00-17:45 **IN CONVERSATION: DR. SHASHI THAROOR, CHAIRMAN OF THE PARLIAMENTARY STANDING COMMITTEE ON EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, INDIA, WITH SAMIR SARAN, VICE PRESIDENT, ORF**

17:45-18:00 *Coffee break*

18:00-19:00 **"BEIJING CONSENSUS"? INDIAN AND WESTERN PERSPECTIVES ON CHINA'S BELT & ROAD INITIATIVE**

China's rise as a military and economic power has been accompanied by an attempt to project both "hard" and "soft" forms of influence across its periphery, including into South and Central Asia, the Western Pacific, and Europe. This panel will explore whether this amounts to a new, Chinese model of global governance, or one of dominance - a "Beijing Consensus", perhaps. Some

countries, including India, have remained skeptical of China's plans. Managing the proposed China-Pakistan Economic Corridor in particular will throw up new challenges for India. What implications will it have for the regional architecture in South and Central Asia? What are the geopolitical implications of Xi Jinping's grand vision of a New Silk Road for Europe and the transatlantic alliance? Will the Belt and Road project divide Europe from the United States and India?

Chair:

- Sanjaya Baru, Distinguished Fellow, United Service Institution of India

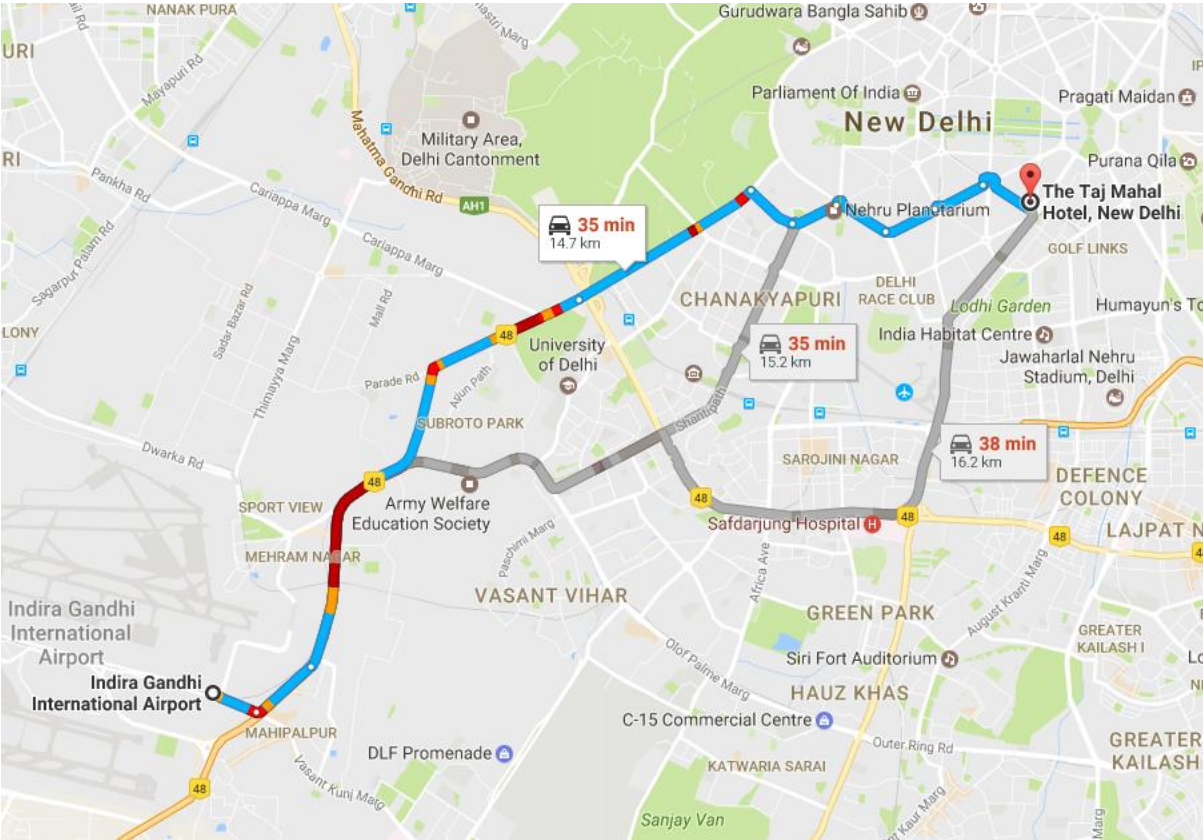
Speakers:

- Latha Reddy, Visiting Fellow, Observer Research Foundation
- Mihir S. Sharma, Senior Fellow and Head, Economy and Growth Initiative, Observer Research Foundation
- David Shullman, Deputy National Intelligence Officer, East Asia, U.S. National Intelligence Council
- Klaus Vietze, Head of Asia and Africa Division, Office of the Federal President, Germany

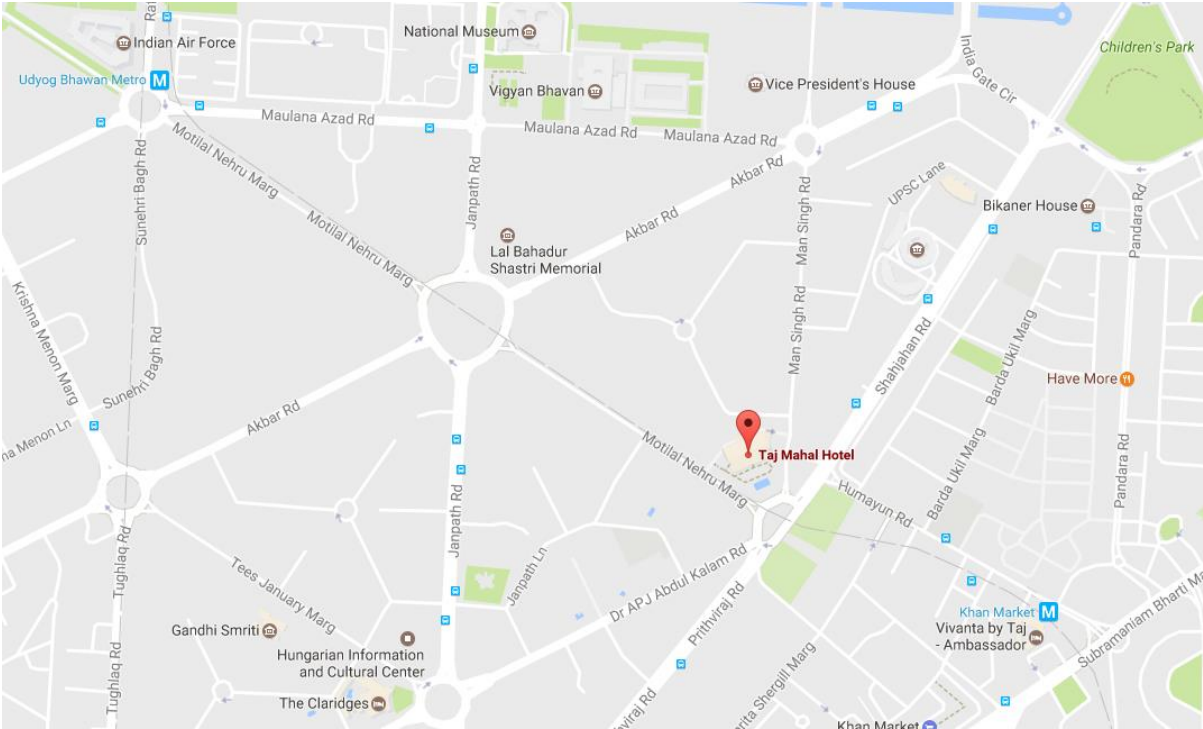
19:00-19:30 *Transfer to closing reception*

19:30 **Closing Reception** - *Ambassador's Residence, Embassy of Sweden, 4-5 Nyaya Marg, Chanakyapuri, New Delhi*

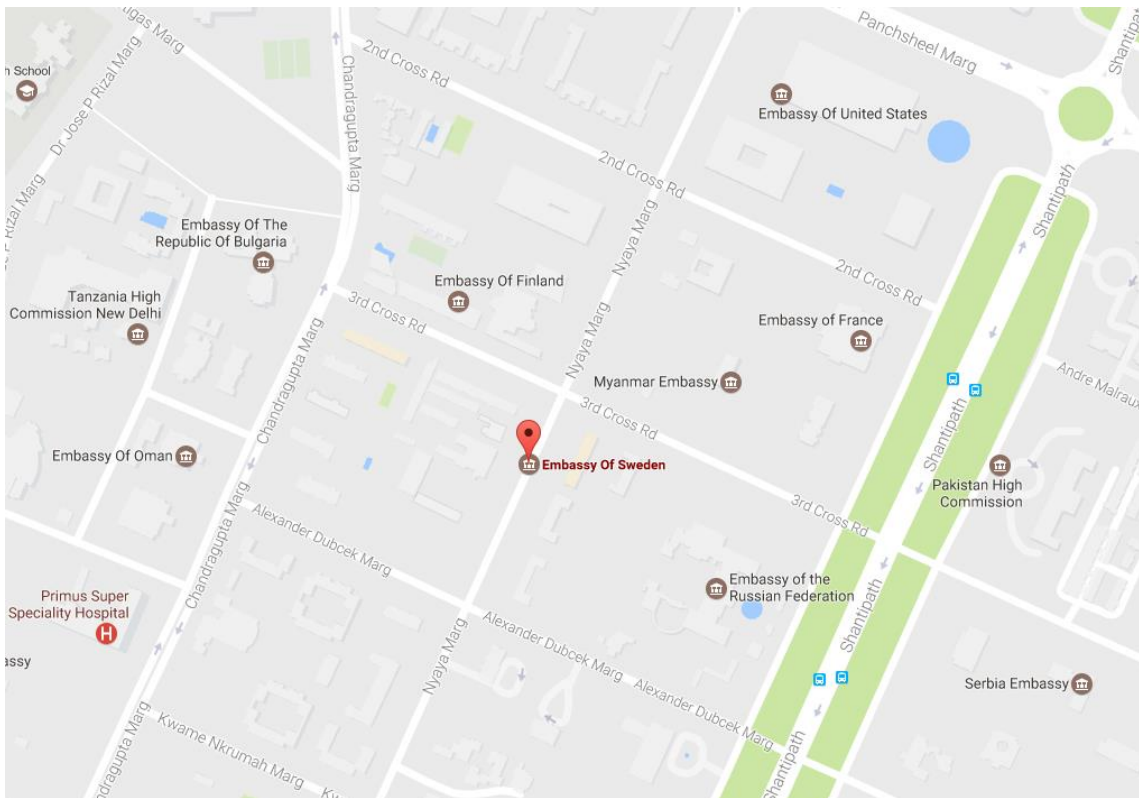
Directions



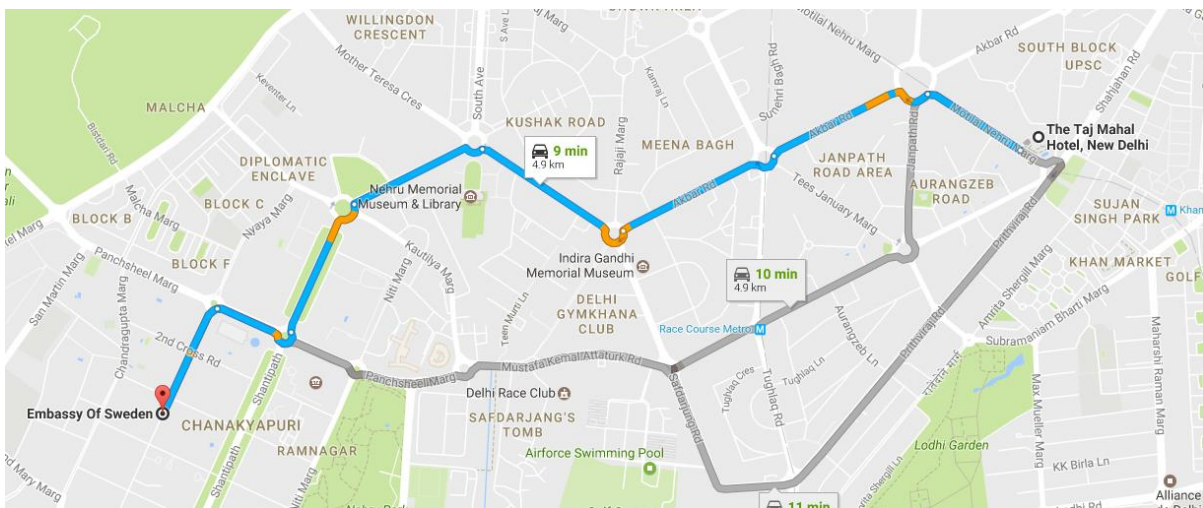
AIRPORT TO HOTEL: Taj Mahal Hotel, Mansingh Road, New Delhi, India 110011



**HOTEL, CONFERENCE CENTER, AND OPENING DINNER:
Taj Mahal Hotel, Mansingh Road, New Delhi, India 110011**



CLOSING DINNER: Ambassador's Residence - Embassy of Sweden, 4-5, Nyaya Marg, Chanakyapuri, New Delhi 110021



HOTEL TO CLOSING DINNER

List of participants

Alka Acharya

Professor

Jawaharlal Nehru University

Nicos Anastasiades

President

Republic of Cyprus

Indrani Bagchi

Diplomatic Editor

Times of India

Sanjaya Baru

Distinguished Fellow

United Service Institution of India

Stefania Benaglia

Associate fellow

Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)

Gautam Bhattacharyya

Deputy Head of Mission

Embassy of Sweden

Priyanka Chaturvedi

Spokesperson

Indian National Congress

Sachin Chaturvedi

Director General at the Research and

Information System for Developing

Countries (RIS)

Serena Chaudhry

Reporter and Producer

Reuters Video News, London

Pramit Pal Chaudhuri

Foreign Editor

Hindustan Times

Kanika Chawla

Senior Programme Lead

Council on Energy, Environment, and Water

Ankhi Das

Public Policy Director, India and South &
Central Asia.

Facebook

Sudha David-Wilp

Senior Transatlantic Fellow & Deputy

Director, Berlin Office

The German Marshall Fund of the United
States

Sadanand Dhume

Resident Fellow

American Enterprise Institute

Alexander Evans

Deputy High Commissioner to India &

Chief Operating Officer

British High Commission

Sumit Ganguly

Tagore Professor

Indiana University

Wojciech Gerwel

Counsellor

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland

Nitin Gokhale

CEO and Founder

BharatShakti.in

Frédéric Grare
Charge de Mission, Asia
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France

Sebastian Groth
Deputy Director of the Policy Planning Staff
German Federal Foreign Office

Arvind Gupta
Founder, Digital India Foundation,
National Technology Head
BJP, India

Kanchan Gupta
Commissioning Editor & Commentator
ABP News Network

Samiran Gupta
Head of India
Internet Corporation for Assigned Names
and Numbers (ICANN)

Hans-Christian Hagman
Director of Strategic Analysis
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sweden

Nisid Hajari
Asia Editor
The Bloomberg View

Jens Hanefeld
Head of International Policy
Volkswagen AG

Julia Hector
Coordinator to the State Secretary
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sweden

Karl Henriksson
Defence Attache
Embassy of Sweden

Marcus Holknekt
First Secretary
Political Affairs India, Nepal and Bhutan
Embassy of Sweden

Abhijit Iyer-Mitra
Senior Fellow
Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies

Dhruva Jaishankar
Fellow, Foreign Policy
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Björn Jerdén
Asia Program Director
Swedish Institute of International Affairs

Santosh Jha
Joint Secretary (PP & R)
Ministry of External Affairs, India

Sunjoy Joshi
Director
Observer Research Foundation

Manoj Joshi
Distinguished Fellow
Observer Research Foundation

Rajat Kathuria
Director and Chief Executive
ICRIER

Chetan Krishnaswamy
Director, Public Policy
Google India

Hans Kundnani
Senior Fellow
The German Marshall Fund of the United
States

Kathy Leach
Joint Head Policy Unit
Foreign & Commonwealth Office, UK

Emil Liden
Desk Officer
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sweden

Tanvi Madan
Fellow and Director, The India Project
Brookings Institution

Ashok Malik
Distinguished Fellow, Head Neighbourhood
Regional Studies Initiative
Observer Research Foundation

Ranjan Mathai
Former Foreign Secretary
Ministry of External Affairs, India

Akshay Mathur
Director of Research and Fellow of
Goeconomic Studies, Gateway House
Indian Council on Global Relations

Alexander McLachlan
Senior Adviser, Strategic Planning
European External Action Service

Maya Mirchandani
Senior Fellow
Observer Research Foundation

Olga Mostinskaya
Freelance Interpreter
United Nations

Asoke Mukherji
Former Ambassador of India to the United
Nations

Anthea Mulakala
Director for International Development
Cooperation
Asia Foundation

Dhiraj Nayyar
Officer on Special Duty & Head, Economics,
Finance and Commerce
NITI Aayog, Government of India

Ruhee Neog
Director
Institute of Peace & Conflict Studies

Tanoubi Ngangom
Junior Fellow
Observer Research Foundation

Deepa Ollapally
Research Professor of International Affairs
George Washington University

Shruti Pandalai
Associate Fellow
Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses

Ila Patnaik
Professor, National Institute of Public
Finance and Policy
Government of India

Britta Petersen
Senior Fellow
Observer Research Foundation

Danielle Piatkiewicz
Program Coordinator
The German Marshall Fund of the United
States

Lydia Powell
Senior Fellow and Head, Energy Initiative
Observer Research Foundation

Rajeswari Rajagopalan
Senior Fellow
Observer Research Foundation

Shamika Ravi
Fellow
Brookings Institution

Latha Reddy
Visiting Fellow
Observer Research Foundation, and
Former Deputy National Security Advisor
to India

Lucy Robinson
Policy Planner, South Asia and Prosperity
Foreign & Commonwealth Office, UK

John Rydqvist
Head, Defence Policy Studies Programme
Swedish Defence Research Agency

Harald Sandberg
Ambassador
Embassy of Sweden

Samir Saran
Vice President
Observer Research Foundation

Amanda Sellers
Manager, NATO-ICI Regional Center
NATO

Mihir S. Sharma
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U.S. National Intelligence Council

Sushant Singh
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Hardeep Singh Puri
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Abhijit Singh
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Jayant Sinha
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Shubh Soni
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Sharon Stirling
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The German Marshall Fund of the United
States

Robin Sukhia
Secretary General & President
Sweden-India Business Council

Eva Svedling
State Secretary
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sweden

Roger Svensson
Senior Advisor
The German Marshall Fund of the United
States

Shashi Tharoor
Chairman of the Parliamentary Standing
Committee on External Affairs, India

Friederike Tschampa

First Counsellor, Head of Political Affairs
Delegation of the European Union

Daniel Twining

Counselor
The German Marshall Fund of the United
States

Anna Uggla

Counsellor, Political Affairs India, Sri Lanka
and Maldives
Embassy of Sweden

Klaus Vietze

Head of Asia and Africa Division
Office of the Federal President, Germany

Ratna Viswanathan

CEO
Micro Finance Institutions Network, India

Jan Widerström

Chairman & Managing Director
Saab India Technologies Pvt Ltd

Erik Widman

Deputy Head of Asia Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sweden

John-Joseph Wilkins

Public Information Officer
European Union Institute for Security
Studies

Constantino Xavier

Fellow
Carnegie Endowment India

Biographies

Alka Acharya is professor and former chairperson at the Centre for East Asian Studies (Chinese Studies), School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU). She has been teaching courses on Chinese foreign policy and political economy to Masters and M.Phil students, and guiding doctoral research since 1993. From 2012 to 2017, she was on deputation as director and senior fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi. She is joint editor of the book, "Crossing A Bridge of Dreams: 50 years of India-China", has contributed chapters to many books and journals. She was editor of the quarterly journal *China Report* (New Delhi) from 2005 to 2013. She was nominated by the Indian government as a member of the India-China Eminent Persons Group from 2006 to 2008, and member of the National Security Advisory Board of the Government of India for two terms between 2006-2008 and 2011-2012. She has authored a book "China & India: Politics of Incremental Engagement", published in 2008. Her current research focuses on India-China-Russia Trilateral Cooperation and the Chinese strategic response to the post-cold war Asian regional architecture.

H.E. Nicos Anastasiades served in the National Guard, first at the Recruits' Training Centre (KEN) in Larnaca and then at the 4th Higher Military Command. Nicos Anastasiades is a founding member of the Youth of the Democratic Rally (NEDISY), in which he served from the posts of District Secretary, Vice President and President. After his successful term in NEDISY, he takes action next to the historical leader Glafkos Clerides from the positions of First Vice President and later Deputy President until 1997. He is a member of the Cyprus National Council since 1995. Nicos Anastasiades was triumphantly elected as President of the Democratic Rally in 1997, a position that the members and officials of the party firmly trusted him with by being re-elected in 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2012. At the same time, Nicos Anastasiades was elected as Member of the House of Representatives from 1981 until his election to the Presidency of the Republic. During his lengthy term, he has served the Parliament as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Chairman of the Committee on Educational Affairs, Chairman of the Inter-Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs until 2006 as well as Vice-Chairman and member of many other Committees. He has also been elected Vice President of the House of Representatives for the years 1996-2001 and he has served as Parliamentary Spokesman of the Democratic Rally. In his political course, Nicos Anastasiades actively participates in the international political scene. From his position as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, as Head of the Inter-Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs as well as Head of the Cyprus delegation to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), he has represented the Cyprus Parliament since 1991 and takes part in a number of international missions, specialized conferences and visits. Since his election to the Presidency of the Democratic Rally, he has participated in all the European People's Party (EPP) Summits and Conferences, and represents the Democratic Rally in the European Democrat Union (EDU) and actively participates in all the

conferences of the International Democrat Union (IDU). Nicos Anastasiades was elected President of the Republic of Cyprus on 24 February 2013 by winning the run-off presidential election with a majority of 57.4%.

Indrani Bagchi is diplomatic editor of *The Times of India*, where she writes on foreign policy and strategic issues. She has a blog titled *Globespottting* and manages the following Twitter accounts: @horror06 and @IBagchiTOI.

Alok Bansal is the director of India Foundation. In addition, he is also an adjunct professor at New Delhi Institute of Management (NDIM) and executive director of the South Asian Institute for Strategic Affairs (SAISA). He is also facilitator of India Policy Group (IPG) on Afghanistan for Track II Dialogues by Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. He was a visiting professor at the Pakistan Studies Programme of Maulana Mohammed Ali Jauhar Academy of International Studies at Jamia Millia Islamia. He has been the executive director of the National Maritime Foundation (NMF) and has also worked with the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), and Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS). He has a naval background and served in the Indian Navy for 32 years. He has authored a book titled, "Balochistan in Turmoil: Pakistan at Cross Roads" and has co-edited three books titled, "South Asian security: 21st century discourses", "Pakistan Occupied Kashmir: The Untold Story" and "Sri Lanka: Search for Peace".

Sanjaya Baru is currently a distinguished fellow at the United Service Institution of India. Previously, he was director for geo-economics and strategy at the International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS) in London and visiting professor at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy and Institute of South Asian Studies in Singapore from 2008-2009. Mr. Baru was media advisor to the Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh, and also the Prime Minister's spokesperson and principal speechwriter from 2004-2008. From 2000-2004 he was chief editor at *The Financial Express* and held the same title at *Business Standard* from 2009-2011. From 1994-1998, Mr. Baru was editorial page editor at *The Times of India* and associate editor at *The Economic Times* from 1990-1994. His latest publications include "1991: How P.V. Narasimha Rao Made History" (Aleph Book Company, 2016), "India and the World: Essays on Geo-economics and Strategy" (Academic Foundation, 2016), and "The Accidental Prime Minister: The Making and Unmaking of Manmohan Singh" (Penguin Random House, 2014).

Stefania Benaglia is associate fellow at the Italian Think Tank Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), contributing to projects and research on India, EU-India relations and South Asia. Stefania is based in Delhi where she also collaborates with the Indian Think Tank Observer Research Foundation (ORF), and works for the Brussels-based Conflict Management Consulting (CMC). Ms. Benaglia has 10 years' experience in defence cooperation, track II diplomacy and programme management. Previously she worked for Friedrich Ebert Stiftung in India, the European Commission and NATO Parliamentary Assembly in Brussels, and the International Institute of Counter-Terrorism in Herzliya (Israel). Stefania holds a MA in strategic studies from the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS),

Johns Hopkins University, a MA in International Development from the University of Pavia and a BA in International Relations from the University of Bologna.

Gautam Bhattacharyya is deputy head at the Embassy of Sweden, New Delhi. His previous postings were in Santiago de Chile and New Delhi from 2004-2008, and he has also worked for several years as a private sector consultant on India-related matters.

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Ankhi Das is the director of public policy for Facebook in India and South & Central Asia. With over 17 years of public policy and regulatory affairs experience in the technology sector, Ms. Das's primary responsibilities are to lead Facebook's efforts on connectivity, Internet governance, promoting access and Open Internet, privacy, data security, safety issues and political risk management for the company. In this role, Ankhi oversees the company's relationships with policymakers, elected officials, government agencies and NGOs in India, South & Central Asian countries and directs the company's programs in these areas. Ms. Das was a member of the Multi-stakeholder Advisory (MAG) of the UN Internet Governance Forum (IGF) as a private sector representative and an active participant in the global multi-stakeholder dialog. She has participated in several global internet policy negotiations of the ITU and represented industry. This includes UN led inter-governmental negotiations, at the World Conference on International Telecommunications (WCIT), hosted by ITU, in Dubai in Dec 2012 and the Busan Round or the Plenipotentiary 2014 meeting. She is an active voice on Internet Governance issues at the IGF and groups like ICC-BASIS, FICCI, COAI, USIBC, IAMAI and participated in the NetMundial text negotiations and the meeting in Sao Paolo on the future of the internet. Ms. Das is also the vice-chair of the

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Nitin Gokhale is one of South Asia's leading strategic analysts, is a renowned author, media trainer and founder of a specialised defence-related website BharatShakti.in, focused on supporting and encouraging India’s quest for self-reliance in defence. After working for 32 years as a media practitioner across print, web and broadcast mediums, in December 2014, he decided to become a full-time author and part-time media entrepreneur. He is the author of five books on insurgencies, wars, conflicts, civil-military relations, insurgency/terrorism and military-media relations. He is visiting faculty at the National Defence College, the Army, Air Force and Naval War Colleges, the Defence Services Staff College, the College of Defence Management and the IB's Intelligence School. During his three decades plus media career, Mr. Gokhale has lived in and reported from India’s north-east for 23 years focusing on different insurgencies there, has covered the 1999 Kargil conflict between India and Pakistan and has also reported from Sri Lanka the Eelam War IV besides extensive writing on Left Wing Extremism, China, United States and South Asian security affairs. In his last job with NDTV’s security and strategic affairs editor, Mr. Gokhale was in charge of reporting on the Prime Minister’s Office, the Defence Ministry and the Home Ministry. He now appears on National Television as a commentator and writes regular columns on popular websites besides running his own blog, *NewsWarrior*.

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Sunjoy Joshi is director at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), New Delhi. After serving in government for over twenty-five years, he took voluntary retirement from the Indian Administrative Service to follow his primary interests in energy and development studies. As director of ORF since 2009, he has overseen the transformation of the foundation into what is now India's foremost think tank in a range of sectors, from foreign policy and internet governance to development studies and national security. He writes regularly on strategic issues relating to India's energy needs and their interplay with the country's development challenges in the context of the contemporary climate change narrative. His longer-form publications include "The Future of Energy" (ORF-Economic Policy Forum, 2015); "Reforming Energy Policy and Pricing" in *Getting India Back on Track: An Action Agenda for Reform* (CEIP, 2014); "The Search for Energy Security" in *Crux of Asia—China, India, and the Emerging Global Order* (CEIP, 2013); and "Beyond the Plateau in U.S.–India Relations" (Heritage Foundation report, 2013). He has been a visiting associate at the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London, as well as distinguished visitor to the program on energy and sustainable development at Stanford University.

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Asoke Mukherji served in the Indian Foreign Service for more 37 years, before retiring from New York as India's Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations in December 2015. Prior to this assignment, he was special secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs responsible for political affairs. His UN assignment was marked by the remarkably swift implementation in December 2014, within 75 days and with the co-sponsorship of 177 countries, of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's proposal for the UNGA Resolution declaring an International Day of Yoga. He catalyzed the tabling of the unanimous UNGA decision adopting a text for UN Security Council reforms in September

2015. He opened India's embassies in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan in 1992 as India's first resident Chargé d'affaires, and was India's Ambassador to Kazakhstan in 2005. He has been India's deputy chief of mission in Moscow, and India's deputy high commissioner to the UK. He has brought out 7 books. His latest book "India and the United Nations: 1945-2015 – a Photo Journey", was presented by Prime Minister Narendra Modi to the UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon during the 70th anniversary Summit of the United Nations in September 2015.

Anthea Mulakala is The Asia Foundation's director of international development cooperation. From 2007-2014, she served as country representative in Malaysia. Since 2010, she has also led the Foundation's engagement on development effectiveness and aid policy. Between 1991-2006, Ms. Mulakala worked for several multilateral, bilateral and nongovernmental organizations in Asia, including the World Bank (in support of Indonesian decentralization), South Asia Partnership (in support of NGO capacity-building in Sri Lanka and regional gender issues), and the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID), where she led a large health project consortium in Bangladesh and served as DFID's Reconciliation and Development advisor in Sri Lanka. Ms. Mulakala has written and published on conflict dynamics in Asia, aid and development policy, south-south cooperation, Indian development cooperation, and various issues in Malaysian political economy. Ms. Mulakala holds a Bachelor of Arts (B.A. Hons.) in Political Science and English from the University of Western Ontario and a Masters of Arts (M.A.) in International Affairs from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada.

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Danielle Piatkiewicz is a program coordinator for GMF’s Asia program. In this role, she is responsible for managing and coordinating GMF’s Asia program in managing ongoing conferences in Europe and Asia. Her range of expertise includes transatlantic relations, emerging economies, security, defence, international affairs, and leadership development. Previously, she worked as a program assistant in GMF’s Wider Atlantic program in Brussels and worked for the European Institute of Peace in Brussels (EIP) where she assisted with the logistical and operational set up of EIP as well as provided research and analysis on future peace mediation actors and regions. She holds a master's degree in international and political studies with a concentration in transatlantic studies from Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. She received her bachelor’s in political science with an emphasis in international relations and a minor in German studies from the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB).

Lydia Powell has been with the ORF Centre for Resources Management for over eight years working on policy issues in energy and climate change. Her most recent paper “Climate and the Clash between the Diversely Developed” was published in the December 2010 volume of the Journal of the Indian Ocean Region. She edits the ORF Energy News Monitor which is in its seventh year of publication and routinely contributes articles on energy policy, energy pricing and regulation, climate and equity. Her current interests include energy poverty, energy security, energy security index for India, resource based conflict with particular reference to energy and water, commercially viable renewable energy pricing policies and pricing & regulatory issues in nuclear energy. She was selected as congressional fellow with three-month residency at the East West Centre, Washington following which she authored a book on “Oil in US Energy Policy: Searching for Clues of Influence.” She gained industry experience working for Norsk Hydro ASA, Norway’s largest industrial enterprise with core interest in fertilizers, oil & gas (now divested) and aluminium and for Orkla. While She was selected for the Leadership Development Programme of the Company in Singapore. She also worked as a research assistant in Norwegian School of Management (BI) where she was involved in research on the competitiveness of the heavy oil industry in Canada and completed an extensive report on the upstream oil industry in Norway. Ms. Powell has three Post Graduate Degrees - two from the Norwegian School of Management Oslo on Energy and one in Solid State Physics from Cochin University of Science & Technology, India.

Hardeep Singh Puri was appointed president of the governing body and chairman of the Governing Council of the Research and Information Systems for Developing Countries (RIS), a New Delhi based autonomous think-tank that specializes in policy research on international economic issues and development cooperation. Ambassador Puri has had a distinguished four-decade career in diplomacy spanning the multilateral arena, including as India’s Permanent Representative to the United Nations in both Geneva from 2002-2005 and New York from 2009-2013. He is one of the few Indians to preside over the United Nations Security Council and the only one to have chaired its Counter-terrorism Committee. He most recently served as vice president at the International Peace Institute and as Secretary-General of the Independent Commission on Multilateralism in New York. Ambassador Puri is the author of the book “Perilous Interventions: The Security Council & The Politics of Chaos, a Harper Collins publication” (September 2016).

Rajeswari Rajagopalan is senior fellow and head of the Nuclear and Space Policy Initiative at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), New Delhi. Dr. Rajagopalan joined ORF after a five-year stint at the National Security Council Secretariat from 2003-2007, where she was an assistant director. Prior to joining the NSCS, she was research officer at the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi. She is the author of five books: “Locating India within the Global Non-Proliferation Architecture: Prospects, Challenges and Opportunities” (2016), “Nuclear Security in India” (2015), “Clashing Titans: Military Strategy and Insecurity Among Asian Great Powers” (2012), “The Dragon's Fire: Chinese Military Strategy and Its

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Lucy Robinson is the policy planner for South Asia and Prosperity at the UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office, providing strategic advice and support to foreign policy formulation. Prior to this, Ms. Robinson worked at the Department for Education and holds a Master’s degree in Public Policy.

John Rydqvist has been with the Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI) since 2000. He previously headed the Asia Security Studies programme for ten years. He now heads the Defence Policy studies programme and a program on sub-strategic nuclear weapons in the European theatre. Mr. Rydqvist’s research includes the strategic balance in East Asia and the Pacific theatre as well as strategic weapons modernization and force transformation in key powers of these regions. He has also studied the geopolitical and strategic dynamics in the India-Pakistan-Afghanistan-Iran crescent. Among his publications are: “Japan’s Defence and Security Policy – a Primer” (2016), co-authored with Kaan Korkmaz, “Strategic Outlook 6”

(2015) co-editor with C. Sandö and R. Langlais, "Counterterrorism and Security", in Jaishankar, Rydqvist, Twining, Small: A Transatlantic Pakistan Policy, GMFUS (2014), "China, Central Asia and the Future of Afghanistan" (2014), chapter in FOI report co-authored with Ye Hailin, "The Republic of Korea: A Defence and Security Primer" (2012), co-authored with Kaan Korkmaz. John holds a BA in history from Stockholm University and an MA in war studies from Kings College, London.

Harald Sandberg is ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Sweden to India. He previously served as Swedish ambassador to Indonesia from 1998–2003, East Timor from 2002–2003, and South Korea between 2003–2005. Ambassador Sandberg acted as an observer in the 1999 East Timorese elections and headed up the Swedish response to the 2002 Bali bombing. In 2006, he was head of a mission to evacuate Swedish citizens from war ravaged Lebanon.

Samir Saran is the vice president of the Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi. He spearheads ORF's outreach and business development activities. He curates Raisina Dialogue, India's annual flagship platform on geopolitics and geo-economic, and chairs CyFy, India's annual conference on cyber security and internet governance. Mr. Saran is a frequent commentator on issues of global governance (climate change and energy policy, global development architecture, cyber security and internet governance) and on India's foreign policy. He is featured regularly in Indian and international print and broadcast media. His academic publications include "India's Climate Change Identity: Between Reality and Perception" (Palgrave 2016); "New Norms for a Digital Society" (ORF Special Report, 2016); "India's Contemporary Plurilateralism" in Oxford University Press Handbook on India's Foreign Policy (2016); "Navigating the Digital Trilemma" in the latest CyFy Digital Debates, of which he is the editor; New Room to Manoeuvre: An Indian Approach to Climate Change (Global Policy–ORF Series, 2015); Attitudes to Water in South Asia (ORF–Chatham House report, 2014); and A Long Term Vision for BRICS, a comprehensive vision document submitted to the BRICS Think Tanks Council (2013). Mr. Saran is commissioner, The Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace, and member of the South Asia advisory board of the World Economic Forum as well as part of its Global Future Council on Cybersecurity. He is Director of the Centre for Peace and Security at the Sardar Patel Police University, Jodhpur, India. Mr. Saran previously worked in the Indian private sector (1994 to 2008). He joined Reliance Industries Limited as a young engineer and served in various business sectors, including fibre and petrochemicals, power, telecom, retail and media. He rose to a leadership role within the chairman's office, where he was tasked specifically with managing the regulatory and media affairs of the group companies. Mr. Saran's doctoral studies were on Indian attitudes towards climate change at the Global Sustainability Institute, UK. He has a Masters in media studies from the London School of Economics and Political Science, UK, and completed his electrical and electronics engineering degree from Manipal Institute of Technology, India.

Amanda Sellers is a permanent member of the NATO International Staff from the United States. Born in Washington, DC, she has lived and worked in Europe, North America and Asia and served on deployments in the Middle East. For her work on defense and security sector reform programs she earned the Meritorious Service Medal, the NATO's highest honor, and other awards. She currently manages NATO relations with Arabian Gulf countries and is working to set up the organization's first diplomatic mission in the Middle East. Ms. Sellers holds degrees in political science, international relations and romance languages.

Mihir Sharma was born in Delhi, and grew up mainly in Bombay and Calcutta. He was trained as an economist and political scientist in Delhi and in Boston. From 2008, he edited and wrote a column for the opinion pages of *The Indian Express* and *Business Standard*, both based in New Delhi, and has won a Sriram Sanlam award for financial journalism. His book "Restart: The Last Chance for the Indian Economy" was published in 2015, to considerable critical acclaim; it won the Tata LitLive best Business Book of the Year and was longlisted for the Financial Times–McKinsey Business Book of the Year. He is also the India columnist for *Bloomberg View*.

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Jayant Sinha is the Minister of State for Civil Aviation, Government of India. Previously, he was the Minister of State for Finance. He is a member of Indian Parliament and formerly an investment fund manager and management consultant. Prior to his political career, he had a prestigious career in the private sector, making partner at Omidyar Network, Courage Capital, and McKinsey & Company. As a politician, he has served as a member of two important parliamentary committees—the Public Accounts Committee and the Standing Committee on Finance. Alumni of the Harvard Business School, University of Pennsylvania, and Indian Institute of Technology - Delhi, he has over 25 years of experience as an investor and strategy consultant.

Andrew Small is a senior transatlantic fellow with GMF's Asia program. His research focuses on U.S.-China relations, Europe-China relations, Chinese policy in South Asia, and broader developments in China's foreign and economic policy. He was based in GMF's Brussels office for five years, and worked before that as the director of the Foreign Policy Centre's Beijing office, as a visiting fellow at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and an ESU scholar in the office of Senator Edward M. Kennedy. He is the author of the book "The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics" published with Hurst / Oxford University Press in 2015.

Shubh Soni is programme coordinator at ORF and supports the organisation's business development and outreach activities. His scope of work cuts across sectors, including global governance, foreign policy, development finance, climate change, and domestic politics. Mr. Soni has assisted in building and strengthening the Foundation's marquee platforms, such as the ORF-MEA Raisina Dialogue on geopolitics and geo-economics, the Asian Forum on Global Governance, and the BRICS Academic Forum. He is also actively involved in creating new and building on existing partnerships with Indian and foreign governments, and a range of non-governmental organizations like the MacArthur Foundation. He has also worked with the development consultancy, IPE Global, at their Delhi office. His dissertation during his masters focused on the trends, policies and determinants of foreign direct investment in India and China.

Sharon Stirling is the senior program officer with GMF's Asia program. In this role, she coordinates the day-to-day running of the program and oversees its annual budget of more than a million dollars. Ms. Stirling manages GMF's Japan portfolio, which includes annual U.S.-Japan-Europe forums: Trilateral Forum Tokyo and Japan Trilateral Forum, a renowned leadership development initiative for mid-career professionals from major democracies called the Young Strategists Forum, and high-level workshops and seminars in Brussels, Berlin, and Washington, DC. She also manages GMF's developing portfolio of work on Southeast Asia, including the Southeast Asia Trilateral Forum, and oversees research products on transatlantic cooperation on a rising Asia. Prior to joining GMF, she was a TV news producer for NHK, Japan's public broadcasting organization. Serving at NHK's bureau in Washington, DC, her assignments included the U.S. State Department, the 2008 presidential election, and the 2008 global financial crisis. Ms. Stirling was born in the

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Robin Sukhia has worked with India since 1996. Through a Swedish Venture Capital firm, he was one of the pioneers in northern Europe to invest in India. He has held board positions in India and Sweden and since 2005, holds the position of secretary general and President of the Sweden-India Business Council (SIBC). In 2016 SIBC and Mr. Sukhia were appointed by the Wallenberg Foundation to be the Secretariat to ISBLRT - India Sweden Business Leaders' Roundtable, which consists of owners, chairmen and CEOs only, of the 30 largest companies in Sweden. Mr. Sukhia advises companies and government institutions in their India related work. He has also been the global business development advisor at risk mitigation firm Vesper Group where he continues to hold an advisory position. Mr. Sukhia holds a Bachelor of Science in business administration from the State University of New York and has briefly studied at Uppsala University's renowned Institution for peace and conflict studies.

Eva Svedling was appointed state secretary to the Minister for International Development Cooperation and Climate, Ms. Isabella Lövin, in the Swedish Government in September 2016. Ms. Svedling is responsible for Swedish Climate Policy. She is a member of the Green Party and prior to her position as state secretary she was head of the Swedish Green Party Parliamentary Secretariat. From 2001-2011, she held a number of positions within the Save the Children Sweden Programme. Previous to that she worked as a consultant for the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency. Ms. Svedling holds a B.Sc. in Sociology from Stockholm University.

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Shashi Tharoor is an author, politician, and former international civil servant, Dr. Tharoor straddles several worlds of experience. Currently a second-term Lok Sabha Member of Parliament (MP) representing the Thiruvananthapuram constituency and chairman of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on External Affairs, he has previously served as Minister of State for Human Resource Development and Minister of State for External

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Daniel Twining is counselor and director of the Asia Program at the German Marshall Fund of the United States, based in Washington, DC. As counselor, he serves on the executive management team that governs GMF's \$35 million annual operations in research, convening, leadership development, and grantmaking. As director of the Asia Program, he leads a 15-member team working on the rise of Asia and its implications for the West through a program of convening and research spanning East, South, and Southeast Asia. Dr. Twining previously served as a Member of the U.S. Secretary of State's Policy Planning Staff, as the Foreign Policy Advisor to U.S. Senator John McCain, and as a staff member of the U.S. Trade Representative. He is an Associate of the U.S. National Intelligence Council, has taught at Georgetown University, and served as a military instructor associated with the Naval Postgraduate School. He holds a BA with Highest Distinction from the University of Virginia and MPhil & DPhil degrees from Oxford University, where he was the Fulbright/Oxford Scholar from 2004-07. He writes regular columns for *Nikkei* and *Foreign Policy* and has served as an advisor to six presidential campaigns.

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Ratna Viswanathan is the chief executive officer for the Microfinance Institutions Network. Belonging to the 1987 batch of the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, Ms. Vishwanathan comes with extensive experience across a range of departments of the Government of India including Defense and Prasar Bharti. In the development sector she has served at very senior levels in well-known international NGOs such as Oxfam and VSO. She steered these entities through critical change management processes as they transitioned from international liaison offices to 'full-fledged Indian entities'. Ms. Vishwanathan is a director on the board of Mudra, member of the RBI's Financial Inclusion Advisory Committee and chairperson of the South Asian Microfinance Network.

Erik Widman currently serves as deputy head of the department for Asia and the Pacific of the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Prior to that, he was head of division at the department for Security Policy working on European security policy for many years. In this role he was responsible for EU military and civilian crisis management operations and missions and for Swedish participation in major NATO operations. The EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy and the European Institute of Peace were initiatives which he spearheaded. Mr. Widman has also served at the Swedish embassy in Beijing, where he covered Chinese economic and trade policy, and worked as desk officer for South East Asia at his current department. He began his career as a management consultant at the Boston Consulting Group (BCG). Trained as an economist, he graduated with honors from the Stockholm School of Economics in 1997, and has studied at the London School of Economics, as well as Lewis and Clark College, Oregon, U.S. He is also a graduate of the Swedish Defence Language School, where he learned Russian.

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