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**FICCI-KAS VIRTUAL DIALOGUES:
THE NEW NORMAL SERIES**

Dialogue Six: Role of Multilateralism in the New Normal
June 12, 2020 | 1100-1245 on Webex

MODERATOR

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Secretary General
FICCI

FICCI-KAS Virtual Dialogues

The New Normal Series

Dialogue VI: Role of Multilateralism in the New Normal

Friday, June 12, 2020
1100-1245 hrs
on WebEx

The Context

Multilateralism matters for all of us and could prove itself worthwhile in addressing non-military or non-political security challenges. The role of Multilateralism is a much-needed force to avert the global health crisis. It is also an important means to accommodate the growing influence of non-state actors without antagonising states.

Many scholars and policy experts have expressed concerns that contemporary multilateralism is too feeble to manage the global pandemic situation. The geopolitical and economic context within which modern day multilateralism functions, paints a picture that global cooperation is daunting, and the COVID-19 pandemic makes it even more difficult. At first glimpse, it seems that states, themselves, are self-isolating through the concept of social distancing and further damaging the remaining fabric of multilateralism. However, the crisis might play a constructive role in rebuilding multilateralism after states realise the dangers of looking inwards and making the national borders sacrosanct.

While we have had several economic and financial crises globally in the past, it is prudent to say that the economic and social impact of those crises would have been far worse if not for the extraordinary policy and pragmatic response measures adopted by many governments after multilateral consultations. The policy measures are being coupled with the laudable assistance provided by the various multilateral institutions including the UN agencies and the international financial institutions and multilateral development banks like World Bank, IMF, Asian Development Bank and many others.

The global pandemic outbreak has given rise to the 'New Normal' in all aspects of societal living and productivity. FICCI in partnership with the India Office of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS), has been organising the FICCI-KAS Virtual Dialogue Series on topics of strategic, geo-economic and contemporary relevance. The FICCI-KAS Virtual Dialogue series is an endeavour to stay connected, to exchange notes and to ideate on vital issues and concerns faced by society. The Dialogue brings together thought leaders, opinion shapers and domain experts to discuss topics of contemporary interest. The *New Normal Series* seeks to examine the paradigm shift, new norms and novel ways of adapting and coping.

Programme Overview

Accorded the magnitude and volatile nature of the global pandemic, it definitely has the potential to unsettle the trust in Multilateralism and its institutions and groupings. To delineate the role of multilateralism in the New Normal and the conscientious efforts put in by the multilateral institutions in coping with this pandemic, FICCI in partnership with the India Office of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, organised the 6th FICCI-KAS Virtual Dialogue on 'Role of Multilateralism in the New Normal' in the series of FICCI-KAS Virtual Dialogues: The New Normal Series on , June 12, 2020 between 1100-1245 hrs on WebEx.

The 6th edition brought together representatives from industry, academia and policy think tanks, to present a holistic view on the matters pertaining to the various aspects of multilateralism, its evolving role and significance in the light of the global pandemic.

The panel comprised of the following speakers:

- **Prof. Amitabh Mattoo**, Professor of Disarmament Studies, Centre for International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament, Jawaharlal Nehru University
- **Ms. Lalitha Kumaramangalam**, Director, India Foundation
- **Amb. Bhaswati Mukherjee**, President, Association of Indian Diplomats
- **Prof. Siddharth Mallavarapu**, Professor and Head, Department of International Relations & Governance Studies, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Shiv Nadar University
- **Prof. Sanjay Chaturvedi**, Professor and Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, South Asia University
- **Dr. Chandrakant Lahariya**, National Professional Officer- Healthcare, Access & Protection, World Health Organization Country Office for India
- **Mr. Stanly Johny**, International Affairs Editor, The Hindu (Moderator)

Aims and Objectives

The 6th FICCI-KAS Dialogue focussed on how multilateralism not only matters in the time of Corona but is the fundament on which post-pandemic international recovery strategies will rest. It sought to ideate on the aspect of multilateralism not being demarcated when viewed through the lens of statism.

The Dialogue analysed the following facets:

- COVID-19 outbreak has laid enormous pressures on an extremely globalised world, forcing countries to adapt to a 'New Normal'. While several countries have opted for nationwide lockdowns and social distancing norms domestically, it is also critical to understand the multilateral efforts. How are countries cooperating with each other to fight this virus?
- Earlier global challenges have generated prospects for greater international collaboration among all countries. Regrettably, in the recent past, the rise in populism across the world have propelled national politics to jeopardise the spirit of international cooperation and the machineries of the multilateral efforts. Will Corona outbreak intensify despite the present social distancing norms and solidify national borders and make them sacrosanct? What will be its effects on overall productivity and living standards?
- Countless state and non-state actors today are intrigued about how the global pandemic will redesign global geopolitics. Global order has constantly been in a state of perpetual restructuring, tackling aspects of unipolarity, bipolarity and multipolarity. How will Corona outbreak impact multilateralism as a vital process?
- Never in human history has the mankind been better placed than today to tackle a health challenge like the Coronavirus and its societal impact. However, in examining the political landscape, no synchronised international mission appears evident to tackle this pernicious virus. How is it possible that the role of multilateralism that has not been tapped into so far?
- An unexplored avenue is one in which the role of multilateralism may establish valuable platforms for research on the COVID-19 virus and the possible development of a vaccine. Scientists, researchers through state and non-state actors around the world

can be activated in a mammoth mission to understand all they can about the Coronavirus and eventually come up with a vaccine. These actors have shared myriad data, information, and results to employ benefits of these latest developments, through formal and informal platforms and networks. What are the possibilities of integrating the appropriate experts within an international coordinating task force in addition to the WHO? What are the repercussions for stoppage of funding for WHO?

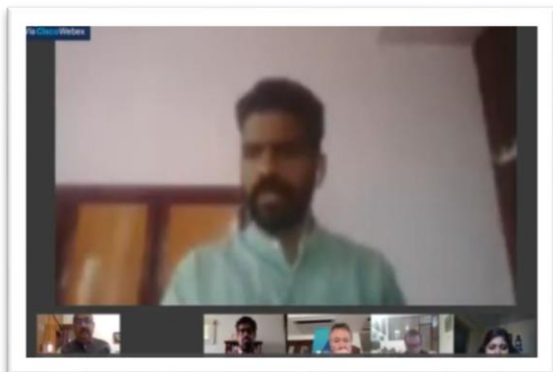
- The effect of COVID-19 outbreak on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) at the national, regional and global levels are yet to be determined. Will there be a delay in the deadline of 2030? What are the multilateral efforts required to meet the target date?
- Some policy experts say that the Coronavirus pandemic blindsided many multilateral international organisations, persuaded individual nation states to unilaterally manage the crisis alone and signalled a new chapter in the 21st century's main geopolitical rivalry between the United States and China. What lessons are there for India and the rest of the world, given this situation?
- Is there a need for a bottom-up approach rather than a top-down approach while battling this pandemic when viewed through the lens of multilateralism?

Key Takeaways

- The pandemic has heightened the cause of multilateralism and the world is currently witnessing a form of subliminal multilateralism.
- For the last two decades, multilateralism has mainly been understood in economic terms, but the impact of the global pandemic on geopolitics and on the international system has reshaped multilateralism.
- The global pandemic has given way to wider opportunities for multilateralism, multilateral institutions and global cooperation specifically constructive transnational cooperation.
- Multilateralism has multitudinous facets, which is characterized by two basic forms- regional and global multilateralism. The most relevant forms, in the light of the current crisis, is global multilateralism.
- Multilateralism, today, is contested with respect to rules and practices of existing multilateralism institutions. This contested multilateralism encompasses regime shift in the policy space and competitive regime creation wherein new institutions can challenge the status quo.
- The present form of multilateralism is incapable of venting its effect due to the presence of systemic rivals within the international system. It has created a disruption which has forced us to reevaluate our relations within the international system.
- This will result in some countries getting closer to each other and some getting distanced from others.
- Multilateralism in the New Normal can be understood by trend analysis with respect to economic, political and social recovery.
- It is critical to realise that multilateralism is not an end but a means to realise certain objectives and norms.
- In the New Normal, multilateralism will have to emerge stronger in order to upgrade the current system of international governance and rules based order.
- Human centricism would be the key to gravitate towards multilateralism in the New Normal.

- While the current situation calls for a change in our attitude towards multilateralism, the world needs to address the fundamental problems and work on the aspects of trust, legitimacy and leadership.
- In order to make multilateralism a success, certain measures need to be taken which include resorting to an inward form of multilateralism, engaging with multilateral institutions, addressing the challenges faced by countries, emerging role of non-state actors such as CSOs, NGOs, acting upon the SDGs as well as propagating inclusive governance. There is also the need for creating knowledge-based linkages and networks.
- It is imperative to address the issue of supply chains and global value chains and limit their vulnerabilities. A greater emphasis on self-reliance w.r.t supply chains, is the need of the hour.
- One needs to learn from the shortcomings of the international system and multilateral institutions in mitigating this crisis. There is the need for effective policy decisions which need to be translated into action, especially in the global health sector.
- In the case of India, multilateralism offers remarkable opportunities. India can play an eminent role in scaling up of multilateralism in the New Normal.
- India needs to resuscitate with like-minded actors, shape the alliance and reform the agenda. It also needs to work with developed and developing countries on the matters of health and technology.
- Furthermore, the existing health systems needs to be strengthened. India needs to securitise health issues, build its leadership in the health domain, reform existing health systems and enhance multilateral collaboration.

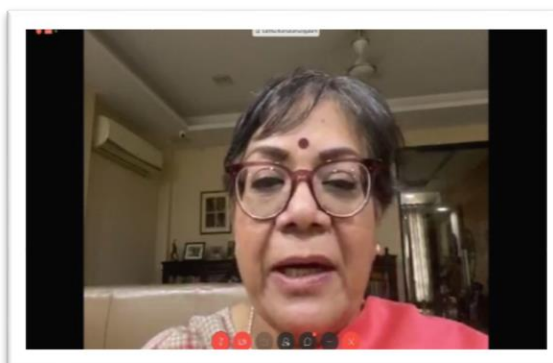
Glimpses



Mr. Stanly Johny, International Affairs Editor
The Hindu



Prof. Amitabh Mattoo, Professor, Centre for
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Dr. Chandrakant Lahariya, National
Professional Officer- Healthcare, Access &
Protection, World Health Organization

Key Statements

Prof. Amitabh Mattoo



"The world is in dire need of multilateralism and needs to address the fundamental problems and work on the three pillars of multilateralism- trust, legitimacy and leadership."

Ms. Lalitha Kumaramangalam



"The current crisis will lead to an inevitable change in the political scenario, which would lead to a realignment of partnerships amongst nations. It also calls for a change in our attitude towards multilateralism."

Prof. Siddharth Mallavarapu



"Multilateralism has two main dimensions- regime shift to increase policy space within existing institutions; and competitive regime creation to form new institutions to challenge the status quo."

Prof. Sanjay Chaturvedi



"Multilateralism is not an end but a means to realise certain objectives. India can play an eminent role in scaling up of multilateralism in the New Normal."

Dr. Chandrakant Lahariya



"India needs to build its leadership in health, transform health systems and enhance multilateral collaboration in healthcare."

Mr. Stanly Johny



"The global pandemic has affected the international system."

Welcome Remarks

Mr. Dilip Chenoy, Secretary General, FICCI



Secretary General, FICCI extended a warm welcome to everyone at the 6th Virtual Dialogue on 'Role of Multilateralism' in 'The New Normal series of FICCI KAS Virtual Dialogues'. He remarked that FICCI has a longstanding institutional partnership with Konrad-Adenauer- Stiftung across verticals. He remarked that the New Normal Series is an endeavour to stay connected and keep the dialogue alive during these unprecedented times. While one must adhere to the pragmatic approach of focusing on scaling up the immediate health response to curb the spread of COVID-19, it is also imperative to ensure that such a response stays connected to the goals set by the world for itself through the multilateral efforts, albeit with some recalibration to adapt to the New Normal. He noted that the world is faced with the 'New Normal' in all aspects of life and work.

He also introduced the distinguished panel of speakers and mentioned that they are leaders in their respective domains and thought leaders in their own right!

He explained that the previous dialogues, that is, Dialogues I-V, examined the 'Future of Work', applied a 'Gender Lens to COVID-19', assessed the 'Value of Sustainability in the New Normal' and crystal- gazed into the 'Future of Digital Connectivity-Raising the Bandwidth' and the fifth Dialogue in the 'New Normal' series evaluated the impact of the pandemic on how the world is gravitating from globalisation to glocalisation. He remarked that the sixth edition would assess the role of multilateralism in averting the global health crisis and deliberate on the ramifications of the pandemic on multilateralism.

Remarks

Mr. Peter Rimmele, Resident Representative to India, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung



Mr. Peter Rimmele talked about the changing aspects of New Normal including a change in governance and governmental regulations. He also gave a German and European perspective where he talked about the various issues such as the European Union facing strong internal tensions, the Euro-crisis, Brexit, the migrant crisis, which are dividing the continent.

He remarked that Germany has passed the legislation that has barred China from taking over German enterprises while Italy is actively encouraging such investments. He mentioned that it took some time for the Union to get its act together and agree on a common line to agree to what is now called “Europe’s Hamiltonian moment”, a common recovery fund to combat the virus.

He further highlighted Germany’s role as central to all the efforts being made by the European Union in responding to the crisis. The COVID-stricken countries of the European south are expecting the rich north to show solidarity, while the north and especially the so- called “Frugal four”, Austria, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden, are looking at Germany to hold firm against any such notion.

He opined that Europe is in dire need of a multilateral and supra-national approach. The European economic policy must be harmonised more intensively in order to compete with much stronger players in Asia and the Americas, on which it has relied for raw materials but with the disruption in international trade, there is a need for re-evaluation of these relations.

In this aspect, he stated, that one has to become self-reliant and not rely on international players to meet the demands of vital strategic goods. He concluded by stating that supra-national institutions have a pivotal role to play in strengthening multilateralism.

Introductory Statement

Mr. Stanly Johny, International Affairs Editor, The Hindu



Mr. Stanly Johny talked about the effect of global pandemic on every sphere of people's lives including the international system. He mentioned that the impact of this crisis on geopolitics and the international system, has resulted in the creation of opportunities for multilateralism, multilateral institutions, and global cooperation.

Key Speeches

Prof. Amitabh Mattoo, Professor of Disarmament Studies, Centre for International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament, Jawaharlal Nehru University



Prof. Amitabh Mattoo commenced his remarks by thanking FICCI and KAS for organising a timely dialogue on a relevant topical issue. He noted that the role of multilateralism in the New Normal is a contested aspect. He mentioned that with the devastation unleashed by the Corona pandemic, across the globe, people have been reminded of the value of multilateralism. To fight against the virus, mitigate its effects, and curtail the adverse impact on the economy, a universal mechanism and cooperation amongst nations are needed.

According to him, the issue is that when the world is in dire need of multilateralism, it is at its weakest. There is a need for addressing the fundamental problems of multilateralism.

He opined that the crisis of multilateralism is centred around three pillars- trust, legitimacy, and leadership. All three aspects form the basis of operationalisation of several multilateral institutions and are visible in the present times where the largest trading multilateral organisation like WTO has been facing increasing limitations on its capabilities of negotiating beyond the Doha Round, dispute settlement mechanism and transparency.

Prof. Mattoo remarked that the pandemic has heightened the crisis of multilateralism and not created it. It is evident that multilateralism, in its current form, is incapable of dealing with the misuse of the systemic rivals within the international system. As per him, the underpinning assumption of the post-war multilateral system was that peace and prosperity go hand in hand, where some commonly held purpose was assumed amongst members, leading to increased economic integration and shared prosperity that could contribute towards peacekeeping initiatives.

He opined that multilateral institutions were not built for a world where ties of interdependence, which were supposed to enhance well-being for all, would themselves be weaponised for nationalistic gains at the expense of the other actors. According to him, the pandemic has provided an illustration of how alarming the weaponisation of global supply chains can be. He noted that despite these challenges, governments all across the world, have urged state and non-state actors to stay committed to multilateralism. This can ring hollow due to the possibility of shrinking of the global economic pie, where the countries would be less prosperous but more secure.

Prof. Mattoo elucidated that membership for a renewed form of multilateralism would not be universal but would be limited to deeply integrated countries, who share first-order values such as pluralism, liberalism, democracy, etc. He further mentioned that the current crisis of multilateralism could present remarkable opportunities for India, which is uniquely positioned to resuscitate multilateralism by promoting constructive transnational cooperation. He remarked that multilateralism which recognises the need for decoupling, would necessitate closer cooperation with some and distancing with others. At the immediate level, the gains could be concerning blanket entrenchment in global value chains where some countries in the West might seek to decouple from China and look towards India.

He concluded by stating that to stake its claim in the multilateral order, India will have to work with like-minded actors, shape the alliance and reform the agenda as well as collaborate with developed and developing countries.

Ms. Lalitha Kumaramangalam, Director, India Foundation



Ms. Lalitha Kumaramangalam opined that a pragmatic approach needs to be developed concerning multilateralism in the present context. She reiterated that the concept is a contested one.

She mentioned that for the past two decades, multilateralism has been based on economic concerns. Even today, it is mainly based on trade, commerce, business, but with the current pandemic being a health issue, which has not only affected the economy but also had an impact on the socio-political aspects of a country, there is a need for a broader angle of multilateralism. There has to be a change in the ethos of the practice of multilateralism wherein one needs to have a change of attitude towards multilateralism.

She further remarked that there will be an inevitable change in the political scenario wherein there may or may not be a shift from liberalism to nationalism or there would be a sceptical approach towards China, realignment of partnerships amongst nations from the institutional perspective of multilateralism like G7 into G10 or QUAD into QUAD+ and so on.

According to Ms. Kumaramangalam, India will have to redesign its military policies due to the changes in the neighbouring countries or regions, especially with the United States pulling out troops from Afghanistan, India will have to look at the strategic realignment of various mechanisms concerning its attitude towards multilateralism. India is giving a greater emphasis on self-reliance w.r.t supply chains, which is a basis for successful multilateralism.

She noted that in the light of the present crisis, two major sectors will gain traction in the post-COVID world, namely health and technology. India is known as the pharmacy of the world and has a comparative advantage in the health sector with respect to non-traditional health as well as both medical and non-medical curative and preventive aspects. She informed that Oxford has approached main vaccine producers in India to partner in producing vaccines cheaply for

the underdeveloped countries. She mentioned that India is also the top supplier of medical personnel- doctors, nurses and paramedical staff. So, India will have a say in the decisions of healthcare (global health) in the world, which will impact both multilateralism and glocalisation with respect to the supply chains.

She advocated that in the Post COVID world, violence and discrimination in terms of gender, colour, race, need to be addressed. With the borders becoming transparent and movement, especially of goods and services, becoming swift, the focus will be on health and violence as well as human centricism, which would be the key to gravitate towards multilateralism in the New Normal. She remarked that the crisis is not only about human behaviour, human knowledge, attributes and transparency about foreign policy but also internal operations. India is placed in a unique position not only in terms of leadership but also as negotiator and mediator.

She concluded by stating that India, which has the youngest population in the world, needs to focus on developing the technical skills of the youth, build upon the knowledge of health and hygiene as well as practice sustainable development.

Prof. Siddharth Mallavarapu, Professor and Head, Department of International Relations & Governance Studies, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Shiv Nadar University



Prof. Siddharth Mallavarapu alluded that one has to look at multilateralism from a historical perspective, which goes back to the 19th century to the International Telegraphic Union in 1865 and subsequently to the Latin Monetary Union and the League of Nations. He expressed that it helps one to understand better, the crisis that the world is facing, as institutions such as the UN have witnessed tumultuous changes (in terms of membership, representation, legitimacy, trust deficits) that have taken place in the international system, but have not always been able to keep up with those changes.

He talked about the multitudinous facets of multilateralism, where he elucidated two different forms of multilateralism- regional and global multilateralism. According to him, regional multilateralism is still operational in some form or the other, however, the current crisis is linked to one's understanding of global multilateralism. He also talked about the instances of regional multilateralism with regard to European Union as well as referred to the need for a legal or law-based international order and informal alliance, which can support the idea of informal multilateralism. He highlighted the importance of ASEAN and the revival of regional multilateralism wherein he mentioned that several intra-ASEAN dialogues have been initiated in 2020 for addressing the global health crisis, with Vietnam as the chair.

He stressed upon the significance of contested multilateralism, which he explained, is concerned with regime shift to increase the policy space and the room for manoeuvre within the existing institutions as well as the formation of a competitive regime to create new institutions to challenge the status quo.

Furthermore, Prof. Mallavarapu answered the six key questions raised about the role of multilateralism in the present times and post-pandemic phase. He touched upon the aspect of

populism, which he said, is linked to multilateralism and is inward-looking as well as is less receptive to the possibilities of some forms of multilateral engagement. It is also concerned with the challenges that the countries face internally rather externally.

Secondly, he also talked about global geopolitics and a changing world concerning the rivalry between the major powers and the exigency of a new cold war between the United States (status quo power) and China (revisionist power). He opined that this might also clear a pathway for contested multilateralism and might lead to regime creation with the help of alternatives to the existing institutions.

Thirdly, he elucidated the role of non-state actors such as NGOs and CSOs, which have been garnering support and representation at various fora. This might lead to an argument that maybe multilateralism arises from democratic deepening, which can strengthen the cause of multilateralism and necessitate a degree of international cooperation.

Fourthly, he highlighted the importance of science as a knowledge system, wherein the best minds in the world can use scientific methods to address the current problem and devise a solution. Hence, there is a need for epistemic cooperation and knowledge-based transfers of linkages and networks, which can prove to be beneficial for multilateralism.

Additionally, he addressed the need for adhering to the SDGs with respect to poverty, hunger, gender inequality, global wellbeing and remarked that these goals can only be realised when there is a certain degree of recognition and cooperation amongst the multilateral institutions.

Prof. Mallavarapu also discussed the challenges of inclusive governance and to avoid democratic deficits, issues concerning global public goods- clean air or clean water, global public bad such as the current health crisis.

He concluded by reiterating that India is well placed to make critical utilisation of the present situation and the opportunities present, in terms of leadership, participation in the international politics and governance, greater representation and equity as well as coordinating responses and creating coalitions to strengthen the existing partnerships.

Prof. Sanjay Chaturvedi, Professor and Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, South Asia University



Prof. Sanjay Chaturvedi remarked that every crisis is an opportunity in itself to revisit the mainstream understanding of international relations and geopolitics. He noted that multilateralism is fundamentally contested which is propagated by concepts and contexts. The current crisis makes us rethink the current notion of multilateralism.

He mentioned that the New Normal is not even close to the normal as one would want it to be. It gives rise to a question as to when does the pandemic actually end? He explained that there is a scientific understanding of this as well as social and political explanation wherein social ending is a longer process. He stated that the New Normal will be a complex process and will be different with respect to diversity of locations, agenda and current form of multilateralism. He opined that trend analysis is critical to understand the process better.

He further talked about subliminal multilateralism with respect to the global commons. He explained that at the onset of the New Normal, the world will be focussed on recovery in terms of economy, norms and values, humanism, governance. He also shed light on the Blue Economy narrative and the importance of governance of the high seas and mentioned that one needs to not only look at disruption of governance and world order but also the vast ecological damage.

Prof. Chaturvedi also discussed the geopolitics of disease and health issues getting securitised and nationalised. He further highlighted India's role in shaping multilateralism and remarked that new multilateralism in the New Normal cannot afford to be purely human centric. Human and non-human world will both have to be prioritized.

He also opined that one will have to rise above the economic model of development and capitalist notions and rethink development. He remarked that one needs to understand that multilateralism is not an end but a means to realise objectives and norms. India can play an

eminent role in norm making and scaling up of multilateralism in the New Normal and should be able to resist all trends of securitising the health issues.

He concluded by stating that multilateralism in the New Normal will not be limited to regional or global multilateralism but also sub-regional multilateralism, which will address the challenges of the post-pandemic era.

Dr. Chandrakant Lahariya, National Professional Officer- Healthcare, Access & Protection, World Health Organization Country Office for India



Dr. Chandrakant Lahariya focussed on the aspects health pre- and post-COVID-19 and deliberated on the way forward for the healthcare sector. He remarked that various international organisations like UN have been conducting meetings of the Health Ministers of their members states for the past two decades. UN General Assembly discusses broad-based issues, and in September 2019, a special session of UN General Assembly was held on 'Universal Health Coverage'. He further remarked that since UN moves from the ambit of Health Ministers to the ambit of Heads of State, it leads to the broadening of the agenda wherein health is an important part and which also gives rise to institutional mechanisms for inter-sectoral collaboration for multilateralism. Lately G7 and G20 have been focusing on health issues and universal health.

He opined that health is given least priority under the development agenda of a country. The COVID-19 pandemic has brought it into forefront and people are now finding it difficult to cope with the existing challenges in the healthcare sector. Every policy maker is addressing health and related issues, which earlier were not discussed as vigorously in the policy space.

Dr. Lahariya also expressed that weak health systems and poor public and private healthcare facilities, pose a challenge to a developing country like India. With insufficient government funding in the healthcare sector, countries fail to focus on the proven and effective interventions such as vaccines.

According to him, the New Normal demands that lessons from this pandemic should be utilised to strengthen the healthcare system in all countries including India. It is important to strengthen collaboration between the existing institutions and countries to address the health issues, strengthen R&D, make healthcare a part of the global value chain. It is also crucial to

have shared responsibility in terms of finding a cure for the Corona virus with unbiased access to the vaccine.

He further noted that various institutional mechanisms are needed to promote healthcare and gave the instances of the such meeting of SAARC member countries through video conferencing, organised by India in March 2020; Global Vaccine Summit in United Kingdom as well as World Health Summit organised by Germany every year wherein a Global Action Plan on Health and Wellbeing was carried out in 2018. He concluded his remarks by stating that India also needs to assume leadership in health, transform health systems and enhance multilateral collaboration in healthcare.

Interventions

Q. If we look at the global system, there are dialogues going on of a possibility of a new cold war between United States and China. As a champion of multilateralism, what role will India be playing in an evolving global system?

A. Traditional theorists would suggest that India would choose United States over China. However, there is strategic space to carve out in the post pandemic world, a degree of autonomy where one can be a mediator in ensuring that a cold multilateral order does not entirely collapse along with facilitating new forms of collaboration, cooperation and institutionalisation in the areas of soft power. Some would say that before China started weaponising multilateralism, it was gradually being socialised into the international system and was willing to abide by the rules of the international system. The fact that China declared its arrival in a manner which has been disruptive and subversive, will make it introspect its actions. The great powers in the past have faced a crisis of credibility, legitimacy which will make it impossible for China to play a dominant role in the international system and allow for India to facilitate a mediation between China and the West.

Also, in the possibility of strategic decoupling, India can act as a potential policy maker in terms of supply chains. Moreover, one has to look beyond international relations and on the welfare of people. The situation today which has made us fight an individual and collective battle for survival, the pandemic offers an opportunity to India to manufacture vaccine, have cost effective solutions as well ensure universal access to low cost vaccine.

Q. How do you look at the crisis within regional groupings such as EU or SAARC?

A. It is important to look at specific configuration of regional groupings in order to understand the concept. In terms of EU, it has been normatively well disposed towards forms of multilateralism. There is a dense legal institutionalism which is a characteristic feature of EU and it is important to note that traditional rivals such as France and Germany were able to keep aside their differences and join the EU.

In the context of SAARC, when a crisis of this nature and extent, breaks out, the initial response is panic and to protect one's national interests. While one is concerned about protecting their citizens and their access to resources, it is also true that there are a whole range of implications,

both economic and psychological. This is true to all of humanity and not just one country or a region. So, it is important to go back and relook at the ways of accomplishing the goals and accentuating the opportunities within SAARC.

Q. How do you look at India's fight against COVID-19?

A. The context here is that a pandemic of this extent is happening after almost a century for which no country is prepared. Most countries are struggling to contain the pandemic and they need to focus on their existing health systems as well as the interventions required to take necessary measures to contain the pandemic. To better deal with this crisis and to mitigate its effect, measures need to be taken on three aspects- government, health sector and people participation. So, while the government will take necessary measures and decisions to strengthen the healthcare system, the people will have to support in order to ensure the success of the healthcare system as well as to be able to contain the spread of this disease. India has the capability of assuming a leading role in handling the crisis and setting an example of a stronger and resilient healthcare system.

Q. What do you expect the New Normal to be like given the positive impact of the lockdown on the environment and will multilateralism be able to ensure that people will live in harmony with nature?

A. It is important to pluralise the notion of multilateralism. When the New Normal sets in, one would see that multilateralism is multidimensional when viewed from different countries' perspectives. Multilateralism is also seen from the standpoint of anarchy in international relations but the question of hierarchy and agency have not received the kind of attention that they deserve. The democratisation becomes important with respect to the agenda makers, agenda setters and theory makers and the politics of knowledge production. We are looking at the pandemic as a point of sudden rupture and the same has happened with climate change where the way that humankind is treating nature and the way that narratives of sustainable development, are shaping up, is something to think about. A new form of planetary politics and academic movement should be the key to deal with the geopolitics of environment.

Q. The role played by business chambers and NGOs in promoting multilateralism and international cooperation is important and how can it be further be strengthened during and after the pandemic?

A. There is a role to be played by both actors, however it would differ in terms of its efficacy and those benefitting from it. There also has to be cooperation between the industry and the NGOs, not only in terms of financial support but also activism which is being done by the latter all across the world. In terms of the business sector, there is a need for greater emphasis on health where health and environment will be intertwined in the future. Most of the work that is being done to promote sustainable and environment friendly business practices and promotion of sustainable trade and commerce, has been the resultant of the active work done by the NGOs and CSOs. One has to acknowledge the fact that no two country are the same in terms of economic position and there is a need for greater cooperation between state, non-state actors and other multilateral agencies. There is a need for mutual understanding and cooperation between human beings to bring about the change in the world and to establish a harmonious relationship with nature in order to co-exist.

Social Media Coverage

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Multilateralism in the New Normal: Tomorrow

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Mr Dilip Chenoy, Secretary General, FICCI addresses the FICCI-KAS Virtual Dialogues on 'Role of Multilateralism in the New Normal'. #FICCIWebinar

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Multilateralism will emerge stronger in the New Normal in order to upgrade the current system of international governance: Mr Peter Rimmele, Resident Representative to India, KAS, at FICCI-KAS Virtual Dialogue on 'Role of Multilateralism in the New Normal'. #FICCIWebinar

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 The pandemic has heightened the crisis of multilateralism and not created it: Prof @amitabhmattoo, Professor of Disarmament Studies, Centre for International Politics, Organization & Disarmament, JNU at FICCI-KAS Virtual Dialogue on 'Role of Multilateralism in the New Normal'.



1 1

FICCI @ficc_india · Jun 12
 Addressing the FICCI-KAS Virtual Dialogue on 'Role of Multilateralism in the New Normal', Mr @johnstanly, International Affairs Editor, The Hindu highlighted the impact of this pandemic on the international system across verticals. #FICCIWebinar



1 1 5

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 Prof Siddarth Mallavarapu, Head, Department of International Relations & Governance Studies, School of Humanities & Social Sciences, @shivnadaruniv highlights the significance of contested multilateralism, with respect to regime shift & importance of knowledge-based linkages.



1

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 Let us not compromise on our basic strengths and not ignore our basic weaknesses: Ms @kumaramangalaml, Director, India Foundation at FICCI-KAS Virtual Dialogue on 'Role of Multilateralism in the New Normal'.



1 1

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3

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 India needs to build its leadership in health, transform health systems & enhance multilateral collaboration in health: @DrLahariya, National Professional Officer- Healthcare, Access & Protection, WHO Country Office for India at FICCI-KAS Virtual Dialogue.



1 2

FICCI-KAS Virtual Dialogues: The New Normal Series

Dialogue VI: Role of Multilateralism in the New Normal

Friday, June 12, 2020; 1100-1245 hrs on WebEx

The meeting was live streamed on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aLpzH5ZiMHM>

Programme

| | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1050 – 1100 hrs | Logging into respective devices for webinar |
| 1100-1105 hrs | Welcome Remarks by Mr. Dilip Chenoy , Secretary General, FICCI |
| 1105 – 1110 hrs | Remarks by Mr. Peter Rimmele , Resident Representative to India, KAS |
| 1110-1215 hrs | <p>Input Statements by Key Speakers followed by panel discussion moderated by Mr. Stanly Johny, International Affairs Editor, The Hindu.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prof. Amitabh Mattoo, Professor of Disarmament Studies, Centre for International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament, Jawaharlal Nehru University • Ms. Lalitha Kumaramangalam, Director, India Foundation • Prof. Siddharth Mallavarapu, Professor and Head, Department of International Relations & Governance Studies, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Shiv Nadar University • Prof. Sanjay Chaturvedi, Professor and Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, South Asia University • Dr. Chandrakant Lahariya, National Professional Officer- Healthcare, Access & Protection, World Health Organization Country Office for India |
| 1215-1235 hrs | Audience interventions and Q & A |
| 1235-1245 hrs | <p>Concluding remarks from key speakers</p> <p>Key Takeaways of Dialogue: Summing up by Moderator</p> |

FICCI-KAS Virtual Dialogues: The New Normal Series

Dialogue VI: Role of Multilateralism in the New Normal

Friday, June 12, 2020; 1100-1245 hrs on WebEx

Speaker Profiles

EMINENT KEY SPEAKERS *(in Alphabetical Order)*

Prof. Amitabh Mattoo, Professor of Disarmament Studies, Centre for International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament, Jawaharlal Nehru University



Prof. Amitabh Mattoo is currently professor of Disarmament studies at the Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament (CIPOD), School of International Studies. His teaching and research interests include issues of international security, India's foreign policy, and arms control and disarmament. Mattoo has been visiting Professor at the Centre for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University, at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace Studies, the University of Notre Dame, and at the Program on Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and at the Maison des Sciences de'Lomme at Paris. He has published ten books (on nuclear issues, foreign policy and international relations), and more than fifty research articles (including in leading journals like Survival and Asian Survey). He writes regularly for Indian newspapers, including The Telegraph and The Hindu and is a commentator on television.

Prof. Mattoo was the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jammu from November 2002 until December 2008. He was the youngest person to serve on that position. He concurrently served as a Member of the National Knowledge Commission, a high-level advisory group to the Prime Minister of India. A member of the Governing council of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, the Nobel Prize winning NGO which campaigns for global disarmament, he is currently President of the Indian Association of International Studies. Prof. Mattoo has been a member of India's National Security Council's Advisory Board and was also a member of the task force constituted by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on Global Strategic Developments. The Task Force examined various aspects of global trends in strategic affairs and their implications for India.

Prof. Mattoo is a member of the Academic Advisory Committee of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and is an Honorary Professor at the Islamic University of Science and Technology, Avantipura, Jammu and Kashmir. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies serves on the research Committee of the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses and is a member of the Executive Council of the Central University of Karnataka. He is also a Director of the India-Afghanistan Foundation (established by the governments of India and Afghanistan). Prof. Mattoo has served on the Governing Council of the Nuclear Science Centre and has been a member of the Standing Committee of the Association of Indian Universities.

Recognising his contribution to education and public life, the President of India honoured Prof. Mattoo on the occasion of the Republic Day (2008) with the Padma Shri, one of India's highest civilian awards. Professor Amitabh Mattoo was awarded the Qimpro Platinum Standard Award (2008) and was recognized as a National Statesman for his work in the field of education along with Mr. Anand Mahindra who was awarded for his leadership in business.

**Dr. Chandrakant Lahariya, National Professional Officer- Healthcare, Access & Protection,
WHO India Office**



Dr. Chandrakant Lahariya is a medical doctor, epidemiologist, public health practitioner & public policy strategist. He has been working with the World Health Organization (WHO) since early 2008 on various aspects of universal health coverage and health systems strengthening. In his role, he works and collaborates with union and state governments in India as well as with international partners. Over the years, he has been actively involved in work related to global health governance, health diplomacy, public policy and has regularly provided inputs for health-related topics and dialogues of G-20 meetings.

Dr. Lahariya has been forefront of health services delivery in India and contributed to many national and international initiatives in the field of healthcare. In COVID-19, his focus has been learnings from international response and ensuring the availability of essential health services during the pandemic period.

Ms. Lalitha Kumaramangalam, Director, India Foundation



Ms. Lalitha Kumaramangalam is the Director of India Foundation and heads the Centre for Soft Power & Centre for Religion & Security. Previously, she has worked in Ashok Leyland Marketing Division (1981-1983) as well as travel sector as Director Finance & Marketing from 1983-1990. In 1991, she started an NGO- Prakriti. Since then she has worked in HIV/ AIDS prevention with sex workers, LGBTQ community, truckers, other women at risk etc.

She has also worked with rural women, helping them organise them into Self Help Groups (orienting, capacity building for both financial +operational management & group sustainability). She has also worked on child nutrition, women's violence issues with State & Central Govt, UNAIDS, UNICEF, AusAID, NORAD, UNWomen etc.

Ms. Kumaramangalam has trained and lectured widely on women's violence and its generational link to health, nutrition and empowerment of both women and children as well as the economic consequences of it.

She has BA (Hons) in Economics from St. Stephens College (1975-78) and MBA from Madras University (1978-80).

She joined BJP in 2000. She has served as the National Secretary of BJP (2002-2004); National Executive Member of BJP (2002-2012); National Spokesperson of BJP (2012-2014); Chairperson of NCW (2014-2017).

Prof. Sanjay Chaturvedi, Professor and Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of International Relations, South Asian University



Prof. Sanjay Chaturvedi is Professor and Dean of Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of International Relations in South Asian University. Before joining South Asian University in June 2018, Prof. Chaturvedi was Lala Lajpat Rai Professor in Political Science at Panjab University, Chandigarh. He has more than 35 years of experience in research and teaching, including post-doc at University of Cambridge, England (1992-1995) with Nehru Centenary British Commonwealth Fellowship, followed by the award of highly coveted Leverhulme Research Grant.

His research interests include Geopolitics and IR: Theories and Practices, especially in relation to Polar Regions and the Indian Ocean Region; South Asian Geopolitics: Classical & Critical; Partition and Boundary Studies with Special Reference to South Asia; Environmental Sustainability and Climate change; and Non-Western IR and Geopolitical Traditions.

He has authored two, co-authored three and co-edited eight books (under the imprint of Palgrave Macmillan, Springer, Routledge, John Wiley and Sage) and published in international peer-reviewed journals including *Geopolitics*, *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region*, *Third World Quarterly*, *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *Cooperation and Conflict*, *The Polar Journal*, *Proceedings of Indian National Science Academy*, and *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, and *Journal of Economic and Social Geography*. He is the founding Vice-Chair of Indian Ocean Research Group, Inc. (IORG) currently *Observer* in the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) and Editor of its flagship journal, *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region* (Routledge). Regional Editor of *The Polar Journal* (Routledge) Chaturvedi serves on the editorial board of *Cooperation and Conflict* (Sage), *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs* (Sage) and on the editorial advisory board of *Journal of Borderland Studies* (Routledge), *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal: A Quarterly of the Association of Indian Diplomats* (Prints

Publication) and *Journal of Global Faultlines* (Pluto). He is also a Member of International Editorial Board of *Rowman & Littlefield Series: 'Global Dialogues: Developing Non-Eurocentric IR and IPE* (Edited by John M. Hobson and L.H.M. Ling). Chaturvedi was elected as the co-chair of Research Committee on Political and Cultural Geography (RC 15) of International Political Science Association (IPSA) for two terms (2006-2009; 2009-2012), and also served on the Steering Committee of the IGU Commission on Political Geography from 2004 to 2012.

He has visited 51 countries in connection with various academic assignments including 90 conference presentations and 60 invited lectures/seminars. He was invited to deliver the keynote address at the SCAR Antarctic Humanities and Social Sciences Expert Group (HASSEG) 2017 Conference held at Hobart, Australia, 5-7 July 2017. He has also served on the Indian delegation to Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meetings (ATCMs) and Track II dialogues with Australia, Japan and New Zealand. More recently, he has been selected/invited as a Lead Author for Chapter 10: (Asia) of the Working Group II Contribution to the IPCC Sixth Assessment Report (2019-2021). He has been the recipient of several awards and accolades throughout his illustrious career.

Prof. Siddharth Mallavarapu, Professor and Head, Department of International Relations and Governance Studies, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Shiv Nadar University



Prof. Siddharth Mallavarapu is a Professor at the Department of International Relations and Governance Studies, School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Shiv Nadar University. He has considerable research and teaching experience in the discipline of International Relations (IR) and takes a special interest in the evolution and instantiation of the discipline of International Relations in India. His research interests encompass disciplinary histories of International Relations (IR) with a special focus on India; theories of IR especially vis-à-vis the global south; Asia in world affairs; global governance and institutional design; comparative political thought; cognition and IR; critical security studies; global intellectual history; world politics and literature; and heuristics in the social sciences.

He has published widely and taught a vast array of courses both at the undergraduate, graduate and doctoral levels. He is currently co-series editor (along with Professor Himadeep Muppudi of Vassar College, NY and Professor Raymond Duvall of the University of Minnesota) of *Critical Global Thought* published by Oxford University Press. Prof. Mallavarapu has also been a Senior Fellow at the Centre for Global Cooperation Research, Duisburg and a Visiting Professor at Sciences Po, Paris. He is an editorial board member from July 1, 2018 to December 1, 2021 for the journal *Global Perspectives* (specifically for the section on 'Global Change and Sustainability Transformations: Technology-Society Interfaces') published by the University of California Press. He has also served as an Adjunct Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) for a period of two years and also been a member of the editorial team of the journal *Strategic Analysis* and the *Indian Journal of International Law*.

Prof. Mallavarapu has been featured in Theory Talks and has contributed to the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. He is the author of *Banning the Bomb: The Politics of Norm Creation*,

two co-edited anthologies on *International Relations in India* (with Kanti Bajpai), a co-edited book titled *International Relations: Perspectives for the Global South* (with B.S. Chimni) as well as assorted journal articles. He has contributed theoretical chapters to two Oxford Handbooks, one on *Indian Foreign Policy* (2015) and the other on *India's National Security* (2018).

Prof. Mallavarapu has also contributed chapters to *The Sage Handbook of Political Science* (2020) and the *Routledge Handbook of Critical International Relations Theory* (2019). A recent piece of his has appeared in the Sage journal *China Report* (2020) and another is forthcoming in the journal *Global Constitutionalism* (2020) published by Cambridge University Press. He has mentored a number of doctoral theses and has contributed to International Relations curricula design. He is particularly invested in multi-disciplinary conversations with the allied social sciences, humanities and behavioural sciences. He has participated in several conferences both national and international.

MODERATOR

Mr. Stanly Johny, International Affairs Editor, The Hindu



Mr. Stanly Johny is the international affairs editor at *The Hindu*. He is a regular contributor on geopolitics to *The Hindu*, *The Hindu Business Line* and *Frontline*. His first book, ***The ISIS Caliphate: From Syria to the Doorsteps of India***, was brought out by Bloomsbury India in 2018. He has contributed several chapters to edited volumes on Indian foreign policy and geopolitics, including *India National Security Annual Review -2016-17*. His writings and analyses have been featured in global think tank forums such as The Middle East Institute (Washington DC), Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy (Singapore) and the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (New Delhi), and other media outlets including Russia Today, Economic and Political Weekly, Business Standard, The Gulf Today, and TV18. He has reported for *The Hindu* group from several parts of the world such as Moscow, Washington DC, Montgomery, Seoul, Ramallah, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Amman, Singapore, Brussels and Luxembourg. A PhD in West Asian Studies from Jawaharlal Nehru University, Mr. Stanly Johny teaches critical international issues at Asian College of Journalism, Chennai, and is a visiting scholar at Kerala University, Thiruvananthapuram.

ORGANISERS

Mr. Dilip Chenoy, Secretary General, FICCI



Mr. Dilip Chenoy is currently Secretary General of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI). He leads the permanent secretariat of the industry chamber, which is the largest and oldest apex business organisation in India, and a potent voice for policy change. FICCI represents over 2,50,000 members through Member Bodies covering all the States of India.

Before joining FICCI, Mr. Chenoy had served as Managing Director & CEO of the National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC). NSDC fosters private sector investment and initiatives in training and skill development.

He has also worked in several key industry organizations, including SIAM as its Director General. He was a member of the Harvard Business School project under Professor Michael Porter that worked on the competitiveness of Indian industry. With varied experiences of working in the private sector, he advises start-ups including organisations in the digital, education, skills and livelihood space. Dilip has also served as Chairman of an Engineering Institute.

A fellow of the World Academy of Productivity Science (WAPS), he was awarded the Indian Achievers Award in 2018, The Game Changer Award in 2015 and the Rashtriya Media Ratan Award in 2013.

Mr. Peter Rimmele, Resident Representative, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS)



Mr. Peter Rimmele is currently the Resident Representative of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Office, India.

He has a First Law Degree from Freiburg University, as well as a Second Law Degree from the Ministry of Justice Baden-Württemberg, Germany and a M.A. in Geography.

After working as, a jurist, judge and lecturer, he took public office as Ministerialrat, Head of Division at the State Ministry of the Interior in Saxony, Germany, from November 1991 on until 2000.

There he first served in the Police and Security and later in the Local Government Department.

On behalf of the German Foreign Ministry he served in East Timor as Registrar General, Head of Civil Registry and Notary Services (UNTAET), and became later the principal Advisor for Governance Reform for GIZ (German International Cooperation) to the Ministry of Administrative Reform and the Anti-Corruption-Commission of the Republic of Indonesia, where he served for 7 years. He then moved to Rwanda, also as Principal Advisor Good Governance/Justice Program. Earlier he was Resident Representative Lebanon, Director of Rule of Law Program Middle East North Africa, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

Mr. Manish Singhal, Deputy Secretary General, FICCI



Mr. Manish Singhal is currently the Deputy Secretary General, FICCI and Head, International Affairs. He has been with FICCI since 2012 and oversees the global outreach of FICCI, to further the business interests of Indian industry and strategic approach of Govt of India. He also oversees the Resource Conservation & Management (RCM) and FICCI Quality Forum (FQF) Divisions which focus on audits, improvement planning and related capacity building initiatives with industry in India and abroad. Prior to FICCI, he has spent over 22 years with some of the best in class Indian transnational companies like Tata Motors, Eicher (Volvo), Tata Autocomp Systems, Moser Baer and BEML. Career involves immense exposure to global multi-cultural business environment, covering over 60 countries, besides India.

About the Partners

Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI)

Established in 1927, FICCI is the largest and oldest apex business organisation in India. Its history is closely interwoven with India's struggle for independence, its industrialization, and its emergence as one of the most rapidly growing global economies.

A non-government, not-for-profit organisation, FICCI is the voice of India's business and industry. From influencing policy to encouraging debate, engaging with policy makers and civil society, FICCI articulates the views and concerns of industry. It serves its members from the Indian private and public corporate sectors and multinational companies, drawing its strength from diverse regional chambers of commerce and industry across states, reaching out to over 2,50,000 companies.

FICCI provides a platform for networking and consensus building within and across sectors and is the first port of call for Indian industry, policy makers and the international business community. FICCI's vision is to be the thought leader for industry, its voice for policy change and its guardian for effective implementation.

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS)

Freedom, justice and solidarity are the basic principles underlying the work of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS). The KAS is a political foundation, with a strong presence throughout Germany and all over the world. We cooperate with governmental institutions, political parties and civil society organisations building strong partnerships along the way. In particular, we seek to intensify political cooperation at the national and international levels on the foundations of our objectives and values. Together with our partners, we contribute to the creation of an international order that enables every country to develop in freedom and under its own responsibility. The Konrad- Adenauer-Stiftung has organized its program priorities in India into five working areas:

- Political Dialogue and cooperation
- Foreign and Security Policy including Energy Policy
- Economic policy and management

- Rule of Law
- Media and training programmes for students of journalism

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's India office takes great pride in its cooperation with Indian partner organisations who implement jointly curated projects and programmes.