GLOBAL SECURITY SUMMIT VISION 2020

Contesting the Indo-Pacific for Global Domination

Friday & Saturday, December 11-12, 2020













GLOBAL DIALOGUE FORUM & KONRAD ADENAUER STIFTUNG

Present

The Global Dialogue Security Summit A 2020 Vision

Contesting the Indo Pacific for Global Domination

Date: Friday/Saturday, December 11-12, 2020

Mode - Virtual, Live & Online







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1. THE REPORT

The third edition of the Global Dialogue Security Summit (GDSS) organised by Global Dialogue Forum (GDF) and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) kicked off on Friday, December 11, 2020, watched by a worldwide, online audience.

The theme "Contesting the Indo Pacific for global domination" found resonance amidst the COVID-19 pandemic and a shift in global perceptions towards China, which has come to be regarded as a controversial actor on the world stage.

Over two days, the virtual conference discussed and analysed through experts in varied fields facets of the shift in global power to the Indo Pacific region from the Atlantic; and they weighed the civilisational consequences of issues from security to the environment to the economy to international law to technological advances.

GDSS 2020 had over a total of seven sessions assembled a glittering array of internationally eminent personages to examine the geopolitical turbulence fuelled by the ascendance of China and India as military and economic powers. The experts also weighed the possibilities of equitable reform of the global multilateral institutions.

The conference began with an introductory speech by Mr. Moses Manoharan, Chairman, GDF, affirming the theme of the conference - to present "the definitive contours of India's pivotal role in the Indo Pacific strategic construct and in realising its national aspirations on the world stage".

Mr. Moses in his introductory remarks emphasised India's pivotal role in the Indo Pacific strategic construct and on the importance of reshaping the Indian armed forces into a powerful modern 21st Century entity that could ward off threats at its doorstep and influence the tides of the Indo Pacific, even as the region became the epicentre of global wealth and power.

The keynote address delivered by General Bipin Rawat, PVSM, UYSM, AVSM, YSM, SM, VSM, the first Chief of Defence Staff of the Armed Forces of India, was followed by a summing up of the session by Mr. Peter Rimmele, India head of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS).

In his speech, General Rawat described the Indo Pacific as a tough neighbourhood and a contested region.

He believed India needed to achieve not only military might, but also economic strength.

"New centres of power, new alliances and new rivalries based on geopolitics, geoeconomics, environment and technology are emerging, putting pressure on the Bretton Woods institutions governing global trade and security", he said, adding that the pandemic had transformed a global health challenge into an international economic crisis, with serious geopolitical ramifications.







"The world is clearly entering a new geopolitical phase likely to be based on loose multipolarity with the focus on nationalism, protectionism and strategic realignment," General Rawat told the global audience.

The General argued that the economic centre of gravity had been shifting and that the Indo-Pacific region – through which major global supply chains passed – remained vital for transit and world trade.

"By virtue of our geophysical configuration, as well as strategic and economic imperatives, we look at the seas and oceans surrounding us with ever increasing interest," he asserted.

More importantly, the general expressed concern over China's influence on the region. "China's economic and military rise, coupled with competition to increase influence in the region, has attracted a great deal of interest. At present, there are over 120 warships of extra-regional forces deployed in the Indian Ocean in support of various missions. Till now, the region by and large has remained peaceful, albeit under contestation," General Rawat pointed out.

General Rawat argued for increased cooperation between India and its partners, but pointed out that a comprehensive security architecture was lacking in the region.

"Governance and security are under constant threat of being undermined by non-state actors and also naval competition among states. To protect peace, prosperity and sovereignty, it is important for us to keep our sea lanes of communications secure at all times, with a strong hold on the security dimension of this region," he said.

General Rawat said India's land borders were a security concern and "there is a need to develop integrated structures to modernisation programmes to be undertaken by our armed forces, based on careful and accurate assessment of the nature of threats and challenges".

Calling the Indo-Pacific a "tough neighbourhood" and a "contested region", Rawat said India needed to achieve not only military might but also economic strength. He stressed that India required a structured, long-term planning for capacity building and capability development of its defence forces. "In our quest to build a stronger India, we need a peaceful and stable security environment, we need to maintain strategic autonomy, cooperative relations…our approach to security therefore needs to shift from a unilateral to a multilateral mode that mandates increasing training engagements with partner nations so as to fortify joint responses in the future," he added.

Rawat's keynote address also stressed the role of technology in dominating the contested region. "Technology will play an important role in any nation's quest for supremacy, be it in the military or any other sphere of activity. Therefore, investment in research and development will determine the future course of action for any enterprise," he said, adding that the quest to acquire propriety rights on technology should not deny the benefits of development to the global community at large.

General Rawat ended his address with an affirmation of India's power in the region. "This is India's century. Many across the world are bullish about India. It has the talent, demographic dividend and vibrance of culture," he concluded.







Mr. Peter Rimmele, India head of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in his address pointed out that not only Germany, but the European Union as a whole was beginning to take note of the Indo-Pacific and China's growing influence over the region. "Contesting the Indo-Pacific for global domination - this is very decidedly what neither India nor Europe want for the region. It is more a threat than a promise. And arguably there is only one force that is both capable as well as willing to strive for this kind of domination: The People's Republic of China," he noted.

Mr. Rimmele asserted that Germany was looking for partners in the Indo-Pacific. "Germany is not looking to become just another power, trying to unilaterally impose its vision on the region. Like India, we understand ourselves as defenders of a multilateral world order under threat," he emphasised.

Europeans, he said, embraced the common push for resilient trade routes through the region. To that effect, the EU's connectivity strategy with regard to Asia had trade as its central premise, he said.

Germany and the EU needed to cooperate with India and the Quad (grouping of the US, India, Japan and Australia) in the region, argued Rimelle.

"At the heart of the biggest geostrategic region on the globe lies the wealth the countries of the region generate; and the trade passing through the Indian Ocean fuelled the economies of Asia, Africa, Europe and America. That trade must remain open and freely accessible on equal terms for all countries, or else the intricate network of global trade might turn into a powerful instrument of political and economic coercion that can easily upend the international order," he said.

"Moves to that effect are already in progress with China trying to occupy strategic bottlenecks that might give it the power to control the flow of goods between Asia and the world unilaterally."

Mr. Rimmele, concluding his address, commented that India and Germany needed to "stand strong and stand together".

He said: "It is important, it stays that way and that our vision for the Indo-Pacific remains a mutually beneficial one."

Next in the programme - Session II, titled "High Tide in the Indo Pacific" had as speakers His Excellency Barry O'Farrell, AO, Australia's High Commissioner to India and Admiral Arun Prakash PVSM, AVSM, VrC, VSM (Retd), an eminent defence analyst, former Chairman, Chiefs of Staff Committee, Indian armed forces and former Chief of Naval Staff of the Indian Navy.

It commenced with an address by Mr. O'Farrell, who asserted that Australia viewed the Indo Pacific as a region of great economic opportunity and where a rules-based order was the path to peace and prosperity. While there existed competing visions of the Indo Pacific, certain historic, demographic, economic and military forces were moulding the region into the world's strategic centre of gravity, he added.







He pointed out that the region, which accounted for two-thirds of the world's economic growth was home to six of the world's 10 biggest military spenders. He added that the region, often the focal point of competing interests and political instability, was also home to Australia's largest exclusive economic zone.

O'Farrell argued that competing aspirations for the Indo Pacific needed to be considered, especially in the context of global domination, which formed the theme of the conference.

"If we want to preserve our energy security, and protect maritime trade routes, then we must focus on the Indian Ocean as one of our highest priorities. If we want to strengthen our economy, it means responsibly utilising, protecting and maintaining a presence throughout the maritime environment, including in the Indian Ocean," he asserted.

O'Farrell said Australia had an important role in supporting stability and the rule of law throughout the region, along with other regional partners like India, to ensure an open and inclusive Indo Pacific.

He insisted that the links between India and Australia were not fleeting, nor opportunistic, but enduring.

As cohabitors of the Indian Ocean, India and Australia and India are "stewards of a global maritime resource" he added.

"We want to preserve freedom of navigation and commerce, and to preserve the marine environment for generations to come. Before us is the potential for historic cooperation across the board. Health security, counter-terrorism, cyber security, infrastructure development, enhancing supply chain resilience and strengthening regional maritime security," the High Commissioner stated.

"These are all crucial avenues through which India and Australia can create the reality we both want to live and prosper in – in the post-COVID world", he added.

Mr. O'Farrell also noted several hurdles to the shared aspirations of India and Australia in the Indo Pacific.

While the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic had cost lives, exacerbated instability, and threatened to undermine hard won growth and development gains in the region, there was an increase in the usage of grey-zone strategies and coercive tactics in the region, he noted. He believed strategic competition was sharpening across the Indo Pacific, with disputes flaring at India's Line of Actual Control (LAC) with China, as well as in the East China Sea and the South China Sea.

"All of this means Australia and India face significant hurdles at a time when our resources and our attention are spread across multiple domains, he cautioned. "That makes coordination towards common goals more important than ever," he added.

Referring to the US-China dynamic in regard to the Indo Pacific, Mr. O'Farrell highlighted the importance of this relationship because both powers had the potential to set the tone for either cooperation or competition in the region.







He warned, however, that the region did not belong to any single country, and that it necessitated Australia and India playing important leadership roles.

The High Commissioner also called attention to the Comprehensive Strategic Partnership between Australia and India. Elaborating on the partnership having eight agreements covering the areas of defence and maritime security, cyber and critical technology, critical minerals, education, water, public administration and governance, he said they all had a bearing on cooperation in the Indo Pacific.

"We are collaborating in a record number of activities that are becoming ever more complex – aided now by our new Mutual Logistic Support Arrangement. Prime Ministers (Narendra) Modi and (Scott) Morrison also signed a Joint Maritime Declaration and agreed on an action plan to cooperate under India's Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative to influence how rules, norms and behaviours evolved in the maritime domain," Mr. O'Farrell said.

He also pointed out that Australia's partnerships with ASEAN nations and the Indian Ocean Rim Association strengthened regional approaches to open sea lanes, the rule of law and responsible use of maritime resources in supporting economic development.

He noted the importance of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue as an increasingly useful mechanism to strengthen shared interests in maritime security, counter terrorism and cyber security.

Concluding his address, he reiterated the challenges posed to both nations which inhabit the contentious region.

Calling India a "top tier partner", Mr. O'Farrell said: "Australia will always seek a strategic environment where the rights of all states are respected; where open markets facilitate the flow of free trade. And where disputes are managed peacefully, legally and without coercion."

"We can't sit back and hope that such circumstances will arrive by themselves – we have to actively create them. And that cannot be done alone. It will require collaboration and cooperation with likeminded, reliable partners, he stressed."

The next speaker in the Session, Admiral Prakash, focussed on India's stakes in the Indo Pacific power play. His address revolved around India's trade interests in the Indo Pacific, as well as the need to work out a strategy with other stakeholders to ensure safe and free sea lanes, on a rules-based foundation.

In his opening remarks, the admiral noted the importance of the region to the US and to European countries including France, the Netherlands and Germany which had unveiled Indo Pacific strategies.

In the case of India, Indian policy makers had for a long time remained ambivalent about the Indo Pacific, worrying that the vast geographic expanse would defy common perspectives, and stretch diplomatic resources.







However, the reality of vital trade and energy sea-lanes that ran across this region, combined with the imperative of reigning in what he described as a hegemonic China had India enough reason to sit up and take notice.

"India has also, formally defined its perception of the Indo Pacific as the 'maritime space' stretching from the western coast of North America to the eastern shores of Africa', said Prakash.

The contentious relationship with India's neighbours to the east and west played an important part in India's Indo Pacific outlook, he stressed.

He pointed out a rise in Chinese belligerence and border transgressions over the past few years, culminating in an attempt to unilaterally alter the Line of Actual Control (LAC) through massive military deployment. He added that China's aggressive stance in the South China Sea had also caused for concern for stakeholders in the region.

"An economically strong, expansionist, and militaristic state, China will use the ambitious BRI (Belt and Road Initiative) to not only expand its sphere of influence via 'debt diplomacy,' but also to camouflage an ambitious maritime strategy that aimed at dominance of the Indo Pacific, he said.

He warned that though the Indian armed forces were well-placed to counter any localised offensive by its neighbours, general hostilities could result in a military stalemate on its northern and western borders.

"As India prepares for the long-haul, it must bring to bear all elements of its comprehensive national power against adversaries. That is the reason why attention has been focussed on the maritime domain, where it is believed India has some options other than 'boots on the ground,' to reinforce its negotiating position", said Prakash.

He pointed out that India was rapidly enhancing its interests in the Pacific, adding that 55 percent of India's trade with the greater Asia Pacific transited through the South China Sea. He listed among them Indian companies acquiring offshore and onshore hydrocarbon drilling rights in littoral states as well as in the Russian Far East.

New Delhi's 'Look East' and 'Act East' policies have already seen India establishing a close rapport with the ASEAN as well as other Pacific nations, he said.

"While the impact of India's decision to abstain from the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) remains to be seen. India's trading-links, investment and a large diaspora now span an arc extending from Siberia in the East to Central Asia, Africa in the West. Any attempt to dominate the waters of the Indian or Pacific Oceans would thus represent a grave threat to India's vital interests," Admiral Prakash cautioned.

To combat the looming influence of China, Prakash India needed to exert its influence in the maritime domain, he advised. This, he noted, could be done by employing two closely related maritime templates - the naval exercise 'Malabar' and the 'Quadrilateral Security Dialogue' or Quad - both having a common membership.







"India must take the initiative to rally this quartet of vacillating democracies, and create a consensus for ensuring a 'rules-based order' in Asia and the Indo Pacific. Other nations, like Indonesia, Vietnam and the Philippines must also be mobilised and motivated to show solidarity in the common cause of reigning-in a hegemonic China", he added.

A key component in this space was the Indian Navy, which despite fiscal constraints, had emerged as a compact, but professional and competent force, Admiral Prakash said, adding that India's fortuitous maritime geography would enable it to dominate both the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. For this to be achieved, the Indian Navy would have to ramp up its arsenal, namely warships, submarines, helicopters, minesweepers among others, he said.

Turned to the Indo-US defence relationship, he believed India's initial reluctance to sign the four 'foundational agreements' required by the US to enhance defence ties was a major frustration to Washington. The signing of the fourth and last of these agreements - the Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement or BECA - would help strengthen their relationship, he predicted.

"There is now an immense potential for security cooperation at the strategic level, for the new US administration to exploit; not just in the context of an immediate threat from an expansionist China, but for the long-term future," he noted.

Admiral Prakash warned that China's economic might, "...played a crucial role in inducing many smaller nations to fall prey to its 'debt-trap diplomacy'.

Prakash concluded his address by stating that there was a need for a cooperative strategy to create a peaceful and stable Indo Pacific, guided by civilised norms and respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states.

"On India's part, even as it seeks a balance of power as a democracy, a nuclear weapon state and a significant economic and military power, it has no choice but to stand firm as a bulwark against regional hegemony," he said.

In SESSION III: CONNECTING WITH EUROPE, the speakers were Ambassador Ruchi Ghanashyam, IFS (Retd) and Ms. Priya Vijaykumar Poojary, Associate Professor, Manipal Centre for European Studies, Manipal Academy of Higher Education, Manipal, India.

Addressing Session III - titled "Connecting with Europe", Ambassador Ghanashyam, the recent High Commissioner of India to the UK, focussed on the evolving geostrategic relationship between Europe and India.

She said the developing geostrategic situation in the Indo Pacific – due to the rise of Chinese influence – gave new impetus for enhancing ties between India and Europe.

"China is increasingly wanting to play a more aggressive or more assertive role in the Indian Ocean. And that really creates the imperative for a greater friendship between India and Europe, and greater salience of the Indo Pacific initiative," she pointed out.







"A good relationship can only develop if both sides are equally interested in each other. And I think, in terms of Europe, there is a great deal of interest, which has also been brought out earlier in the morning," she added.

She said Europe, like India, was wary of an assertive China, with a great manufacturing capacity. Noting the Indo Pacific strategies that many EU member states had recently adopted, she said: "there is great interest in Europe in the Indo Pacific region, and the relationship between India and Europe is increasingly becoming a vital one".

She also noted that the production in India of a vaccine to fight COVID-19 was a step in furthering the relationship.

"To me, the Oxford University and the Serum Institute's collaboration on a vaccine for Covid-19, shows the way their ties have to progress in the future. The development of the vaccine takes place in Europe, and the manufacturing takes place in India, and then it goes back to Europe. It is used in India, and it goes to the rest of the world. This can be a very good model for both sides to pursue in future," she said.

The next speaker, Ms. Poojary, stressed the dependence of EU's economic interests in the Indo Pacific on security.

Trade exchanges between Asia and Europe were higher than between any other geographical region in the world, she pointed out. As a global trading power, the European Union had great interests at stake in the Indo Pacific with its trade passages, she added.

For Europe, and especially the EU, the region represents a melting pot of global interests where any kind of disruption of commercial shipping would likely precipitate a global crisis, she cautioned.

"As a global trading power, the European Union has great interests at stake in the area. In fact, the World Economic Forum (WEF) observed that trade exchanges between Asia and Europe are higher than between any other geographical region in the world," she pointed out.

Ms. Poojary also stressed that the EU's economic security was dependent on peaceful conditions in the region. The importance of Asia for Europe was highlighted in the EU Global Strategy of 2016, which recognised "a direct connection between European prosperity and Asian security", she said.

"Six of the EU's top 10 trading partners are in the Asia- Pacific, and the majority of EU exports transit through the sea lanes of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. This means the EU will have to play a more coordinated role in strengthening maritime security in the Indian Ocean," she said.

While some member states had come out with strategies for the region, there was widespread debate in Europe over whether to take a common position and course of action regarding the region, she added.

"If we examine the geopolitical dynamics of the Indo Pacific, Europe is often absent. Two reasons for this are its geographical distance and the EU's seeming reluctance in security. The EU has not yet taken a position on the Indo Pacific. We are still awaiting an EU strategy on Indo Pacific. One







of the primary reason for this unclarity is that security is not the EU's forte. EU has very limited competence in Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)," she said.

In this regard, the EU's reputation as a "normative power" gives it greater leverage since it is not a security provider, she pointed out, adding that the EU also had a limited presence in the maritime region of the Indo Pacific, with only France having established naval presence there.

"The EU can only rely on the naval forces deployed by its member states to defend freedom of navigation in the Indo Pacific Region (IPR), due to its lack of military leverage. As China is the EU's second largest trade partner, as well as one of its four strategic partners in Asia, European support for the initiative could also negatively impact EU-China relations," she noted.

Ms. Poojary said fostering connectivity would also provide the EU with more concrete opportunities for an enhanced EU engagement across the region.

She said the EU could increase its presence in the Indo Pacific be re-establishing a strategic partnership with India. This was reflected in the 15th India-EU summit held in 2020, where the Indo Pacific for the first time featured in their dialogue.

The EU's ideals of good governance and its understanding of a rules-based order could be its contribution towards a strategy on the Indo Pacific, she concluded.

Following this, came Session IV - titled "Towards an Equitable Global Economic Order" - and with three speakers, Mr. Rahul Chhabra IFS, Secretary (Economic Relations), in India's Ministry of External Affairs, Dr. Rathin Roy, Managing Director, Overseas Development Institute, London, UK and Ambassador Kishore Mahbubani, Distinguished Fellow, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, former Permanent Secretary, Singapore Foreign Ministry, founding Dean, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. The session was moderated by Ambassador A.R. Ghanashyam, IFS, (Retd)

The session addressed the issue of inequality and unequal distribution despite a substantial growth in global wealth over the last century.

Mr. Chhabra said the marginalised, who were the main drivers of growth in developing countries, needed to be included in the decision-making process. It would ensure a New Equitable World Order where no one was left behind, he added.

He pointed out a growing awareness of the need for regional cooperation and for working towards an equitable global order. He called for more regional and cross-regional economic governance platforms to be established, and to encourage a full and effective participation of developing countries in the global norm setting and financial regulatory system.

Referencing the UN's 2019 Human Development Report, Mr. Chhabra highlighted the major aspects of global inequality and how it was being mapped.

He believed a new generation of severe inequalities in human development had emerged, while many of the unresolved inequalities of the 20th century were declining; including inequalities in







human development. He said the assessing of inequalities in human development called for a revolution in metrics.

We must act now, before imbalances in economic power really translate into entrenched political dominance and becomes difficult to dismantle, he said.

Most of all, these inequalities have been a major roadblock in achieving the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development set by the United Nations General Assembly in 2015, he added.

Mr. Chhabra explained that these were not simply disparities in income and wealth, and therefore could not be accounted for by simply using summary measures of inequality, focusing on a single dimension. There were long-term implications associated with this inequality which would impact on the prospects of future generations, he added.

Mr. Chhabra said: "What the changing world requires is really to shape this inequality in the future. Existing and new forms of inequality will interact with major social, economic and environmental forces; and we are seeing two of these taking shape. One is climate change, which we are seeing, and the second is technological transformation."

The ongoing COVID-19 pandemic has also added to this disparity, noted Chhabra.

Not only had it deepened existing inequalities in terms of unemployment and incomes, it also put at risk the limited progress that was being made on gender equality and women's rights over the past few decades, he added.

"The world economy really is at a critical juncture, and how we respond to it is really going to determine our future," he said.

Turning to developing nations and multilateral institutions, Mr. Chhabra said that emerging economies like India's were leading engines of global growth since the start of this century. Yet the insufficient voice and representation of developing countries in international economic governance had in fact weakened, he pointed out.

He cited the example of the dispute settlement mechanism of the World Trade Organisation (WTO).

India also favoured timely completion of the general review of quotas of the IMF, he said.

The accumulated misalignments in quota shares with respect to relative economic weight of members significantly undermined the legitimacy and effectiveness of the fund, he added.

India also believed that quota resources should rise for the IMF to play an effective role at the centre of the global financial safety net.

"While it is a fact that quotas are supplemented by borrowed resources, new arrangements to borrow and borrowing agreements have served the fund well. India's position has been that quota sizes need to increase, but at the same time, borrowed resources should decline, so as to maintain the quota-based nature of the fund, he asserted.







India stands for a transparent, participative and equitable multilateral trading system, and believes there is no alternative to the WTO in the area of multilateral trade rule making, he said.

Mr. Chhabra concluded his address by noting that there mounting challenges in the global governance system and economic order.

"We feel an equitable and global economic order is better for trade, investment and other forms of commercial activity to take place according to agreed upon rules, and that those rules should reflect the principles of the developing countries as well," he said. "We really need a new narrative for the role and importance of this rules-based international economy - one that inspires hope and fear in equal measure".

He said India was not just an engine of global growth but to an extent, in innovation too. It could lead the search for employment and growth solutions, support for climate change campaign, and in the creation of an architecture for effective global governance leading to an equitable global economic order in the 21st century, he added.

Dr. Roy commenced his address by acknowledging Chhabra's statements on the need for developing nations to have a seat at the decision-making table, but added that it would not be sufficient any more.

"The entire global institutional arrangement based on the assumption that nation-states speak for their people is under challenge today and with good reason," he said.

A consequence of this was the alternative stage, which was the world of international finance having a greater weight on the course of international economic relations. The WTO and the IMF remain the biggest entities in the area of international finance, he pointed out.

Turning to the theme of inequality, Roy said that in the span of two or three decades - while inequalities between countries were falling – it was rising within these same countries. The inequality between the richest five percent in the five richest countries of the world and the top five percent of the same in the emerging economies has fallen, he said.

"Within countries, inequality has risen in a large part as a consequence of the fact that the aggregate incomes in emerging countries were growing closer to that of developed economies. And so you get situations where the main driver of inequality is essentially assets," said Roy.

He pointed out that it was the people who had gone from minimum wages to earning four times the amount who were now protesting. These people were experiencing profound discontent in their elected leaders, but they don't recognise the fact that these leaders are in a part of the asset inequality problem like (former US President) Donald Trump, added Roy.

The last speaker in the session was Ambassador Kishore Mahbubani, Distinguished Fellow, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, Former Permanent Secretary, Singapore Foreign Ministry, founding Dean, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy.

His lecture revolved around the idea of trade as a tool for an equitable world order. There has been a marked shift from the Old World Order that relied on the norms of the West to a New World







Order that was largely East-looking. The growth in the next 10 years is going to come from East Asia which can be a panacea for a more equitable world order.

"The past 30 years in terms of human development, and especially human development with respect to elimination of poverty, have been the best 30 years in 3000 years of human history. Never before in human history have we uplifted so many people from absolute poverty, Ambassador Mahbubani noted at the start.

A reduction in poverty has in fact been achieved by countries opening up to international trade, argued Ambassador Mahbubani, citing three examples.

The first, he said, was China. "In 1992, about 28 years ago, China's total trade was USD \$166 billion. And the number of people living below extreme poverty, below USD \$1.9 dollars a day, was 56 per cent; accounting for more than half the Chinese population that was in extreme poverty. By 2018 - China's total trade went up to USD \$4.6. trillion, an increase of nearly 28 times what it was 28 years ago," he said.

He said the second country was Vietnam, once called the "Somalia of Asia". It fought wars non-stop from 1939 to 1989 and, after 50 years of poverty, decided to open up. In 1992, Vietnam's total trade was USD \$5.1 billion, and the percentage living below poverty stood at 52 percent. In 2018, Vietnam's total trade rose to USD \$527 billion, a hundred-fold increase in this period. Its population living below poverty declined by 26 times, to 1.9 percent.

The third example was that of India which achieved economic liberalisation in 1991. "Look at the track record between 1977 and 1993, a 25 year period when India's poverty went down from 63 percent to 47.6 percent. But then India opened up. And guess what, India, opened up to international trade, its total trade and went from USD \$45 billion in 1992, to \$940 billion in 2018 - an increase of 20 times - while poverty went down from 47.6 percent to less than 7 percent, he said.

"There is a direct correlation between countries opening up their trade and poverty going down. Clearly, if you want to figure out how you want to create a better world order, you want to get out of extreme poverty, it is very simple. Persuade countries to open up to international trade, he added.

Mahbubani noted that the Eastward shift of global power meant that the US and Western Europe could no longer be counted upon to deliver growth to the global economy since they were beset with domestic issues. There was also a shift of competence, from the West to the East.

"The first major development is the signing of the world's largest Free Trade Agreement. Guess what, the world's largest Free Trade Agreement is not going to be signed in America, or by Europe, it is being signed in East Asia by 15 countries. The 10 ASEAN countries and China, Japan, South Korea, and Australia, New Zealand, Of course, the door is open for India to join," he said referring to the recent Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) from which India has abstained.

"The Western media says the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) is driven by China, which is wrong. If China drove the RCEP, it would not have happened. RCEP happened







because ASEAN drove it. It only happened because ASEAN signed free trade agreements with China, Japan, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand," he said.

Concluding his address, Mahbubani said China combining with East Asia would form the biggest market in the world, surpassing the US, which had until recently been the biggest player in the arena.

"The size of the retail goods market in China was going up, and in 10 years from now, the retail goods market in China, it was going to be by far the biggest in the world. And that's where the growth is going to come from.

Therefore, when we speak 10 years from now, I hope we will say that thanks to this growth in trade, we have totally eliminated global poverty," he said.

Session V – Maritime Rules, had as speakers Dr. Jeffery Becker, Research Programme Director, Indo-Pacific Security Affairs, Centre for Naval Analyses, George Washington University, Washington DC, US, and Dr. Connie Bakrie, President, Indonesia Institute for Maritime Studies, Jakarta, and Trustee at National Air Power and Space Centre of Indonesia.

Dr. Becker's address focussed on the US-India relationship, three foundational agreements between the two and the Quad in combating the challenges posed by China in the Indo Pacific.

He began by referencing the Trump administration's heavy focus on the Indo Pacific region, at least in rhetoric, if not always in terms of implementation of a policy.

He pointed out that the lack of lucidity was apparent in a number of official publications – the US Department of Defense's Indo-Pacific Strategy Report for example described the region as the Department's "priority theatre" and "the single most consequential region for America's future."

He said that at the same time, there was a strengthening of US-India relations, particularly in security ties, between the two nations.

"The factors helping to promote closer security ties between the two countries – to include not just the rise of China, but the growing realisation that two of the world's most influential democracies will need to work together with other like-minded democracies in a post-COVID-19 environment – these factors will remain a fixture for quite some time," Dr. Becker asserted.

He lauded the three foundational agreements signed by the two countries, including the Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA), the Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (the LEMOA agreement) and the Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (the COMCASA agreement) as advancing security cooperation.

"Together, the signing of these three agreements represent a significant step in the advancement of US-Indian security cooperation. I believe these agreements create the opportunity to improve communications, coordination, and interoperability between the armed forces of the two nations," he said.







Becker added that the Indo Pacific has grown in terms of its geostrategic significance, and this growth appears poised to continue in a post-COVID-19 environment. With the rise of India, and India's increasing importance as a provider of security, stability, and as an engine of economic growth for a post-COVID Indo-Pacific, increased collaboration between the United States and one of the region's most consequential nations makes sense.

China's increasing presence in the Indian Ocean and the Indo Pacific region as a whole had also contributed to the growing ties between India and the US, he explained.

Nothing looms larger than China's growing maritime presence and the expansion of PLA Navy activities across the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia, the South Pacific, and other locations throughout the Indo-Pacific, he said.

China's maritime presence, including its maritime economic presence, also created cause for concern, he added.

Dr. Becker concluded by saying: "the region as a whole, led by the US-India relationship, and coupled with the Quad arrangement of democracies, may be well-positioned to advance a number of shared goals, ranging from supporting shared norms and values, improving practical interoperability among like-minded militaries and navies, and even offering more robust alternatives to Chinese investors; thus advancing growth and development in the region".

Dr. Connie Bakrie, who followed Dr. Becker, spoke of the challenges facing Indonesia and ASEAN, with both wanting to strike a balance between rival groups - namely Australia and the US, and China.

She pointed out that some of the players had stakes in the Indo Pacific through infrastructure investments.

"The Indo Pacific region is the hot bed of competing infrastructure financing projects like the high speed rail and strategic port building," she said.

She spoke of the criticality of the region to Japan, India, Australia, US and their allies.

Geo-economics and the contested waters of the South China Sea were becoming major flash-points after Beijing enhanced its maritime strategies, she added.

Dr. Bakrie took note of China's maritime might by alluding to the fact that the country had been involved in the construction of large destroyers, amphibious warships and aircraft carriers. Moreover, it has established support base harbours in Djibouti and Colombo, and was in the process of planning more such constructions, she added.

She said the Quad nations could stand up to the Chinese might in the region.

Dr. Bakrie advised India and ASEAN would have to work together in a concrete way to promote peace in the region.

DAY II began with







SESSION VI: Eurasia in the New World Order, with the Speakers being Dr. Laura Yerekesheva, Professor at al-Farabi Kazakh National University's Oriental Faculty (Almaty, Kazakstan), and Lt General Arun Sahni Lt. General Arun Kumar Sahni, UYSM, SM, VSM (Retd.), former General Officer Commanding in Chief, South Western Command.

The day started with Dr. Yereksheva speaking on the concept of space and its various interpretations.

She argued that while globalisation was all about shrinking space, the pandemic was about expanding it, with social distancing being advocated in almost every avenue of daily life.

In the Indo Pacific too, space was interpreted differently, notably between France, the US, Japan, Germany, India and other interested countries.

"This diverse understanding of the Indo Pacific may be caused by specific strategic and practical reasons by each of the countries involved in this process. What could be the consequences of this current conceptualisation of this space? The consequences could lie in the effect in various approaches," she said.

The Indo Pacific concept seemed to be aimed at restricting China and preventing the region from becoming a Sinocentric space, she pointed out.,

Dr. Yerekesheva brought into focus the space for the building of infrastructure and in collaboration between the Eurasian economic community and the nations of the Indo Pacific.

The next speaker, Lt General Sahni, pointed out that the post-World War II liberal world order was under stress and its replacement was in the horizon.

Due to the many crises and challenges plaguing it, Europe had diminished in stature, he added.

"The point is that USA as de facto world leader in the post-Cold War era has in the recent years alienated its traditional allies and other smaller nations due to its reluctance to be more supportive and to take into account their aspirations.

General Sahni pointed out the high potential for social unrest in the European nations, which they had so far managed to contain, albeit barely.

They included a number of societal issues that had cropped up in the past few years, he added.

The economic downturn that had accompanied the current global pandemic could prove to be the proverbial "last straw that broke the camel's back" for these nations, he predicted.

Such a destabilised situation would have an impact on future alliances and groupings. he said.

China, in turn, had become a huge player in the European block, while Russia was seeking opportunities to regain the lost glory of its Soviet days.

To this end, Russia and China are synergising their effort to create a regional space that is free of western influence, he said, indicating Eurasia as a possible arena, General Sahni said.







"While China has kept its global ambitions formally undeclared, it has been open about its ambition to be the predominant regional power. Also, it has not been shy of openly confronting the US and its allies in the region that China considers its own backwaters", he said.

"The point is that it has economically and technologically proved to be a leader and has the willingness to use that to move into the vacuum created by the reduced capability of western democracies to support the developing world," General Sahni added.

His address stressed the potential of Eurasia to lead the way to a New World Order. In this, both China and Russia share the desire to see a new Eurasian order emerge, integrated, and free of Western and US influence, he added.

"China views Russia's effort to promote economic integration in the region as part of a geoeconomic strategy that will eventually lead to a cohesive economic, political and security environment.

He believed that Russian concerns were not so much over China, as over the deep-rooted international order dominated by Western nations. But Russia may eventually realise the threat of China posed to its interests and adopt an adverbial approach, he added.

"Russia, of course, has no option currently," he said.

Sahni also explained the crucial role of Central Asia as a balance between Russia's relative passiveness and China's aggressive style in gaining control of Eurasia.

"This ongoing balance of cooperation and competition is evident in the Central Asian region and the Arctic range. China's focus is Central Asia's energy resources, and ultimately to expand its geopolitical and geo-economic influence in Central Asia. But Russia is holding its preeminent position for now," he said.

General Sahni concluded by highlighting the role of India in this space. India, he argued, sat on the crossroads of a continental Eurasia and the Indo-Pacific – the two regions that were expected to define the 21st century. The US and Russia were looking at it as a credible countervailing lower to the rise of China, he note.

He pointed out that It was Russia that pushed for India's full membership to the SCO and for it to be part of Eurasian Economic Union for trade.

In Session VII: The Future of India, the speakers were Mr. Salman Khurshid, former External Affairs Minister of India, and Professor John Varghese, Principal, St. Stephen's College, New Delhi

Mr. Khurshid took to the stage first to say that India had come a long way since its independence from British rule; and that it deserved a place on the global high table. He argued for a need to reorient priorities and cultural ethos that adopt humanistic approaches.







He said: "subscribing to the idea of dialogue and connectivity is important. Two dimensions are important in dialogue - expressing aspirations and the backdrop in which the aspirations are expressed," he stressed.

"To wipe out history is a loss to humankind. Revolution brings around change, but does not wipe out the past. If you do not wipe out the past, you leave the alternate point of view to be considered by future generations. This would be considered a liberal view".

For India, priorities needed to focus on food security and legal rights among others, he added.

Khurshid acknowledged the fact that India had achieved considerable acclaim on the world stage; and that there was emerging consensus for India should be at the high table or the permanent membership of the Security Council of the United Nations. Yet, there were certain issues within India that needed to be addressed, he admitted.

"We do realise that there is still issues in terms of the social safety net that the previous governments have tried to put in place. There are still gaping holes. And those gaping holes have to be addressed. And that, obviously, puts a question mark on our future, not in terms of a lasting impact, but certainly in terms of a high priority that has to be addressed," he said.

Professor Varghese in his address advocated a stronger reliance on education as a key driver for growth of India.

Professor Varghese said: "the future of India is the future of the world". He believed the catch was in the harsh reality of India as it is today, making his words more aspirational but not impossible.

"It is an idea, but it is an idea that is workable. It is also an idea which is long overdue. It is an idea that, not just India, but the whole world can benefit from and accept. The future of India should be one that is planned, not one that is left to the vagaries of, among other things, political leadership," he pointed out.

Professor Varghese stressed on the need for education to be bought back to the fore in a country like India with a large, young workforce demographic.

"India has ability to make a difference in the world - we have a large youth demographic which, with right ideals, can effect change. Education with the right value is the key. Education, and not military education...the attempt to thrust one ideology on the world will not work. This is where a democracy will work. India's cultural variations are a strength", he said.

In Session VIII: Water of Life, its speakers - Ms. Ritu Rao, specialist on urban water bodies, TERI School of Advanced Studies, New Delhi, and Dr. Ashok Swain Director, Research School of International Water Cooperation at Uppsala University, Sweden, dealt with environmental challenges.

Ms Rao, highlighted characteristics responsible for the degradation of water bodies like rivers in the context of urbanisation and, how this degradation was affecting humankind.







"Such alarming incidences are becoming more and more frequent. Humanity is facing a water crisis due to unequal distribution – a lopsided combination of very wet and very dry geographic locations. It is being further exacerbated by climate change," she said.

According to the UN, two billion people live in countries experiencing high water stress. Rising population means compounded water stress.

As the global population grows, there is an increasing need to balance all of the competing commercial demands on water resources so that communities have enough for their needs, she said.

Dr. Swain noted that water scarcity could trigger forms of violent conflict among or between groups.

"We are not only more people but we are also using more and more water because of our economic development, and our lifestyle requirement. Our water footprints have really expanded quite a lot. But even in the 21st century, 2.1 billion people live without clean drinking water," he said.

Professor Swain explained that there was a huge variation in the water availability, both in terms of physical and economic variations - the type and the amount of water available in different regions of India. These characteristics also extend to the world at large, he added.

Economic, institutional and technology disparities matter a lot, Dr. Swain said, highlighting the case of the African continent where water availability in Sub Saharan Africa differed from Southern, Western or Eastern Africa's.

Yet access to water sources is restricted due to lack of economic parity.

Dr. Swain also highlighted the global issue of water pollution.

The developed world used to suffer from this, but has addressed it to a large extent, he said, adding that it remained an important concern in the developing world.

He advocated water cooperation triggering regional peace, and said it had the power to transform mistrust and suspicion among countries, create opportunities for shared gains and establish a pattern of reciprocity.

It is, however, important for the countries, particularly in South Asia, to use their common water resources as a catalyst to cooperate and develop together, he added.

In Session IX: Overcoming the 21st Century's Existential Threats, the speakers were Dr. Matthias Strümer, Head, Research Center for Digital Sustainability, University of Bern, Switzerland, Mr. Shreyas Jayasimha, Head, Aarna Law, Aarna ADR, Singapore; Space and Nuclear Law Specialist, Dr. Carlo Masala, Director, Project Metis, Institute for Strategy and Foresight and Chair for International Relations, University of German Bundeswehr, Germany

Dr. Strümer explained how Big Tech companies like the GAFAM (Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon and Microsoft) had a market capitalisation of over USD \$8,700 billion, almost three times India's GDP, and how they were responsible for data colonialism in cyberspace.







"Today, actually it's no more nations, but actually Chinese and American big tech companies, which acquire personal data, and also governmental data from all over the world," he said.

Such tech companies have been involved in grabbing data and algorithms of users. This profits owners like Jeff Bezos. They claim that they want to solve the world's problems with digital tools, by making information accessible from all over the world – which is not entirely bad, he admitted. But there have been issues with companies like Facebook – issues of political campaigns and fake news doing the rounds of social media, he warned.

Dr. Strümer also noted that data was a strategic tool and that there was the issue of digital sustainability, especially with regard to data sovereignty and data localisation as a source for AI.

He said the UN's 2030 Sustainable Development Goals left out digitalisation, causing concern for the future of humanity.

"Digitalisation has a large potential actually helping sustainable development as a means to an end," he added.

Dr. Strümer's research at the University of Bern revolves around making digital sustainability a reality.

Mr. Jayasimha in his address elaborated on the legal implications of increased use of unmanned technology in warfare - Drones and AI controlled devices.

"In the recent past, we have seen incidents of deployment of advanced systems – which could be different levels of AI – and the use of unmanned devices in both terrestrial and aerial, for non-commercial uses," he warned, adding that international organisations had expressed concerns and called for some form of regulation or identification of principles governing the development and use of autonomous systems.

The final speaker, Professor Masala, had a differing view on AI, asserting: "It's not about AI and its application, it's not about data collection and data colonisation, it's simply about some existential threats, which we used to have around in the past let's say 70 years or so, after World War II, and which are still there, getting new relevance in a different manner".

One such threat is what he called the return of great power competition, combined with nuclear weapons.

After the demise of the Soviet Union and the subsequent rise of the US as a military and economic superpower, there was now an eastward shift, with China gaining prominence.

Warning that regional conflicts were becoming important in international relations, Masala said: "We shouldn't exclude in the future, a situation or minor regional conflict - with the involvement of China, politically, not necessarily actively, and the US, might spread as a bush fire, which escalates to a higher level".

Nuclear Weapons were still primarily political weapons aimed to deter a direct attack of a great power on another great power, he said.







"The problem is, however, that on the political, military strategy side, the role of nuclear weapons is changing. And given the increasing tensions between the US and China, especially in the Indo Pacific and the South China Sea, this adds to the notion that the great power conflict between the US and China has some catastrophic existential element to it," he said.

Masala argued that while the Trump administration was a 'major catastrophe' in managing international relations, they had got one aspect right: attempting to bring China to the table when managing nuclear relations with Russia.

"The point, however, is that you need to bring China into these kinds of negotiations. Not to socialise China, but actually to also raise the awareness that it is an existential threat which affects China too, because we are still in the phase where I would say if there were to be a heavy military conflict between China and the US, the US would still be stronger than China in conventional and nuclear ways. Though this kind of direct confrontation would not play out to the benefit of China, China had a direct interest in becoming part of these kinds of management of international relations in the 21st century," he added.

In the final Valedictory Session, Air Marshal Diptendu Choudhary, Commandant, National Defence College highlighted the changing norms of "geopolitical jostling" as a result of the pandemic and the blurring of boundaries between the traditional and the non-traditional, between home and office, and between friends and rivals. Similarly, security challenges were also now changing form.

"The security challenges of this century are steadily shifting, from the realist paradigm of the 'security dilemma' of the nuclear age, to the more contemporary 'survival dilemma' of the information age, where non-military challenges, necessitate multilateral cooperation rather than competition," Air Marshal Choudhary pointed out.

He stressed that collaborations between likeminded powers had the ability to force China to rethink its ambitions in the Indo Pacific.

"We see the helplessness of world organisations like the UN on one hand and on the other hand the reluctance on the part of traditional powers to take charge", he said, adding that: "Collective leadership by like-minded powers is the way forward in the Indo Pacific. It is time for like-minded governments to come together with a common goal, strategize and analyse."

Choudhary warned that the emergence of new threats had raised fundamental questions regarding the adequacy of existing international arrangements to foster peace and security.

World forums such as the UN had become increasingly helpless in managing and averting conflicts, he added.

He said there was also a growing reluctance on the part of the traditional, responsible powers to assume world leadership, thereby ceding space to ambitious revisionist powers who disregarded the rule-based, normative World Order.







"The relatively stable and the normative World Order, defined by international and institutional norms, now faced the challenge posed by some nations who sought to exploit the period of global uncertainty to establish an alternative," he warned.

The future is going to be vastly different from the past, he predicted, adding that there were already efforts underway to polarise the world into camps, with several emerging, significant powers at the same time. He urged these powers to come together and address the various challenges discussed at this summit.

"It is time for these powers to come forward to assume a greater role and responsibility to rebalance the world towards stability growth and peace. Collective leadership by like-minded powers to look and address all of these challenges in a holistic manner is the way forward," he said.

"The overlapping of challenges and threats has naturally led to interdependencies, to an extent that today, it is almost impossible to act on any one aspect of security, without impacting the others. It therefore begs an all-rounded comprehensive approach which needs like-minded governments to analyse, strategise, prepare and act comprehensively, by integrating all their strengths to act towards the goal of common good," he concluded.

Delivering the Vote of Thanks, Mr. Pankaj Madan, Deputy Head, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung India, provided a comprehensive summing up of the Global Dialogue Security Summit 2020, and thanked the organisers, speakers and participants.

Mr. Madan spoke of the idea of the Quad and of China taking centre stage as well of the interest of various stakeholders in the Indo Pacific towards diluting China's influence.

General Bipin Rawat brought into focus the challenges present for the Indo Pacific and his speech got wide coverage.

Mr. Peter Rimmele, highlighted the changed German and European perspective and his apt and discerning construct of "the right of the might and the might of the right" was referenced to by several speakers to describe the current security environment.

Referring to the second session, he said Australian High Commissioner H.E. Barry O'Farrell had painted an elaborate picture of Indo Australia cooperation and platform of the Indo Pacific as OUAD members.

"Admiral Prakash was vivid in his description of Chinese ambition and the geostrategic trajectory toward global domination. He spoke of the US being a bulwark against the Chinese expansionism for India and the world as a whole," he added.

In Session III, Mr. Madan spoke of Ambassador Ruchi Ghanashyam's analysis of the "the potential of EU- India cooperation, their shared values and the ethos that led to the joint work in developing the COVID-19 vaccine.

She said it was a wonderful template for future cooperation in the areas of AI, climate change, environment and river rejuvenation.







Mr. Madan said Ms. Priya Poojary aptly highlighted the genesis of the Indo Pacific, divergences in the concept and approach to the India Pacific and about the reasons why Europe was only now turning its gaze towards the region.

Session four saw Mr Chhabra culled out the various disparities and road blocks towards achieving Sustainable Development Goals, while acknowledging the fact that the pandemic had exacerbated the challenges of achieving an equitable, multilateral World Order.

Ambassador Mahbubani pointed out that never before had so many people in the world been lifted out of poverty as were in the last 30 years. "Globalisation deserves a lot of credit. He cited the cases of India and China as leading examples. He alluded to Francis Fukuyama and his notions of a rising Asian global order," Madan said.

In Session five, Dr. Jefferey Becker eluded to China's maritime expansion as being a cause for concern, but that it had at the same time created an opportunity for India and the US to work together on these new challenges.

Mr. Madan spoke of Dr. Connie Bakrie analysing the challenges confronting Indonesia and ASEAN as a whole, and the need to strike a balance between what she called the 'willing' countries - Australia, US and their allies, and the 'non-willing' like China.

Day two, started with Session six, saw Dr. Laura Yerekesheva outline the concept of of space and its various interpretations, and that globalisation was all about shrinking space, Mr. Madan said in his summing up. "But the pandemic was expanding space with social distancing being advocated" she said. In the Indo Pacific, space was interpreted differently, between France, the US, Japan, Germany, India and other countries in terms of geography, said Madan, quoting Dr. Yerekesheva.

He appreciated Lt General Arun Sahani's view of a post World War II, US-led liberal World Order that was under stress, and the drawn of new order. Europe faced challenges that had diminished its stature, while China was emerging a huge player in the Eurasian block, challenged only by Russia as it sought an opportunity to regain lost glory. Russia and China re synergising their effort to create a regional space that is free of western influence, said Mr. Madan of this session.

In session seven, Mr Madan quoted Mr. Salman Khurshid as speaking of an India that had come a long way since independence and was deserving of a place in the global high table. "There is a need to reorient priorities and cultural ethos adopting humanistic approaches, Mr. Madam said, referencing Mr, Khurshid, and highlighted his allusion to Nehruvian and Gandhian ideals that existed in India.

Professor John Varghese, Principal, St Stephen's college advocated for a stronger reliance on education as a key driver for growth of India. He said, "India has ability to make a difference in the world - we have a large youth demographic which, with right ideals, can effect change. Future of India is the future of the world. education with the right value is key. Education, and not military education...the attempt to thrust one ideology on the world will not work. This is where a democracy will work. India's cultural variations are a strength".







Referring to session nine, Dr. Matthias Strümer spoke of Data colonialism, the Google (Alphabet), Apple, Facebook, Amazon, and Microsoft (GAFAM) and digital sustainability. Dr. Carlo Masala speculated on the possibility on between rising power of China and declining power of the US.

Of the valedictory session Mr. Madan said: "Air Marshal Diptendu Choudhary had succinctly addressed the challenges faced by the developing and the developed countries, as well as of linkages between economic growth and security issues ceding space in the Indo Pacific to China. He said the force of the likeminded powers should force China to rethink its ambitions in the Indo Pacific, said Mr Madan, quoting the Air Marshal.







2. GDSS PREAMBLE - A 2020 Vision

"Contesting the Indo Pacific for global domination" is a paradigm whose time has come.

An examination of this paradigm forms the substance of this year's Global Dialogue Security Summit organised by Global Dialogue Forum (GDF) and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS).

The digital conference will analyse through eminent speakers various facets of the shift in global power to the Indo Pacific region from the Atlantic, and its civilisational consequences – from security to the environment to the economy to international law to technological advancements.

Under scrutiny will be the struggle for global domination through the ages, from the primarily land-based, dominant empires of antiquity to the more recent successors founded on sea power through European naval might colonising distant lands to exploit their natural resources.

As the influence of a world order that prospered on the exploitation of weaker nations waned following World War II, another alliance emerged, the US-led Atlantic bloc which confronted and vanquished another mainly European grouping, led by the Soviet Union.

This mainly Western coalition, facing another challenge to global domination – this time Asian and led by China – is once again splitting the world into power blocs, this time confronting each other in the Indo Pacific theatre.

Speakers will dwell on the current, second decade of the 21st Century, and the forces of change as they bring about fundamental strategic restructuring – configured around the traditional powers of the past and the emerging Asian civilisational powers of China, India, Japan, Korea and Iran.

The thrust for dominance in this emerging multipolar world has resulted in the emergence of two blocs – one led by the US and the other by China and Russia – leaving the aspirational middle powers such as India, Iran, Indonesia and Australia under pressure to choose one side or the other, as in the Cold War era of the Eastern and Western power blocs.

The Indo Pacific theatre of confrontation is the epicentre of economic wealth and prosperity.

The confrontation – that looks set to trigger a successor to the Cold War era – is located in this region – from the South China Sea to the Straits of Melaka, edging up to the Persian Gulf.

These systemic changes since the end of the Cold War that followed, the unipolar moment, the age of asymmetric conflicts, as well as the economic, technological and societal transformations brought about by globalisation to combine in a 'perfect storm', made worse by the pandemic of COVID-19.

China has already struck a blow in this confrontation by leading 15 nations including ASEAN and Japan into the greatest economic grouping the world has ever seen.







The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) is made up of 10 Southeast Asian countries, as well as South Korea, China, Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

India has stayed out of this grouping along with the US, with consequences that this conference will scrutinise.

The pact is seen as an extension of China's influence in the region.

The conference will attempt to find an insight into whether these developments will result in a cataclysmic restructuring of the current World Order, leading to dramatic changes in the prevailing economic, political, ideational systems.

Are we witnessing a repetition of history or will there be clear break from the past?

Can the turbulence of change, fuelled by the ascendance of China and India as military and economic powers, bring about equitable reform of global multilateral institutions?

As the third decade of the 21st century approaches – conditioned by the simultaneous surge of both conflict and disease across the globe, influenced by spectacular scientific advances, can the humanity reassert itself?







3. Schedule

DAY I

1000 INAUGURAL SESSION

Introductory Remarks: Mr. Moses Manoharan, Chairman, Global Dialogue Forum

Keynote Address: General Bipin Rawat PVSM, UYSM, AVSM, YSM, SM, VSM, Chief of the Defence Staff of India

Summing Up: Mr. Peter Rimmele, India head of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

SESSION II - 1100 hrs-1230 hrs High Tide in the Indo Pacific

"...man would not have attained the possible unless time and again he had reached out for the impossible" - Max Weber

Speaker - Mr. Barry O'Farrell AO, Australia's High Commissioner to India, former Premier of New South Wales

Speaker - Admiral Arun Prakash PVSM, AVSM, VrC, VSM (Retd), eminent defence analyst, former Chief of Naval Staff of Indian Navy, Chairman, Chiefs of Staff Committee, Indian armed forces

SESSION III - 1230 hrs to 1400 hrs Connecting with Europe

"Tis not too late to seek a newer world" - Alfred Lord Tennyson

Speaker – Associate Professor Priya Poojary, Manipal Centre for European Studies, Manipal Academy of Higher Education, Manipal, India

Speaker - Ambassador Ruchi Ghanashyam IFS (Retd), former Indian High Commissioner to UK

SESSION IV - 1400 hrs-1530 hrs







Towards an Equitable Global Economic Order

"Virtue is not left to stand alone. He who practices it will have neighbours" Confucius

Speaker - Mr. Rahul Chhabra IFS, Secretary (Economic Relations), Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi

Speaker - Dr. Rathin Roy, Managing Director, Overseas Development Institute, London, UK

Speaker - Ambassador Kishore Mahbubani, Distinguished Fellow, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, Former Permanent Secretary, Singapore Foreign Ministry, Founder Dean, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy

SESSION V - 1700 hrs-1830 hrs Maritime Rules

Speaker - Dr. Jeffrey Becker, Research Programme Director, Indo-Pacific Security Affairs, Centre for Naval Analyses, George Washington University, Washington DC, US

Dr. Connie Bakrie, President, Indonesia Institute for Maritime Studies, Jakarta, and Trustee at National Air Power and Space Centre of Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia

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DAY I CONCLUDE	S
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DAY II

SESSION VI - 1000 hrs-1100 hrs Eurasia in the New World Order

"History is marked by an imaginary Line drawn by alternating movements that separate East from West in Eurasia." Herodotus

Speaker - Dr. Laura Yerekesheva, Professor at al Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan

Speaker - Lt. General Arun Kumar Sahni, UYSM, SM, VSM (Retd), Former General Officer Commanding in Chief, South Western Command, Director General, Indian National Association, Club of Rome

SESSION VII 1100 hrs to 1230 hrs The Future of India

"Sweet is this world, I wish ne'er to depart, I yearn for a dwelling-place in humanity's heart." Rabindranath Tagore

Speaker - Professor John Varghese, Principal, St Stephen's College, New Delhi

Speaker - Mr. Salman Khurshid, Former External Affairs Minister of India.

SESSION VIII -1230 HRS to 1400 hrs Water of Life

"They both listened silently to the water, which to them was not just water, but the voice of life." Herman Hesse

Ms Ritu Rao, specialist on urban water bodies, Teri School of Advanced Studies, New Delhi

Speaker - Professor Ashok Swain, Director, Research School of International Water Cooperation, Uppsala University, Sweden.

SESSION IX - 1400 hrs-1530 hrs Overcoming the 21st Century's Existential Threats

"I call all things sin which bring misery to a fellow creature. Sin is to cause pain to another, whether man or beast". Kartini







Speaker - Dr. Matthias Stürmer, Head of the Research Center for Digital Sustainability, Bern University, Switzerland

Speaker: Shreyas Jayasimha, Head of Aarna Law, Aarna ADR, Singapore, space, technology and nuclear law specialist.

Speaker - Professor Carlo Masala, Director of Project Metis: Institute for Strategy & Foresight and Chair for International Relations, University of German Bundeswehr, Munich, Germany.

SESSION X - 1530 hrs-1630 hrs VALEDICTORY ADDRESS

"It is in playing safe that we create a world of utmost insecurity". - Dag Hammarskjold

Speaker - Air Marshal Diptendu Choudhury, AVSM, VM, VSM, Commandant, National Defence College, India's highest seat of strategic learning for senior military and civil service officers

Vote of thanks - Mr. Pankaj Madan, Deputy Head, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung India

SUMMIT CONCLUDES







4. Curriculum Vitae

General Bipin Rawat PVSM, UYSM, AVSM, YSM, SM, VSM, Chief of the Defence Staff of India

General Bipin Rawat, is an alumnus of St. Edward's School, Shimla, and the National Defence Academy, Khadakwasla; he was commissioned to the Fifth Bn, the Eleventh Gorkha Rifles of the Indian Army in December 1978, from IMA, Dehradun, where he was awarded the 'Sword of Honour'. The officer has vast experience in operations across a wide spectrum of conflict and terrain profiles. He commanded an Infantry battalion, along the Line of Actual Control in the Eastern Sector; a Rashtriya Rifles Sector; an Infantry Division in the Kashmir Valley; and, a Corps in the North East. The officer also commanded a Multinational Brigade, in a Chapter VII mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC). As an Army Cdr, he commanded a theatre of ops along the Western Front. The General was Chief of the Army Staff from 31 Dec 2016 to 31 Dec 2019. General Rawat's staff and instructional assignments include, Instructional tenure at IMA Dehradun; General Staff Officer, at the Military Operations Directorate; Logistics staff officer of a Division in Central India; Colonel Military Secretary and Deputy Military Secretary in the Military Secretary's Branch; and Senior Instructor, Junior Command Wing. He has been Major General General Staff of the Eastern Theatre and Vice Chief of the Army Staff.

General Bipin Rawat is a graduate of the Defence Services Staff College, Wellington, the Higher Command and National Defence College courses and, has attended the Command and General Staff Course at Fort Leavenworth, USA. The officer during the span of over 41 years service in uniform has been awarded for gallantry and distinguished service with the PVSM, UYSM, AVSM, YSM, SM, VSM; COAS Commendation on two occasions and the Army Commander's Commendation. Whilst serving with the United Nations, he was twice awarded the Force Commander's Commendation.

Academically inclined, the General has authored numerous articles on 'National Security' and 'Leadership' which have been published in various journals and publications. He was awarded M. Phil in Defence Studies from Madras University, and holds two Diplomas, in Management and Computer Studies respectively. General Bipin Rawat completed his research on military media strategic studies and was awarded Doctorate of Philosophy (Ph.D) from Chaudhary Charan Singh University, Meerut.

The General officer assumed the appointment of the Chief of Defence Staff on 31 Dec 2019.

Peter Max 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.

Moses Manoharan, Chairman, Global Dialogue Forum

Moses Manoharan, born in Singapore, and now an Indian citizen, specialises in geopolitics of s New World Order. Conversant in English, Chinese, Bahasa Indonesia, Tamil, Hindi, and French, he graduated in economics from Madras Christian College and did his Masters at the North Eastern Hill University. He was with Reuters for nearly two decades, covering events in different parts of the world.

He now chairs Global Dialogue Forum think tank and it's foreign policy journal Global Dialogue Review. He is also Chairman of News Flash TV channel and on the board of Delhi World Foundation schools in India and overseas. Having set up India's first satellite-linked interactive learning platform for the Manipal Group, with the world's second largest classroom of 18,000 students nearly 25 years ago, he now heads a modern interactive education system - Global Dialogue Academy. He has lectured at the School for Advanced Learning at St Stephen's College, New Delhi.

Mr. Barry O'Farrell AO, Australia's High Commissioner to India, former Premier of New South Wales

Mr O'Farrell was announced as Australia's High Commissioner to India on Tuesday 18 February 2020. He served in the Parliament of New South Wales from 1995 to 2015, including as the State's 43rd Premier between 2011 and 2014. Australia's most populous and multicultural State, New South Wales generates a third of the nation's Gross Domestic Product.

As Premier, Mr O'Farrell initiated and led annual trade missions to India to promote economic, cultural and social links between New South Wales and the states of India. He has also served as NSW's Special Envoy for India and has made a significant contribution as the Deputy Chair of the Australia India Council Board.

Mr O'Farrell has a Bachelor of Arts from the Australian National University, Canberra. Born in Melbourne, Mr O'Farrell grew up in Darwin. He is married to Rosemary and they have two adult sons.

Admiral Arun Prakash PVSM, AVSM, VrC, VSM (Retd), eminent defence analyst, former Chief of Naval Staff of Indian Navy, Chairman, Chiefs of Staff Committee, Indian armed forces







Admiral Arun Prakash was India's 20th Naval Chief and served concurrently as Chairman Chiefs of Staff. A naval aviator by specialization, he commanded the Eastern Fleet, the Andaman & Nicobar Joint Command and the Western Naval Command. Post-retirement, in 2006, he served two terms in the National Security Advisory Board and headed the National Maritime Foundation. He currently holds a Distinguished Chair in India's Naval War College.

Associate Professor Priya Poojary, Manipal Centre for European Studies, Manipal Academy of Higher Education, Manipal, India

Ambassador Ruchi Ghanashyam IFS (Retd), former Indian High Commissioner to UK

Mrs Ruchi Ghanashyam is an Indian Diplomat who retired in April 2020 from her last position in the Indian Diplomatic Corps as High Commissioner of India to the United Kingdom, Envoy to the Commonwealth and Representative to the IMO.

After completing her Master's in Psychology in 1981 from the University of Bhopal with distinction and a gold medal, Ruchi Ghanashyam appeared for the Indian Civil Services examination in the same year and joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1982.

In a career spanning about thirty eight years, she has served in various diplomatic capacities in Indian Diplomatic Missions in Damascus, Kathmandu, Brussels, Islamabad and New York (Permanent Mission of India to the United Nations). She became Head of Mission in 2008 and worked as India's High Commissioner to Ghana (accredited concurrently to Burkina Faso, Togo & Sierra Leone) during 2008-11. She was India's High Commissioner to South Africa (concurrently accredited to Kingdom of Lesotho) during 2014-17. In between her postings abroad, Ruchi Ghanashyam has worked in the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi as an Under Secretary, Director, Joint Secretary, Additional Secretary and Secretary. She returned to the Ministry of External Affairs from South Africa to take over as Secretary (West) during 2017-18. Thereafter, she travelled to UK as the First lady Career High Commissioner to United Kingdom and second lady after Vijayalakshmi Pandit. In her career which commenced with learning how to read, write and speak classical Arabic language in Damascus, Ruchi Ghanashyam has worked on all aspects of Diplomatic work including Political, Consular, Cultural, Information & Press, Administration and Trade & Commerce. She has also had the privilege of working in both bilateral and multilateral areas. Some special assignments handled by Mrs Ruchi Ghanashyam include (i)Secretary, B.P. Koirala India-Nepal Foundation in the Embassy of India Kathmandu, (ii) Coordinator for India-United Kingdom Round Table (iii) Coordinator for Ind0-German Consultative Group, (iv) Minister Plenipotentiary in the Permanent Mission of India to the United Nations, New York when she was India's representative on the Boards of UNDP (United Nations Development Program), UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) & then UNFPA (United Nations Fund for Population Activities) for four years. While in the UK, she was also Permanent Representative of India to the IMO (International Maritime Organization) in London. Mrs Ghanashyam speaks Hindi, English and some Arabic. She is married to Ambassador A.R. Ghanashyam who joined the IFS along with her in 1982 and they







Mr. Rahul Chhabra IFS, Secretary (Economic Relations), Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi

Mr. Rahul Chhabra took over the post of Secretary (Economic Relations), Ministry of External Affairs on 8th June 2020. Prior to taking over his current post, Mr. Chhabra was High Commissioner to Kenya, Ambassador to Somalia and Permanent Representative to the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) & the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), based in Nairobi from Nov. 2018 to June 2020. He was Ambassador to Hungary and Bosnia & Herzegovina from August 2015 to October 2018.

At Headquarters, he worked as Joint Secretary (Central Europe). He conceived and organized the first two editions of the India-Central Europe Business Forum which has now become a regular feature in the Indian business calendar. During this assignment, he was instrumental in focusing India's foreign policy towards the Arctic and the V-4.

While earlier serving in New Delhi, he worked to promote foreign investment flows into India, having been part of India's delegation to the World Economic Forum at Davos. Later, he served as Director for External Publicity at the Ministry of External Affairs and Director in the Foreign Secretary's Office.

During his stints abroad, Mr. Chhabra has served in Kenya, Hungary, China, United States, Philippines, France, Senegal and Belgium.

After an undergraduate degree in Economics, on the merit list, from the prestigious St. Stephen's College, Delhi University, he obtained a graduate degree in Economics, with a national scholarship, from the premier institute Delhi School of Economics and Masters in Business Administration from the Indian Institute of Management (IIM), Calcutta, where he was placed on the Roll of Honour.

Dr. Rathin Roy, Managing Director, Overseas Development Institute, London, UK

Rathin is ODI's Managing Director (Research and Policy). His policy interests and research has mainly focused on fiscal and macroeconomic issues pertinent to human development in developing and emerging economies.

Rathin was formerly the Director and CEO of the National Institute of Public Finance and Policy (NIPFP) in New Delhi. He has previously worked as an Economic Diplomat and Policy Advisor at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), with postings in London, New York, Kathmandu and Brasilia. He has also served as an Economic Adviser with the Thirteenth Finance Commission, New Delhi, in the rank of Joint Secretary to the Government of India.

Rathin Roy holds a Ph.D and an M.Phil in Economics from the University of Cambridge, an MA in Economics from the Jawaharlal Nehru University and BA (Hons) in Economics from St.







Stephen's College, University of Delhi. He has taught at the Universities of Manchester and London.

Professor Kishore Mahbubani Distinguished Fellow, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore

A veteran diplomat, student of philosophy, and author of eight books, Kishore Mahbubani is currently a Distinguished Fellow at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore. Mahbubani is also a former President of the UN Security Council (Jan 2001, May 2002) and the Founding Dean of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy (2004-2017). Mahbubani writes and speaks prolifically on the rise of Asia, geopolitics and global governance. His eight books and articles in the New York Times, Washington Post, Financial Times and Foreign Affairs have earned him global recognition as "the muse of the Asian century." He was inducted into the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in October 2019. His latest book, Has China Won?, was released on 31st March 2020. More information can be found on www.mahbubani.net.

Dr. Jeffrey Becker, Research Programme Director, Indo-Pacific Security Affairs, Centre for Naval Analyses, George Washington University, Washington DC, US

Jeffrey Becker is the Program Director for CNA's Indo-Pacific Security Affairs Program, where he oversees the organization's work examining defense plans and policies, security trends, and other issues of importance to the U.S. Navy and Department of Defense related to allies, partners, and non-state actors across the Indo-Pacific region.

Dr. Becker has testified before Congress, briefed U.S. Government and DoD officials, and written extensively on China's military as a global force, including PLA overseas basing, U.S.-China military engagement, and the security implications of China's global presence. From 2014-2018, Dr. Becker supported the U.S. Navy with regard to China's participation in the multilateral "Rim of the Pacific" exercise (RIMPAC), working along-side U.S. and Chinese exercise planners, and spending time at sea aboard multiple PLA Navy ships during the exercise.

Dr. Becker's publications include Peasants to Protesters: Social Ties, Resources, and Migrant Labor Contention in Contemporary China (Lexington Books, 2014), and China's Presence in the Middle East and Western Indian Ocean: Beyond Belt and Road (CNA, 2019). His forthcoming publications include Sea Foam in the Ocean or an Asian NATO? Chinese Views of the Quad (Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs), and Securing China's Lifelines: PLA Navy Presence in the Indian Ocean Region (U.S. Navy War College). Other peer-reviewed writings have appeared in "Comparative Political Studies," "Journal of Chinese Political Science," and "Naval War College Review."

Dr. Connie Bakrie, President, Indonesia Institute for Maritime Studies, Jakarta, and Trustee at National Air Power and Space Centre of Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia

Dr. Connie Rahakundini Bakrie is a political lecturer at Faculty of Post Graduate Studies (KWE) at the University of Indonesia, Universitas Nasional and some others. She is a military and defense







analyst and a writer of two important books about Indonesia Military and Defence. She is also a visiting lecturer at the Navy (SESKOAL) and Air Force (SESKOAU) Command Collage, Universitas Pertahanan (Indonesia National Defence University), also at SESPARLU and DISPARLU of Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She is well known because of her published analysis and articles on the challenges, needs and problems of Indonesian Military and defense, TNI posture and capabilities building. She has delivered some important speech about Indonesia military, among others in at the National Defense University (NDU) and The East West Center, Washington D.C, in Brussels for the ASEM-EU Regional Security Architecture, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Switzerland. Also at the House of Lords, Foreign Commission Office, and Department of Defense, United Kingdom. She's also a research fellow at the INSS (Institute of National Security Studies) Tel Aviv, Israel.

Connie is an Executive Director of IODAS (Institute of Defense and Security Studies), together with Ambassador Hasyim Djalal and Admiral Kent Sondakh she also sat as Board of Trustee at IMS (Indonesian Maritime Studies) after earlier she established the Indonesia Maritime Institute (IMI). She involves on strategic levels meetings at Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defence and Menkopolhukam (Coordinating Ministry of Politic and Security) Wantanas (National Security Council), and BIN (Badan Intelejen Negara).

Dr. Laura Yerekesheva, Professor at al Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan

Dr. Laura Yerekesheva is Professor at al-Farabi Kazakh National University's Oriental Faculty (Almaty, Kazakstan). Her areas of research interest include religious identity, nation-building, social cohesion in Central and South Asia. She authored and edited several books and edited volumes, including "India, China, Central Asia" (2017), ICWA's II India-Central Asia Dialogue Proceedings "India and Central Asia: Exploring New Horizons for Cooperation" (2014). Within cooperation with UNESCO, she authored reports on International Migration in Central Asia (2005), Youth of Central Asia: Challenges for Peacebuilding (2021, forthcoming).

She was awarded the "Distinguished Alumni Award-2016" by Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Ministry of External Affairs of India (2017).

Lt. General Arun Kumar Sahni, UYSM, SM, VSM (Retd), Former General Officer Commanding in Chief, South Western Command, Director General, Indian National Association, Club of Rome

Lt General Arun Sahni is a decorated, scholar – soldier, with 40 years of commissioned service in the Indian Army. He was the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of one of the six operational commands of the Indian Army, at the time of retirement. An alumni of NDA & IMA, he has been a high achiever in his career, starting with the Sword of Honour and President's Gold Medal, on being commissioned in 1976. He was awarded the SM & VSM while in service in operational areas, UYSM for command of the operational Corps in the North East and PVSM for his meritorious service in the army. In addition he has been awarded the COAS commendation Card twice.







Presently 'pro bono', he is mentoring start ups in the domain of cyber, robotics and AI. A trustee of an environmental policy group that he actively steers and he is on the managing board of a well reputed public school and University. He is a Distinguished Fellow with two premier think tanks in Delhi and an advisor to a major corporate in its defence initiatives. He is an avid golfer and polo player and was the Vice President of Indian Polo Association.

This vast experience of command and staff in the army, in different operational environments of Sri Lanka, North East and J & K, training with the British Army, military diplomat in Russia, tenanting critical key appointments at the apex level of the army, in Military Operations responsible for looking at force structuring and capability development and Director General of Information Technology, coupled with exposure to corporates and academia, has empowered him to contribute effectively in matters related to strategy, security and defence. An active speaker, at various forums and Institutions, he is well respected for his strategic insight on India's security challenges and emerging international dynamics.

Professor John Varghese, Principal, St Stephen's College, New Delhi

Professor John Varghese is the thirteenth Principal of St Stephen's College. Professor Varghese studied at Chennai at Loyola College from where he completed his Bachelors and Masters degrees. He went on to the Madras Christian College for an M Phil in English Language & Literature before beginning his teaching career at Loyola College. He moved to St Stephen's College in the early nineties to teach Literature and after three years moved to the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad for a Ph D. While doing his PhD he joined the Department of Radio & Television where he scripted educational radio programmes and taught Media & Communication with a particular focus on educational media. He was also a radio broadcaster working with the All India Radio as a casual compere. He spent over twenty years at the CIEFL, now rechristened EFL University, teaching Media & Communication, English Language and English Literature.

Over the last decade Professor Varghese has been involved increasingly with administration and policy. He was in charge of International Relations at the EFL University and was involved with setting up Institutes of English in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Vietnam, Sudan and Djibouti for the Government of India. After joining as Principal in 2016, Professor Varghese has been constantly trying to explore ways and means of making education more relevant to the practicalities of the real world. Professor Varghese lives in Delhi with his wife and they have two children. His most favourite manner of unwinding is to go on long rides. He occasionally paints. He has also written and published both articles and books.

Mr. Salman Khurshid, Former External Affairs Minister of India.

Salman Khurshid Alam Khan (born 1 January 1953) is an Indian politician, designated senior advocate, eminent author and a law teacher. He was the Cabinet Minister of the Ministry of External Affairs. He belongs to the Indian National Congress. He is a lawyer, and a writer who has been elected from Farrukhabad Lok Sabha constituency in the General Election of 2009. Prior to this he was elected to the 10th Lok Sabha (1991–1996). He became the Union Deputy Minister of







Commerce in June 1991, and later became the Union Minister of State for External Affairs (Jan. 1993 – June 1996). He started his political career in 1981 as an Officer on Special Duty in the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) under the prime ministership of Indira Gandhi.

Ms Ritu Rao, specialist on urban water bodies, Teri School of Advanced Studies, New Delhi Ritu Rao is a PhD scholar at TERI School of Advanced Studies, New Delhi. Her research focus is water bodies in urban areas. She is also working with the Natural Heritage Division of Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH), New Delhi on conservation of water bodies of Delhi. Presently she is working on Najafgarh jheel which lies in Delhi and Gurugram . It is the largest waterbody in this region after Yamuna and is on the verge of extinction. Her work on Najafgarh jheel entails raising public awareness in the two cities of Delhi and Gurugram and mobilising people to conserve and revive the jheel/lake. For this purpose she has created a Facebook Group- 'Najafgarh jheel- Countdown to Extinction or Rejuvenation?'Her work also entails lobbying with policy makers to notify Najafgarh jheel as a wetland.

Professor Ashok Swain, Director, Research School of International Water Cooperation, Uppsala University, Sweden.

Ashok Swain is a Professor of Peace and Conflict Research, UNESCO Chair of International Water Cooperation, and the Director of Research School of International Water Cooperation at Uppsala University, Sweden. He is also an Associate Senior Fellow to the SIPRI Climate Change Risk Program. He received his PhD from the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi in 1991, and since then he has been teaching at the Uppsala University. He has written extensively on new security challenges, international water sharing, environment, conflict and peace, and democratic development issues.

Dr. Matthias Stürmer, Head of the Research Center for Digital Sustainability, Bern University, Switzerland

Matthias Stürmer is head of the Research Center for Digital Sustainability at the Institute of Computer Science at University of Bern. With the lectureship on digital transformation at the Institute of Computer Science (INF) and the lectureship on digital sustainability at the Institute of Information Systems (IWI) he is teaching, researching and consulting on open source software, open data, open government, ICT procurement and digital sustainability. Previously he worked as IT advisory Manager at EY (Ernst & Young) and as project leader at Liip AG, a Swiss software company creating agile Internet solutions based on open source technologies. In 2009 Matthias finished his doctoral dissertation at the Chair of Strategic Management and Innovation at ETH Zürich focusing on open source communities and firm involvement. He studied business administration and computer science at University of Bern until 2005 writing his master thesis on open source community building.

Matthias Stürmer is president of the Digital Impact Network, member of the board of the open source association CH Open as well as co-founder and member of the board of Opendata.ch, the







Swiss chapter of the Open Knowledge foundation. As member of the steering comittee of the Smart Capital Region he is supporting digital transformation in the cantons Bern, Fribourg, Wallis, Neuenburg and Solothurn. He is secretary of the Swiss Parliamentarian Group for Digital Sustainability and since 2011 member of the city parliament of Bern.

Mr. Shreyas Jayasimha, Head of Aarna Law, Aarna ADR, Singapore, space, technology and nuclear law specialist.

Shreyas Jayasimha is the founder of Aarna Law (India) and Aarna ADR (Singapore) and is an Advocate, Arbitrator and Mediator with over two decades of experience in complex domestic and international dispute resolution. His practice areas include international commercial and investment law, space law, technology and nuclear law.

Professor Carlo Masala, Director of Project Metis: Institute for Strategy & Foresight and Chair for International Relations, University of German Bundeswehr, Munich, Germany.

Dr. Carlo Masala holds since 2007 the Chair for International Relations at the University of the German Bundeswehr in Munich. Since 2020 he is Director of Metis: Institute for Strategy & Forsight. He is also the Co-Director at the Center for Intelligence and Security Studies in Munich (a teaching and research Center jointly funded by the MoD and the External Secret Service). Prof. Masala har several guest Professorships around the globe and is a consultant to various national and international organisations in the field of security policy

Air Marshal Diptendu Choudhury, AVSM, VM, VSM, Commandant, National Defence College, India's highest seat of strategic learning for senior military and civil service officers

Air Marshal Diptendu Choudhury AVSM VM VSM is an alumnus of Royal College of Defence Studies UK, a Post Graduate in Strategy and International Security from King's College London and Master of Philosophy on Defence and Strategic Studies. Presently, he is the Commandant of National Defence College, New Delhi.

Mr. Pankaj Madan, Deputy Head-India Office, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

Pankaj Madan has been active with Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, India since February 1991. At this juncture, he heads the Programme Team and deputizes for the Head of India Office as and when the need arises. During his long experience of nearly three decades with KAS, he has been responsible for building, maintaining and enhancing old partnerships while forming new ones with political parties, think tanks, institutions and personages of repute. ORF and Global Dialogue Review are some examples, with which KAS started in 2018 and it is growing from strength to strength. Besides that, he has edited many books and articles as well as written a few himself.

Ms. Nisha Ramdas	•
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Ms. Ramdas is a Director, Global Dialogue Forum and Managing Editor, Global Dialogue Review for which she has served since its inception in 2013. She holds a Master's degree in Economics and has been on the governing board of the YWCA.







5. Social Media

Day 1











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.@KASonline and we invite you to the virtual Global Dialogue Security Summit – Contesting the Indo Pacific for Global Domination on Dec 11-12. Focus is on Indo-Pacific, tectonic shift in global power to this region, examining its consequences. Register at: bit.ly/gdssreq





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The Global Dialogue Security Summit kicks off tomorrow! Watch eminent personalities in foreign policy, trade, economy, European studies come together. Register for free today bit.ly/gdssreg #internationalrelations #GDSS2020 #KonradAdenauerStiftung @KASonline

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Our speaker Amb. Kishore Mahbubani (@mahbubani_k) is Distinguished Fellow, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, Former Permanent Secretary, Singapore Foreign Ministry, Founder Dean, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy @KASonline @straits_times #GDSS2020





Asian century." He was inducted into the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in October 2019. #GDSS2020 @KASonline @straits_times

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#GDSS2020 will focus on the #IndoPacific & the tectonic shift in global power to this region, examining its consequences – from challenges in security to environment, economy. Eminent personalities from across the globe will speak at the conference on their specialties @KASonline











Meet our #speaker Dr. Laura Yerekesheva, Professor at al Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan. An expert on religious identity, nation-building, social cohesion in Central and South Asia, she has authored books on India, China & Central Asia. @KASonline #GDSS2020











Few hours left till the launch of Global Dialogue Security Summit tomorrow! Watch eminent personalities in foreign policy, trade, economy, European studies. Register for free today bit.ly/gdssreg #internationalrelations #GDSS2020 #KonradAdenauerStiftung @KASonline





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#GDSS2020 will focus on the #IndoPacific & the tectonic shift in global power to this region, examining its consequences – from challenges in security to environment, economy. Eminent personalities from across the globe will speak at the conference on their specialties @KASonline













H.E. Barry O'Farrell AO, Australia's High Commissioner to India, former Premier of New South Wales will speak at the Global Dialogue Security Summit today! #GDSS2020 @KASonline











"Contesting the Indo-Pacific for global domination" - This is very decidedly what neither India nor Europe want for the region. #GDSS2020 #PeterRimmele @KASonline @KASMediaAsia





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Arguably there is only one force that is both capable and willing to strive for this kind of domination: the People's Republic of China #GDSS2020 #PeterRimmele

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Common push for more resilient trade routes is something that we as Europeans embrace wholeheartedly. The connectivity strategy by the #EuropeanUnion with regard to Asia has exactly that as a central premise @EU_in_India @KASonline #PeterRimmele

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Aarti Tikoo Singh 🤣 @AartiTikoo · Dec 11

Breaking @ians_india:

Challenging China's attempts at hegemony in the Indo-Pacific region, India's Chief of Defence Staff, Gen. Bipin Rawat: "Need to build dissuasive deterrence through partnership with friendly countries and allies."

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Tune in to the #GDSS2020 now with our speaker H.E Barry O'Farrell AO,

Australia's High Commissioner to India, former Premier of New South Wales @KASonline





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#BipinRawat at the #GDSS2020: "Today we are facing increasing security challenges and to my mind the best guaranter of peace and security is to have dissuasive deterrence. For a nation like India, the security of land borders remains a security concern."













Our delegates discussing EU-India/EU-Indo-Pacific relationship - from the stalled #FTA to maritime trade, data protection and other avenues of cooperation. @EU_in_India @KASonline @imcoemces #GDSS2020



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Climate change and technological transformation are two elements that are creating existing and new forms of inequality in the world - Rahul Chhabra #SDGs #ClimateChange #GDSS2020 @KASonline





























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Sanjay Srivastava Shaping #NewNormal #MakeInIndia @... · Dec 11 #IndoPacific: Seeking right balance & between #Strategic Autonomy & #Economic Partnership.

Very timely & apt discussion. VVV #GDSS2020

Hear @RuchiGhanashyam & the global leaders discussing all this & more. @GlobalDialogueF @KASonline

Ruchi Ghanashyam @RuchiGhanashyam · Dec 11

Fascinating discussion at Global Security Summit Vision 2020 #GDSS2020. Thanks to @GlobalDialogueF and @KASonline for this focus on Contesting the Indo Pacific for Global Domination.





Global Dialogue Forum @GlobalDialogueF · Dec 11

Join us at our last session for the day "Maritime Rules". Speakers incl. Dr. Jeffery Becker @jeffreybecker73 Director, CNA Indo-Pacific Security Affairs and Dr. Connie Bakrie, President, Indonesia institute of maritime studies #GDSS2020 @KASonline

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Our last session is underway with Dr Connie Barkie, President, Indonesia Institute for Maritime Studies, Jakarta, and Trustee at National Air Power and Space Centre of Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia taking the stage #GDSS2020 @KASonline











That's all for today! Hope you join us tomorrow for more intellectually stimulating sessions on Euraisa, India's future in the Indo-Pacific, Water and more. Day 2 starts at 1000h IST #GDSS2020 #InternationalRelations #IndoPacific #SecuritySummit @KASonline





Global Dialogue Forum @GlobalDialogueF · Dec 11

It is not only the matter economic issues or power in the region, but also of governance in the Indo-Pacific region. There is a competition of systems - China's own system as opposed to a "like-minded" one, notes India head of #KonradAdenauerStiftung Peter Rimmele #GDSS2020











 $\textbf{Global Dialogue Forum } @ \textbf{Global Dialogue} \textbf{F} \cdot \textbf{Dec 11}$

Earlier today: H.E. Barry O'Farrell AO, Australia's High Commissioner to India on the Global Dialogue Forum and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (@KASonline) Global Dialogue Security Summit #GDSS2020 #IndoPacific #Security #InternationalRelations





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Register here if you haven't yet for Day 2 bit.ly/gdssreg #GDSS2020
@KASonline #KonradAdenauerStiftung #IndoPacific

GLOBAL
SECURITY
SUMMIT
VISION 2020
Friday & Saturday, December 11-12, 2020









Mr. O'Farrell on Indo-Pacific region "Such discussions can be approached in the context of global domination underscores just how much of a historic confliction point we face. This situation calls for cooperation now, in the kind of inclusive and open region we want to live in"





Global Dialogue Forum @GlobalDialogueF · Dec 11

Issues in the Indo-Pacific are relevant to Australia because "like India, the Indo-Pacific is where we live. So much of our wealth comes from and is relied upon this part of the world," says Mr. O'Farrell @AusHCIndia #AustraliaIndiarelations #GDSS2020 #IndoPacific #Security



$\textbf{Global Dialogue Forum } @ Global Dialogue F \cdot Dec \ 11$

.@barryofarrell at #GDSS2020 "We also recognise the important part that Australia has to play in supporting security and rule of law throughout the region..." (contd.) @AusHCIndia



Global Dialogue Forum @GlobalDialogueF · Dec 11

"If we want to preserve our energy security and protect our trade routes then we must focus on the Indian ocean as one of the highest priorities," says Mr. O'Farrell #AustraliaIndiarelations #InternationalRelations #securitysummit #IndoPacific @KASonline @barryofarrell #GDSS2020











(Contd.) @barryofarrell "...Our partners do the same so that collectively we benefit from the growth Indo-Pacific offers all of us. In doing so, cooperation is the key and for this we look to our top-tier partners, like India." #GDSS2020 #InternationalRelations @KASonline





Global Dialogue Forum @GlobalDialogueF · Dec 11

It was a pleasure to hear you today at the Global Dialogue Security Summit today, Your Excellency #GDSS2020 @KASonline

Rarry O'Farrell AO 📀 @AusHCIndia - Dec 11

We're at an inflection point historically - & now is the time for us to shape the kind of open & inclusive Indo-Pacific we want to live in. Shared my thoughts at the Global Security Summit, hosted by the @GlobalDialogueF in collaboration with @kasonline. #defence #GDSS2020

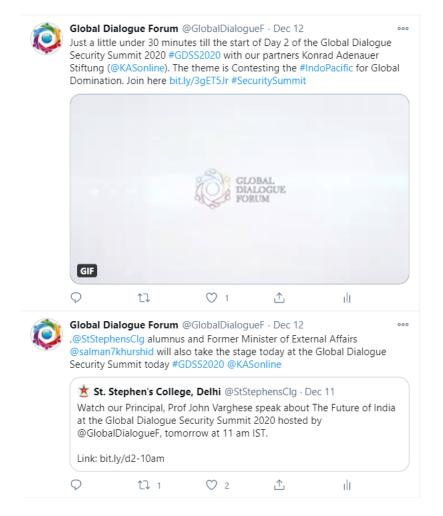








Day 2











































Session 7: The Future of India kicks off with Prof John Varghese, Principal @StStephensClg and @salman7khurshid, senior advocate, Supreme Court of India, Former External Affairs Minister, Former Law and Justice Minister and St. Stephen's alum #GDSS2020 @KASonline





Global Dialogue Forum @GlobalDialogueF · Dec 12

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Subscribing to the idea of dialogue and connectivity is important. Two dimensions are important in dialogue - expressing aspirations and the backdrop in which the aspirations are expressed - @salman7khurshid



Global Dialogue Forum @GlobalDialogueF · Dec 12

Prof Varghese, Principal @StStephensClg: the attempt to thrust one ideology on the world will not work. This is where a democracy will work. India's cultural variations are a strength. #GDSS2020 #KASonline





Global Dialogue Forum @GlobalDialogueF · Dec 12

We highlight the effectiveness of non-violence but it seems to be lost in the rat race of armaments. There is a need to bring back #education to the fore. #GDSS2020 @StStephensClg

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Global Dialogue Forum @GlobalDialogueF · Dec 12

India has ability to make a difference in the world - we have a large youth demographic which, with right ideals, can effect change. Future of India is the future of the world. education with the right value is key. Education, and not military education. #GDSS2020 @StStephensClg

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Join us now for our penultimate session "Overcoming the 21st century's existential threats" with Dr. Matthias Strümer (@maemst), head, Research Center or Digital Sustainability @unibern; Shreyas Jayasimha, Head Aarna Law; and Prof Dr. C. Masala, Director Project Metis #GDSS2020





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Professor Ashok Swain, Director, Research School of International Water Cooperation,

Uppsala University speaks at the session Water of Life at the GDSS 2020 #GDSS2020 @UU_University @KASonline





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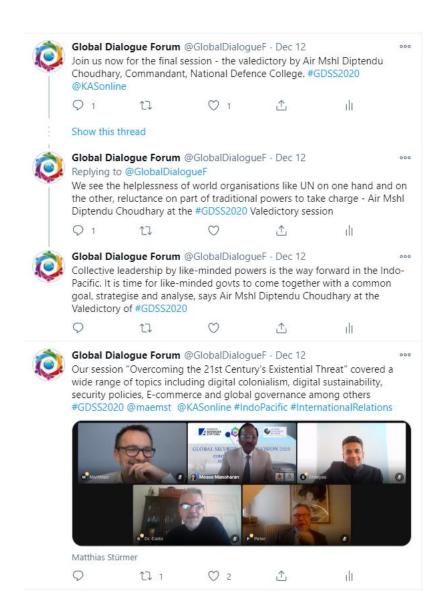








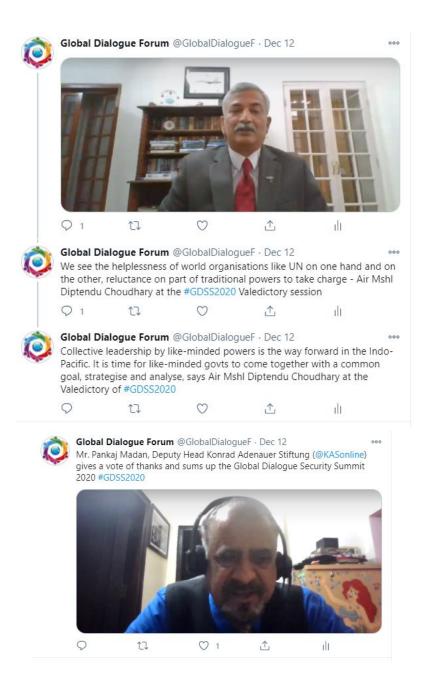




























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