

# **Report on the Panel Discussion: “The Galwan Clash: India's China Strategy and China's Great Game”**



**FOUNTAINHEAD OF EXCELLENCE**

*Partner:*



**Live Event on Zoom/MMA Facebook/  
Live IBC/YouTube**

**Panel Discussion on the theme**

**The Galwan Clash: India's China Strategy and  
China's Great Game**

***Panellists:***

**Admiral Arun Prakash (Retd), PVSM AVSM Vrc VSM**  
Former Chief of Naval Staff, Indian Navy

**Ambassador G Parthasarathy (Retd), IFS**  
Chancellor, Central University, Jammu  
Former Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan

**Lt Gen Kamal Davar (Retd), PVSM AVSM**  
Former DG, Defence Intelligence Agency

**Mr Mohan Guruswamy**  
Former Advisor to Finance Minister

***Moderator:***

**Air Marshal M Matheswaran(Retd), AVSM VM Ph.D**  
Chairman & President, The Peninsula Foundation,  
Chennai

held on **Friday, 26 June 2020 at 6.00 pm**

***Partner:***



# The Galwan Clash - India's China Strategy and China's Great Game

Friday, 26 June 2020

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invite you  
under the Strategic Leadership series  
to a panel Discussion on

## The Galwan Clash: India's China Strategy and China's Great Game

*Panelists:*

**Admiral Arun Prakash (Retd), PVSM AVSM VrC VSM**  
Former Chief of Naval Staff, Indian Navy

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*Moderator:*

**Air Marshal M Matheswaran (Retd), AVSM VM Ph.D**  
Chairman & President, The Peninsula Foundation, Chennai

at **6.00 pm Friday, 26 June 2020**

**Live links:**

[www.liveibc.com/mmalive](http://www.liveibc.com/mmalive)

[www.facebook.com/mmachennai](https://www.facebook.com/mmachennai)

[www.youtube.com/madrasmanagementassociationchennai](https://www.youtube.com/madrasmanagementassociationchennai)

## The Context

In a violent face-off between Indian and Chinese forces on the night of June 15th in Galwan Valley in Eastern Ladakh, 20 Indian soldiers were killed. An equal number if not more Chinese soldiers might have been killed. This loss of lives is the first in 45 years. India-China border has turned stormier with increasing intrusions by China since 2013. China's official statement has claimed the whole of Galwan valley is Chinese territory, disputing India's position. MEA stated that the clash took place due to China's attempt to change the status quo of the LAC. Prime Minister's statement on 19th June that no Chinese presence is there on Indian soil has raised more questions than answers.

As recent events show, China is clearly flexing its muscles amid a global pandemic, and it is clear that China has a bigger game plan. India's China strategy, including recent Wuhan and Mamallapuram summits, is clearly in disarray. China's behaviour should also be seen in the context of its linkage with Pakistan and the CPEC project, and its aggression elsewhere. The huge asymmetry in economic, technological, and military terms between India and China seems to have put India's political leadership and MEA in a fix. For nearly four decades India has pursued a policy of appeasement with China.

In this context, a panel discussion was organised by MMA in association with KAS and The Peninsula Foundation to deliberate on various issues arising out of the Galwan clash.

## Programme Overview

**Madras Management Association (MMA)** in collaboration with **Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS)** and **The Peninsula Foundation** presented a panel discussion through webinar, under the **‘Strategic Leadership’ series**, on the theme, **“The Galwan Clash: India's China Strategy and China's Great Game”** at 6 pm on **Friday, 26th June 2020**. The panel comprised the following distinguished members:

- ♣ **Admiral Arun Prakash (Retd), PVSM, AVSM, VrC, VSM**  
Former Chief of the Naval Staff, Indian Navy
- ♣ **Ambassador G Parthasarathy (Retd), IFS**  
Chancellor of Central University, Jammu and Former Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan
- ♣ **Lt Gen Kamal Davar (Retd), PVSM, AVSM**  
Former DG, Defence Intelligence Agency
- ♣ **Mr Mohan Guruswamy**  
Former Advisor to Finance Minister

**Group Captain R Vijayakumar (Retd), VSM**, Executive Director, MMA welcomed the panellists and the participants. **Mr Peter Rimmele**, Resident Representative to India of KAS delivered the introductory remarks. **Air Marshal M Matheswaran (Retd)** moderated the Panel discussion.

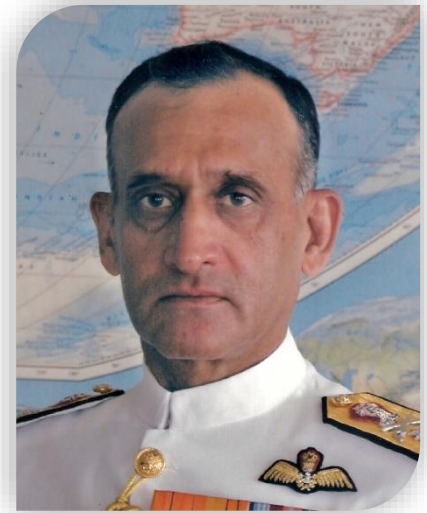
A Q & A session was scheduled where viewers could send in their questions through SMS/WhatsApp/Zoom. This was moderated by Group Captain R Vijayakumar (Retd), ED, MMA and the panellists answered the questions during the programme. At the end of the Q&A session, Group Captain R Vijayakumar (Retd) proposed the Vote of Thanks and the event concluded at 8.00 PM.

In view of the social distancing restrictions due to COVID – 19 and keeping in view the safety and well-being of our members, the event was conducted live on ZOOM and also livestreamed on MMA Webcast, YouTube and Facebook. The proceedings were watched live by 1,762 viewers.

## Profile of the Speakers

### **Admiral Arun Prakash (Retd), PVSM AVSM VrC VSM**

Admiral Arun Prakash, PVSM, AVSM, VrC, VSM, ADC (born October 1944) is a former Flag Officer of the Indian Navy, who served as the **Chief of the Naval Staff** from 31 July 2004 to 31 October 2006 and as the Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee from 31 January 2005 to 31 October 2006. He is one of India's most decorated naval officers.

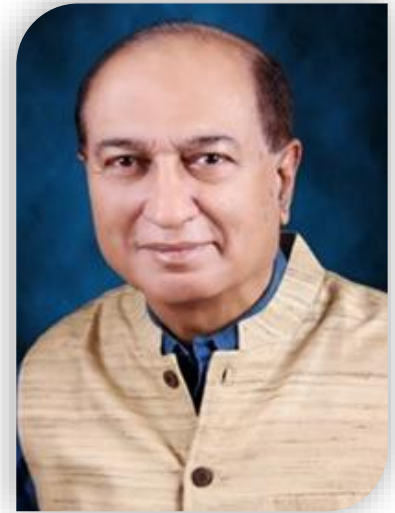


Prakash grew up in the Kashmir Valley, where his father rose to be a District Commissioner of Leh. He graduated from the National Defence Academy in 1964, Indian Air Force Test Pilot School in 1976, the Defence Services Staff College in 1979, and the US Naval War College in 1990.

Prakash was commissioned into the Navy in January 1966. Joining the Indian Navy, he specialized in naval aviation, qualifying as a pilot in the Sea Hawk jet fighter, flying from the deck of the aircraft carrier INS Vikrant in 1968. As a junior officer, he served afloat in Vikrant, INS Kirpan, and INS Delhi. His assignments in naval aviation included flying Islander aircraft with Indian Navy Air Squadron 550, Vampire and Kiran aircraft with Indian Navy Air Squadron 551, and Seahawk and Sea Harrier aircraft with Indian Navy Air Squadron 300.

## **Ambassador G Parthasarathy (Retd), IFS**

Gopalaswami Parthasarathy, popularly known as G Parthasarathy (born 13 May 1940) is an Indian diplomat and author. He was Ambassador of India to Myanmar (1992–95), High Commissioner of India to Australia (1995–98), High Commissioner of India to Pakistan (1998-2000) and High Commissioner of India, Cyprus (1990–92). Later he was the spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs and the Prime Minister's Office.



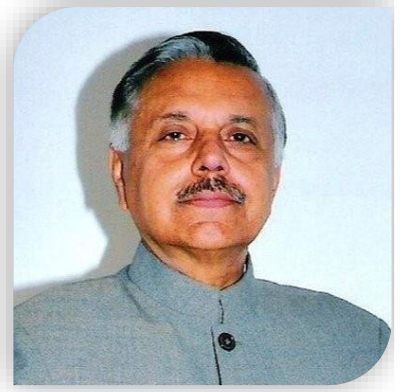
He graduated with a B.E. Degree in Electrical Engineering from the College of Engineering, Guindy, Chennai in 1962.

He started his career as a commissioned officer in the Indian Army (1963-1968). Subsequently, he joined the Indian Foreign Service on 29 July 1968, and his first diplomatic assignment was as Third Secretary in the Embassy of India in Moscow from August 1970.



## **Lt Gen Kamal Davar (Retd), PVSM AVSM**

Lieutenant General Kamal Davar is a retired Indian military officer, and security expert who served as the first director general of the Defence Intelligence Agency and deputy chief of the Integrated Defence Staff.



The general officer is the son of renowned veteran freedom fighter and Indian National Congress leader, Dr MC Davar, a well-known pacifist who had fought to prevent the partition of India. Kamal Davar is an alumnus of the National Defence Academy and also holds an MSc in defence studies from Madras University, and a doctorate in security studies from Chaudhary Charan Singh University, Meerut.

He was commissioned into the 7th Light Cavalry regiment of the Indian Army. As a young officer, Davar participated in the 1965 India-Pakistan War, during which he was wounded in action in the Lahore sector. Subsequently, he also participated in active operations during the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War. He eventually rose to command the 86 Armoured Regiment of the Indian Army, and also to serve on the Indian Military Training Team in Iraq. As a brigadier, he commanded the spearhead armoured brigade of the Army and subsequently was an instructor at the College of Combat (now the Army War College).

As a major general, he was the first armoured corps officer to command 3 Div responsible for the entire Ladakh sector. After 2 eventful years, he was posted as chief of staff at the corps headquarters in Nagrota, Jammu and Kashmir during the height of counter-insurgency operations. After completion of command as GOC of a corps, he was appointed director-general, Mechanised Forces at Army Headquarters in 2001.

On 5 March 2002, the government announced Davar's appointment as the first chief of The Defence Intelligence Agency(DIA) and Deputy Chief of the Integrated Defence Staff. As the first chief of the DIA, he is reputed to have taken many pioneering intelligence initiatives both at home and abroad. General Davar has also served as the Colonel of the Regiment of 86 Armoured Regiment, as well as that of 74 Armoured Regiment.

## **Mohan Guruswamy**

Mohan Guruswamy had his undergraduate education in Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry at Nizam College, Hyderabad, India. He has post-graduate qualifications in Public Policy, International Affairs and Management. He is an alumnus of the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University and the Graduate School of Business, Stanford University.

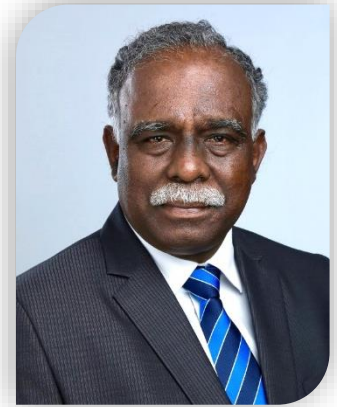


With an interesting career path that included teaching, senior management, journalism and in government as the Advisor to the Finance Minister with the rank of Secretary to the Government of India, he now heads the Centre for Policy Alternatives, New Delhi. Dr Mohan Guruswamy has widely travelled in India and abroad, and is the author of several books on policy issues, some of the recent being *The Looming Crisis in India's Agriculture*; *India: Issues in Development*; *India's World: Essays in Foreign Policy and Security Issues*; *India China Relations: The Border Issue and Beyond*; and the latest being *Chasing the Dragon: Will India Catch-up with China?*

He is a frequent commentator on national and international TV and Radio on matters of current interest and writes a widely read and disseminated newspaper and magazine column. His papers on *Redefining Poverty*, *Income Inequality*, *Backwardness of Bihar*, *Economic Development in West Bengal*, *FDI in Retail* have been published in well regarded journals like the *Economic and Political Weekly*, *Seminar* and the *Journal of Public Policy*, UK.

## **Air Marshal M Matheswaran (Retd), AVSM VM Ph.D**

Air Marshal M Matheswaran, an Air Force Veteran, is the founder Chairman and President of TPF. He is the former Deputy Chief of Integrated Defence Staff (DCIDS- Policy, Plans, and Force Development) at HQ IDS – Tri Services Command and was the Senior Air Staff Officer (SASO – Deputy C-in-C) of the Eastern Air Command earlier.



The Air Marshal has had an active service of 39 years in the Indian Air Force. Commissioned as a fighter pilot in 1975, he has flown more than 40 types of aircraft with vast operational and research experience. He is a graduate of the IAF's elite Fighter Weapons Establishment, TACDE (Tactics and Air Combat Development Establishment), and also an Experimental Test Pilot from the prestigious Flight Test Establishment, ASTE (Aircraft and Systems Testing Establishment), and later commanded the Establishment.

The Air Marshal has held a number of command and staff appointments such as operations involving Space, EW and Information Warfare, Maritime Air Operations, Air Staff Inspection, Air Staff Requirement, and Concepts and Doctrines for Air War Strategy. He was intimately involved with many Defence projects and has been associated with many Indian military projects involving the Indian military, DRDO, and the industry. He is a founder member of the Nuclear Command. The Air Marshal has MSc in Military Science from the University of Madras, M Phil and PhD in Defence & Strategic Studies, also from the University of Madras. He is a Senior Fellow and alumnus of the Harvard Kennedy School's National and International Security program. He is an Executive Council member of the IDSA – an autonomous think-tank of the MOD. He is a strategic advisor in Defence & Aerospace Business to Indian industries, and is a Senior Advisor on Defence & Aerospace to FICCI (Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry).

The Air Marshal is a Visiting Faculty at the Naval War College, Goa . He is also an adjunct professor at the Department of Geopolitics in Manipal University.

## Peter Rimmele

Peter Rimmele is currently the Resident Representative to India of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

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 Ministerial rat, 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.

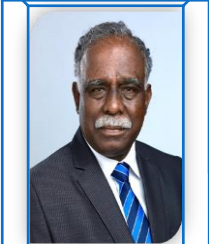


**Report on the Panel Discussion on  
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India’s China Strategy and China’s Great Game”**

**Key Statements**



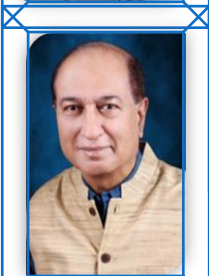
- So opportunistic was China that it even diverted flights carrying medical aid in mid air as per its changing perception of where or in which country better political mileage potential existed!!!- **Peter Rimmele**, Resident Representative to India of KAS



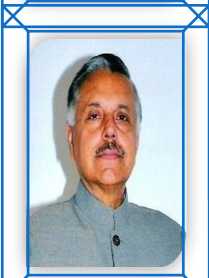
- China keeps moving forward, slicing. This is an attempt to keep India bottled up in its South Asian domain so that it does not create any nuisance for China’s global ambition- **Air Marshal M Matheswaran (Retd)**, AVSM VM Ph.D



- There has to be a minister for Defence production. He should report directly to the Prime Minister - **Admiral Arun Prakash (Retd)**, PVSM AVSM VrC VSM



- India does not offend any major powers or pick fights. I call it **strategic autonomy**. We are the only country with equally good relations with America and Russia; with Israel and all the rich Arab countries - **Ambassador G Parthasarathy (Retd)**, IFS



- This is my appeal to our army HQ and the MOD. Please get hold of the MHA, sit down together and review this recommendation of One border, One Force - **Lt Gen Kamal Davar (Retd)**, PVSM AVSM



- We are moving from one situation to another situation. Everything is in the short term. Even service Chiefs come for short tenures and they go away - **Mohan Guruswamy**, Former Advisor to FM

## Key Takeaways

### From Mr Peter Rimmele's Address:

- ♣ Its neighbours have always been uneasy in dealing with China. After Corona outbreak, the rest of the world too has realised how difficult dealing with China can be.
- ♣ China's image in the western world has taken a huge hit. Decisions to exclude Chinese firms from lucrative state contracts have been made throughout the western world.
- ♣ China's aspirations run counter to Europe's core beliefs, but China has become an economic powerhouse that cannot be ignored.
- ♣ China has presence in every corner of the globe. In Southern Europe and the smaller countries of the continent, Beijing has been effectively pushing its political agenda through economic power and propaganda.
- ♣ China opportunistically exploited the divisions in the European Union by supplying medical equipment's and PPE to fight Corona based on its perception of where or in which country better political mileage existed!
- ♣ China is an authoritarian behemoth and does not differentiate between politics, diplomacy, trade and economy.
- ♣ China now plays out its old power game in the Galwan valley and surrounding areas in Ladakh.
- ♣ China can be an important partner, but only if it starts playing by the same rules of the game in the international arena.
- ♣ The mission of KAS around the globe is promotion of values like democracy, free press, social market economy and a fair social order that allows for personal freedom and development.
- ♣ India and Europe share values: They both believe in democracy, the rule of law as well as a rules-based multilateral world order.
- ♣ The Galwan incident has made the point that we should not stand alone. Some kind of formalized co-operation is in the interest of everyone if we want to face a resurgent, aggressive, if not assertive- and strong China.
- ♣ KAS as a foundation wishes to see a strengthening of Indo-German and Indo-European relations. Together, India and Europe would be able to provide a much-needed counterweight to growing Chinese pressure.

### **Air Marshal M Matheswaran (Retd):**

- ♣ While on the one hand, the Indian Prime Minister and Chinese President have met and discussed on collaboration, on the other hand Chinese intrusion keeps on taking place.
- ♣ In 1954, India signed an agreement with China accepting Chinese sovereignty over Tibet, without getting anything in return. This was a historical mistake.
- ♣ In 1993 onwards when the treaty of peace and tranquillity was signed, Chinese interpretation of LAC is completely different and at odd with India's interpretation. They keep moving forward, slicing.
- ♣ China attempts to keep India bottled up in its South Asian domain so that it does not create any nuisance for China's global ambition.

### **Admiral Arun Prakash (Retd):**

- ♣ For 73 years, we have avoided making a strategy. Every time a crisis arises, we react with incoherent and knee-jerk reactions.
- ♣ We should write a strategy and describe our national aims and objectives. This should be planned for the next 30 to 40 years.
- ♣ We have one of the world's largest military industrial complexes but unfortunately, what we produce is zilch. We must have a Minister for Defence production who should report directly to the Prime Minister.
- ♣ China has become the world's strongest maritime power.
- ♣ The Indian government's Sagar Mala project is a good initiative but not much progress has happened. Strengthening maritime power not only augments our security but also provides huge employment opportunities.
- ♣ The present conflict is unlikely extend to the sea.

### **Ambassador G Parthasarathy (Retd):**

- ♣ Thanks to Xi Jinping's brilliant leadership, China has risen economically and militarily and that it is remarkable in the annals of world history.
- ♣ Strategic containment of India is integral to China's political thinking.
- ♣ We have lost the plot after liberalisation and started importing heavily from China, giving them huge space even in vital sectors like Telecom.
- ♣ We should build our Comprehensive National Power, strengthen maritime security, pursue diplomacy and leverage on Quad group to exert pressure on China, mobilising all anti-Chinese forces on a single platform.

- ♣ India's strategic partnership with Germany and other European nations like France will play an important role.
- ♣ India's strength lies in its unity in diversity and its maritime power. We have to harness them.
- ♣ One of the reasons for the present crisis is the US becoming dysfunctional. The Chinese believe they can fill the vacuum and this has emboldened them.

**Lt Gen Kamal Davar (Retd):**

- ♣ India shares 3488 km border with China which is divided into three sectors: The western sector, Middle sector and the Eastern sector. China has got claims all over, except in the middle sector.
- ♣ The then PM Pandit Nehru wanted India and China to grow together but the Chinese had their strategies very clear, leading up to the 1962 war.
- ♣ LAC is a term coined by former Chinese premier Zhou-Enlai; Pandit Nehru never recognised this.
- ♣ China is a rising, revisionist, expansionist power with super power ambition, afflicted with the middle kingdom syndrome. They have a grand strategy.
- ♣ If India has to rise as an economic power, it should have adequate military preparedness.
- ♣ India made a fine strategic DSDBO road in Ladakh; China wants to counter this by capturing the heights.
- ♣ In Depsang, India has got a strategic air-strip at 16000 feet and that is a provocation to China.
- ♣ There is likelihood of an intelligence failure on the part of India leading to the Galwan valley clash.
- ♣ The forces manning the border should be under a singular command. We should follow 'One Border; One Force' policy.'
- ♣ As far as Maritime power is concerned, India is well off.
- ♣ India's engagement with China should include a combination of military, diplomatic and economic factors.

**Mr Mohan Guruswamy, Former Advisor to FM**

- ♣ The genesis of the problem lies in China's superiority complex and their natural dislike for India.



- ♣ The whole world made China rich in the last 25 years, doing vast trade with them and shifting many production facilities to China.
- ♣ We now depend heavily on China. This is a wake-up call to bring in land and labour reforms, so we can attract FDI and ramp up production facilities in India.
- ♣ India's military industrial complex needs to be modernized. It is time to strengthen the country economically by harnessing our resources.
- ♣ The outcry to boycott Chinese products is jingoistic and not economically advantageous to India.
- ♣ There is no long term policy. India must have a Comprehensive National Power policy.
- ♣ When BRICS was formed, it was planned that BRICS countries will exchange with each other in bilateral currencies. But, India and China don't really do it. We need to look at BRICS.
- ♣ India is part of many international associations but it is not able to derive significant mileage out of it.

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## Welcome Address

**Group Captain R Vijayakumar (Retd), VSM, Executive Director, MMA**



**Group Captain R Vijayakumar (Retd), VSM, ED, MMA** initiated the online panel discussion organised through Zoom webinar and livestreamed on MMA website, YouTube and Facebook. He listed out the series of MMA activities planned over the next few days to keep the members intellectually engaged.

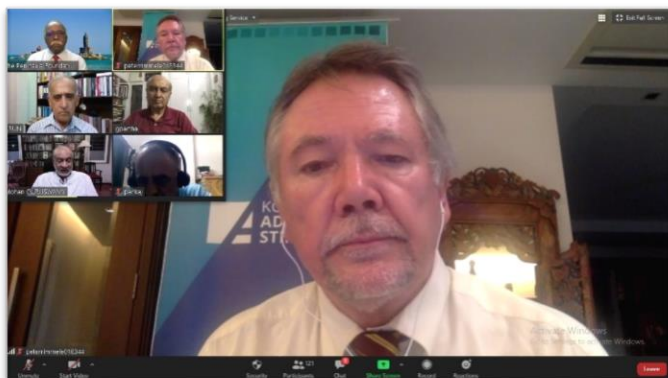
He extended a hearty welcome to the panel members **Admiral Arun Prakash (Retd), PVSM, AVSM, VrC, VSM**, Former Chief of the Naval Staff, Indian Navy, **Ambassador G Parthasarathy (Retd), IFS**, Chancellor of Central University, Jammu and Former Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan, **Lt Gen Kamal Davar (Retd), PVSM, AVSM**, Former DG, Defence Intelligence Agency, **Mr Mohan Guruswamy**, Former Advisor to Finance Minister.

He welcomed the moderator of the panel discussion **Air Marshal M Matheswaran (Retd)**, AVSM VM Ph.D., **Mr Peter Rimmele** who is the current resident representative to India of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and **Mr Pankaj Madan** of KAS.

He welcomed members of The Peninsula Foundation and all the online viewers. He introduced the moderator. He also introduced **Mr Peter Rimmele**, Resident Representative to India of KAS and requested him to deliver the introductory remarks.

## Introductory Remarks

### Mr. Peter Rimmele, Resident Representative to India of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS)



**Mr Peter Rimmele** set the context for the discussions outlining Europe's approach towards China, post Covid-19.

He detailed out how Chinese image has been badly bruised across the world, due to many factors such as its troubled relationship with its neighbours, lack of transparency in the Covid-19 outbreak from its backyard, the apparent pressure it exerted on bodies like WHO, its monetising the pandemic by selling medical equipments and PPEs to a divided Europe and across the world, selecting its market not with humanitarian intention but with an eye on what it will get in return and to top it all, the recent border skirmish with India in the Galwan valley.

He said that decisions to exclude Chinese firms from lucrative state contracts have been made throughout the western world. He observed that there is growing concern and a dawning realization that China's aspirations run counter to Europe's core beliefs. At the same time, he cautioned that China has become an economic powerhouse and cannot be ignored.

Reacting to China's recent border dispute with India, he noted that China can be taken on board as an important partner, only if it starts playing by the rules. "But it will not change its behavior all of a sudden. It is an authoritarian behemoth with a drastically different outlook on the future of the world order," he warned.

### **KAS and China**

Mr Peter stated that the mission of KAS around the globe is promotion of values like democracy, free press, social market economy and a fair social order that allows for personal freedom and development. KAS believes in cooperation and in progress through mutual understanding, he underlined.

In the spirit of international understanding, he suggested that we need to find common solutions where possible but should always remain steadfast in our beliefs, values and position and more so in the face of provocation.

### **The KAS on India and China**

Mr Peter pointed out that India and Europe share values and aims that have natural potential for both to be in a close working relationship. “We both believe in democracy, the rule of law as well as a rules-based multilateral world order. Europe and India are interested in maintaining the multilateral order; we both wish to see the Indo-Pacific remain an international sea and influence in the regions bordering it to be balanced. The Galwan incident has made that point: We should not stand alone,” he urged.

He stated that KAS as a foundation wishes to see a strengthening of Indo-German and Indo-European relations. “India and Europe would be able to provide a much-needed counterweight to growing Chinese pressure,” was his considered opinion.

He concluded that the core values of KAS foundation are shared between Germany, the European Union and India. He stressed the need to promote and foster understanding between these countries and remarked, “We can all agree that a deepened understanding, even leading to some kind of formalized cooperation, is in all our interest if we want to face a resurgent, aggressive-if not assertive- and strong China.”

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## Opening Remarks by the Moderator

**Air Marshal M Matheswaran (Retd), AVSM VM Ph.D, Chairman & President, The Peninsula Foundation, Chennai**



**Air Marshal M Matheswaran (Retd)**

introduced the panellists and moderated the Panel discussion. He pointed out that while on the one hand, the Indian Prime Minister and Chinese President have met and discussed on collaboration and issues like BRICS and

Climate Change, on the other hand, Chinese intrusion has been taking place. This happened in 2013, and after PM Modi took over, in 2016 and 2017 when Dokhlam standoff happened and now the major issue in Galwan has rocked the Indo-China relationship boat.

He stated that in 1954, India signed an agreement with China accepting Chinese sovereignty over Tibet, without getting anything in return. Later Vajpayee got Sikkhim recognised by China, which was some saving grace, he noted. “In 1993 onwards when the treaty of peace and tranquillity was signed, Chinese interpretation of LAC is completely different and at odd with our ways of interpretation. They keep moving forward, slicing. This is an attempt to keep India bottled up in its South Asian domain so that it does not create any nuisance for China’s global ambition. China’s primary strategic sector is towards the pacific and India is only of secondary importance,” he said, sketching the background.

He brought to the viewers’ attention about the fact that Chinese aggression has been going on steadily from 2010 onwards. China and India are emerging powers. However, he said, in 1980 both India and China were at the same level of growth but China’s GDP is 6 times that of India today and military modernisation has happened to a tremendous extent in China. He argued that India’s China strategy and policy need recalibration and it also depends on how China views global issues. He observed that PLA- the Chinese military has resorted to provocative action in the Galwan Valley, the Hot Springs and the Pangong Lake; all across the border, there in an increase in tempo and fear of confrontation. He felt that PLA was not acting on its own but that it gets its directions from the government. He elicited from the panellists their views on the below critical issues:

- ♣ What is the real issue on the LAC? How do we look at it in view of the 1993 agreement?
- ♣ What is the motive behind the recent escalation by China?
- ♣ How should India deal with China after the Galwan Clash?
- ♣ Has there been an intelligence failure on India's part?
- ♣ Has China been emboldened by its economic & military might?
- ♣ Between the US-China power play, has India become the fall guy?
- ♣ What prevents India from coming out with white papers on the subject?
- ♣ Why should India not insist on an agreed LAC and exchange maps?
- ♣ How can India enhance its naval and air power to combat China?
- ♣ Why can't India look at Defence economy as a vital segment?
- ♣ How can India strengthen the manning of Indo-China border?
- ♣ What impact will the Galwan clash have on global governance?

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## Extract of the Panel Discussion

### **Admiral Arun Prakash (Retd), PVSM AVSM VrC VSM, Former Chief of Naval Staff, Indian Navy**



**Admiral Arun Prakash (Retd)** insisted that India should have a clear China strategy. “If we don't know where we are going, then we don't know how to get there. That's the importance of having a strategy. But for 73 years, we've avoided making a strategy. Every time a crisis arises, we react with

reactions which are incoherent and knee-jerk,” he said.

#### **A Strategy in Black & White**

He strongly advised that the priority is to write a strategy, and describe our national aims and objectives and identify our adversaries and how to deal with them. This should be planned not for five years or till the next election but for the next 30 to 40 years, he pleaded and stated that China is looking at 2049. “They've been looking at it for a long time- where they want to go and what forces they want to have.”

#### **Ministry for Defence Production:**

He stated that as far as military or industrial complex is concerned, we have one of the world's largest military industrial complexes which consist of DRGO, Defence PSUs and Ordnance factories but unfortunately, what we produce is zilch. Saying that we import bullet proof jackets and many military equipments and accessories, he put out his case for having an exclusive ministry devoted to defence production with a Minister for Defence production who should report directly to the Prime Minister.

#### **Mustering Naval Power:**

Admiral Arun said that slogans are cheap and easy to put out but implementing it is difficult. He explained that in spite of talks about self-sufficiency, self-dependence, etc, nothing much has happened on the ground.

Drawing comparison with China, he elaborated, “China and India bought second hand aircraft carriers from Russia. China took it home, fixed it herself and put it out to sea in three to five years. We didn't have the capability. We sent it to Russia. The Russians skinned us economically and gave it back to us. Our third carrier INS Vikrant is languishing in Cochin. China has designed and produced a brand new carrier in three to four years.”

He stated that 25 years ago, China decided to become a maritime power and within a period of about 15 years, China has actually become the world's strongest maritime power in every sense of the word. “It isn't just having a strong Navy. China has the second largest Navy in the world and the largest shipbuilding industry. They're churning out warships by the day. They are the largest Merchant Navy in the world - five thousand Chinese flagships sail over the world. Their fishing is so huge and the largest in the world. They look at the sea as a source of protein, fish, for Coast Guard, Navy, shipbuilding and shipping,” he said.

He singled out the Indian government's Sagar Mala project as a good initiative but noted that not much progress has happened. He advised that strengthening maritime power not only augments our security but also provides huge employment opportunities. “We need to look at implementation. Our bureaucrats may not always be the best people to implement things. We may have to rope in professionals,” he advised.

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**Ambassador G Parthasarathy (Retd), IFS, Chancellor, Central University, Jammu & Former Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan**



**Ambassador G Parthasarathy (Retd)**

felt that India made a fatal mistake of saying to Chinese that we are fellow Asians and great friends. The difference is, he said, that we never want to conquer while China extols to conquer. He acknowledged that thanks to Xi Jinping's brilliant

leadership, China has risen economically and militarily and that it is remarkable in the annals of world history.

“Strategic containment of India is integral to China’s political thinking,” he remarked and felt that India can hold China and no further territorial gains should be allowed.

“We have lost the plot after liberalisation and started importing heavily from China and given them huge space even in vital sectors like Telecom,” he regretted. He suggested that we should build our Comprehensive National Power, strengthen maritime security, pursue diplomacy, leverage on Quad group and exert pressure on China, mobilising all anti-Chinese forces on a single platform. He underlined the importance of India’s strategic partnership with Germany and other European nations like France.

**India’s Strength:**

He highlighted that India’s strength lies in its unity in diversity. “We have 17 national languages, every religion in the world and different cultures, but we live together as one. That is our strength. We have to harness that strength and go about these things realistically,” he said.

He suggested that we should stand firm on Galwan. Without being jingoistic, we should be far more realistic and be ready to talk with them. He said India should ask China to define the LAC and expose their ambiguous stand on it.

He also added that maritime power is one of our strengths. According to him, if India's capital were in the south, its maritime power could have been better appreciated and utilised, as it was during the ancient kingdoms of Chera, Chola and Pandians. "Together with the Indonesians, the Vietnamese and the QUAD, we certainly have the power to mobilize and at least tell the Chinese to behave," was his belief.

### **Rules Vs Unruly China**

He highlighted that China goes into every maritime dispute with their defined boundaries and laws. They care two hoots for the international tribunal rulings against them. China, he said, has shaken the world and even the otherwise calm Europeans. "So let's build on that; let us not rush. Rome is not built in a day. Negotiate with them and keep tensions manageable and keep our lines of communication open," Mr Parathasarathy counselled.

### **The Decline of the US Power**

He ascribed as one of the reasons for the present crisis, the US becoming dysfunctional. "You have all sorts of things thrown in and the Chinese believe they can fill the vacuum," he felt. He hoped that there might be a more rational way of functioning in the United States after the November elections.

### **Team Up and Tackle**

He listed as India's strength its good relationship with America and Russia; Israel and the Arab nations; Europe and many other nations. He recommended that India should team up with all the adversaries of China. "Build up with Vietnam, Koreans and Japanese. The only way you can contain them is to deny them their oil," he said.

### **Strengthen Defence:**

He made a strong pitch to concentrate and strengthen our defence system and use maritime power effectively backed by the air force. He lamented that our Air Force procurement takes a long time as we take too much time to even select an aircraft, so much so that it becomes outdated by the time we get it.

**Restructuring Bureaucracy:**

On the oft-repeated suggestion to restructure Indian Bureaucracy, he said, that we have highly capable hands in our Civil Services and other services as well. “The achievements of our bureaucrats deserve appreciation,” he said. As our bureaucrats function under politicians, clear directions are important, he felt. He pointed out that the steel frame of bureaucracy played a key role in integrating India under Sardar Patel’s command. However, he was not averse to revamping bureaucracy as well as modernising the military, in the light of the present crisis and the experience gained.

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## **Lt Gen Kamal Davar (Retd), PVSM AVSM, Former DG, Defence Intelligence Agency**



### **Lt Gen Kamal Davar (Retd)**

traced the history of Indo-China border problem. He pointed out that India shares 3488 km border with China which is divided into three sectors: The western sector housing Ladakh and Siachen, the middle sector which has

Uttarakhand and Himachal, where there is no problem and the Eastern sector which is a perennial problem area. China, he said, calls our Arunachal Pradesh as Southern Tibet. They have got claims all over, except in the middle sector.

### **Nehru's Hopes Belied:**

Mr Kamal Davar said that the then PM Pandit Nehru, a pacifist and a dreamer wanted India and China to grow up together but the Chinese had their strategies very clear. "They started building a road in the Siachen area in 1957 and it is a great pity that India did not even know about this construction till very late. After that, they had a claim line in 1959, 1960 and we had the 1962 war," he pointed out.

He stated that LAC is a term coined by former Chinese premier Zhou-Enlai and that Pandit Nehru never recognised this. But on 20<sup>th</sup> Nov 1962, at the end of the Indo-China war, China had annexed in the western sector whatever they wanted to, he said. He warned that China is a rising, revisionist, expansionist power with super power ambition.

"They say that they are civilisation themselves. They are afflicted with the middle kingdom syndrome where they think they are the centre of the earth and the rest of the world are barbarians. It is amazing, since the world today is affected with a Chinese generated pandemic and in this opportune moment, they found time to needle India. They have a grand strategy," he expressed.

### **Be Wary of China:**

He lamented that India has always been naïve with China. India has no territorial ambitions, but if India has to rise as an economic power, it should have adequate military preparedness, he said. “Despite 1962, we have only paid lip service to our overall military preparedness. That is why our adversaries think Indians are jolly good fellows. Forget the sweet talks of the Chinese; otherwise, you will be betrayed and backstabbed by the wily, crafty China,” he warned.

### **Reason for China’s Provocation:**

Lt Gen Kamal Davar said that China intruded on 5<sup>th</sup> of May 2020 in four distinct places in Ladakh and added that they had previously never come into the Galwan valley at all. He reasoned out that India made a fine strategic road: the Darbuk-Shyok-Daulat Beg Oldie (DSDBO) road in Ladakh and China now wants to capture the heights and dominate. He also observed that they have amassed their troops in Depsang because India has got a strategic air-strip at 16000 feet.

He indicated the likelihood of an intelligence failure. He remarked that the Indo-China border is now manned by ITBP and Special Frontier Force; instead, he advised a singular command to be effective. “We should follow ‘One Border; One Force’ policy” he insisted. “Otherwise, you’ll have dual command and dual intelligence gathering which are always bad as we have seen in Kargil and I hope this does not become another Kargil,” he cautioned.

### **Salami Slicing:**

He said that whenever Special Representatives of India and China meet, there are clear protocols about border management. As far as the LAC is concerned, he pointed out that there are varying perceptions and that the Indian side has been asking the Chinese side to exchange maps. “But the Chinese have been very smart and ambiguous because it suits them and their salami slicing tactics,” he said.

### **The Maritime Advantage**

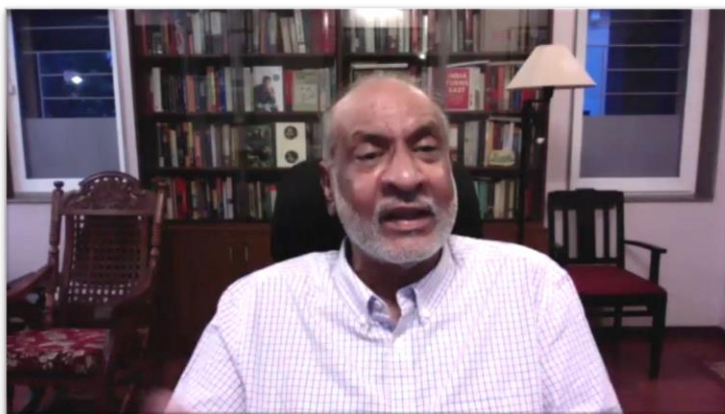
As far as Maritime power is concerned, Lt Gen Davar elaborated that it is not only the Malacca Straits dilemma the Chinese face but also India’s solid and formidable Andaman and Nicobar command. “Our Western Fleet can also show and if the QUAD comes in, we can totally ensure that the Chinese get onto the Straits of Hormuz

dilemma too. So, on both sides, we are well off as far as the Navy is concerned. I am sure the Chinese also know that. That's another thing to our advantage," he said.

Mr Kamal Davar recommended that India's engagement with China should include a combination of military, diplomatic and economic factors.

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## Mr Mohan Guruswamy, Former Advisor to Finance Minister



**Mr Mohan Guruswamy** traced the genesis of the problem to China's superiority complex and their natural dislike for India.

"The whole world made China rich in the last 25 years, doing vast trade with them and shifting many

production facilities to China," he noted. Denouncing the jingoism against boycotting Chinese products, he drove home the ground reality that we now depend heavily on China. He said that this is a wake-up call to bring in land and labour reforms, so we can attract FDI and ramp up production facilities in India. He batted for long term military policies.

### **Developing Military Industrial Complex:**

He pointed out that in the US, the military-industrial complex is the biggest contributor to the GDP and jobs; it's the same in Europe and France. Even Germany which always talks of being peaceful has an active military industrial complex, he said.

He lamented about the sorry state of India's military industrial complex and pressed the need for modernization. "The ordinance factory is in a mess. We have a vehicle factory in Jabalpur. We don't produce vehicles. We have a tank factory in Avadi. It doesn't produce tanks," he observed.

He stressed the need to tie up our investments to economic returns and contribution to GDP. He cited the example of Air India which is now Rs 53,000 crores into the 'Red' and yet, the government is not able to get out of it. "It is time to talk of strengthening the country economically by harnessing our resources and using it well," he said.

### **Think Long Term:**

On the outcry to boycott Chinese products, he commented that if not Chinese, then we will buy from Taiwan, Malaysia, Japan or Korea at a higher price. "So why don't we get the cheapest?" he asked and suggested to think with a long term perspective. "We are moving from one situation to another situation. There is no long term policy.

Everything is in the short term. Even the Service Chiefs, if I may say so, come for short tenures and they go away,” was his terse observation.

He warned that if we tide over Galwan and Pangong Tso situation, it will come back after five years and it will be a regular feature till 2050 till we get a chance to get our GDP off the ground and be a reasonably large economic power in the world.

**Need for Comprehensive Policy:**

Mr Mohan Guruswamy brought out the fact that India has a trade deficit of 120 billion dollars every year because we feel that globalization is inevitable. He cited the examples of Germany and the rest of Europe that do not have such a big trade deficit and strongly recommended that India must have a Comprehensive National Power policy that will state the expected trade deficit, GDP, Public Health expenditure and military expenditure, define them in detail and work to a plan. He regretted that the think tanks have been neutralised while there has been a profusion of lobbies. He cautioned that the situation is perilous and we need to take stock of it very seriously.

**Role of BRICS:**

He pointed out that when BRICS was formed, it was planned that BRICS countries will exchange with each other in bilateral currencies. “We will pay the Chinese in rupee and they will pay us in Yuan. Then the balance of trade problem will not be there. But we don't really do it.” He mentioned that China does this in its trade with Russia, Brazil and South Africa. Therefore, we need to look at BRICS again, he said.

He rued that India is part of many international associations like the Security Council, Nuclear Suppliers Group, Chemical Warfare Group, etc but it is not able to derive any mileage out of it.

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### Question by Mr Peter Rimmele, KAS

**Q:** *We had a great session today. Ambassador Parthasarathy mentioned that India has very good relations with many countries and it should have good relations with its neighbours. I could not agree more on that. But if we look around, India has issues with China and Pakistan; with other neighbours too, it is not without problems. So what should India do in this situation to achieve this desirable goal?*

**A (G Parthasarathy):** Bilaterally, we have to identify people with whom we have common interest. The Europeans are ideal partners -particularly the Germans and the French; the British have their own way of looking at this. We need to get together the Americans, Europeans, Japanese, Indonesians and Vietnamese and all those who suffer from Chinese aggression and work with a common cause.

Most importantly, we have to revive the economy. Europe has to stop living under the shadow of the United States because in an alliance, all partners must be equals without anybody dominating it. Perhaps, after the November US interregnum, we can get people together to do that. So a larger global relationship of moderate democracies which work together, matters.

With regard to our immediate neighbours, in the last 15 years, the Chinese have worked very hard to see that the leadership of our neighbouring countries is anti-Indian. They failed in Maldives and Sri Lanka. Now they are trying in Bangladesh. They may have a temporary success in Nepal but apart from Pakistan, they have no one to count amongst our neighbours. Sometimes we handle neighbours less sensitively than we should and make mistakes but we can make it up because of our interdependence.

People in Sri Lanka or Myanmar want to come to India for salvation because Lord Buddha was born here. We need to exploit these things and build proper relationship with all the other neighbours.

We should go a step further like Sri Lanka. They worked projects together with Japan. We should expand our relationship economically and extend it to Japan and the European Union because we share common interests. We can work much closer in the Indian Ocean.

**Mr Pankaj Madan, KAS**



**Q:** That was a wonderful panel discussion. China has opened too many fronts. It can get into trouble if all those fronts get together to act against China. So what is the psyche, the thinking process? Does China have internal problems? Is it the age old trick of diverting the attention of its own population towards external factors or is it because of leaders who think it is loss of face for them if they back down? It was already bad enough in Dokhlam. Maybe, this is some sort of revenge.

**A (Air Marshal Matheswaran):** Possibly Yes.

**Other Questions:**

**Q: *Does China worry about our sensitivities when it arms Pakistan to the teeth and carries out exercises in the North Arabian Sea. Is the time right to corner China by being proactive and not going back to the old ways?***

**A (Admiral Arun Prakash):** Well. Far from being worried about our sensitivities, China has, in a very deliberate fashion, selected Pakistan as a counterpoint to India. Way back in 1963, China got into an alliance with Pakistan with the sole aim of keeping India in check. Since then, they have helped Pakistan militarily, economically and on the nuclear front. They provided them with fissionable material and weapon designs. So it's a deliberate grand strategy on the part of China to prop up Pakistan as a counterpoise to India and to keep India distracted and occupied with other things, rather than succeed admirably. The exercises in the North Arabian Sea are just part of that grand old plan of China.

**A (G Parthasarathy):** Let me add to what the Admiral said. For China, Pakistan is a low cost investment for containment of India. It's as simple as that. Nowhere in the history, has one country supplied another country design of

nuclear weapons and multi range missiles the way China has done to Pakistan. That's unprecedented and all those who have signed the non-proliferation treaty whether in Europe or America looked the other way when China did this and they continue to do so.

The China-Pakistan relationship is a marriage of convenience. It is now entering into the maritime field and China is providing more frigates, submarines and other naval equipment to Pakistan to contain us in the Arabian Sea region.

Our advantage is that of an overly aggressive China that makes a lot of enemies and a dysfunctional Pakistan that can't even grow economically. We have learned to deal with it and we need to manage it coolly and in a calculated way. There's no point in fretting and fuming about all this and it is a reality we have to live with.

***Q: Our face off comes at the height of US - China power contest. We were going close to the US and tried to have an advanced relationship with China. To what extent is the stand off being viewed as a part of this new Cold War and what future does it hold to our own relations with the US, whose actions have been very destabilizing?***

**A (G Parthasarathy):** I agree that the present US administration has been very destabilizing. Luckily, we have maintained our bilateral relationship with them. Unfortunately, America has ruined its power by fighting with its allies in Europe, poor management during the pandemic and so on.

A true superpower should behave like it normally does. We do not offend any major powers or pick fights. **I call it strategic autonomy.** We are the only country with equally good relations with America and Russia; with Israel and all the rich Arab countries.

We should run our house properly and be realistic about our defence planning. Our defence expenditure has fallen drastically to 1.28% of GDP. Much of it goes towards pensions. This was the level we came down to, when the Chinese hit us in 1962. Then we picked up. We can't get defence cheap.

Where is our modernization? Where is our ability to build a defence industry? I agree we are going through difficult economic times in a pandemic, but somewhere down the line, we'll have to think of this.

**Q: *Do you see China forcing trilateral dialogue on Kashmir involving Pakistan as an alternative to the war?***

**A (G Parthasarathy):** Two is company; three is a crowd. We'll talk to Pakistan bilaterally. Right now, Imran Khan is having enough problems after declaring Osama Bin Laden a national hero; they're having problems in Afghanistan.

We did a damn good thing by carrying out reforms in Kashmir. Ladakhis hate the thought of being together with the Kashmiris. They are motivated in their orientation. The Jammus are happy. So let us build on this and keep up good governance in Kashmir.

**Q: *Is it often said that 1962 would not have happened if India had brought in air force. What is the role of IAF in the present circumstances?***

**A (Air Marshal Matheswaran):** It's a mystery as to why we never used the air power in which we were far better than the Chinese. The reason given is that it was based on the advice given by US Ambassador to India John Galbraith not to escalate and that the Chinese might start bombing our cities if we resort to air strikes.

When we became independent, PM Nehru made a statement to Zhou Enlai that we are peaceful neighbours and friends, from civilized States and that our borders would be manned only by police. We woke up only in the middle of 1954- 55.

**A (Admiral Arun Prakash):** Well, the Air Force leadership should have actually proposed to the government. It was perhaps a little bit of hesitation on the part of our leadership at that point of time. We could have used air power to a decisive effect but there's no point harking back to the past. We should use it in the future.

**Q: *Is there a possibility of land warfare extending into the seas and how prepared are we?***

**A (Admiral Arun Prakash):** It's most unlikely. India's maritime power should only be used as a pressure point or bargaining chip when we enter into negotiations with the Chinese. I don't think there is any prospect of this Ladakh affair developing into a naval battle. That can be discounted; but our naval power will be a deterrent to China.

**Q: *If the present tension escalates, what will be your advice for the nation's economic program?***

**A (Mohan Guruswamy):** I hope it doesn't progress any further. We have to get our economy back on track. The virus is going to contract our economy by 4.5% as per IMF but 10% according to my estimate.

We need to pump prime the economy with lots of money, which the present government has not been able to think about as yet and we're losing weeks without doing anything. We need at least a 10 billion dollar plan to revive the economy and without that plan, we won't go anywhere.

If the crisis escalates, 200 million people in the unorganized sector will truly go hungry. We can't have a national defence policy without providing food and shelter for them.

A good thing for the Prime Minister is that the country gets united in times like these. He should energise the country economically. The military situation will pass if we show enough teeth at this moment.

**Q: *Do you think a limited war is possible?***

**A (Lt Gen Kamal Dawar):** You are trying to take me into the realm of conjecture. Well, at the moment, things are very serious. There are troops on both sides of the LAC. They've also brought in their armour- their artillery. We

have also done that. Some air bases and naval units have been alerted as the media reports have pointed out.

We have to stand our ground and if the negotiations fail, India will also have to take certain strong measures like mirroring. We must negotiate from a position of strength. How do you do it on the ground if you're not a few kilometers inside, holding on to certain features? The Chinese are not great friends. At the moment, you could have a localised fire-fight like the one in Kargil. I hope it does not happen or escalate. But we have to be ready militarily.

**Q: *The bullying nature of China is the result of their smart strategies and policies with many countries around the world. They are targeting global markets. Can we as a nation closely connected with China, culturally make people-to-people contact or make very radical decisions like boycotting their goods or fight them militarily? What is the most viable strategy?***

**A (Lt Gen Kamal Dawar):** We need a coherent, well-conceived China strategy to deal with them in the short-term and long-term. At the moment, we must ensure that we do not lose any territory; some counter measures will have to be taken. Otherwise, the Chinese will be convinced that India is a pushover. Our action should be a combination of military, diplomatic and economic factors.

The Chinese are good in high technology – laptops, mobile phones, smart phones and sensitive communication equipments like the ones it provided to BSNL. They are good in embedded Technologies, hacking and cyber warfare skills. There are many American companies in India with Chinese investments. So we have to be very careful.

**Q: *There are many slogans that we need to boycott Chinese goods. With the kind of animosity that the Chinese has created across the world, there are talks that a lot of industries might move out of China. How realistic is this?***

***One of the major observations pointed out by a couple of scholars is that India is not part of any of the trading groups like RCEP from which we walked out, ASEAN or TPP? Can India actually gain anything from the current situation?***

**A (Mohan Guruswamy):** We are barking up the wrong tree. We need to reform Indian economy and our business practices. In China, 80% of their exports come from Chinese companies and not MNCs who mainly set up shops to sell their products. We need to encourage Indian companies and provide them the right platform. We have to be labour intensive and compete with China on labour. Our labour relation laws need to be amended.

Our Pay Commission comes out with 25% increments every four years and that cost the government 12% of the GDP. As a result, many Indian companies have moved to China. We had the biggest clock factory in Rajkot and now it has shifted base to China. 'Ajanta Clocks' now makes clocks in China. All our fans come from China. Usha Fans, a leading brand from France, gets 60% of its parts from China.

We talk of protecting the land. Look at what Vietnam did after giving in 5 sq-km of their land and later trapping their oppressor. It is not the land but the people who matter and they are the national honour. We should use this crisis as an opportunity to reform the way we do business here.

**Q: *We call the bureaucracy as the steel frame of the country. Is it not a very important requirement that India needs to relook at and restructure its bureaucratic system?***

**A (G Parthasarathy):** In Bureacracy, we are trained hard. The Bureaucracy functions under political control. It needs to be given a clear direction. If politicians become too dependent on bureaucracy, then it leads to problems. Sardar Patel did a great thing by using the steel frame of the bureaucracy to integrate India.

We have some of the brightest people in civil services. Take for instance, Income Tax. The officials may be criticised in India but the way they have rationalised the system, implemented IT and their contributions in international forums are all praiseworthy. Don't forget we are a very complex country. Modernizing both the bureaucracy and military are surely matters for further discussion. This experience leads to that.

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## Vote of Thanks

**Group Captain R Vijayakumar (Retd), VSM, Executive Director, MMA**



**Group Captain R Vijayakumar (Retd)** thanked the panellists for their active participation and sharing their enlightened views on the Galwan clash and the subsequent crisis situation. He thanked the moderator **Air Marshal M Matheswaran (Retd)** for anchoring the panel discussion and eliciting the considered views of the panellists.

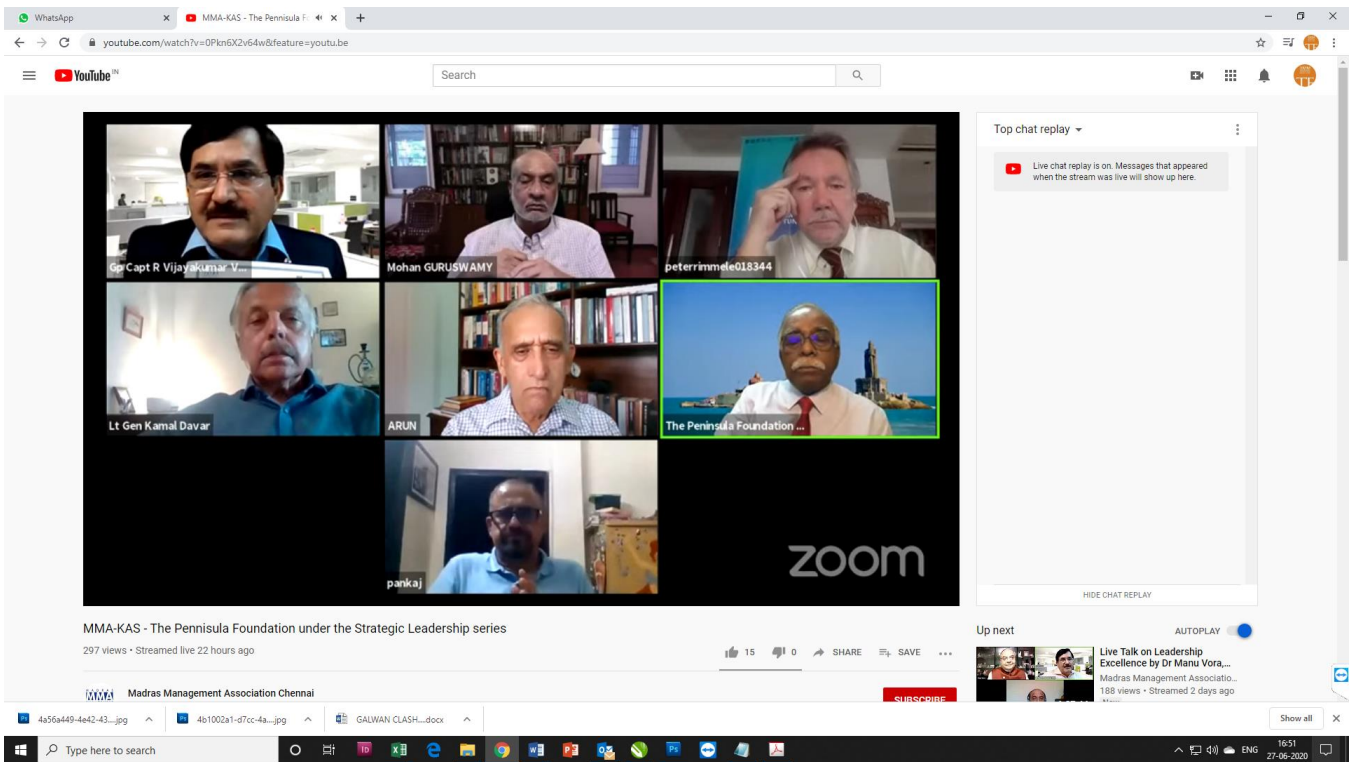
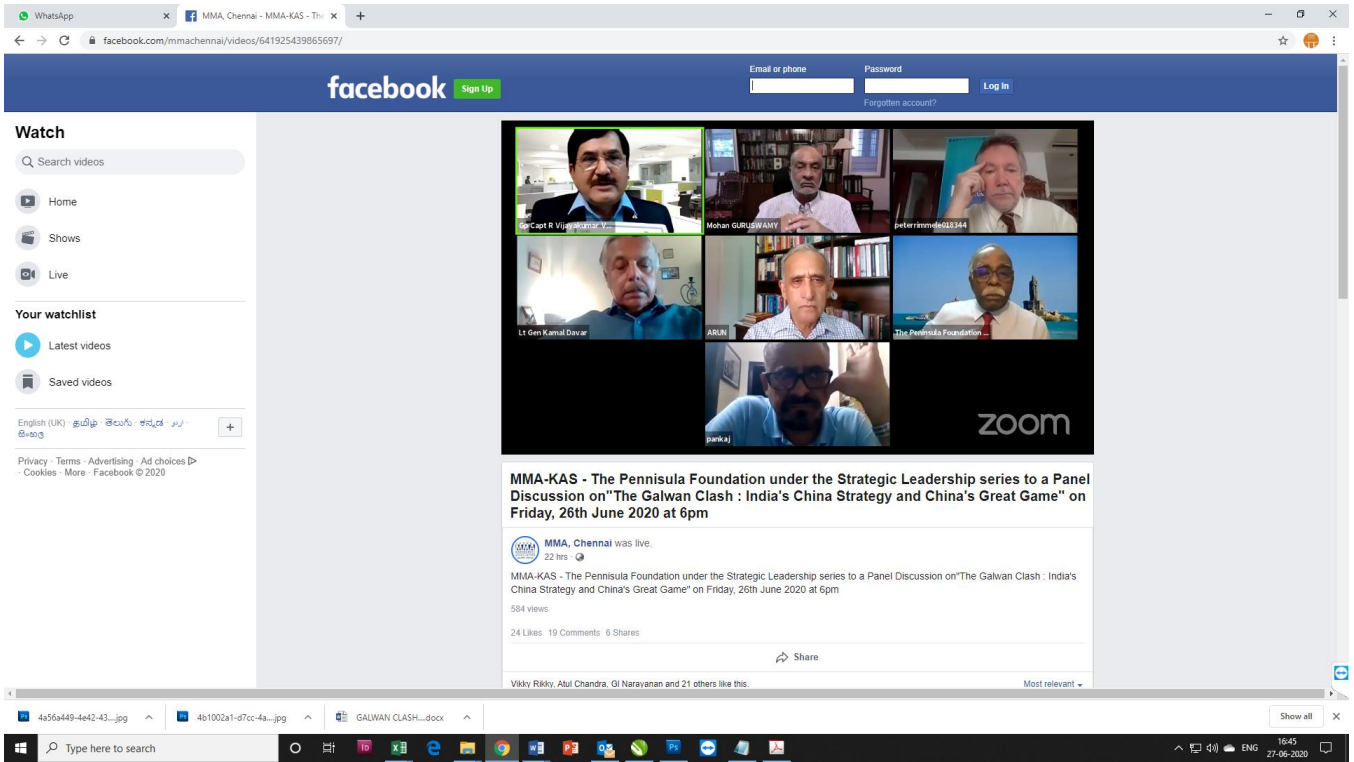
He thanked **Mr Peter Rimmele**, Resident Representative to India of KAS for his introductory remarks and the great support extended to MMA. He thanked **Mr Pankaj Madan** of KAS, members of MMA, The Peninsula Foundation and all the online viewers before signing off.

The event concluded at 8.00 PM.



# Photos

## Photographs taken during the Live Panel Discussion on the theme: "The Galwan Clash: India's China Strategy and China's Great Game"



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Dr. Parveen Roja...	Somi Hazari	Dr. Lavanya MBA P...	S Nagarajan	Skalzang Dolma
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**The Galwan Clash:  
India's China Strategy and China's Great Game**

We are pleased to share that the recording of the event is available for viewing pleasure through the links indicated below:

**Website:**

**[www.liveibc.com/mma/](http://www.liveibc.com/mma/)**

**YouTube:**

**<https://youtu.be/0Pkn6X2v64w>**

**Facebook:**

**<https://www.facebook.com/mmachennai/videos/641925439865697/>**



**The response to the event was excellent and a larger number of viewers logged in live through Zoom, MMA Live webinar, YouTube and Facebook.**

**Total Number of Participants:**

**Zoom: 150**

**YouTube: 297**

**Facebook: 584**

**MMA Webinar: 731**

**Total number of participants at the event - 1762**



### About Madras Management Association (MMA)

**Madras Management Association (MMA)** was established in 1956 with the prime objective of promoting management education, training and development activities in this part of the country. The vision of MMA is “To be the Fountainhead of World class Management Excellence in India”.

Over the past six decades, MMA has striven for development and nurturing management expertise, combining Indian ethos with International Management thoughts and practices. MMA has contributed immensely to the enhancement of management capability in this part of the country, and in particular Tamil Nadu and Puducherry. MMA has over 7000 corporate houses, industries, professionals, academics and executives on its rolls as members. MMA annually organizes about 725 executive development activities, including seminars for top management with a total participation of fifty nine thousand executives and entrepreneurs.

MMA is the largest affiliate association of All India Management Association (AIMA) in the country and has been adjudged as the Best Management Association in India by AIMA for ten times in a row including the “National Excellence Award” for the year 2017-18.

The activities of MMA are planned to achieve managerial excellence in the functioning of industries and professional managers in Tamil Nadu and Puducherry. In this direction, MMA chapters have been established at various towns in Tamil Nadu mainly to cater to the needs of SMEs. Nine such MMA Local Chapters at Ambur, Attur, Erode, Hosur, Namakkal, Salem, Sri City, Trichy and Puducherry are functioning effectively.

Apart from corporate leaders, MMA has, in its Managing Committee, the Vice Chancellors of Madras University & Anna University, the Directors of IIT Madras and IFMR and the Chief Secretary, Government of Tamil Nadu, as members.

### **OUR VISION**

To be the Fountainhead of World Class Management Excellence in India

### **OUR MISSION**

- Synthesise Indian Ethos with international management thought
- Be a reservoir of expertise in management
- Inspire individuals to actualise their potential
- Nurture creativity and originality

## About Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS)

**The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS)** is a German political foundation, with a strong presence throughout Germany and all over the world. Freedom, justice and solidarity are the basic underlying principles of the work of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

With more than 100 offices abroad and projects in over 120 countries, it makes a unique contribution to the promotion of democracy, the rule of law and social market economy. To foster peace and freedom KAS encourages a continuous dialogue at the national and international levels.

Human beings in their distinctive dignity and with their rights and responsibilities are at the heart of its work. KAS is guided by the conviction that human beings are the starting point in the effort to bring about social justice and democratic freedom while promoting sustainable economic activity. By bringing people together who embrace their responsibilities in society, KAS develops active networks in the political and economic spheres as well as in society itself. The guidance it provides on the basis of political know-how and knowledge helps to shape the globalisation process along more socially equitable, ecologically sustainable and economically efficient lines.

KAS cooperates with governmental institutions, political parties and civil society organizations building strong partnerships along the way. In particular, we seek to intensify political cooperation at the national and international levels on the foundations of our objectives and values. Together with our partners we contribute to the creation of an international order that enables every country to develop in freedom and under its own responsibility.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has organised its program priorities in India into the following working areas:

1. Foreign and Security Policy
2. Economic and Energy Policy
3. Rule of Law and local Self-Government
4. Social and Political Training and Development
5. Indo-German Parliamentary Dialogue programmes

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

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## **About Observer Research Foundation (ORF)**

### **The Beginning**

ORF began its journey in 1990 at the juncture of ideation tempered by pragmatism. During the period of India's transition to a new engagement with the international economic order, several challenges emerged, evoking a need for an independent forum that could critically examine the problems facing the country and help develop coherent policy responses. ORF was thus formed, and brought together, for the first time, leading Indian economists and policymakers to present the agenda for India's economic reforms.

### **What We Are Today**

Propelled by the process of reforms initiated in the 1990s, ORF, over the past 30 years of its existence, has effectively narrated and participated in India's story as the country has acquired an unmistakable global footprint. From primarily looking inward and engaging with domestic reforms, to gradually forging global partnerships, ORF today plays a seminal role in building political and policy consensus that enables India to interact with the world.

As new powers re-emerge onto the global stage, existing systems face challenges of agreeing on a new set of rules to control and regulate the new frontiers of space, the oceans, the internet and the human mind. The world continues, also, to navigate persisting concerns related to security and strategy, economy and development, energy and resources. As India begins to play a larger role in the 21st century, ORF continues to push normative boundaries, bring new ideas into the policy discourse and provide a platform to a new generation of thinkers. It is supported in its mission by leading intellectuals, academicians, policymakers, business leaders, institutions and civil society actors.

ORF's aim is to encourage voices from all quarters, geographies and gender, both those that fall in and those that question dominant narratives. It is this plurality of thought and voice — in a country of over a billion individuals — that ORF seeks to carry abroad, while simultaneously bringing contemporary global debates to India.

### **The Mandate**

ORF seeks to lead and aid policy thinking towards building a strong and prosperous India in a fair and equitable world. It sees India as a country poised to play a leading role in the knowledge age — a role in which it shall be increasingly called upon to proactively ideate in order to shape global conversations, even as it sets course along its own trajectory of long-term sustainable growth.

ORF helps discover and inform India's choices. It carries Indian voices and ideas to forums shaping global debates. It provides non-partisan, independent, well-researched analyses and inputs to diverse decision-makers in governments, business communities, and academia and to civil society around the world.

Our mandate is to conduct in-depth research, provide inclusive platforms and invest in tomorrow's thought leaders today.