



Indian Council
of World Affairs



International Virtual Seminar

CELEBRATING



75

YEARS OF
INDIAN
FOREIGN
POLICY

17-18 January 2023

Venue: Virtual

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About ICWA

The Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) was established in 1943 by a group of eminent intellectuals led by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. H.N. Kunzru. Its principal objective was to create an Indian perspective on international relations and act as a repository of knowledge and thinking on foreign policy issues. An Act of Parliament in 2001 declared the ICWA to be an ‘institution of national importance’. The ICWA is headquartered in Sapru House, an iconic heritage building in the heart of New Delhi that was inaugurated by the first Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru in May 1955. The council today conducts policy research through an in-house faculty as well as through external experts. It regularly organizes an array of intellectual activities including conferences, seminars, roundtable discussions, bilateral dialogues, international conferences, lectures and outreach activities in India and abroad and brings out a range of publications. The Council has a well-stocked library, an active website, and publishes the journal ‘India Quarterly’. ICWA has over 50 MoUs with international think tanks and research institutions to promote better understanding in international issues and develop areas of mutual cooperation. The Council also has partnerships with leading research institutions, think tanks and universities in India.

Concept Note

Marking its 75th year of Independence, India, the world's largest democracy, is poised to become a political and economic pole. As a beacon of stability and development, India has held an independent world view and maintained its strategic autonomy in foreign policy making since Independence.

In these 75 years, India has consistently contributed, in no small measure, to shaping the international order. It has been a force for good and a voice of reason. While celebrating 'Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav', this international seminar will reflect on the evolution of Indian foreign policy in the backdrop of the evolving global geo-political and geo-economic environment.

Guided by traditional values and principles, India participates actively in various platforms, be it multilateral or plurilateral structures, and is a voice of the developing and the vulnerable. India continues to shape the global discourse on critical issues like global warming, climate change, sustainable development, global trade, counter-terrorism, pluralistic and inclusive global order that is based on the foundation of normative architecture. In recent years, as a first, India has sought to sponsor global initiatives like the International Solar Alliance, Coalition of Disaster Resilient Infrastructure, Green Grids, etc.

While the present-day world is faced with strife and conflicts, India as a rising power and major economy which remains confident in building dynamic and constructive relations with all nations and global players, alike.

As India celebrates its Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav, this seminar looks back at the development of India's diplomacy and foreign policy

post-Independence, by analyzing the key tenets that have shaped India's foreign policy in the new millennium. The seminar will reflect on how the world perceives India's foreign policy as a leading voice in the affairs of the world. While reflecting on key achievements, core values and interests of India's foreign policy, it will seek to chart the way forward in the service of the security and prosperity of India and the good of the world.

PROGRAMME

Day 1	1145-1930 hrs IST
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Inaugural Session	1145-1200 hrs IST
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Welcome Remarks

Amb. Vijay Thakur Singh

Director General

Indian Council of World Affairs

Session 1	1200-1300 hrs IST
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From Oppression to Freedom: An Independent World View

This session will analyze how Indian foreign policy emerged from the shackles of colonialism and laid the foundation of an independent world view of a young and developing nation. It will analyze the shaping of foreign policy of a civilizational State re-emerging on the world stage. It will dwell on the values and principles on which India's foreign policy rests. How it has responded to the changing global environment - from playing the leadership role for the third world to the rise of an aspirational India of the post-Cold War period?

Chair

Amb. Nalin Surie

*Former High Commissioner to UK and former
Ambassador to China and Poland*

Speakers

Mr. Arvind Gupta

Director

Vivekananda International Foundation, New Delhi

Prof. Swaran Singh

*Centre for International Politics, Organization and
Disarmament, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal
Nehru University*

Dr. Sanjaya Baru

*Member, Governing Body,
Indian Council of World Affairs*

Amb. Vishnu Prakash

Former Ambassador to Canada and South Korea

Setting the Norms: The Indian Way

This session will discuss India's role in various regional, multilateral and international bodies, especially UNSC, G7, G20, BRICS, SCO, QUAD, I2U2. It will also discuss India's role in being part of issues like global warming, climate change, sustainable development, global trade, counter-terrorism, pluralistic and inclusive global order that is based on the foundation of an internationally agreed normative architecture. This is the session that will assess India on the global high table.

Chair

Prof. S D Muni

Former, Member Executive Council, IDSA. Professor Emeritus JNU

Speakers

Amb. Anil Trigunayat

Former Ambassador of India to Libya and Jordan

Amb. Manjeev Singh Puri

Former Ambassador to Nepal and Brussels

Amb. Ajay Bisaria

Former Ambassador to Canada and High Commissioner to Pakistan

Lunch Break

1350-1500 hrs IST

New India: Foreign Policy in the Present Decade

This session will bring forth India's achievement as a sustainable developmental partner that is shaping a new pathway of cooperation, partnership that prioritizes the requirements of partner countries based on capacity building. While expanding India's footprint, this engagement has been a mutually beneficial economic and commercial partnership that takes into account environmental concerns. This is a reflection of a country that is a leader of the Global South and yet, has a pluralistic and a democratic system that intersects so much with the West. India has a polity with a flavor that is uniquely its own and which is shaping its expanding global engagements, its engagements in new constructs and its global initiatives.

Chair

Amb. Asoke Kumar Mukerji

Former Indian Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Speakers

Amb. Amar Sinha

Former Ambassador of India to Afghanistan

Mr. Rudra Chaudhuri

Director

Carnegie India

Amb. Navdeep Suri

Former High Commissioner to Australia and Ambassador to Egypt and UAE

Indian Foreign Policy – Perspectives from Various Geographies

India's external outlook is not tainted by compartmentalizing individual countries into identifiable silos. Resultantly, India is one of the few global players that has maintained and nurtured ties in all continents. Appreciating the uniqueness of the various regions of the world, India has taken a conscious effort to tailor its external engagement that takes into account the salient features of individual geographic regions. Owing to this approach, the perception about India in the various regions of the world is not only diverse but also unique.

Chair

Dr. C. Raja Mohan

Senior Fellow

Asia Society Policy Institute,

New Delhi

Speakers

Dr. Ji Yeon-jung

Research Professor

Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul

Prof. Nicolas Blarel

Associate Professor of International Relations at the

Institute of Political Science, Leiden University,

The Netherlands

Prof. Amrita Narlikar

President

German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA),

Germany

Mr. Michael Kugelman

Wilson Center

Washington

Day 2	1200-1350 hrs IST
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Session 5	1200-1250 hrs IST
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India and the Global Order: Setting the Narrative

This session will discuss on how India is charting the global strategic narrative, by reflecting on the changing nature of India's foreign policy of reacting to global initiatives to setting the narrative. This shift is one of strategic approach, wherein India both as a maritime and continental power is shaping its role as a global player beyond its existing region. India's geostrategic and geo-economic position is shaping the current global strategic thought.

Chair

Amb. Pankaj Saran

Former Deputy National Security Advisor of India

Former Ambassador to Russia and former High

Commissioner to Bangladesh

Speakers

Lt. General Syed Ata Hasnain

Chancellor

Central University of Kashmir

Lt. Gen. Vinod G. Khandare (Retd.)

Adviser

Ministry of Defence, GoI

Dr. Zorawar Daulet Singh

Adjunct Fellow

Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi

Indian Foreign Policy - The Next Seven Decades

This session will assess the various foreign policy initiatives that India has adapted that narrate and strengthen its strategic autonomy as well as usher in new standards and norms in bilateral and multilateral relations along the lines of the International Solar Alliance, Coalition of Disaster Resilient Infrastructure, Green Grids, etc. It will assess how India's foreign policy is on its course to become an instrument for domestic development, security and prosperity and for fulfilling domestic aspirations. It will assess how the current geopolitical tumult can provide India the space to strengthen its position on the world stage. This session will also try to assess, how Indian foreign policy continues to contribute to shaping the new world order, in a post Covid world, facing traditional and non-traditional security challenges, working for food, water and climate security, partnering development partnerships internally and externally, and charting the future path ahead.

Chair

Amb. D B Venkatesh Varma

Former Ambassador to Spain and the Russian Federation

Speakers

Prof. Ajay Darshan Behera

Academy of International Studies

Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi

Prof. Chintamani Mahapatra

*Founder and Honorary Chairman of Kalinga Institute of
Indo-Pacific Studies*

Dr. Zorawar Daulet Singh

Adjunct Fellow

Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi

Vote of Thanks

Dr. Nivedita Ray

Director Research

Indian Council of World Affairs

BIO-PROFILES OF CHAIRS AND SPEAKERS

INAUGURAL SESSION



Amb. Vijay Thakur Singh

Director General, ICWA

Ambassador Vijay Thakur Singh holds a Master's degree in Economics from Himachal Pradesh University. She joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1985.

Her first posting was in the Embassy of India in Madrid, Spain, where she later went as Deputy Chief of Mission in 2006. She worked in the Ministry of External Affairs from 1989 to 1999, handling India's relations with Afghanistan and Pakistan. She was posted as Counsellor in the Embassy of India in Kabul from 2003 to 2005.

She has had multilateral experience, particularly in economic and environmental issues. She was Counsellor in the Permanent Mission of India to the United Nations in New York from 2000 to 2003.

She has served as Joint Secretary to the President of India from August 2007 to August 2012 and as Joint Secretary at the National Security Council Secretariat (NSCS) from 2012 to 2013.

She has been High Commissioner of India to Singapore from 2013 to 2016 and Ambassador of India to Ireland from 2016 to 2018.

For two years from 2018, she was Secretary (East) in the Ministry of External Affairs and retired in September 2020.

SESSION I
FROM OPPRESSION TO FREEDOM
AN INDEPENDENT WORLD VIEW



Amb. Nalin Surie

Former High Commissioner to UK & former Ambassador to China and Poland

Ambassador Nalin Surie has served over a long and distinguished career in the Indian Foreign Service from 1973-2011, holding a number of strategic, policy and advisory roles, including as the High Commissioner to the United Kingdom and Ambassador to China and Poland. More recently, he has also led the Indian Council of World Affairs, as the Director General from 2015-2018, bringing together his extensive experience in economic, geo-political and defence/security issues with a research-led focus.

Having trained as an economist and completed his Masters from the Delhi School of Economics in 1972, Nalin Surie joined the Indian Foreign Service in July 1973.

He subsequently served in Indian missions in Hong Kong: China watching, political & cultural affairs; Brussels: trade policy with the then EEC; Dar-es-Salaam: developmental and regional issues; Thimphu: bilateral & strategic partnership implementation; New York: as Deputy Permanent Representative at India's mission to the UN, before his Ambassadorships in Poland and China. His final international assignment was as High Commissioner to the United Kingdom.

At headquarters, in the Ministry of External Affairs, his assignments have included Head of Eastern Europe division at the end of the Cold War and during the breakup of the Soviet Union, Head of East Asia

division during the emergence of China on the global stage and Secretary (West) where he led intensive efforts to develop the multidimensional partnerships with EU, Canada, Africa and Latin America.

Ambassador Nalin Surie has extensive cross-sectoral experience on issues ranging across the substance of India's foreign and security policies. During his career he also focused on India's external economic relations and the international economy.

Since October 2018 he is Distinguished Fellow at the Delhi Policy Group (DPG), New Delhi.



Dr. Arvind Gupta

Director, Vivekananda International Foundation,
New Delhi

Dr. Arvind Gupta is the Director of the Vivekananda Foundation, New Delhi. He was the Deputy National Security Adviser and Secretary, National Security Council, Government of India during 2014-17. Earlier, he was Director-General of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, Ministry of Defence, New Delhi during 2012-2014 and a former career diplomat, he has served in the Ministry of External Affairs and Indian missions abroad.

He speaks regularly at the various Indian universities, military, para-military, police, and diplomatic academies on foreign policy and national security issues. He has guided research students at premier educational institutions. He is a member of the Board of Studies of the School of International Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University and has honorary academic positions at Punjab University & Andhra University.

Author of five books, his last book Opportunity for India in a Changing World was published by KW publishers Pvt Ltd in 2021. His book How India Manages Its National Security was published by Penguin in 2018. In 2020, Sage India published a coedited (with Anil Wadhwa) volume titled India's Foreign Policy: Surviving in a Turbulent World. He also co-edited with Arpita Mitra, a volume titled Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam: The Relevance of India's Ancient Thinking to Contemporary Strategic Reality, (Aryan book International, New Delhi).



Prof. Swaran Singh

Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University

Dr. Swaran Singh is Professor for Diplomacy and Disarmament at Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament (CIPOD), School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (New Delhi). He is President of Association of ASIA Scholars, General Secretary of Indian Association of Asian & Pacific Studies, Guest Professor at Research Institute of Indian Ocean Economies, Yunnan University of Finance and Economics (China) and Advisory Board Member of Atlanta-based Communities Without Borders Inc. (United States). Prof Singh has 25 years of experience in research and teaching and he lectures at major institutions like National Defence College, Defence Services Staff College, and all other major military institutions as also Foreign Service Institute, Indian Institute for Public Administration etc. also contributes to radio and television discussions. JNU has already awarded 18 PhDs and 37 MPhils under his supervision.

Prof. Singh is formerly Visiting Professor at Australian National University (Canberra), Science Po (Bordeaux, France) University of Peace (Costa Rica), Peking, Fudan and Xiamen Universities, and Shanghai Institute of International Studies and Center for Asian Studies (Hong Kong University) in China, Asian Center (University of the Philippines), and Chuo, Hiroshima and Kyoto Universities (in Japan), as also Guest Faculty at Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (Sweden). He was Academic Consultant (2003-2007) at Center de Sciences Humaines (New Delhi), Research Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis (New Delhi).

Prof Singh is on the Editorial Board of Asian Policy & Politics (Washington DC), Journal of the Indian Ocean Region (Hyderabad), Journal of Indian Ocean Studies (Delhi), and Millennial Asia (Delhi), Suraksha Chintan (Meerut) as also Referee on various academic journals. He also contributes to print and visual media at home and abroad. He was also Member of South Asia Review Committee (2007-2009) of Asian Scholarship Foundation (Bangkok) He has published in Journal of International Affairs (Columbia University), Security Challenges (Australian National University), Journal of Indian Ocean Region (Perth, Australia, Issues & Studies (Taiwan National University), African Security (Institute of Security Studies), BISS Journal (Dhaka), Asian Studies Journal, Financial & Economic Review, Xiaman University Journal, International Studies (in China), and Strategic Analysis, USI Journal, Peace Initiatives, Journal of Indian Ocean Studies, Millennial Asia, Journal of Air Power Studies, South Asian Survey, Indian Defence Review, and China Report (in India).



Dr. Sanjaya Baru

Member, Governing Body,
Indian Council of World Affairs

Dr. Sanjaya Baru is Distinguished Fellow at United Service Institution of India, New Delhi. He was Director for Geo-economics and Strategy, International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS), London and Honorary Senior Fellow, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi. He was Media Advisor and Principal Speechwriter to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in 2004-08. He has been Editor, Business Standard and The Financial Express; Editorial Page Editor, The Times of India and Associate Editor, The Economic Times.

He has also been Visiting Professor, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy and Institute of South Asian Studies, Singapore (2008-09); Professor, Indian Council for Research in International Economic Relations (1999-2000); Departments of Economics, Jawaharlal Nehru University (1985-86) and University of Hyderabad (1979-1990). Visiting fellow - School of Economic Studies, University of East Anglia, UK, and the first Jhamandas Watamull Fellow at the East-West Centre, Hawaii. He has been a Consultant with the Human Development Report Office, UNDP, and Asian Development Bank. He has lectured at Chatham House (London), National Defence College (Delhi) and Indian School of Business (Hyderabad).

In 1999-2001 he was Member, National Security Advisory Board of India; and has been a member of several high level government committees including the Expert Group on Indian National Defence

University and the India-ASEAN Eminent Persons Group. He is on the board of Wockhardt Ltd.

His publications include *Strategic Consequences of India's Economic Performance* (Routledge, 2006), *The Political Economy of Indian Sugar* (Oxford University Press, 1990) and *The Accidental Prime Minister: The Making and Unmaking of Manmohan Singh* (Penguin/Viking, 2014); *India and the World: Essays on Geo-economics and Foreign Policy* (2016). 1991: *How PV Narasimha Rao Made History* (2016). *India's Power Elite: Class, Caste and a Cultural Revolution* (2021); *75 Years of the Indian Economy* (2022).



Amb. Vishnu Prakash

Former Ambassador to Canada and South Korea

Vishnu Prakash, a law graduate (gold medalist) and career diplomat, retired as India's High Commissioner to Canada in 2016, after 35 years in the saddle. Hitherto, he was Ambassador to South Korea, Official Spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs and Consul General to Shanghai. He held various positions at Indian Missions in Tokyo, New York, Moscow, Islamabad, Vladivostok and Cairo.

Mr. Prakash did a sabbatical with the 'Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies' in Hawaii (USA) in 1996. In 2013, he was conferred an Honorary Doctoral degree in Business Administration by Tongmyong University, Busan and recognized as 'Ambassador of the Year, 2014' by the Asia Society, Korea Center.

Presently he is a foreign affairs specialist, speaker, columnist and adviser. His focus is on the Indo-Pacific region, including North-east Asia (China, Japan and Koreas), ASEAN & South Asia, the US, Canada and Israel.

Ambassador Prakash is a sought-after speaker by educational / training institutions and sits on the governing / advisory boards of some of them. He has been mentoring Civil Services aspirants. He was recognized as "Outstanding Diplomat" by Prestige Institute of Management and Research, Indore in January 2020.

He writes for various media organisations and regularly appears as an expert panelist on Indian and international TV channels.

SESSION II
SETTING THE NORMS
THE INDIAN WAY



Prof. S D Muni

Former, Member Executive Council, IDSA.
Professor Emeritus JNU

Professor S D Muni is Professor Emeritus at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), and a member of the Executive Council of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi. For nearly 40 years, he taught, conducted and supervised research in International Relations and South Asian Studies at JNU (1974-2006), National University of Singapore (NUS) [2008-2013], Banaras Hindu University (1985-86) and University of Rajasthan (1972-73).

Professor Muni served as India's Special Envoy to the Southeast Asian countries on United Nations (UN) Security Council Reforms (2005) and represented India's Minister of External Affairs at the 50th anniversary celebrations of the Paris Peace Conference, held in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. He also served as India's Ambassador to Lao People's Democratic Republic (1997-99). Professor Muni was nominated to the first ever constituted National Security Advisory Board of India during 1990-91. He was the founding Executive Member of the Regional Centre of Strategic Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka. In 2005, he was bestowed with the 'Sri Lanka Ratna' award, Sri Lanka's highest national honour for a foreign national. The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka, Colombo, offered him an affiliation as Honorary Distinguished Fellow in 2016, and the Institute of South Asian Studies at NUS appointed him as an Honorary Fellow of the Institute for three

years with effect from January 2021. His role in the mainstreaming of the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal has been highlighted by contemporary Nepali historians.

In October 2014, Professor Muni received the 'Lifetime Achievement Award' from Shri Venkateshwara University, Tirupati, Andhra Pradesh, and was also honoured by Delhi University, Delhi, in March 2017 for his contributions to India-Nepal relations. He was invited to address the UN Special Committee on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace at Sochi (Soviet Union) in 1985. He is the author and editor of nearly 30 books and monographs and more than 200 research papers. His latest book, *India's Eastward Engagement: from Antiquity to the Act East Policy*, was released in January 2019. He was also the founder editor of two prestigious quarterly journals in India: *The South Asia Journal* (renamed *South Asian Survey*) and *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*. He has also written numerous research articles, commentaries, book reviews published in journals and articles in magazines and newspapers, including *Economic and Political Weekly*, *India Quarterly*, *Asian Affairs Focus* and *Pacific Affairs*.



Amb. Anil Trigunayat

Former Ambassador of India to Libya and Jordan

Amb. Anil Trigunayat has been a professional Indian Diplomat for over three decades serving India's national interests across continents from Asia to Africa to Europe and Americas including Russia and USA . Prior to his superannuation in 2016 he served as India's Ambassador to Jordan, Libya and Malta.

He has studied in Agra, Kumaon and Jawahar Lal Nehru University . He also did research work at Oxford University on “WTO and Regional Trading Blocs”. He is a regular commentator on foreign affairs and a prolific writer. Currently apart from his association with various Think Tanks, Strategy Groups and Chambers of Commerce & Industries in India and abroad, he is a Distinguished Fellow with prestigious Vivekananda International Foundation, heading their West Asia Experts Group. His key areas of interest include West Asia, Africa, and Russia and serving India’s interests in conflict zones. Recently Government has appointed him as an Independent Director on the Board of WAPCOS a mini- Ratna Government Company.

He is a Peace Ambassador with Unity Earth, Australia as well as a Rotarian serving the society to the extent possible. Apart from penning hundreds of articles , opinion pieces and commentaries on foreign policy issues in leading magazines & news papers he has recently edited a celebrated book on “ Evolving Security Dynamic in West Asia & India’s challenges” published by VIF & Pentagon Press & available on Amazon.



Amb. Manjeev Singh Puri

Former Ambassador to Nepal and Brussels

Manjeev Singh Puri joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1982 and has served as Ambassador of India to the European Union, Belgium, Luxembourg, Nepal and as Ambassador/Deputy Permanent Representative of India to the UN. In addition, he has served twice in Germany (in Bonn and Berlin), in Cape Town, Muscat, Bangkok and Caracas.

From 2005 to 2009, he headed the UN-Economic & Social Affairs-Division in the Ministry of External Affairs of India and led the Indian delegation for the first meeting of the Global Forum on Migration and Development in Brussels in July 2007 and the presentation of various reports by India at the Human Rights Council. During 2011-2012, when India served on the Security Council, he was a senior member of its delegation.

Major areas of his experience and professional focus relate to the environment, in particular climate change and sustainable development. He was a lead negotiator for India at the UN on issues relating to the post 2015 development agenda, Sustainable Development Goals and at the UN Conference on Sustainable Development held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in June 2012. He was a key member of India's delegation at various Climate Change negotiations, including the Conference of Parties of the UNFCCC in Copenhagen in December 2009 and before that at Montreal, Bali, Bonn and Poznan. Furthermore, he was closely

involved with India's participation in the G8-G5 Summits from 2005 and he was the points-person on the Indian side at the Major Economies Forum.

Puri has a Masters degree in Management and did his BA (Honours) in Economics from St. Stephen's College, Delhi. He is a Distinguished Fellow and on the Advisory Board of TERI.



Amb. Ajay Bisaria

Former Ambassador to Canada and
High Commissioner to Pakistan

Ajay Bisaria is a former civil servant who has had a distinguished diplomatic career spanning 35 years, dealing with some of India's key economic and security relationships. He served as the High Commissioner of India to Canada from March 2020 till June 2022. He was earlier India's envoy in Pakistan, Poland and Lithuania. He has also represented India at the World Bank in Washington DC and in embassies in Berlin and Moscow. He has served in various capacities in India in the Ministry of External Affairs, Department of Commerce and the Prime Minister's Office, where he was a key aide to Prime Minister AB Vajpayee from 1999 to 2004. He has dealt extensively with India's Eurasia policy, including with Russia, Ukraine and Central Asia.

He has published and lectured on issues related to trade, finance and geopolitics with a focus on South Asia, Eurasia, Central Asia and Canada. He has a Bachelor's Degree in Economics from St Stephen's College, Delhi University, an MBA from IIM Calcutta and a Master's Degree in Public Policy from Princeton University.

SESSION III
NEW INDIA
FOREIGN POLICY IN THE
PRESENT DECADE



Amb. Asoke Kumar Mukerji

Former Indian Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Ambassador Asoke Mukerji served in the Indian Foreign Service for more than 37 years, retiring as India's Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York in December 2015, where he led the negotiation of Agenda 2030 on Sustainable Development. His tenure was marked by his leadership of the Indian team which implemented within 75 days and with 177 co-sponsoring countries Prime Minister Narendra Modi's proposal to the United Nations to declare an International Day of Yoga. He has served in London, Moscow, Washington DC, Geneva and Dubai. He opened India's first embassies in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan in 1992. He has been a trade negotiator for India in the World Trade Organization and represented India in 11 international trade disputes.

He headed India's multi-agency delegations for international cooperation on counter-terrorism with the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, and initiated India's cyber dialogues with the United States, United Kingdom, Russian Federation and Japan. He was chair of a multi-stakeholder study group set up by the National Security Secretariat of India to recommend "Cyber Norms for India" in 2018. He has brought out seven books. The last one, "India and the United Nations: a Photo Journey 1945-2015" was presented by Prime Minister Narendra Modi to UN Secretary General Ban ki-Moon in September 2015.



Amb. Amar Sinha

Former Ambassador of India to Afghanistan

Mr. Amar Sinha retired from the Indian Foreign Service (IFS) as Secretary Economic Relations in the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, in June 2017 after a diplomatic career spanning 35 years. He has served in different capacities in Indian Mission around the world including in Algiers (1983-87), Buenos Aires (1987-90), Washington DC (1998-2001) Jakarta (2001-04), and Brussels (2004-07).

At Headquarters he has served as PS to Minister of State in the Ministries of External Affairs, Chemicals and Fertilizers and Department of Electronics (1991-96), as Director (BSM) in Ministry of External Affairs from June 1996 to July 1997 and again as OSD to Minister of State for External Affairs from July 1997 to April 1998. In 2007 he was appointed India's Ambassador to Tajikistan (2007-2010) and on his return to New Delhi served as Joint Secretary Trade Policy in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry (2010-13) where he handled the WTO and other trade negotiations. He also oversaw India's participation in various multilateral fora such as UNCTAD, APTA, BIMSTEC, G20, IBSA, BRICS, etc.

In 2013 he was appointed India's Ambassador to Afghanistan (2013-2016). After completion of his assignment in Kabul successfully he assumed the charge of the post of Secretary (Economic Relations) in the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, on January 15, 2016.

His portfolio included relations with all countries in Africa, Gulf and West Asia Region, Development Partnership, Trade and Investment Promotion and all multilateral economic work such as BRICS etc. He also served an ex-officio Director on the Board of EXIM Bank of India.

On his retirement from diplomatic service on 30 June 2017 he has been appointed as a Director on the Board of Hindustan Petroleum Corporations Ltd. He joined the RIS as a Distinguished Fellow in November 2017, and has lent support to several think tanks focused on Afghanistan and other strategic issues. He also advises Chambers of Commerce on trade and investment issues.

He is currently a Member of the National Security Advisory Board (NSAB).

He is an Economics Graduate from Patna University. He speaks Hindi, English, French and Spanish fluently and is familiar with Dari (Persian). His interests include reading, travel and sports.



Mr. Rudra Chaudhuri

Director, Carnegie India

Rudra Chaudhuri is the director of Carnegie India. His primary research focuses on the diplomatic history of South Asia and contemporary security issues. He is currently writing a book on the global history of the Indian Emergency, 1975-1977. At present, he is also heading a major research project that involves mapping and analyzing violent incidents and infrastructural development on and across India's borders.

He is the author of *Forged in Crisis: India and the United States Since 1947* (published in the U.K. by Hurst, in 2013, and in the U.S. and South Asia by Oxford University Press and Harper Collins, respectively, in 2014). His research has been published in scholarly journals such as *International History Review*, *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *International Affairs*, the *RUSI Journal*, *Defense Studies*, and other academic and policy-focused journals. He is an occasional commentator in the media.

He is a senior lecturer at the Department of War Studies and the India Institute at King's College London (currently on research leave). In addition, he is the founding director of the U.K. Foreign and Commonwealth Office's (FCO) Diplomatic Academy for South Asia. He is also a visiting professor of international relations at Ashoka University, New Delhi. He previously taught at the U.K. Joint Services Command and Staff College. He holds a PhD in War Studies from King's College London.



Amb. Navdeep Suri

Former High Commissioner to Australia and
Ambassador to Egypt and UAE

Navdeep Suri is Distinguished Fellow at the Observer Research Foundation. He is an advisor to several prestigious international organizations and an independent director on the board of reputed companies. He is also Professor of Eminence at Guru Nanak Dev University in Amritsar.

Navdeep Suri completed a distinguished 36-year career in the Indian Foreign Service in 2019, having served in India's diplomatic missions in Cairo, Damascus, Washington, Dar es Salaam and London and as India's Consul General in Johannesburg. He has headed the West Africa and Public Diplomacy departments at the Ministry of External Affairs and was India's High Commissioner to Australia and Ambassador to Egypt and UAE. In a rare gesture, the President of UAE conferred on him the Order of Zayed II, the country's second-highest civilian award. His innovative use of social media in public diplomacy in 2010 also received extensive recognition and two prestigious awards.

Navdeep Suri has learnt Arabic and French, has a master's degree in economics and has written on India's Africa policy, on the Middle East and the Indo-Pacific, on Public Diplomacy and on the IT outsourcing industry. He has also co-edited the ORF-Global Policy book 'A 2030 Vision for India's Economic Diplomacy'. His English translations of his grandfather Nanak Singh's classic Punjabi novels have been published by Penguin as 'The Watchmaker' and by Harper Collins as 'A Life Incomplete' 'Khooni Vaisakhi' and 'Hymns in Blood.'

SESSION IV
INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY
PERSPECTIVES FROM VARIOUS
GEOGRAPHIES



Dr. C Raja Mohan

Senior Fellow
Asia Society Policy Institute, New Delhi

C. Raja Mohan is a Senior Fellow with the Asia Society Policy Institute in Delhi - a division of the Asia Society India Centre, Mumbai. He is a Visiting Research Professor at the Institute of South Asian Studies (ISAS), National University of Singapore, and was previously the Director of ISAS. Mohan was the founding director of Carnegie India in Delhi, the sixth international center of Carnegie Endowment for Peace. He was associated with several Indian think tanks, including the Institute of Defense Studies and Analyses, the Observer Research Foundation, and the Center for Policy Research in New Delhi. Mohan was a Professor of South Asian Studies at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, and the Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore. He served on India's National Security Advisory Board.

He was the Henry A. Kissinger Chair in Foreign Policy and International Relations at the Kluge Center, US Library of Congress, Washington DC, during 2009-10. He convened the India chapter of Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, during 1995-2005. Mohan has published widely on India's foreign and security policies, Asian geopolitics, and the global governance of advanced technologies. In his most recent, Mohan co-authored the Adelphi Book, *The New Asian Geopolitics: Military Power and Regional Order* published by the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London in 2021. He is a columnist for Foreign Policy and the Indian Express.



Dr. Ji Yeon-jung

Research Professor
Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul

Ji Yeon-jung, Ph.D., is a research professor at the Institute of Indian Studies and a lecturer in the Division of International Studies at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. She was a visiting fellow at the Centre for Air Power Studies and the MP-Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, as well as a Stanton Nuclear Security Postdoctoral fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University.

She recently published her article "Unfriendly guardians: India's first nuclear leadership change in 1966" in the *British Journal for the History of Science* (2021) and the co-authored paper "In-regime manager: China's strategy against nuclear India" in *International Area Studies Review* (2021).



Prof. Nicolas Blarel

Associate Professor of International Relations
at the Institute of Political Science,
Leiden University, The Netherlands

Nicolas Blarel is Associate Professor of International Relations at the Institute of Political Science, Leiden University in The Netherlands. His research focuses on foreign and security policy-making processes, the politics of migration governance, the dynamics of power transition in global politics, and the international politics of South Asia. He has published his first book *The Evolution of India's Israel Policy: Continuity, Change, and Compromise since 1922* with Oxford University Press in 2015. He has also co-edited with Sumit Ganguly and Manjeet S. Pardesi the *Oxford Handbook of India's National Security* with Oxford University Press in 2018.

Blarel has also recently published a co-edited book with Crystal Ennis, *The South Asia to Gulf Migration Governance Complex* (Bristol University Press). He has also previously worked with the French Foreign Ministry's policy planning staff (Centre d'Analyses, de Prévision, et de Stratégie) and has been a visiting fellow at various research institutions based in New Delhi such as the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), Carnegie-India, the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), and the Centre de Sciences Humaines (CSH).



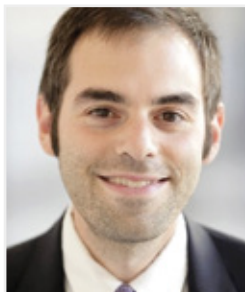
Prof. Amrita Narlikar

President, German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA), Germany

Prof. Dr. Amrita Narlikar is the President of the German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA) and Professor of International Relations at Hamburg University. She also is Honorary Fellow of Darwin College (University of Cambridge), non-resident Senior Fellow at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), and non-resident Distinguished Fellow of the Australia India Institute in an honorary capacity.

Prior to moving to Hamburg, she held the position of Reader in International Political Economy at the University of Cambridge and a Fellowship at Darwin College. She was also Senior Research Associate at the Centre for International Studies at the University of Oxford from 2003 to 2014.

Amrita was awarded her MPhil and DPhil from Oxford University (Balliol), and was then appointed to a Junior Research Fellowship at St John's, Oxford. She also has intellectual roots at the JNU School of International Studies and St. Stephen's College.



Mr. Michael Kugelman

Wilson Center
Washington

Michael Kugelman is director of the Wilson Center's South Asia Institute. He was previously Asia Program deputy director and senior associate for South Asia at the Wilson Center. He is also a weekly columnist for Foreign Policy and writes its South Asia Brief newsletter. Kugelman is a leading specialist on Afghanistan, India, and Pakistan and their relations with the United States. The editor/co-editor of 11 books, he has also written for The New York Times, Foreign Affairs, and other publications, covering topics ranging from US policy in Afghanistan and the geopolitics of South Asia to water, energy, and food security in the region.

SESSION V
INDIA AND THE GLOBAL ORDER
SETTING THE NARRATIVE



Amb. Pankaj Saran

Former Deputy National Security Advisor of India, Former Ambassador to Russia and former High Commissioner to Bangladesh

Pankaj Saran is a former diplomat with forty years of experience in foreign, strategic and national security affairs. He has served in key positions within the Government of India in the Prime Minister's Office, the National Security Council Secretariat, Ministry of External Affairs and in Indian Missions in Moscow, Dhaka, Washington DC, Cairo and Geneva.

He has served as India's Ambassador to Russia from 2016 to 2018, and India's High Commissioner to Bangladesh from 2012 to 2015, periods which saw major developments in India's relations with these countries.

Pankaj Saran has many years of specialization in India's immediate neighbourhood. Apart from spending several years in Bangladesh, he headed the Northern Division in the Ministry of External Affairs dealing with Nepal and Bhutan at a time of profound internal transformations in these countries and in their relations between 2005 to 2007.

He has served in different capacities in the Prime Minister's Office under five different Prime Ministers for nine years between the period 1995 to 2012, contributing to decision making at the highest levels in a diverse range of sectors. Apart from foreign affairs and national security, these included energy, finance, commerce, science and technology, electronics, telecommunications, space, atomic energy & defence policy.

From 2018 to 2021, he served as the Deputy National Security Adviser for Strategic Affairs under Prime Minister Narendra Modi in the National Security Council Secretariat dealing with regional and global strategy formulation for the country. He led the formulation of post-Covid strategies for India from the national security point of view, strengthening of the maritime security framework for India and enhancing maritime cooperation within the Indian Ocean Region. He paid special attention to neighbourhood policies and strengthening of India's technology and economic security.

He has participated in as well as organized several international negotiations and Summit level meetings in India and around the world. Pankaj Saran is presently the Convenor of NatStrat, a Delhi-based independent Centre for Research on Strategic and Security Issues and an adviser, commentator and speaker on international affairs and national security issues.



Lt. General Syed Ata Hasnain

Chancellor
Central University of Kashmir

Through most of his 40 year illustrious career General Hasnain has served in turbulent environment and hot spots. From Sri Lanka to Siachen Glacier, from the North East to Jammu & Kashmir (J&K), and in UN operations from Mozambique to Rwanda, he has seen it all in crucial appointments. He served seven tours in J&K, decorated in almost of them and knows the J&K conflict comprehensively.

He commanded the Indian Army's Srinagar based 15 Corps and is today one of the foremost writers and analysts on J&K, Pakistan, Middle East and transnational extremist violence. He is a much sought after speaker and writes for major Indian newspapers - The Times of India, The Indian Express, The Hindu, Deccan Chronicle and The Asian Age, besides being a regular participant in television debates on mainstream television. With a strong academic background from Sherwood College Nainital, St Stephen's College Delhi, the Royal College of Defence Studies, Kings College London and the Asia Pacific Centre for Security Studies, Hawaii, he has been at the forefront of encouraging the adoption of the US initiated Scholar Warrior concept in the Indian Army. He has spoken at the Lee Kwan Yu School for Public Policy, the Rajaratnam School for International Studies & the Indian Institute for South Asian Studies, all at Singapore.

He has also spoken at the International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS), London. He is associated with the Vivekanand International Foundation and Centre for Joint Warfare Studies, as Distinguished Fellow and is on the Governing Council of the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) and Institute of Peace & Conflict Studies (IPCS). He speaks on National Security at various military, civil services and corporate institutions with a view to enhance India's strategic culture. He has recently visited Iran and was at the forefront of neutralizing Pakistani influence operations in that country.

On 13 Jul 2018 The President of India appointed Lt Gen Hasnain as Chancellor of the Central University of Kashmir.

Gen Hasnain has six decorations awarded by the President for India and two by the Army Chief. He superannuated from the Indian Army in Jul 2013 after 40 years of active service.



Lt. Gen. Vinod G. Khandare (Retd.)

Adviser
Ministry of Defence, GoI

Lt Gen VG Khandare was the former Military Adviser to NSCS, post his retirement from Army, from October, 2018 to October 2021. Prior to that he was Director General Defence Intelligence Agency and Deputy Chief of Integrated Defense Staff handling tri services Intelligence, till 31 Jan 2018. He has a vast experience of four decades in handling military affairs and has been involved in advising the apex level on decision making based on analysis and assessments impacting national interests.

He has first-hand experience in dealing with China on LAC, with Pak on LoC and in countering terrorism in the hinterland of J&K and the North East Region. He has enhanced synergy between technical and human intelligence at tactical, operational and Strategic level. He is an expert in capability and capacity enhancement including Atmanirbhar mission and Defence Diplomacy. He synergised inter-Ministerial output related to security. He is an avid thinker in Conflict Prevention, Management and Termination as also in technology search and incorporation.

He played an important role in evaluating and formulation of reforms in security sector.

Currently he is Distinguished Fellow at USI New Delhi and Emeritus Research Faculty with Rashtrya Raksha University Gandhinagar. He is actively mentoring and participating in international, national and Armed Forces Seminars. He renders advice to the Government, Think Tanks and pursues Atmanirbhar Bharat agenda as also in shaping youth as the national Human Resource capital for the present and future threat scenarios. He is working on ancient and medieval period wisdom lessons derived from history for the military and non-military way forward.

He is now the Principal Advisor to Ministry of Defence.



Dr. Zorawar Daulet Singh

Adjunct Fellow
Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi

Zorawar Daulet Singh is an author and foreign affairs analyst based in New Delhi. He is a co-founder of the Northcap University, a State Private University, located in Gurugram and is an Adjunct Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies. He was previously a fellow at the Centre for Policy Research. Daulet Singh holds a PhD in international relations from King's College London.

For the past 15 years, he has been a commentator and columnist on India's foreign policy and its role in world order, diplomatic history and various dimensions of India–China relations. He has been invited to address leading training institutions in India including the National Defence College, Army Training Command (ARTRAC), Defence Services Staff College Wellington, and the Foreign Service Institute.

Daulet Singh's critically acclaimed 2019 work on India's strategic history, *Power and Diplomacy: India's Foreign Policies during the Cold War* was released in 2022 as a paperback edition. His recent work on India-China relations, *Powershift: India-China relations in a Multipolar World*, received the Kalinga Literary Festival Book of the Year Award 2020-21 in the category of Diplomacy/Strategic Affairs. His previous books include *India–China Relations: The Border Issue and Beyond* and *Chasing the Dragon: Will India Catch up with China?*

SESSION VI
INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY
THE NEXT SEVEN DECADES



Amb. D B Venkatesh Varma

Former Ambassador to Spain and
the Russian Federation

Ambassador D.B.Venkatesh Varma was a Member of the Indian Foreign Service from 1988 to 2021. During his diplomatic career, he has worked in the Ministry of External Affairs, in the Office of External Affairs Minister and in the Prime Minister's Office. He served as India's Ambassador to Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, to the Kingdom of Spain and to the Russian Federation, until October 2021.

He has vast experience in India's Security and Defence policies, including its nuclear, missile, and space programs. He has more than 12 years of experience in the field of multilateral non-proliferation and disarmament—nuclear, chemical, biological and conventional weapons, having served three postings in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. He also served as Joint Secretary in charge of Disarmament and International Security in the Ministry of External Affairs between 2010-2013. He was a member of the UN Group of Government Experts on Missiles and on Disarmament and Nuclear Nonproliferation Education. He was also a Member of the Indian Delegation to the UNGA in 1998-1999, 2003- 2005 and 2008-2016. He has attended 9 Sessions of the UN First Committee and 7 Sessions of the United Nations Disarmament Commission.

He was a key member of the Indian negotiating team involved in the Civil Nuclear Initiative with the US during his tenure as Director in the Prime Minister's Office during 2004-2007, and as a member of

Indian Delegation to Conference on Disarmament and as Joint Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs. He was involved in negotiations relating to all stages of the Civil Nuclear Initiative-the bilateral negotiations with the US, including the 123 Agreement; negotiations with the Nuclear Suppliers Group; and negotiations with the International Atomic Energy Agency. He has vast experience with respect to India's Civil Nuclear Programme. Amb. Varma was key member of India's delegation to the Nuclear Security Summits during 2010-2013.

With three separate postings in Moscow, spanning three decades, he has vast experience in India's defence and strategic relations with Russia. He has excellent contacts in the Russian leadership. As Ambassador, he was closely involved with developing India's relations with Russia including Prime Minister Modi's Act Far East Initiative, deepening of India's Defence, Nuclear, Space, Energy, Commercial, Science & Technology and Cultural relations with Russia. He has spoken at the St. Petersburg Economic Forum and the Eastern Economic Forum in Vladivostok.

Varma was the first Recipient of the S.K.Singh Award for Excellence in the Indian Foreign Service in 2011 for his contribution to the negotiations of the Civil Nuclear Initiative.

He has an M.Phil in International Relations (Disarmament Studies) from the Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi. He has spoken at numerous think-tanks in Geneva, Washington, New York, Monterey, Vienna, Brussels, London, Melbourne, The Hague, Seoul, Madrid and Moscow. He has lectured at the Russian Diplomatic Academy, the Russian General Staff Academy in Moscow, the National Defence College, Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses and Foreign Service Institute, New Delhi, and the College of Defence Management, Secunderabad. He is distinguished fellow at the VIF.



Prof. Ajay Darshan Behera

Academy of International Studies
Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi

Ajay Darshan Behera is a Professor and till recently was the Officiating Director of the MMAJ Academy of International Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia University, New Delhi. His main areas of research interest are International Relations theory, foreign policy and security issues in South Asia.

He has also been the Coordinator of the Centre for Pakistan Studies at the MMAJ Academy of International Studies. Earlier, he was Officiating Director of the Centre for Strategic and Regional Studies, University of Jammu, Jammu, Assistant Research Professor at the Centre for Policy Research (CPR), New Delhi, and a Research Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. He has also been a Visiting Fellow at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Campaign and Brookings Institute, Washington, D.C. A recipient of the 1996 Kodikara Award, he is the author of the book *Violence, Terrorism and Human Security in South Asia* and a monograph *The Politics of Violence and Development in South Asia* and has co-edited *Pakistan in a Changing Strategic Context*.



Prof. Chintamani Mahapatra

Founder and Honorary Chairman of Kalinga Institute of Indo-Pacific Studies

- Founder and Honorary Chairman of Kalinga Institute of Indo-Pacific Studies. (www.kiips.in)
- Editor of Indian Foreign Affairs Journal (published by the Association of Indian Diplomats)
- Member of the Academic Council of Mizoram University
- Member of the Academic Council Chandigarh University.
- Member of the Board of Management, MAHE, Manipal
- Member, IQAC Cell, Janki Devi Memorial College, Delhi University
- Served as Rector (Pro-Vice Chancellor) of Jawaharlal Nehru University from March 2016 till 7 February 2022.
- Was a faculty US Studies Programme at the School of International Studies, May 1999 till May 2022.
- Had held positions, such as Member, UGC Review Committee, Area Studies Programme; Member, Fellowship Expert Committee, ICSSR; Member, Editorial Board, Strategic Analysis, IDSA; Member, Editorial Board, Diaspora Studies and Member, Committee on Studies, Academy of International Studies, Jalia Millia Islamia.
- Was Tagore Chair Professor at Yunnan University of China.

- Have conducted research in several US Presidential Libraries (Especially Truman Library, Eisenhower Library, John F Kennedy Library and Johnson Library) and US National Archives in Washington, DC; and British Public Record Office in London.
- Have authored four books, edited/co-edited four Books, and have contributed chapters to above 30 edited books.
- Have published above 70 research articles in reputed journals.
- Awarded a number of international fellowships, such as Fulbright Fellowship, Commonwealth Fellowship, and Visiting Fellowships to undertake research in the US, UK, Austria, Australia and many other countries.
- Was a visiting faculty in several UGC-run Academic Staff Colleges, the Foreign Service Institute of the Ministry of External Affairs, National Defense College, Army War College, Naval War College and the College of Air Warfare.
- Have had experiences as a participant in several of the Track II level seminars with various countries.

He is also a regular commentator in newspapers and on audio-visual media on international affairs.

VOTE OF THANKS



Nivedita Ray

Director Research,
Indian Council of World Affairs

Dr. Nivedita Ray is Director Research Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi. She has done her PhD in African Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. Her area of specialization includes African Affairs, Diaspora Studies, Gender and Conflict Resolution, Political and Security Risk Analysis. Her recent publications include India and East Africa, Viz India Books, New Delhi March 2015, New Delhi; Co-Edited book on Tagore the Eternal Seeker: Footprints of a World Traveller, Viz India Books , New Delhi May 2015; Edited book on Africa and India: A Partnership for Development and Growth, Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, 2012.



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