The background features a light blue world map at the top, with intricate mandala patterns in shades of blue and white at the bottom. The main title is centered in a bold, dark blue font.

# ADVANCING PARTNERSHIP IN INDO-PACIFIC



**RIS**

Research and Information System  
for Developing Countries

विकासशील देशों की अनुसंधान एवं सूचना प्रणाली

**AIC**

ASEAN-India Centre at RIS



# Advancing Partnership in Indo-Pacific

Proceedings of the Delhi Dialogue XI  
13-14 December 2019



**RIS**  
Research and Information System  
for Developing Countries

विकासशील देशों की अनुसंधान एवं सूचना प्रणाली

**AIC**  
ASEAN-India Centre at RIS



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# Foreword

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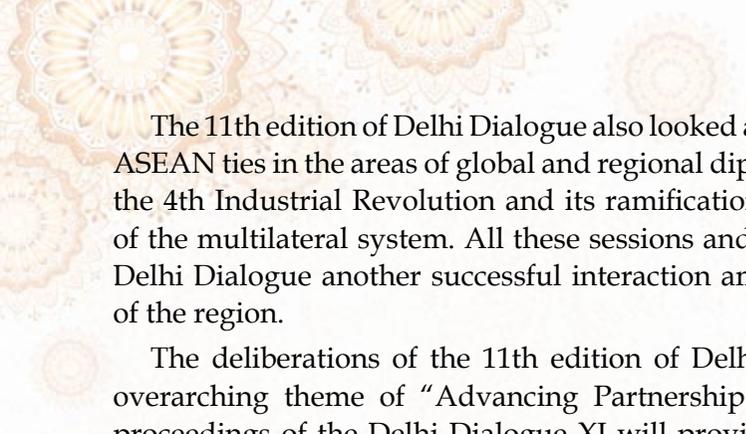
## **Ambassador (Dr.) Mohan Kumar**

*Chairman, RIS*

Over a span of three decades, ASEAN-India ties have evolved from a sectoral dialogue to a full-fledged strategic partnership. ASEAN is also the cornerstone of India's Act East policy as also its broad approach to the Indo-Pacific region. The COVID-19 pandemic has posed serious challenges to the region; ASEAN-India cooperation may well be crucial in determining how successful Asia is in coping with the aftermath of the pandemic.

The Delhi Dialogue is an annual Track 1.5 forum that provides a platform for serious discussion on ways and means to strengthen and reinforce ties between ASEAN and India. Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS) in partnership with the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) organized the 11th edition of Delhi Dialogue at Delhi on 13-14 December 2019 back to back with the 6th Indian Ocean Dialogue. The 11th edition of the Delhi Dialogue focused on the theme of advancing partnership between India and ASEAN in the Indo-Pacific context. Both ASEAN and India share a common vision for the Indo-Pacific region. There is considerable convergence between ASEAN and India, which include openness, inclusiveness, rules-based global order and ASEAN centrality. With these fundamental aspects underpinning the Indo-Pacific vision, both ASEAN and India reiterate their shared commitment to working towards a peaceful and prosperous Indo-Pacific.

The 11th edition of Delhi Dialogue was attended by the Secretary General of IORA, Deputy Secretary-General of the ASEAN Secretariat, Ministers and senior official representatives of respective ASEAN countries. Bringing IORA into the dialogue was another salient feature of the 11th Delhi Dialogue. The 11th edition of Delhi Dialogue called for strengthening of ASEAN-led mechanisms in order to implement cooperation and creating synergy and complementarity between India and ASEAN in the Indo-Pacific region.



The 11th edition of Delhi Dialogue also looked at strengthening India-ASEAN ties in the areas of global and regional diplomacy, Connectivity, the 4th Industrial Revolution and its ramifications, and future aspects of the multilateral system. All these sessions and outcomes made the Delhi Dialogue another successful interaction among the stakeholders of the region.

The deliberations of the 11th edition of Delhi Dialogue under the overarching theme of “Advancing Partnership in Indo-Pacific” and proceedings of the Delhi Dialogue XI will provide policy inputs for a useful framework for future cooperation between India and ASEAN.

I take this opportunity to thank the RIS team led by DG, Prof. Sachin Chaturvedi. In particular, Prof. Prabir De deserves credit for putting this volume together.

I am confident that the Proceedings of the Delhi Dialogue XI will serve as a valuable reference point for policymakers, academics and practitioners.



**Mohan Kumar**

# Preface

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## **Prof. Sachin Chaturvedi**

*Director General, RIS*

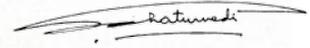
With the transition to Act East Policy, the Delhi Dialogue has emerged as a flagship programme for collective efforts for deepening India-ASEAN partnership. It has set new milestones for mobilising think-tanks, academic institutions, policy makers and industry to address variety of issues related to various ASEAN-India relationship.

Keeping in view the centrality of ASEAN in the concept of Indo-Pacific, the theme of the Delhi Dialogue XI in 13-14 December 2019, was “Advancing Partnership in Indo-Pacific”. Hon’ble Dr. Jaishankar, External Affairs Minister delivered the Valedictory Address. In his address, he underscored that the more important task at hand is to invest time and effort to use the Indo-Pacific as an open, free and inclusive platform to deliver tangible and meaningful cooperative initiatives. For this to happen, it is in everyone’s interest to ensure that the doors remain open to cooperation on as wide a platform as possible. The defining principle for us to ensure that the region remains open and free for inclusive partnerships with all, within the parameters of sovereignty, equality, and a rules-based system.

The key recommendations that emerged from the Dialogue emphasised on Blue Economy as priority area; initiating Indo-Pacific Think Tank Network; private sector engagements, comprehensive physical and soft connectivity; innovative financing of projects; working closely and unfolding the potential of IR 0.4 creating eco-system for research and skill development, system strengthening and WTO multilateral forum, among others.

We duly acknowledge to the support received from the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. Thanks are also due to Member of RIS Governing Council and Dr. Mohan Kumar, Chairman, RIS for their guidance for strengthening the work programme of AIC at RIS.

We are sure the present Report, prepared by team led by Dr. Prabir De at AIC at RIS, would serve as a valuable reference for practitioners, policy makers, academics and stakeholders, who are working earnestly towards realizing the vision of an Indo-Pacific region which is open, free, inclusive.



**Sachin Chaturvedi**

# Acknowledgments

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The Proceedings of the Delhi Dialogue XI entitled “*Advancing Partnership in Indo-Pacific*” has been prepared by Dr. Prabir De, Professor and Coordinator, ASEAN-India Centre (AIC), Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS) with the assistance of Ms. Sreya Pan, Research Associate, AIC at RIS. Dr. Durairaj Kumarasamy, former Consultant, AIC at RIS also provided substantial research support.

We are grateful to Dr Mohan Kumar, Chairman, RIS and Prof. Sachin Chaturvedi, Director General, RIS for their guidance and cooperation in bringing out the proceedings.

We gratefully acknowledge the support extended by the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), Government of India in organising the Delhi Dialogue XI (DDXI). In particular, we are grateful to Mr. Vikram Doraiswami, Additional Secretary, MEA; Mr. Nikhilesh Giri, Jt. Secretary, MEA; Ms. Rachita Bhandari, Director, MEA; Mr. Rajiv Kumar Mishra, Under Secretary, MEA; and all other MEA colleagues who were part of the organizing committee of the DDXI. We would also like to thank all the participants in the DDXI – invited speakers, presenters, chairpersons, sponsors, and audience alike.

The DD XI benefitted from work done in support by the RIS Faculty and Administration. We would like to thank Ms. Pratiba Shaw, Research Assistant, RIS for her assistance. We are grateful to Mr. Tish Malhotra, who has coordinated the production of this proceedings, and Mr. Sachin Singhal who has designed the publication.

We add a disclaimer here that the Part II of the Proceedings presents extracted version of speeches delivered by the speakers at the Delhi Dialogue XI.

Views expressed in the proceedings are those of the participants of the DDXI and not the views of the Governments of India or ASEAN countries, ASEAN Secretariat, Research and Information System for Developing countries (RIS) and ASEAN-India Centre (AIC). Usual disclaimers apply. For any further queries, please contact [prabirde@ris.org.in](mailto:prabirde@ris.org.in)



# List of Abbreviations

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3D	Three Dimensional
ACMECS	Ayeyawady-Chao Phraya-Mekong Economic Cooperation Strategy
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADMM+	ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting Plus
AI	Artificial Intelligence
AIBC	ASEAN-India Business Council
AIFTA	ASEAN-India Free Trade Agreement
AOIP	ASEAN-Outlook on the Indo-Pacific
APC	Asia-Pacific Community
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
CLMV	Cambodia Lao PDR Myanmar Vietnam
CPTPP	Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership
DDXI	Delhi Dialogue XI
EAMF	Expanded ASEAN Maritime Forum
EAS	East Asia Summit
EEC	Eastern Economic Corridor
ERIA	Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FIPIC	Forum for India-Pacific Island Cooperation

FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HACGAM	Heads of Asian Coast Guard Meeting
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IONS	Indian Ocean Naval Symposium
IORA	Indian Ocean Rim Association
IR	Industrial Revolution
IT	Information Technology
LDC	Least Developed Country
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MPAC	Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
POA	Plan of Action
QUAD	Quadrilateral Security Dialogue
R&D	Research and Development
RCEP	Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership
RIS	Research and Information System for Developing Countries
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAGAR	Security and Growth for All in the Region
SASEC	South Asia Subregional Economic Cooperation
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
TAC	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
TPP	Trans-Pacific Partnership
USA	United States of America
WTO	World Trade Organization



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# Summary of the Delhi Dialogue XI

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# Summary

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The Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), Government of India in partnership with the Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS) and ASEAN-India Centre (AIC) at RIS, New Delhi organised the 11th edition of the Delhi Dialogue (DD) on 13-14 December 2019 in New Delhi. The theme of the 11th Delhi Dialogue was “Advancing Partnership in Indo-Pacific”. Hon’ble Dr Jaishankar, External Affairs Minister of India delivered the Valedictory Address. Mr. V. Muraleedharan, Minister of State for External Affairs; and H.E. Dr. Nomvuyo Nokwe, Secretary General, IORA delivered the Special Remarks, whereas, H.E. Ms. Retno L.P. Marsudi, Foreign Minister of Indonesia delivered the Special Address in the Ministerial Keynote Session, respectively. The Proceedings of 10th Delhi Dialogue on “Strengthening India-ASEAN Maritime Cooperation” was released at the Delhi Dialogue XI. Dr. Mohan Kumar, Chairman, RIS extended the Vote of Thanks in the Ministerial Keynote Session.

The 11<sup>th</sup> edition of the Delhi Dialogue was a two-day event, which included five Plenary Sessions and a Ministerial Keynote Session. The five Plenary Sessions were (1) Building Bridges in Indo-Pacific, (2) Indo-Pacific Construct: Emerging Architecture, (3) Regional Connectivity in Indo-Pacific, (4) Industrial-Revolution 4.0 and Indo-Pacific, and (5) Future of Multilateral Trading System. About 200 delegates including several senior ministers from the ASEAN countries along with senior level officials, subject experts, scholars, practitioners, diplomats, academicians, researchers, business people and industry leaders attended the 11<sup>th</sup> edition of Delhi Dialogue.

## Plenary Session I: Building Bridges in Indo-Pacific

Plenary Session I on Building Bridges in Indo-Pacific discussed shared perspective and new avenues of the partnership in leading the discourse on the emerging Indo-Pacific architecture. The session was chaired by Ambassador Le Luong Minh, Former Secretary General of ASEAN.

Speakers highlighted that enhancing Indo-Pacific cooperation would complement ASEAN’s efforts in community-building and

implementation of Vision 2025, contributing to the maintenance of regional peace, stability and prosperity, maritime cooperation, connectivity including people-to-people connectivity, UN Sustainable Development Goals 2030, promoting research and development (R&D) in science and technology. Speakers also emphasised the potential areas of cooperation between ASEAN and India in the fields of climate change, disaster risk reduction and management, sustainable tourism and cultural exchange. Besides, ASEAN-India cooperation in the Indo-Pacific could be developed in the areas of maritime security and cooperation, marine based industries, blue economy and resources. The importance of building a rules-based trading order and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) was highlighted and hope was expressed about India's joining back the RCEP.

Speakers emphasized the importance of 'ASEAN Centrality', openness, transparency, inclusivity, respect for sovereignty, non-intervention, equality, mutual respect, mutual trust, mutual benefits and respect for international law as principles governing of ASEAN's Indo-Pacific cooperation. The convergence of these principles with India's Act East Policy was also mentioned. Speakers discussed the need of synergy and complementarity between India's connectivity programmes under the Act East Policy and ASEAN Connectivity Master Plan 2025. Speakers appreciated India's initiative of 1000 PhD scholarships to students of ASEAN countries and also supporting the capacity buildings and entrepreneurship programmes in CLMV countries. Speakers also welcomed India's connectivity initiative such as the Trilateral Highway and its further extension to CLV countries.

Speakers suggested utilising existing ASEAN-led mechanisms such as the East Asia Summit (EAS), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN Defence Minister's Meeting (ADMM) Plus, Expanded ASEAN Maritime Forum (EAMF), other ASEAN Plus One mechanisms as platforms for dialogue and implementation of Indo-Pacific cooperation. Special mention was also made on EAS, which includes major countries from Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions that can be used as a guiding principles for mutually beneficial relations. Speakers also emphasized that regional connectivity in the Indo-Pacific needs a holistic approach. They also mentioned that trade, tourism, people to people exchanges are very important aspects to reduce development gaps between the countries in the Indo-Pacific.

## Ministerial Keynote Session

Ministerial Keynote Session included the remarks by the foreign ministers of ASEAN countries to discuss the roadmap of India-ASEAN cooperation in strengthening Indo-Pacific architecture.

Mr V. Muraleedharan, Minister of State for External Affairs (MEA), India in his Welcome Remarks described Indo-Pacific and its essential attributes of openness, freedom, inclusion, rules-based architecture. He emphasised that nations from IORA family and ASEAN member states came to the Delhi Dialogue to discuss consequential issues of Indo-Pacific. He welcomed the Indo-Pacific Outlook of ASEAN and recall India's vision on Indo-Pacific stated by India's Prime Minister at the Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore in 2018. He also highlighted India's historical presence in Indo-Pacific, which needs to reassert India's maritime cooperation with the region.

Dr. Nomvuyo Nokwe, Secretary General, IORA in her Remarks mentioned that there is a need to explore the potential synergies at the sub-regional level between IORA, BIMSTEC, ASEAN, SAARC, etc., which was referred in Indo-Pacific Outlook adopted by ASEAN. IORA is looking towards ASEAN to learn more about regional cooperation. Dr. Nokwe emphasised on three characteristic of IORA charter i.e. inclusiveness, sovereign equality of member and peaceful cooperation and their application on Indo-Pacific context. She urged that organisation around the Indo-Pacific may support each other and promote economic cooperation, trade and investment, connectivity, fishery, women employment, deserter management, etc. to strengthen regional cooperation. She further mentioned that collaboration and cooperation are key to deal with regional challenges.

Ms. Retno L.P. Marsudi, Foreign Minister of Indonesia in her Remarks concerned over rising rivalries between major powers, increasing trend of protectionism, decreasing trusts on multilateralism, which lead to conflict between nations. She spoke on the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific, which was adopted by ASEAN Leaders in June 2019. The Outlook reiterated that cooperation must be promoted not rivalry. She explained the ASEAN Outlook, which emphasised on inclusivity, transparency, openness and international law that must be respected by all nations. She mentioned that since ASEAN is surrounded by ocean, their future also depends on the ocean, and urged to treat ocean as a source of cooperation not as a source of conflicts. She highlighted both ASEAN and India remain connected for open and multilateral cooperation to

address the common challenges in Indo-Pacific. She also referred that Indonesia will organise the Indo-Pacific Infrastructure and Connectivity Forum soon. She encouraged India's cooperation in connectivity and infrastructure in ASEAN member states. She mentioned that synergy among the Indo-Pacific nations plays a vital role for cooperation. In order to maintain peace, stability, freedom and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific, she argued that countries should follow the ASEAN Outlook.

In the present trend of decreasing trust, rising rivalries and collapse of multilateral system, speakers emphasised on the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific that reiterates cooperation to promote inclusivity, transparency and openness and respect international law. Speakers emphasised on the ASEAN centrality and the role of ASEAN and India in the emerging Indo-Pacific to maintain inclusiveness, fair and rules-based order and to develop regional multi-modal connectivity projects, value-based regional space for cyber security, collectively promote rules-based trading system, strengthening good governance, collaboration for cyber security and public issues of the region. Speakers suggested that frequent high-level members meeting and the exchange of information among the member states.

## **Plenary Session II: Indo-Pacific Construct: Emerging Architecture**

Plenary Session II discussed the emerging narratives of Indo-Pacific and explored the ways to strengthen the Indo-Pacific collaboration. This session was chaired by Ambassador T.C.A. Raghavan, Director General, Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA), New Delhi.

Speakers argued that Indo-Pacific has several groupings, which are over lapping such as IORA, IONS, etc. However, those groupings include some countries and exclude some countries in the Indo-Pacific. Therefore, speakers suggested the need of Indo-Pacific wide architecture to comprehensively covering the countries in the region to address the maritime security issues. Besides, speakers endorsed that architecture for the Indo-Pacific could follow flexible coordination among the existing organizations such as ASEAN, APEC, IORA, etc., to realise inclusive coordination across the region instead of a formal agreement to advance goals. Therefore, Indo-Pacific shall not necessarily to have converging issues among the Indo-Pacific. Instead, there could be multi-polar environment, where open and different views can arise to give a platform for small country grouping, developing countries to have

their voice raised and also have a role in constructing Indo-Pacific wide architecture.

To build a new Indo-Pacific security architecture, speakers mentioned that we must consider the rising powers of middle power countries (like, Japan, Australia, France or Bangladesh, South Korea, Indonesia, etc. or smaller countries) as an alternative to the USA (as a traditionally security provider). These middle power countries may play an active role in building the new security architectures across the region. Speakers also emphasized that Indo-Pacific strategic architecture should be based on free and open, inclusiveness, ASEAN-centrality, rules-based international order, freedom of navigation and peaceful settlement of disputes, addressing the maritime security issues such as human trafficking, climate change, marine conservation, among others.

In terms of infrastructure needs, speakers argued that international funding agencies like the World Bank, ADB and AIIB alone cannot fill the current gap. There is a need of mini lateral cooperation such as the formal coordination among the United States, Japan and Australia on infrastructure support in financing to meet the infrastructure needs of the Indo-Pacific region. Besides, there is a need to build institutions like regional grouping of coastguards to address certain specific issues of Indian Ocean. Speakers also suggested to include Blue Economy as the priority in the Indo-Pacific and also to have Indo-Pacific Think-Tank Network (IPTTN), which can be backed by the foreign ministry as a core research team to work for the region to address maritime security issues like migration and trafficking and climate change related issues.

## **Plenary Session III: Regional Connectivity in Indo-Pacific**

Plenary Session III on Regional Connectivity in Indo-Pacific showcased the ongoing collaborations in the connectivity sector and discussed the challenges and opportunities in regional connectivity for the Indo-Pacific. This session was chaired by Ambassador Sudhir Devare, Chairman, Research Advisory Council, RIS.

Speakers highlighted that the different approach of Indo-Pacific construct broadly under basic principles such as peace, stability, freedom and open navigation in accordance with international laws, maritime security and regional connectivity. While all these principles are similar and unexceptional, regional integration is the main aim of the Indo-Pacific. Despite the regional and cultural diversity of the

Indo-Pacific, regional connectivity is the enabler, thereby, connectivity has to be comprehensive, not just for physical infrastructure but also to address the software part such as knowledge, maritime, tourism, digital connectivity. Speakers suggested that to achieve desired result on regional connectivity, each country should respect the sovereignty of countries irrespective of their sizes and resources, and aim towards sustainability to safeguard from the threat of climate change and environmental degradation.

Speakers argued that connectivity is necessary but not the sufficient condition for development. Improvement in infrastructure and connectivity can lead to reduce transportation cost, while reaping the best potential for the region. Indo-pacific could become critical building block for global prosperity and global security. South and South East Asia should be linked through creation and promotion of connectivity with special focus on developing road, railway and maritime linkages. The regional cooperation in Indo-Pacific should emphasize to improve trade facilitation and reduce non-tariff barriers, besides, meeting financing and cooperation challenges on physical and digital infrastructure development. Speakers suggested identifying and supporting innovative financing projects through collaboration and cooperation between Indo-Pacific countries. Speakers suggested that regional connectivity projects should support private sector engagements and follow inclusive approach to ensure spillover effects of the connectivity to the MSMEs, agriculture and empowering women entrepreneurship in the Indo-Pacific region.

Speakers appreciated the India's initiative of "Neighbourhood First" policy and emphasised that India would gain in terms of economic welfare through regional integration by taking small neighbouring countries in the process of Indo-Pacific construct to gain mutual benefit from the Indo-Pacific initiative. Given the rise in maritime crimes, human trafficking, and drugs trade and terrorism, there is need to concretise the security architecture in the Indian Ocean in terms of shared-based approach and coherent national strategy. Speakers highlighted that Sri Lanka's port-led development and access in maritime ocean, it is important for Sri Lanka to be part of the Indo-Pacific framework and take navel responsibility in terms of tackling security issues and maritime connectivity initiatives.

Speakers emphasized that engaging in regional cooperation and connectivity improves stability and security in the Indo-Pacific. Countries should invest and support each other to gain the trust and

mutual engagement in security arrangements. Speakers endorsed that India has huge potential to trade with ASEAN countries. To unlock such potential, India has to improve its competitiveness and effectively utilise the bilateral and multilateral trade agreements to promote exports to ASEAN countries.

Speakers also emphasised on other components of connectivity like strengthening cooperation in Blue Economy, maritime security, freedom of navigation and rules-based architecture. The speakers highlighted that India needs a new avenues for engagement in the Indo-Pacific. Further, they suggested to reinvigorate regional forums like BIMSTEC and strengthen domestic connectivity, especially in India's North-East to unleash the potential in order to realise the goal of Act East Policy. Physical connectivity in the Indo-Pacific region would also help India in integrating itself with ASEAN's Master Plan of Connectivity 2025. They pointed out that the foreseeable future would depend on how well the connectivity projects are realised at a faster pace, and robust regional connectivity, especially through BIMSTEC and in Indo-Pacific region, becomes the guiding force for the economic prosperity and stability in the region.

Speakers underlined the importance of participation of smaller economies like Myanmar in the regional connectivity initiatives. Smaller countries face domestic challenges that require multilateral support and cooperation in infrastructure development in order to strengthen regional connectivity in the region. Speakers also emphasised on new ways of linkages such as social, cultural, political and economic activities that can be used as innovative forms of connectivity to explore new landscapes and geographies.

## **Plenary Session IV: Industrial Revolution 4.0 and Indo-Pacific**

Amb. Bhaskar Balakrishnan, Science Diplomacy Fellow, RIS chaired the Plenary Session IV, which explored the key opportunities and challenges of Industrial Revolution 4.0 in the Indo-Pacific.

Speakers recommended that in the changing world with the dynamics of technological and industrial revolution, Indo-Pacific countries should continue to work closely to unfold the potential of Industrial Revolution (IR) 4.0 for the region. Due to Artificial Intelligence (AI) and other information technology-enabled services (ITeS), the society and industry should prepare to move in a faster pace to leverage the opportunity of IR 4.0. There is also need of rescale and reskill the workforce to adjust

with the fastest changing technologies, and to compensate from the loss of employment due to AI.

Speakers highlighted that technology, education, innovation, infrastructure, policy and cooperation are the key enablers for IR 4.0. On technology perspective, speakers mentioned that society needs to take a responsible approach towards the adoption of the new technologies and also ensure that the paradigm shift does not lead to job loss but results in better jobs. Given the dynamic technological upgradation, acquiring skill may require time. Therefore, countries should promote to set up institutions for skilling and regulation. Standardization is also required for the institutions to compete with the AI. Besides, countries in Indo-Pacific should also promote interoperability of industry for automation/AI and create an efficient ecosystem for all the government bodies.

Speakers also highlighted that the technology should be harnessed to benefit the disadvantaged people and foster more equitable social and economic development. Technology should be transformed for the use of healthcare, agriculture, education with greater access in the field of skill and digital literacy, promoting R&D in universities to encourage home-grown innovative solutions to meet societal challenges. Speakers suggested creating an eco-system for the research and skills across the region and also embracing the strong role of civil society in the region. Therefore, countries in Indo-Pacific should form an expert group for promoting technology, education and innovation and research, and supporting good infrastructure and good governance.

Speakers suggested that countries in Indo-Pacific should collaborate on industry and social sectors in order to provide solutions for adopting the Industry 4.0 technology in the different business sectors and social transformations. Indo-Pacific can also benefit from the strengths of each other in knowledge sharing, technology expertise, software skills, AI skills and educational and research institutions. Speakers also suggested forming Industry consortiums, academia-industry-government consortium, and educational exchanges to build cooperation in the field of technology.

## **Plenary Session V: Future of Multilateral Trading System**

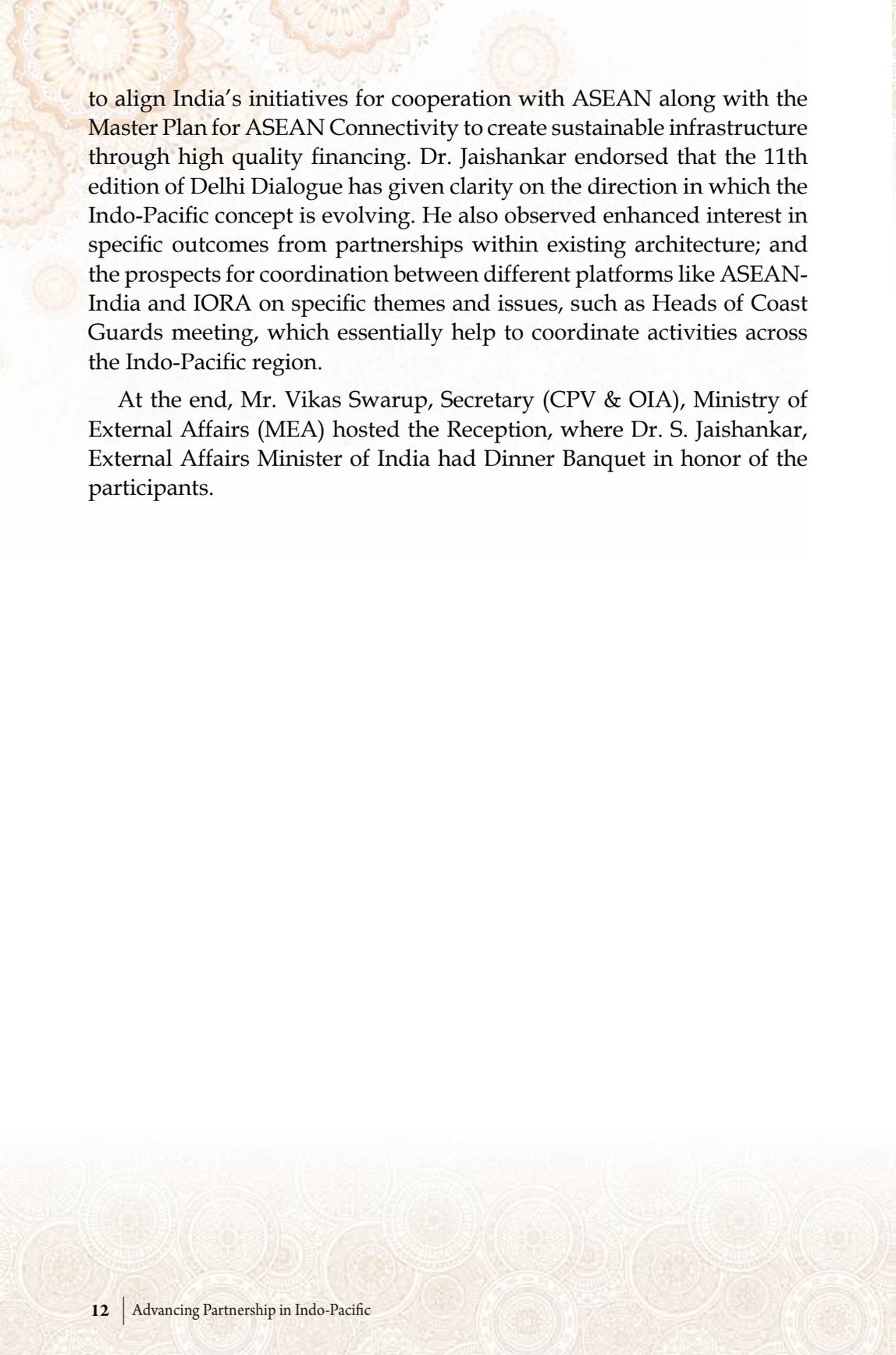
Plenary Session V discussed the future of multilateral trading system and the role of Indo-Pacific in the context of the current multipolar world order. This session was chaired by Dr. Mohan Kumar, Chairman, RIS.

Speakers argued that the lack of functioning capability of WTO and disrupters have discarded the WTO system of trading. Developing countries should increase their significance and substantive negotiation power to protect their interests and also to protect the WTO system. Speakers mentioned that many trade agreements are made in favour of developed nations. Therefore, increase in level of protection in intellectual property rights (IPR) creates burden to developing countries. Speakers suggested that developing countries should acquire strong bargaining power and create a system which is less vulnerable to disruption by any individual country. Any kind of trade disruption is welfare reducing and, therefore, rules-based trading order should guide the Indo-pacific trading systems. Developing countries should follow legitimate methods to protect the economy and make domestic market efficient and competitive, to make investment and business friendly environment with low cost efficient, and to deal with tariff war/protectionism, which are imposed by developed countries.

Speakers argued that in the present global order, WTO faces different challenges and issues like digital tax, e-commerce, agriculture subsidies, climate change, etc. Mostly the developing countries have put several reforms proposals in WTO to address the issues such as abolishing subsidy in agriculture, investment in e-commerce, strengthening small and medium enterprises, and empowerment of women, etc. There is a need to revive the WTO to strengthen trade integration and address dispute settlement issues. WTO should also diversify in addressing the issues such as global value chains, connectivity, trade facilitation, behind the border challenges, services, digital trade, food security, environment, labour standard, etc. to achieve inclusive and sustainable trading arrangement. Speakers also mentioned that ASEAN is committed in supporting the WTO multilateral system. They suggested forming a merit group to promote plurilateral approach rather than unilateral approach. They also argued that in the era of different levels of FTA, cooperation is the key for all nations to achieve inclusive sustainable development.

## Valedictory Session

The 11<sup>th</sup> edition of the Delhi Dialogue ended with the Valedictory Addresses by Dr. S. Jaishankar, External Affairs Minister of India. Dr. Jaishankar in his Valedictory Address emphasised that Indo-Pacific as an open, free and inclusive platform must deliver tangible and meaningful cooperative initiatives. He also mentioned that efforts should be made



to align India's initiatives for cooperation with ASEAN along with the Master Plan for ASEAN Connectivity to create sustainable infrastructure through high quality financing. Dr. Jaishankar endorsed that the 11th edition of Delhi Dialogue has given clarity on the direction in which the Indo-Pacific concept is evolving. He also observed enhanced interest in specific outcomes from partnerships within existing architecture; and the prospects for coordination between different platforms like ASEAN-India and IORA on specific themes and issues, such as Heads of Coast Guards meeting, which essentially help to coordinate activities across the Indo-Pacific region.

At the end, Mr. Vikas Swarup, Secretary (CPV & OIA), Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) hosted the Reception, where Dr. S. Jaishankar, External Affairs Minister of India had Dinner Banquet in honor of the participants.



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# Key Recommendations of Delhi Dialogue XI

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# Key Recommendations

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## Plenary Session I: Building Bridges in Indo-Pacific

- To utilize the existing ASEAN-led mechanisms such as the EAS, ARF, ADMM-Plus, EAMF, and other ASEAN Plus One mechanisms as platforms for dialogue and implementation of Indo-Pacific cooperation.
- To promote India's initiative of 1000 PhD scholarship to students of ASEAN countries and also supporting the capacity building and entrepreneurship programmes in CLMV countries.
- Need of synergy and complementarity between India's connectivity programmes under the Act East Policy and ASEAN connectivity Master Plan 2025
- To promote India's connectivity initiative such as Trilateral Highway and its further extension to CLV countries.

## Ministerial Keynote Session

- ASEAN centrality and the role of ASEAN and India in the emerging Indo-Pacific to maintain inclusiveness, fair and rules-based order and to develop regional multi-modal connectivity projects, value based regional space for cyber security, collectively promote rules-based trading system, strengthening good governance, collaboration for cyber security and public issues of the region.
- Both ASEAN and India shall remain connected for open and multilateral cooperation to address the common challenges in Indo-Pacific.
- Frequent high-level members meeting and the exchange of information between India and ASEAN Member States.
- Ocean should be treated as source of cooperation and not source of conflicts.

## Plenary Session II: Indo-Pacific Construct: Emerging Architecture

- To include Blue Economy as priority area in the Indo-Pacific.
- To initiate Indo-Pacific Think-Tank Network (IPTTN), which can be

backed by the foreign ministry as a core research team to work for the region with support of ICWA and RIS.

- Indo-Pacific shall not necessarily to have a convergence on issues in Indo-Pacific. Rather, there could be multi-polar environment, where open and different views can arise.

### **Plenary Session III: Regional Connectivity in Indo-Pacific**

- To support private sector engagements and follow inclusive approach in the Indo-Pacific region.
- Connectivity has to be comprehensive, not just physical infrastructure but also address the software part such as knowledge, maritime, tourism, digital connectivity.
- To identify and support innovative financing projects through collaboration and cooperation between Indo-Pacific countries.

### **Plenary Session IV: Industrial Revolution 4.0 and Indo-Pacific**

- In this changing world with the dynamics of technological and industrial revolution, Indo-Pacific countries should continue to work closely and unfold the potential of IR 4.0 for the region.
- To create an eco-system for the research and skills across the region and also embrace the strong role of civil society in the region.
- To create an expert group in Indo-Pacific in order to adopt new technology, education and innovation and research, and support for good infrastructure and good governance.

### **Plenary Session V: Future of Multilateral Trading System**

- To strengthen the multilateral trading system and the WTO.
- Trade disruption is welfare reducing and we need to promote own economies.
- Rules-based trading order should guide the Indo-Pacific trading systems.
- To make the domestic environment more competitive.



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# Agenda of Delhi Dialogue XI

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## Agenda

### Day I: 13 December 2019

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#### 17.00 – 18.00 Plenary Session I: Building Bridges in Indo-Pacific

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**Chair:** Amb. Le Luong Minh, Former Secretary General of ASEAN

**Panellists**

- H.E. Mr. Robert Matheus Michael Tene, Deputy Secretary-General of ASEAN for Community and Corporate Affairs, ASEAN Secretariat
- H.E. Mr. Norng Sakal, Under Secretary of State, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Cambodia
- H.E. Ms. Emaleen binti Abdul Rahman Teo, Permanent Secretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brunei Darussalam
- H.E. Ms. Pornpimol Kanchanalak, Advisor and Special Envoy of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thailand
- H.E. U Soe Han, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Myanmar
- H.E. Mr. Somchith Inthamith, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Industry and Commerce, Lao PDR

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18.00 – 19.00

**Ministerial Keynote Session**

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- Remarks by H.E. Mr V. Muraleedharan, Minister of State for External Affairs (MEA), India
- Remarks by H.E. Dr. Nomvuyo Nokwe, Secretary General, IORA
- Address by H.E. Ms. Retno L.P. Marsudi, Foreign Minister of Indonesia
- Vote of Thanks by Dr. Mohan Kumar, Chairman, RIS

**Group Photo**

**Release of DD X Proceedings (*Strengthening India-ASEAN Maritime Cooperation*)**

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19.00

**Reception Hosted by Secretary (CPV & OPA), Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), Government of India (Venue: PBK)**

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19.15

**Dinner Hosted by External Affairs Minister of India (Venue: PBK)**

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**Day II: 14 December 2019**

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09.30 – 11.00

**Plenary Session II: Indo-Pacific Construct: Emerging Architecture**

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**Chair:** Ambassador Dr. T.C.A. Raghavan, Director General, Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA), New Delhi

***Panellists:***

- Dr. Alyssa Ayres, Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), Washington D.C.
- Dr. David Brewster, Senior Research Fellow, National Security College, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, Australia National University (ANU), Canberra
- Dr. William Choong, Shangri-La Dialogue Senior Fellow for Asia-Pacific Security, IISS, Singapore
- Dr. Tomohiko Satake, National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), Tokyo

- Prof. Dmitry Mosyakov, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS), Moscow

**11.00 – 11.30      Tea and Coffee Break**

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**11.30 – 13.00      Plenary Session III: Regional Connectivity in Indo-Pacific**

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**Chair:** Ambassador Sudhir Devare, Chairman, Research Advisory Council, RIS

- Special Address: Mr. Rajat Nag, Distinguished Fellow, NCAER, New Delhi and Former Managing Director General, Asian Development Bank (ADB)

***Panellists:***

- Dr. Naoyoshi Noguchi, Head, Bangkok Research Centre (BRC), Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO), Bangkok
- Dr. Arjun Goswami, Head, Regional Cooperation and Integration, Asian Development Bank (ADB), Manila
- Dr. Zaw Oo, Executive Director, Centre for Economic and Social Development (CESD), Yangon
- Mr. Seshadri Chari, Member, Governing Council, Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS), New Delhi
- Dr. Ganeshan Wignaraja, Executive Director, Lakshman Kadirgamar Institute (LKI), Colombo

**13.00 – 14.00      Lunch**

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**14.00 – 15.30      Plenary Session IV: Industrial Revolution 4.0 and Indo-Pacific**

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**Chair:** Amb. Bhaskar Balakrishnan, Science Diplomacy Fellow, RIS, New Delhi

- Special Address: Prof. Prabhat Ranjan, Vice-Chancellor, D Y Patil International University, Akruvi, Pune

***Panellists:***

- Dr. Jayant Menon, Lead Economist, Asian Development Bank (ADB), Manila

- Prof. U Dinesh Kumar, Professor in Decision Sciences and Information Systems, Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore & President of Analytics Society of India, Bengaluru
- Prof. Sudeshna Sarkar, Head, The Centre for Excellence in Artificial Intelligence, Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur
- Mr. Vivek Saha, Direct and Head, Digital Transformation and Industry 4.0, National Association of Software and Services Companies (NASSCOM) - Centre of Excellence, New Delhi

**15.30 – 15.45      Tea and Coffee Break**

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**15.45 – 17.00      Plenary Session V: Future of Multilateral Trading System**

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**Chair:** Dr. Mohan Kumar, Chairman, RIS

- Special Address: Dr. Anup Wadhawan, Commerce Secretary, Government of India

***Panellists:***

- Dr. Carlos Maria Correia, Executive Director, South Centre (SC), Geneva
- Dr. John Hancock, Senior Counselor, Economic Research and Statistics Division, World Trade Organization, World Trade Organization (WTO), Geneva
- Dr. Harsha Vardhan Singh, Former Deputy Director-General, World Trade Organization (WTO)
- Dr. Vo Tri Thanh, Senior Advisor, Central Institute for Economic Management (CIEM), Hanoi

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**17.00 – 17.30      Valedictory Address by H.E. Dr S Jaishankar, External Affairs Minister of India**

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# Concept Note of Delhi Dialogue XI

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# Concept Note

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1. Over the last decade since its launch in 2009, the Delhi Dialogue has become India's flagship forum for Track 1.5 strategic dialogue convening leaders, policy makers, business, academia and civil society from both India and ASEAN. This year the Delhi Dialogue XI (DDXI) will take place on 13-14 December, 2019 at the Pravasi Bharatiya Kendra (PBK), New Delhi. It will convene Ministers and senior dignitaries of India and ASEAN member states, the Secretary-Generals of ASEAN and IORA, and eminent scholars, policy makers and practitioners, diplomats, business and civil society at an event hosted by the Hon'ble External Affairs Minister of India.
2. The theme for DD XI is "Advancing Partnership in Indo-Pacific". In recognition of the centrality of ASEAN in India's conception of the Indo-Pacific, the objective of the current edition of the Delhi Dialogue is to generate deeper understanding of the concept and to identify shared perspectives and new avenues of partnership between India and ASEAN leading to a fruitful discourse on the emerging regional architecture.
3. The 'Indo-Pacific' construct has gained significant traction recently. The Indo-Pacific is a natural region and is home to not just opportunities but also challenges. The ten countries of ASEAN connect the two great Oceans i.e. Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean in both the geographical and civilizational sense. It is for this reason we believe that openness, inclusiveness, ASEAN-centrality, rules-based order, freedom of navigation and peaceful settlement of disputes all lie at the very core of the Indo-Pacific. There is considerable convergence in both the Indian and the ASEAN conception of the Indo-Pacific. The Indian conception, much like the ASEAN conception, emphasizes openness, inclusiveness and ASEAN centrality. A rules-based order is also something that both India and ASEAN underline quite strongly. While India talks of peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with international law, ASEAN goes one step further and specifies the UN Charter, the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea and other relevant UN and ASEAN treaties as well as conventions. Both India and ASEAN emphasize connectivity in the Indo-Pacific and underline cooperation over rivalry.

4. The ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific talks of further strengthening and optimization of ASEAN-led mechanisms, including the East Asia Summit (EAS), the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), the Expanded ASEAN Maritime Forum (EAMF) etc. In the light of this, one important question that could be posed is whether there is a need for additional mechanisms and if so, what form and shape this should take. In answering this, the Conference may also dwell on the role of the Indo-Pacific in the context of the current multipolar world order characterised by uncertainty and a palpable decline in multilateralism. In other words, can the Indo-Pacific provide a beacon of hope and stability in the precarious world of today.
5. The Hon'ble Indian Prime Minister has made it abundantly clear that we do not see Indo-Pacific as a strategy or as a club of limited members. Furthermore, it is not a grouping that seeks to dominate nor is it directed against any country. As the Hon'ble Indian Prime Minister pointed out at the Shangri-La Dialogue in June 2018, India's vision for the Indo-Pacific region (from the shores of Africa to that of the Americas) is a positive and inclusive one. As he put it, the vision for Indo-Pacific is based on respect, dialogue, cooperation, peace and prosperity.
6. Drawing from the above, the Delhi Dialogue XI is aimed at building a large consensus around the Indo-Pacific by looking specifically at: a possible architecture, an open/stable trading environment, improved regional connectivity and the 4<sup>th</sup> Industrial Revolution and its ramifications. By looking at all these issues through the prism of the Indo-Pacific, the Delhi Dialogue XI hopes to make a definite contribution to taking things forward between the two principal actors in the Indo-Pacific, namely, India and the ASEAN.
7. A detailed programme will be circulated separately. The Delhi Dialogue XI is being organized by the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India in close collaboration with the RIS (Research and Information System for Developing Countries and its ASEAN-India Centre) and other valued partners such as AIBC (ASEAN-India Business Council) and ERIA (Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia).



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**Welcome Address  
Delivered by the Minister  
of State for External Affairs  
of India**

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# Welcome Address

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**H.E. Mr V. Muraleedharan**

Minister of State for External Affairs, India

*Your Excellency, Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi, of the Republic of Indonesia;  
Your Excellency, Dr Nomvuye Noqwe, Secretary General of IORA,  
Distinguished Deputy Ministers and Permanent Secretaries,  
Other distinguished Invitees,*

*Ladies and Gentlemen*

I am delighted to offer a few words of welcome at this Ministerial meeting which, appropriately enough, links the conclusion of the Indian Ocean Dialogue with the start of the Delhi Dialogue. It is a pleasure to welcome all the distinguished friends, scholars and thought leaders to New Delhi in this winter season. And I am grateful to the Indian Council for World Affairs, and the Research and Information System for Developing Countries, for their efforts, support and hard work to put together an ambitious set of events here in New Delhi.

As the Indo-Pacific concept, and its essential attributes – of openness, freedom, inclusion, rules-based architecture and equality of all nations – develop momentum, it is most timely that nations from the IORA family and our ASEAN partners gather here to discuss the consequential issues that this important concept offers us.

I say this is timely because in recent years, there has been a steady trend in which nations have recognized that there is compelling logic and increasingly, a certain inevitability about the Indo-Pacific concept. Our friends in ASEAN recently set out their own Outlook on the Indo-Pacific, and many of the nations in this geography have also set out their own approaches to this concept. Our Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi has already set out India's vision and approach to the Indo-Pacific in his address to the Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore in 2018, and to his counterparts at the 14th East Asia Summit in Bangkok in November this year.

Taking all of these factors into account, therefore it could be said that we are attempting something new in setting out a broader canvas to discuss the Indo-Pacific, and by hosting both our Indian Ocean and Delhi Dialogues back-to-back. As the theme of the Indian Ocean Dialogue suggests, there is perhaps a sense of an “expanded” geography to this event.

However, if we were to look back through history, it would be evident that the notion of a shared maritime space is not new to any of us. Over the centuries of recorded history, the nations of this shared Indo-Pacific maritime region have traded goods, ideas and services with each other. Not only have we left an imprint on each other through food, language and philosophy, our quest to develop connectivity between us has also been a driver of science, technology and innovation.

Indeed, we could reasonably argue that the artificial separation of this region during the Cold War has now declined, as a bipolar era of hostility has receded. This has allowed the seamlessness of the maritime domain to re-assert itself.

*Ladies and Gentlemen, Excellencies,*

Since your presence here underlines eloquently your interest in an Indo-Pacific that promotes tangible and mutually beneficial cooperation, open to all, it seems to me that these Dialogues should deliver recommendations and new ideas to make our partnership more relevant to our citizens. We can achieve this objective when we ensure that we prioritize action-oriented cooperation and meaningful programmes. I am hopeful therefore, that your discussions earlier today at the Indian Ocean Dialogue, and during the Delhi Dialogue tomorrow, will yield a rich harvest of ideas, plans and visions for the betterment of our region.

Once again, I thank each and every one of you for your presence in New Delhi today.

Thank you once again.



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# Remarks Delivered by the Secretary General, IORA

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# Remarks

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## **H.E. Dr. Nomvuyo Nokwe** **Secretary General, IORA**

*Excellency Retno Marsudi, Foreign Minister of Indonesia*

*His Excellency Shri Muraleedharan, Honorable Minister of State for External Affairs Government of India*

*Ambassador Mohan Kumar, Chairman of RIS*

*Distinguished delegates*

*Ladies and Gentlemen*

Good evening and I welcome you to this final flagship session of IORA flagship events for the year the Indian Ocean dialogue. I did like to thank the Government of India for its excellent arrangements in hosting us here today. I would also like to thank India for taking the initiative to bring IORA together with our counterparts the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. On the 23 June 2019, ASEAN adopted the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific at the ASEAN senior officials meeting held in Bangkok, Thailand. The ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific suggested to explore potential synergies with sub-regional frameworks such as IORA, Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC).

In terms of population and 2018 data, if the pacific regional grouping is to become a reality in the near future it will cover over 64 per cent of the total population of the world. The share of APEC is about 38 per cent and that of IORA is about over 30 per cent. The share of Southeast Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is about a little bit over 24 per cent and that of ASEAN is only 8 or 8.5 per cent. In terms of its share in world GDP, it accounts for over 70 per cent, APEC for 59 per cent and IORA for about 10 per cent. Similarly in terms of share in world exports, it accounts for about 59 per cent, APEC about 45 per cent, IORA about a little bit over 11 per cent. In terms of share in the world imports, Indo-Pacific accounts for about 60 per cent, APEC about 45 per cent, and IORA about 11 per cent. Therefore, it is in many ways that IORA looks upon ASEAN for learning lessons for strengthening regional cooperation. ASEAN is centrally stable and worked successfully to

bring about prosperity in the Southeast Asia. Similarly, IORA is striving to achieving and promoting same goals across the Indian Ocean.

Taking a wider view, the excellent dialogue that took place today, confirmed the opportunities and responsibilities before as for to pursuing those same goals together across a broader Indo-Pacific region. IORA, 22 member states and 10 dialogue partners are a critical mass in the Indian Ocean region and, of course, each has its own view on what the Indo-Pacific means. Coming together as a collective, IORA's guiding principles and objectives emphasis on achieving desired that we striving to make in promoting regional cooperation in the Indian Ocean region. They will continue to guide us as we lift our gaze and collaborate with ASEAN and other across the entire Indo-Pacific region.

So, therefore, permit me to touch upon three of the most important of IORA's guiding principles set out in the IORA Charter and how they apply in the Indo-Pacific context. First, we are inclusive, everything we do include all member states and dialogue partners to the greatest extent. We take decisions by consensus. Commentators are right to observe that this slows us down from time to time. But they often miss the value of inclusive decision-making that reflects strong united position of all member states. They miss the value of engaging with the members on the bases of same terms and same rights regardless of their size, location, wealth or other factors such as their connective it with supply chains.

Likewise the Indo-Pacific is an inclusive concept. The Indo-Pacific has been responsible for more than two-thirds of the global growth over the last ten years and those opportunities are available to all. The drivers of this growth include resources, energy, exports, many of which flow from the eastern seaboard of Africa to the South East Asia to Americas, that is right across the Indo-Pacific. Including economies particularly smaller lesser developed countries in these supply chains is important to sharing the benefits of economic growth in an equitable sustainable way.

IORA is based on the principle of sovereign equality. Our members and dialogue partners respect each other territorial integrity and political independence. Our cooperation is premised upon peaceful coexistence. Our decisions are made without prejudice to the rights of each country to conduct its own affairs in the manner it sees fit. For example, membership of IORA does not preclude member states signing up economic and trade agreements outside our association. Right across the Indo-Pacific, we see these principles being upheld and championed

by our ASEAN colleagues. Like ASEAN, IORA has an important role to play in upholding the rules of state-based international system, and within that system encourage respect each country's roles and responsibilities.

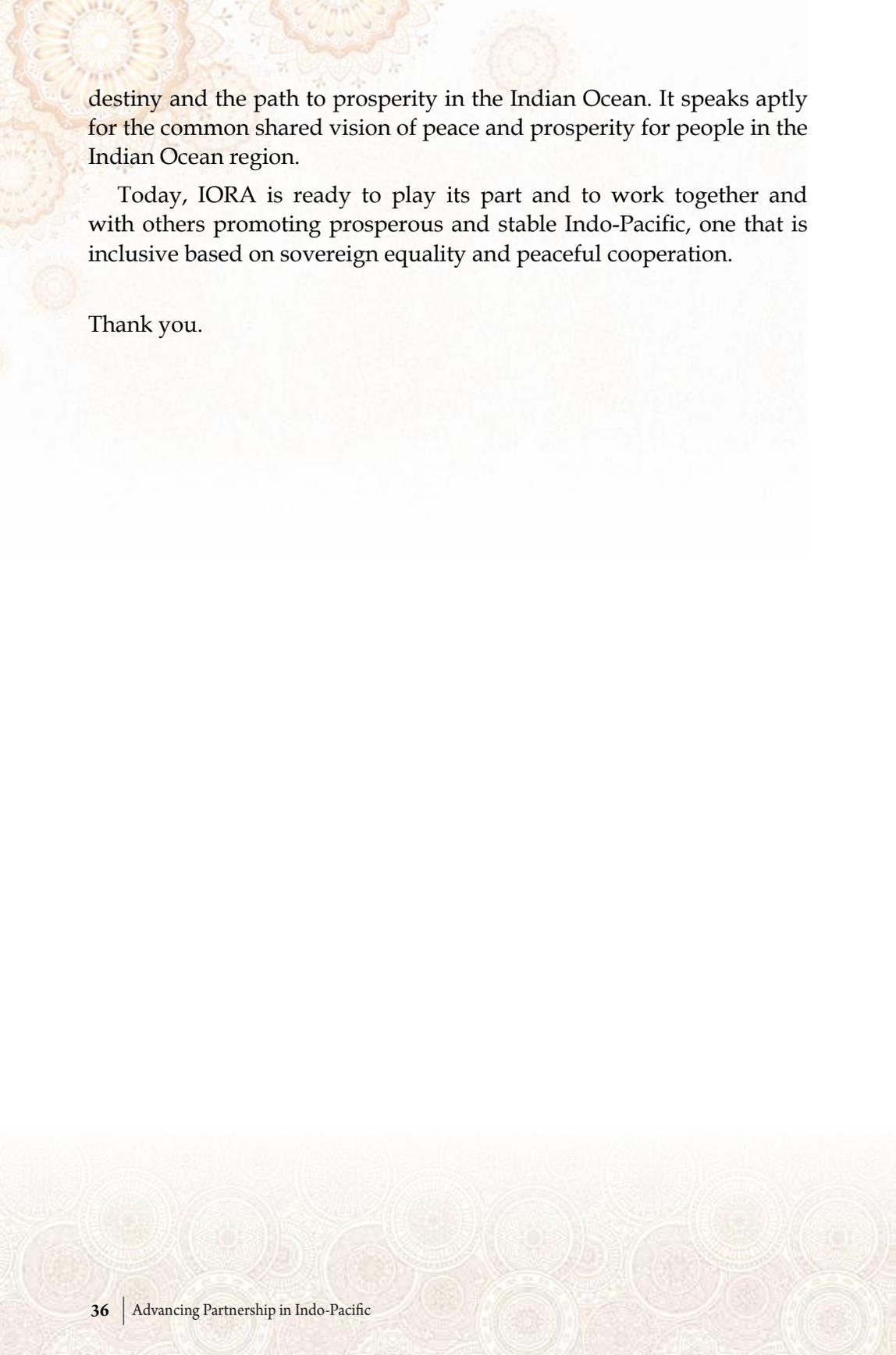
This brings me to the third guiding principle, within IORA peaceful cooperation. Cooperation within IORA seeks to maximise mutual benefit and avoid issues that may cause controversy. IORA is not a forum where bilateral disputes come to resolution or where one country can go alone in pursuing narrowly focused initiatives. The very reason we exist as an association is to work together for the prosperity and the stability of the Indian Ocean region, in line with the vision of our leaders outlined in Jakarta conclave 2017.

It was our founding father Nelson Mandela who recognized that peaceful, social and economic cooperation naturally and logically flows from the facts of the shared history and geography of the Indian Ocean region. Likewise ASEAN, APEC, the Indian Ocean Commission Pacific Islands Forum and others are all striving to improve peaceful cooperation for the benefit of the member states across the Indo-Pacific. Indeed these organizations which have a collective responsibility to shape the Indo-Pacific to promote the respectful cooperative behaviours, we wish to improve the security and living standards of our communities. I believe that these organizations can better support each other in meeting these responsibilities.

Why are we promoting issues such as trade, the economy or maritime security in isolation, when by their very nature, these are international public goods shared right across the Indo-Pacific? We should be sharing lessons on empowering women, managing fisheries and mitigating disasters at a regional level.

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

Cooperation and collaboration are key for maximizing the opportunities and meeting the challenges that our member states share across the Indo-Pacific. I hope to see more dialogue and high level joint sessions such as this so that IORA, ASEAN and other regional organizations can exchange lessons and perspectives more frequently right across the Indo-Pacific. I also hope to see practical interaction between our association and the sectoral level. We do not want to reinvent the wheel, when it comes to the effective regional cooperation. The UAE took the chairmanship of IORA in November 2019 and under the theme of promoting shared



destiny and the path to prosperity in the Indian Ocean. It speaks aptly for the common shared vision of peace and prosperity for people in the Indian Ocean region.

Today, IORA is ready to play its part and to work together and with others promoting prosperous and stable Indo-Pacific, one that is inclusive based on sovereign equality and peaceful cooperation.

Thank you.



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**Address Delivered by the  
Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Republic of Indonesia**

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# Address

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**H.E. Retno L. P. Marsudi**

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia

*Excellency Minister of State of the Republic of India,*

*Secretary General of IORA,*

*Ambassadors, Excellencies,*

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

We all witness the increasing rivalries between major powers, increasing trend of protectionism, decreasing trust on multilateralism and the continuation of wars and conflicts.

And who will be at the brunt of these impacts, should the trend continue?

Mahatma Gandhi once said, “an eye for eye leaves the whole world blind”.

Wise words from a very wise man. And of course congratulations on the celebration of the 150 years of Mahatma this year (2019).

It is true that in wars or conflict no one will benefit.

The President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, before the meeting of the IMF/ the World Bank, in Bali October 2018, posed a question.

“Is it now the right time to compete against each other?

Or, is it now the right time to cooperate and collaborate?”

My President is worried that we are all so busy competing and attacking each other, we forget that we are all facing a bigger and larger threat to humanity that is instability and poverty.

My President’s words forced me to work harder, together with my ASEAN colleagues to ensure that peace and prosperity that thrives in South East Asian region could also be enjoyed in the Indo-Pacific region and to present an Indo-Pacific concept that could contribute to bringing peace and prosperity in the region.

The ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific was adopted by ASEAN Leaders in June 2019. The Outlook reiterated that cooperation must be promoted not rivalry. The Outlook also emphasized that inclusivity, transparency, and openness must be bolstered and international law must be respected.

*Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

India and ASEAN have stood united for centuries due to our shared oceans. For India, for ASEAN and for Indo-Pacific region, the ocean, the sea, straits and bays are our future. More than 90 per cent of the global trade volume are conducted through the ocean. More than 40 per cent of the global trade value pass through the ocean and 61 per cent of the world's crude oil production is distributed through the ocean.

The world's maritime resources are valued at around 24 trillion US Dollars. Almost half of the world's population or around 3.2 billion people live within a 100 km radius from the sea.

In short, the ocean is our future. The ocean is our common prosperity. We have no option but to ensure that the sea unites and not divide. We must also ensure that our ocean becomes a source of cooperation, not a source of conflicts.

Therefore, the promotion of maritime cooperation, for ASEAN and India in the Indo-Pacific region is not an option, it is a necessity.

Moreover, as the Indo-Pacific region face both traditional security challenges and rising non-traditional security challenges, ASEAN and India also share the responsibility to ensure maritime safety and security in the region.

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

ASEAN and India must also work to enhance maritime economic cooperation in Indo-Pacific region. ASEAN and India have experienced positive growth above the global economic growth. We have become one of the centers for economic growth in the Indo-Pacific region. To ensure that we continue this positive trend, in the midst of rising trend of protectionism, ASEAN and India's economies should continue to uphold an open and inclusive strategic outlook. ASEAN-India partnership should remain committed to promote a win-win and not a zero-sum paradigm.

The conclusion of the RCEP will send a powerful signal to the world that ASEAN and India remain committed to an open, free, and fair multilateral trading system.

The implementation of concrete projects between ASEAN and India will strengthen our economic cooperation. An important area of cooperation that should be further explored is maritime infrastructure and connectivity. It will allow cargo ships and shipments to pass through our regions, boosting more robust trade and investments. Last year, Indonesia and India began its collaboration in this area through Aceh and Andaman-Nicobar project.

Considering the implementation of ASEAN Outlook on the Indo Pacific and the importance of infrastructure and connectivity cooperation, at the ASEAN-India Summit last month, President Joko Widodo announced that Indonesia will organize the Indo-Pacific Infrastructure and Connectivity Forum in 2020. India's participation, government as well as private enterprises, are very much welcomed.

India has also enhanced cooperation with other ASEAN countries on connectivity and infrastructure sector. Now, one thing that requires our attention is that the many connectivity plans in the Indo-Pacific also raise concerns for space, resources, influence and results. Therefore, synergy is key.

*Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

Both India and ASEAN have common concerns and interests in our shared ocean. The Secretary General of IORA also mentioned this in her statement.

We share the same vision to maintain peace, stability, and prosperity as reflected in the ASEAN-Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP) and India's Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative (IOPI).

Moving forward, we need to strengthen cooperation in better aligning the two concepts based on mutual values and mutual areas of cooperation.

We need to use the outlook as a guide to better contribute to the maintenance of peace, stability, freedom and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific region.

*Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

We must work together in facing challenges in the Indo-Pacific and to bring our relations further. The challenge now is how we can implement the visions into concrete actions and projects. To conclude, I hope the dialogue can produce concrete recommendations for advancing our partnership.

Thank you.





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**Valedictory Address  
Delivered by the External  
Affairs Minister of India**

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# Valedictory Address

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**H.E. Dr S Jaishankar**

External Affairs Minister, India

*Distinguished delegates,*

*Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

At the outset, let me convey my warmest appreciation to all delegates for entrusting us with your time these past few days in New Delhi. I appreciate the thoughts set out by so many speakers as well.

I would also like to place on record my deep appreciation to the Indian Council for World Affairs and the RIS - Research and Information System for developing countries, in particular, Ambassadors Raghavan and Mohan Kumar and their teams, for all their assistance to this event.

Apart from the obvious reason that we are hosting these events, I do believe that our discussions on the broad concept of the Indo-Pacific have been very opportune. For one, there is now a visible trend of countries subscribing to this concept. That is understandable, because there is an incontrovertible geographic logic to the Indo-Pacific.

Another reason for the relevance of this set of dialogues is that there is greater recognition today that the maritime domain requires us to understand that challenges and opportunities are less well-defined as they are in the continental domain. As the UAE delegation underlined at the Indian Ocean Dialogue yesterday, we need to accept that one can't draw lines on an ocean and say, one challenge ends here, and something else is an issue over there. Logically, therefore, more dialogue enables better understanding of the borderless nature of today's challenges and opportunities.

The original logic of inter-connected maritime space has today reasserted itself, naturally and in an evolutionary manner. As I said at the Indian Ocean Conference in the Maldives in September, the Indo-Pacific concept is not tomorrow's forecast, but yesterday's reality. Others speaking here these past two days have variously made the same point, which is in short: economic and civilizational impulses link the

eastern and southern shores of Africa through the Gulf, the Arabian Sea island nations, the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia, Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific islands. We can certainly say that this is the way it has always been in our region. And perhaps this is as it should be.

Appropriately, our discussions over the past two days also reflected the reality that we are yet to reach any kind of agreement, leave alone consensus, on the Indo-Pacific concept, or even its geographic extent. But equally, there was recognition that while there may be a multiplicity of views on the Indo-Pacific and all that it contains, there is everything to gain by engaging with this concept, and trying to build the idea outward as we go.

One step in building this concept outward is enhancing the Indian Ocean region's community's involvement with, and in, the notion of an Indo-Pacific. While the nations of the eastern Indian Ocean and States on the connecting seas leading to the Pacific are defining their vision of the Indo-Pacific, there is room for a western Indian Ocean version of this concept too. In line with our own view that the Indo-Pacific naturally includes our western ocean neighbours in the Gulf, the Island nations of the Arabian Sea, and our partners in Africa, India's approach to this concept led us to recognize that both geographical extremities of the Indo-Pacific and everything in between should ideally have their own indigenously evolved approach to the Indo-Pacific.

And that is why we were among the first to welcome the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific.

And, as I suggested in the Maldives earlier this year, the challenge of building an Indian Ocean community went beyond the recognition of cultural and historical links requires a strong strategic imperative; one which drives existing mechanisms with a new sense of purpose.

And that is why I am pleased that in line with the mandate given to this sixth Indian Ocean Dialogue, as the designated Track 1.5 mechanism of IORA, an initial set of ideas on the Indo-Pacific has been produced in a "Delhi Consensus" document. This timely document will be presented to the next IORA senior officials meeting next year.

*Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

While policy-makers, diplomats and academics congregate to iterate ideas, concepts and strategies, there is equally a need to ensure that we do not get mired in a potentially misleading quest to find a complete identity of views on every element of every concept. On the contrary, the more important task at hand is to invest time and effort to use the Indo-

Pacific as an open, free and inclusive platform to deliver tangible and meaningful cooperative initiatives. For this to happen, it is in everyone's interest to ensure that the doors remain open to cooperation on as wide a platform as possible.

In other words, it makes more sense for all us to focus on what we do, and with as many partners as possible.

To put it differently, there must also be a tangible component, beyond conceptual discussions.

Take, for instance, the case of connectivity. There is clearly room for much more to be done within this region: what is needed is for us to find ways to build upon plans to enhance connectivity, regionally and through sub-regional initiatives.

As the Indonesian Foreign Minister Her Excellency Retno Marsudi reminded us in her keynote address yesterday, there is space for us to reclaim infrastructure connectivity on our own, within our region. Our effort to align our initiatives for cooperation with ASEAN along with the Master Plan for ASEAN Connectivity is an example of what we need to do. These are existing opportunities for us to collectively create sustainable infrastructure through high quality financing. The Indonesian President's initiative, announced at the East Asian Summit this November, to host a major event on Indo-Pacific infrastructure connectivity, offers an important opening for all of us.

Another area where tangible outcomes can help us ensure implementation runs in tandem with ideation is partnership-building projects. Over the past few days, a number of ideas were set out, including by India, for such partnerships. Our scientific departments offered a number of new initiatives, including a Grand Challenges scheme for the IORA; a fellowship scheme for up to 100 post-doctoral scholars; place for partners on our Oceanic Research vessels; co-branded IORA research facilities; and to share existing technologies in India for low-cost, low-energy consuming desalination facilities, which may be useful especially for island nations.

A further area for partnerships, as identified by a number of speakers, was maritime security in its widest sense. While we all need to work together to share maritime domain data to ensure that every link of the maritime security chain is equally strong, there are also challenges to human security that also need to be addressed. And many of our partners from island states reminded us very eloquently of this. For instance,

plastic pollution has an impact on the entire range of economic activities that sustain communities in islands and littoral areas. The implications of the loss of productive economic capacity include significant social and economic consequences and we have seen that in Somalia and Yemen.

It was in this broader context that our Prime Minister suggested the idea of an Indo-Pacific Oceans' Initiative in his intervention at the 14th East Asia Summit last month in Bangkok. This initiative, in short, calls for establishing a free, open and cooperative platform to respond to a range of maritime challenges and needs. These include maritime security; managing the maritime environment; disaster risk mitigation; sustainable use of marine resources, including IUU fishing; capacity building; and maritime trade and transport. I am glad that this concept found mention and support in several interventions during these past few days. We look forward to start work on some of the pillars of this initiative in the first few months of 2020.

A third broad area of conversation that we had apart from definitions, history, and opportunities was around the idea of platforms for coordination.

For India, the answer to the question of whom to work with, and how, is easily answered. Naturally, the defining principle for us is to ensure that the region remains open and free for inclusive partnerships with all, within the parameters of sovereignty, equality, and a rules-based system.

Operationally, it is only logical that instead of trying to set up new architecture, we work with architecture that already exists. To our east, there are clearly no shortage of mechanisms. Primarily, though, the most successful and therefore the obvious choices for partnership, are essentially the ASEAN-led mechanisms, especially the East Asia Summit, but also consultative processes such as the ARF, ADMM+ and the Expanded ASEAN Maritime Forum (EAMF). As one of the speakers said at the Delhi Dialogue, there is already an alphabet-soup of mechanisms in this region.

But there is much less architecture that covers the Indo-Pacific region west of India, IORA notwithstanding and certainly no architecture currently that spans the entire region from end to end.

In this case, therefore what is it that we should be doing? Personally, I am not sure that the right way forward is to first find a way of creating end to end architecture, covering all possible areas of interest, before

exploring what we should be doing together. In other words, I think it is not a productive exercise to create architecture first and then look for rationale: more often than not, successful platforms and mechanisms have been the result of a felt need for regional or trans-regional cooperation.

If that premise is reasonable, and I do believe it is, I believe we should look to make progress steadily to find thematic synergies between platforms in the entire region. From our perspective, India will look to transfer lessons from the progress we hope to make in our partnerships in ASEAN-led mechanisms to the western Indian Ocean region, especially IORA. The goal should eventually be for all of us to have the capacity to seamlessly switch between platforms across the region, so as to deliver meaningful outcomes. In doing so, we can make better efforts to maximize the impact of our capabilities and resources, as well as the quality of outcomes.

As we come to the end of one more edition of the Delhi Dialogue today, I would say the main takeaway from this large and complex set of events include: greater clarity on the direction in which the Indo-Pacific concept is evolving; enhanced interest in specific outcomes from partnerships within existing architecture; and the prospects, however nascent, for coordination between different platforms like ASEAN-India and IORA, albeit for now on specific themes and issues.

What this effort to create convergence across platforms potentially promises is that the process of finding trans-Indo-Pacific convergence may not be as complex as we think. Today, one of the speakers I believe cited a standing mechanism of Heads of Coast Guards that works to coordinate across the entire Indo-Pacific. This is a singular example at least that we know. But perhaps it works precisely because it focuses on specific areas for partnership in which all parties see value.

In that case, this means the path toward a mutually beneficial, free, open, inclusive, and cooperative Indo-Pacific can begin from identifying specific actions to enhance cooperation on issues of broad interest to everyone.

President John F Kennedy said that there are risks and costs to every action. But these are far less than the long range risks of comfortable inaction.

Today as we look at the Indo-Pacific concept outlook for some countries, approaches for others, it is important that we all apply



ourselves to what is clearly a conceptual challenge for the entire Indo-Pacific community and I am very appreciative of the fact that the Delhi Dialogue has focused on this particular issue.

I thank you all for being here today and once again my thanks to all the organizers for what has clearly been a very successful event.

Thank you very much.



**Part II**



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**Paper/Speeches Presented/  
Delivered**

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**Plenary Session I**



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**Building Bridges in  
Indo-Pacific**

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# Remarks

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## H. E. Robert Matheus Michael Tene

Deputy Secretary-General of ASEAN for  
Community and Corporate Affairs

*Your Excellency Dr. S. Jaishankar, Minister of External Affairs of India,  
Excellencies Ministers,  
Your Excellencies,  
Distinguished Participants, Ladies and Gentlemen*

On-behalf of the Secretary-General of ASEAN, let me convey our congratulations to the organisers for convening this Dialogue and our appreciation for the warm hospitality accorded to us all.

Allow me to share a few thoughts on “Advancing Partnership in Indo-Pacific”.

We in ASEAN place a high importance on our relations with our external partners, including India, and we work closely with all of them to ensure that the partnerships remain mutually beneficial, dynamic and adaptive to the evolving regional and global challenges.

Platforms for thinking through ASEAN’s relations with its partners, such as this Delhi Dialogue, are useful. Not only do dialogues such as this contribute to the strengthening of our partnerships, they are also useful in exploring ways on how to further deepen our relations. We are confident that this year’s Dialogue would once more, as past Dialogues did, generate ideas on how to further enrich the ASEAN-India Strategic Partnership.

*Excellencies, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

The ASEAN story is one of regional efforts to promote peace and stability, enhance our peoples’ economic well-being and work together for regional development and progress. Since its establishment in 1967, ASEAN has matured as a regional organisation, but we acknowledge that we still have a long way to go in acknowledging the diversity, different levels of economic and social development of the individual members of ASEAN, while we work towards building an ASEAN Community. What should

not be doubted is the political will and commitment of ASEAN Member States on the importance and relevance of this Community, individually to each member and collectively for our region.

Our partners, which have supported us through the years, recognise that ASEAN has been instrumental in promoting regional peace and stability in Southeast Asia and beyond. We appreciate that we continue to receive requests from a number of countries from different regions to establish some form of formal links with us.

ASEAN is determined to pursue our Community building aspirations. We are clear of our plans as contained in our Community Vision 2025 and its Political Security, Economic and Socio-Cultural Blueprints. Next year, we will undertake a mid-term review of the three Community Blueprints to ensure that ASEAN Community building efforts are on track. We have reviewed and reworked our ASEAN Connectivity Master Plan, which contains targets to be realised by 2025, as well as our Initiative for ASEAN Integration, which would help us narrowing the development gap within ASEAN. It is hoped that by 2025, we can achieve a more integrated ASEAN, along the political security, economic and socio-cultural domains.

*Excellencies, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

ASEAN-India relations and cooperation have progressed steadily over the past two and a half decades along a broad spectrum of issues, including, among others, security issues, non-traditional issues, cyber, economics, education and culture. Guided by the current ASEAN-India five-year road map (2016-2020), we hope to pursue our partnership for peace, progress and prosperity, and to continue this endeavour through the next phase of the current roadmap.

ASEAN and India are also committed to strengthen the economic links. Less than five years ago, our Leaders reaffirmed their commitment to promote ASEAN-India trade and investment with a target to achieve two-way trade volume of US\$ 200 billion by 2022. While we are on the path towards achieving this, with ASEAN-India trade having increased from US\$ 71.25 billion in 2012 to US\$ 81.06 billion in 2018, we also fully understand that much more needs to be done if we are to accelerate our trade relations and attain the US\$ 200 billion target. We need to further boost our connectivity in the maritime, land and air domains. Trade relations and connectivity must be complemented with more people-to-people interactions among our academics, parliamentarians, journalists, youth and people through education, exchange and tourism.

It is worth noting that our partnership goes beyond bilateral relations. India continues to be part of the various regional mechanisms centered on ASEAN including the East Asia Summit, the ASEAN Regional Forum, the ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting-Plus and the Expanded ASEAN Maritime Forum. Therefore, we should be spearheading, together with ASEAN Member States, and undertaking concrete activities to enhance our collective capacity to address the various challenges and opportunities we face.

*Excellencies, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

Considered as one of the most dynamic regions in the world, the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions have continuously experienced geopolitical and geostrategic shifts. While these shifts pose challenges, we believe that they also present opportunities. Therefore, it is in the interest of ASEAN and India to ensure that such dynamics will continue to bring peace, security, stability and prosperity for the people in Southeast Asia and in the wider Indo-Pacific region.

It is with such a mindset that ASEAN adopted the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP) at the 34th ASEAN Summit in Bangkok in June 2019. The Outlook is meant to guide ASEAN's engagement and cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region based on the main principles of ASEAN centrality, inclusiveness, complementarities, a rules-based order anchored upon international law, and commitment to advancing economic engagement in the region. Four priority areas for cooperation namely maritime cooperation, connectivity, attainment of UN Sustainable Development Goals, as well as economic cooperation have been identified. However, other possible areas of cooperation are not precluded.

The Outlook is also ASEAN's initiative to positively and constructively engage regional powers, which are all ASEAN's external partners. The Outlook emphasises ASEAN's advocacy and belief in the importance of engaging all our partners with ASEAN playing a central role in the evolving regional architecture.

At the 35th ASEAN Summit and related Summits in Bangkok last month, our external partners including India have affirmed their support to AOIP and its contribution in promoting strategic trust. We are encouraged by our external partners' readiness to work with ASEAN in promoting the principles as contained in the AOIP and to undertake cooperation with ASEAN to realise a peaceful and prosperous Indo-Pacific region – a region made by collaboration and cooperation instead of rivalry.

*Excellencies, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

The theme of this year's Delhi Dialogue, "Advancing Partnership in Indo-Pacific", is thus timely. Partnership is key in promoting the principles contained in the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific as well as strengthening cooperation in the four key priority areas of cooperation identified in the Outlook.

We appreciate India's support for the AOIP conveyed by Prime Minister Narendra Modi, at the 16th ASEAN-India Summit in November 2019 in Bangkok. We hope to complement India's strategies such as SAGAR (Security and Growth for All in the Region) in contributing to the realization of the goals set forth under the AOIP.

In conclusion, we look forward to the discussions in this Dialogue that could generate suggestions and ideas for stronger ASEAN-India Strategic Partnership. I wish this 11th Delhi Dialogue a great success.

Thank you.

# Remarks

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## H.E. Norng Sakal

Under-Secretary of State  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation  
of Cambodia

*Hon'ble Distinguished Ministers and Heads of Delegations,  
Distinguished participants,*

At the outset, I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to the Government of the Republic of India for making this important Delhi Dialogue XI possible and for the kind invitation extended to H.E. Prak Sokhonn, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the Kingdom of Cambodia. Due to the prior engagement in Phnom Penh, he is unable to attend today's important event.

Before I touch on my intervention, allow me to reiterate Cambodia's full support for the continuity of the Delhi Dialogue, which has over the past years contributed significantly to the advancement of ASEAN-India Dialogue Relations and to the cause of regional peace and prosperity for the people of ASEAN and India.

*Mr. Chairman,*

Under this Session, I would like to make my intervention in three parts as follows:

First on progress of partnership between ASEAN and India.

India is one of the active ASEAN Dialogue Partners. In 2018, ASEAN and India celebrated the 25th anniversary of Dialogue Relations. The progress of relationship over the past years has been made according to the spirit of "Shared Values, Common Destiny". We acknowledge that ASEAN-India relations process went through achievements and challenges. However, against the backdrop of global uncertainties, ASEAN and India have been able to navigate those challenges and remains steadfast in promoting regional peace, security and prosperity, and in collectively addressing common challenges.

The challenges that we can see as the results of many aspects such as global geopolitical issues, the continuation of trade competition and

tension, the environmental issues and climate change, transnational crimes and trans-boundary issues and terrorism, among others.

For Cambodia, we attach great importance to the strategic partnership that ASEAN has with India and we welcome India's Act East Policy as we believe that it would complement ASEAN Community building efforts.

We are pleased with the good progress that has been achieved as the results of cooperation across all dimensions. Let me put a few highlights. In political and security front, ASEAN appreciates India for its continued support ASEAN centrality. ASEAN and India have been engaged actively through ARF and ADMM Plus as well as East Asia Summit (EAS) those have contributed to the maintenance of peace, security and stability and prosperity in the entire region. On economic front, we have seen robust growth in two-way trades between ASEAN and India, which India has stood as the ASEAN's sixth trading partner and sixth largest source of FDI among ASEAN Dialogue Partners.

According to the preliminary ASEAN data, the two-way merchandise trade between ASEAN and India grew by 9.8 per cent from US\$ 73.6 billion in 2017 to US\$ 80.9 billion in 2018 and the number is expected to increase in coming years. FDI inflows from India to ASEAN region have been increasing too.

Cambodia appreciates India for its continued support to regional integration and narrowing development gaps efforts over the past several years. In socio-cultural field, ASEAN and India have reinforcing together in people-to-people connectivity, education and tourism sector, among others.

The year 2019 is the ASEAN-India Tourism Cooperation Year and we welcome the success of engagement on tourism. Cooperation on youth has been enhanced through ASEAN-India Youth Summit, students exchange, scholarship programs, exchanges of media, etc.

This year is the 26th anniversary of Dialogue Relations and we need to look ahead for the next decades of partnership. We have noted that the Delhi Declaration adopted by the Leaders in 2018 provided strategic commitment for both sides to reinforcing and broadening further the ASEAN-India Strategic Partnership to a greater height through regional and sub-regional cooperation.

Currently, ASEAN and India are implementing joint cooperative activities under the 2016-2020 ASEAN-India Plan of Action (POA) to

advance the ASEAN-India Partnership for Peace, Progress and Shared Prosperity. Next year, both sides will commence developing a new POA (2021-2025) to chart future cooperation for the next five years.

*Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

Second thought is on Indo-Pacific Construct: Emerging Architecture.

It is undeniable that our Indo-Pacific region is not spared by the scourge of ethnic and religious strife, transnational and non-traditional security issues and unresolved overlapping territorial claims. However, more worrisome is that the Southeast Asian region is increasingly becoming a new strategic theatre of external powers competition.

We noted that there are several regional architectures for the 'Indo-Pacific' region put forward by a number of countries in the Asia-Pacific and to a lesser extent India.

Due to the importance of the Indo-Pacific where ASEAN is in the center, ASEAN Leaders adopted the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP) at the 34th ASEAN Summit in June 2019 in Bangkok. The AOIP is the reflection of ASEAN's commitment to maintaining ASEAN Centrality and unity in the regional architecture sphere. The AOIP suggests four key areas of cooperation, namely, (i) Maritime Cooperation, (ii) Connectivity, (ii) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and (iv) Economic Cooperation. We wish to emphasize that this AOIP is made based on the principles of ASEAN centrality, inclusivity and complementarity, mutual trust, mutual respect, mutual benefit and win-win cooperation.

Cambodia believes that all initiatives could complement each other to produce win-win scenario for peace and prosperity to the entire region. The "complementarity" is a core principle, which aims to invest in cooperation instead of rivalry and to bring about economic development and promote peace, security, stability and prosperity for the people in the Indo-Pacific region.

We are of the view that India's vision for the Indo-Pacific region, though not explicitly laid out in the "Act East Policy" is in many ways complementary to the AOIP. Cambodia is looking forward to work closely with all ASEAN Member States and India to see how ASEAN and India's concepts could be complementing each other and addressing common objectives and interest.

Last point is on the Way Forward.

As the way forward, we would like to share some of our views as follows:

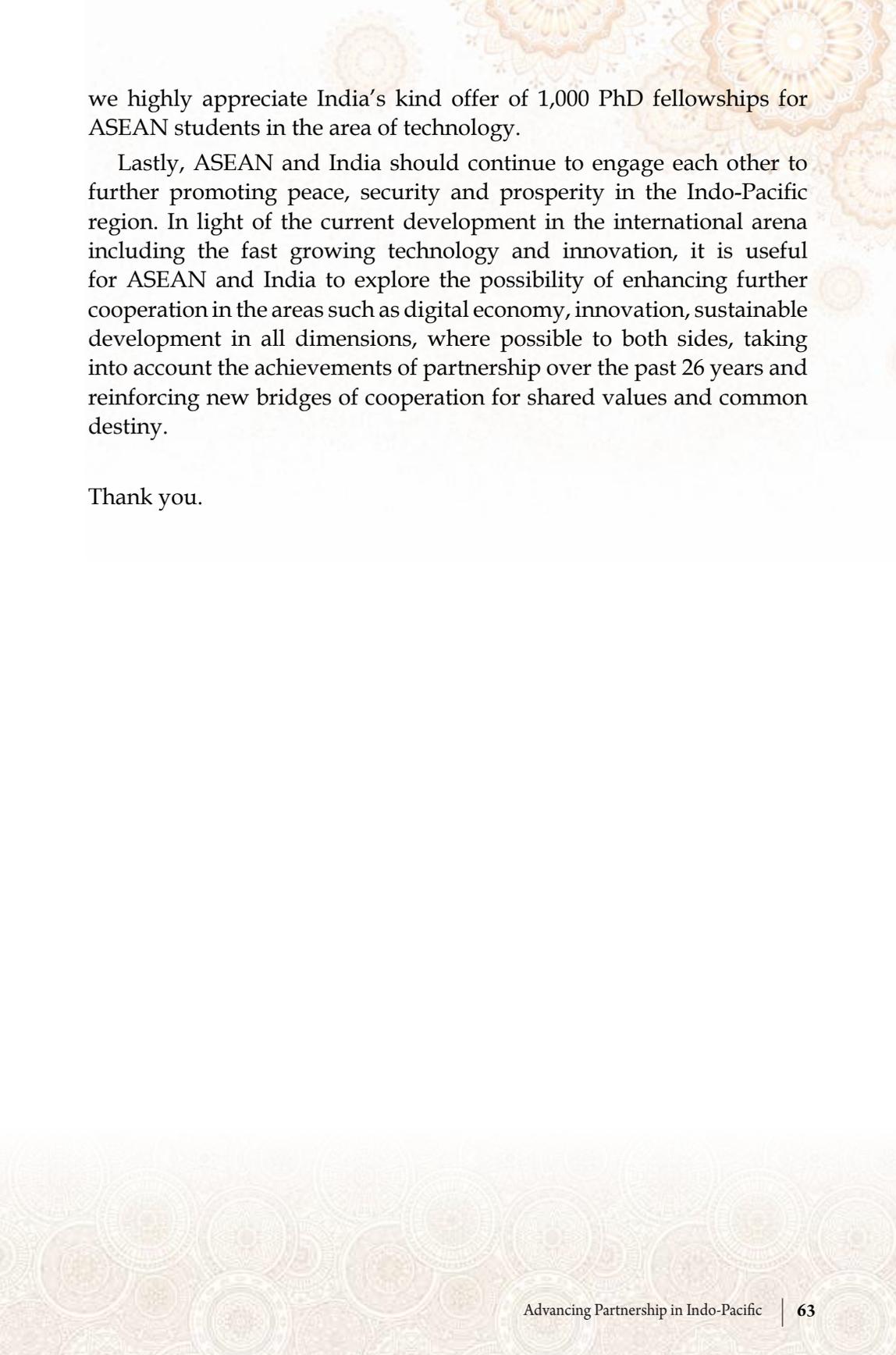
First, we are of the firm view that the rise of protectionism and anti-globalization counter the multilateral trading system. Against this backdrop, at the Asia Pacific Summit held on 19 November 2019 in Phnom Penh, Prime Minister of Cambodia called for the restoration and enhancement of an open and inclusive multilateral system and a rules-based international order. He further emphasized that multilateralism is one of Cambodia's foreign policy objectives and interest. In this context, ASEAN and India need to boost efforts to increase the two-way trade and investment volume to reach the target of US\$ 200 billion by 2022 through the full and effective utilization of the ASEAN-India Free Trade Agreement (AIFTA).

On Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), Cambodia hopes that India will be able to join the RCEP with other 15 participating countries so that all the 16 participating countries will be able to get along the Agreement together.

Second, we are pleased to learn that connectivity is one of India's priorities towards enhancing and deepening partnership with ASEAN. We encourage India's further contribution to ASEAN connectivity through promoting synergies between the Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity (MPAC) 2025 and connectivity elements in India's Act East Policy and SAGAR (Security and Growth for All in the Region) vision, under the "Connecting the Connectivities" approach. In this sense, we look forward to the realization of extension of Trilateral Highway to Cambodia, Lao PDR and Vietnam that will mark another concrete deliverable under India's Act East Policy. In addition, people-to-people connectivity should be strengthened.

Third, with India's potential in both technology and human resources, Cambodia encourages India to continue to support ASEAN's commitment to achieve regional integration and narrowing development gaps in the region including the implementation of the IAI Work Plan, so that least developing countries in ASEAN like Cambodia can seize opportunities and benefits from the growth of digital economy and the adaptation of the IR 4.0.

Fourth, ASEAN and India should further pursue closer cooperation in human resource development through exchanges of entrepreneurship and IT as well as exploring exchange programmes. For education sector,



we highly appreciate India's kind offer of 1,000 PhD fellowships for ASEAN students in the area of technology.

Lastly, ASEAN and India should continue to engage each other to further promoting peace, security and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific region. In light of the current development in the international arena including the fast growing technology and innovation, it is useful for ASEAN and India to explore the possibility of enhancing further cooperation in the areas such as digital economy, innovation, sustainable development in all dimensions, where possible to both sides, taking into account the achievements of partnership over the past 26 years and reinforcing new bridges of cooperation for shared values and common destiny.

Thank you.



# Remarks

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## **H.E. Ms. Emaleen binti Abdul Rahman Teo**

Permanent Secretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Brunei Darussalam

*Excellencies,*

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

Before I begin, I would like to express my appreciation to the Ministry of External Affairs of India, for the excellent arrangements and warm hospitality. Since Delhi Dialogue was held it has brought together many of the region's leading experts and provided frank and useful ideas that have helped to move the ASEAN-India relations forward. It is, therefore, a pleasure for me to participate in this premier event.

This year we meet to discuss the Indo-Pacific, a geopolitical construct that has gained prominence in recent years, reflecting the strategic importance of the vast expanse of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. In the centre of these two oceans lies Southeast Asia with ASEAN as the only regional entity that geographically exists in this dynamic region. This means ASEAN is well positioned to serve as a driving force to forge closer cooperation especially towards enhance trade and investment. Against the backdrop of emerging economic and security challenges in the region, it is important that we work towards deeper and more inclusive cooperation to ensure peace, stability and mutual prosperity in the Indo-Pacific. This is especially pertinent in view of free and open trade including rising protectionism and anti-globalization as well as the socio-economic uncertainties from the advancements in technology.

In this regard, a real manifestation of Indo-Pacific economic cooperation would be the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement, as it sets in place a rules-based trading system that spans from the Indian to the Pacific Oceans. It would account for almost half of the world's population and over 30 per cent of global GDP, if all 16 participants are included. Therefore, making the RCEP systemically significant for the global trading system, while sending a strong message that the region is committed to a rules-based approach to trade and investment liberalization.

Another important aspect in building bridges in the Indo-Pacific is also our people-to-people linkages. Our region share deep historical, trade and cultural ties, which have grown and evolved over time. It is, therefore, important that we promote greater linkages as close friendship and better understanding between our peoples, which will serve as a strong foundation for our future relations.

One way to increase our people-to-people exchanges is by strengthening regional connectivity. In this connection, we are pleased to see that India's Act East Policy has set connectivity as a priority and we welcome India's continued support for the Master Plan of ASEAN Connectivity 2025. We also encourage continued exchanges between our people across areas such as tourism, sports, youth and education. For Brunei Darussalam, we greatly value Indian professionals, educators and doctors who have brought in many skills and services for our development and further strengthen our people-to-people relations.

Finally, as we built these bridges of cooperation in the Indo-Pacific, we should also build bridges of collaboration with like-minded partners who share our vision of a principled regional order. The success of our cooperation will be underpinned by building mutual trust and maintaining our political commitment based on openness, good governance, respect for sovereignty and one that complements existing cooperation frameworks.

In this regard, allow me to express my appreciation to India for lending its support to the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific as well as its commitment in ASEAN led processes such as the East Asia Summit and the ASEAN Regional Forum. Overall, cooperation in the Indo-Pacific similar to that and in ASEAN must focus on bringing benefits to the people as this would ensure its long-term sustainability and can continue support from the people of the region.

Thank you.

# Remarks

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## **H.E. Mrs. Pornpimol Kanchanalak**

Special Envoy of the Minister of Foreign Affairs  
of the Kingdom of Thailand

*Excellencies,*

*Distinguished Participants,*

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of India for the warm hospitality extended to me and my delegation since our arrival here yesterday.

It is notable that for over a decade the Delhi Dialogue has served so remarkably well in enhancing the ASEAN-India Strategic Partnership. It has provided an opportunity for informal, yet high-level and meaningful stocktaking exercises for our relations, and hence, the chance to “adjust our sails” as we wade through the geo-political waters of our respective regions, and around the globe.

*Excellencies,*

Over the years, Thailand has been investing heavily in the efforts to “building bridges” between the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions. In fact, this endeavour was a most important impetus behind our ASEAN Chairmanship theme of “Advancing Partnership for Sustainability” and the iteration of the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP) adopted by ASEAN Leaders in June this year. The Outlook is a demonstration of ASEAN’s vista for Peace and Prosperity. It is another tangible example of our contribution to promote regional stability and development in partnership with external partners in the Indo-pacific region, based on the ASEAN’s principles and regional architecture perspective.

We live in an environment where uncertainty persists and challenges continue to evolve. And, it is becoming clearer to us all that those challenges are growing exponentially with the arrival of the 4th Industrial Revolution, the 5G, the digital technology and economy. This emerging environment calls for a more pressing need to the strengthening of multilateralism, not unilateralism, and the prioritisation of our efforts

based on synergy and complementarity. Ultimately, “building bridges” in this environment must lead us to the realization of our common goals built upon our shared interests, and NOT to a winner-takes-all maneuverer. Because only through cooperation could peace and prosperity for our peoples in the Indo-Pacific be attained. In view of the above, the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo Pacific could serve as a valuable means to “Turn Conflict to Constructive Cooperation” (T-C-T-C-C), focusing on win-win cooperation built upon the 3Ms, namely, mutual trust, mutual respect and mutual benefit. The Outlook puts much emphasis on inclusiveness and openness as well as the long recognised principles of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia or “TAC”. In this regard, we thank India for being among the first Dialogue Partners to support this ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific.

The emerging challenges also call for nations to prioritize their cooperative endeavours, leveraging on our respective strengths to mitigate our weaknesses. For Thailand, we continue to see at least four areas where prioritising synergies and cooperative directions between ASEAN and India would bear significant prosperity dividends.

First is in the area of maritime cooperation. The geo-political advantages that exist between ASEAN and India are nothing short of extraordinary. The Indo-Pacific region comprises dynamic maritime trade routes, which account for more than 50 per cent of global trade, and is where benefits, both potential and actual, are abundant in a variety of forms. Cooperation could be in the area of resources development, enhancing trade in goods and service, as well as marine-based industries. In this regard, we commend India for having successfully convened three EAS Conferences on Maritime Security and Cooperation since 2015. We look forward to working closely with India on the next round of the conference to be held in the first quarter of 2020. We also appreciate India’s co-hosting with Thailand the third ASEAN-India Workshop on Blue Economy earlier in September this year in Bangkok. Sustainability was a key message at that workshop, and many interesting ideas were forwarded on the issues of conserving marine resources, addressing marine debris and sustainable oceans and fisheries. ASEAN’s adoption of the Bangkok Declaration and Framework of Action on Combatting Marine Debris provides a solid foundation for cooperation with nations of the Indo-Pacific region.

Second, Thailand sees immense opportunities and benefits in regional connectivity. It is our belief that we can and should in a meaningful way, approach this issue holistically as we work to promote connectivity in

all dimensions. This can start with seeking out synergies between the Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity (MPAC) 2025 and connectivity initiatives under India's Act East Policy, its Security and Growth for All in the Region or SAGAR, as well as other sub-regional and regional frameworks such as BIMSTEC, IORA, Mekong-Ganga Cooperation (MGC) and ACMECS. As an immediate opportunity, we also hope that India, either through its flexible Line of Credit initiative or other financial facilities, would consider supporting the 19 Priority ASEAN Infrastructure Projects under the MPAC 2025. These projects have been identified and screened by the World Bank as being bankable, and having high probability for implementation. We should also continue our work on enhancing multi-modal connectivity, notably through the India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway Project and its possible extension to Lao PDR, Cambodia and Vietnam. The road and train connectivity between the deep sea port in Dawei in Myanmar and the new Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC) in Thailand and the Danang port in Vietnam represents another potential cooperative undertaking that if materialized, would become one of the world's most important land-bridges for trade and transportation, and a boon for our regional cooperation and prosperity. It would strengthen our people-to-people interaction and exchanges that would reinforce the peace through cooperation mentality and propensity.

Third, enhanced and strategic economic cooperation in the Indo-Pacific will be needed in light of the emerging challenges and opportunities in order to increase our shared prosperity in the Indo-Pacific region. In this regard, we look forward to the early resumption of India's participation in the RCEP negotiations. This would not only underline India's presence and leadership role in the region, but also reinforce the Indo-Pacific concept of balancing the economic weight between the two oceans. We continue to be of the firm belief that it would also help strengthen both regional and multilateral trading systems as well as serving as a safety net amidst the ongoing uncertainties facing the global economy in the coming years.

Fourth, it is in the area of sustainable development, which is a strategic priority of ASEAN in realising a people-centred community that leaves no-one behind. We have mainstreamed sustainable development into our regional development cooperation agenda by promoting complementarities between the ASEAN Community Vision 2025 and the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, or also known as the "Complementarities Initiative". The ASEAN Centre for

Sustainable Development Studies and Dialogue or ACSDDSD in Bangkok was launched at the 35th ASEAN Summit in November this year to promote research and capacity building for sustainable development as well as to provide a platform for policy dialogues on this important issue. In this respect, India may consider joint projects with the Centre to further contribute to the enhanced ASEAN-India partnership.

*Excellencies,*

Thailand has proudly served this year as ASEAN Chair and as the current Country Coordinator for ASEAN-India Dialogue Relations. It is in the latter capacity that Thailand has been particularly pleased to see ASEAN and India deepening our engagement on a number of issues, investing in the stability, resilience and prosperity of the Indo-Pacific region. I have every confidence that Viet Nam will take on the ASEAN Chairmanship from Thailand and lead us to an even more “cohesive and responsive” ASEAN region, poised to continue to identify further strategic synergies and cooperation of the Indo-Pacific region.

To conclude, as we are in the season that peace on earth and goodwill to men are the refrain of the day, one holiday wish was brought to my attention this morning. There are people who after having been soberly pondering the rather untidy current affairs of the world, have come up with only one wish for the New Year, that there would be some kind of an alien invasion in 2020 so the citizens and governments of the world would come together to fight a common enemy.

*Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

We should not have to wish for such an invasion; what we truly need is to have a clear conviction in what history has taught us, that humanity will sink or swim together, not at the expense of one another. For the latter, with no exception, will make our collective demise our common destiny.

Thank you.

# Remarks

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**H. E. U Soe Han**

Permanent Secretary  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Myanmar

*His Excellency Admiral Karambeer Singh, Chief of Naval Staff,  
Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

At the outset, I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the Government of India for the warm welcome and generous hospitality extended to me and my delegation as well as for the excellent arrangements made for the 11th edition of the Delhi Dialogue.

It is an honour and privilege for me to join today's Plenary Session on 'Building bridges in Indo-Pacific'. Since its commencement in 2009, the Delhi Dialogue has become a premier forum for policy makers, diplomats, academicians and business leaders from ASEAN and India to explore new areas of cooperation for peace, development and prosperity of our people in the region.

The Indo-Pacific, widely perceived as a closely integrated and interconnected region between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean encompassing the world's most crucial sea lanes, has increasingly become central to all of us in geo-strategic, geo-political and geo-economic terms. Indo Pacific is home to 65 per cent of world population contributing 62 per cent of world GDP and 46 per cent of the world's merchandise trade.

Over the past decades, the region has become the centre of growth elevating the living standards of millions of people. Along with economic growth, the region also sees growing competition, mistrust and miscalculation among major players in the region. In this respect, it is imperative for leading regional players, particularly, ASEAN and India to ensure the Indo-Pacific as a region of peace, stability and cooperation. Along with the efforts for greater physical connectivity, ASEAN and India can help in building bridges over the gaps in reducing trust deficit among certain regional players through fostering respect for rules-based order, individual States' sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as promoting mutual respect, dialogues and win-win cooperation.

As ASEAN finds itself at the centre of the Indo-Pacific region serving as a conduit for the flow of commerce, capital and peoples of the region, we attach great importance to ensure peace, security, stability and prosperity of the peoples in Southeast Asia as well as in the wider Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions. ASEAN leaders' adoption of "ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific" early this year aims to project ASEAN as a constructive and positive force for greater transparency, inclusivity, peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific region.

As the global centre of gravity is shifting to the Indo-Pacific region where ASEAN and India have a huge stake, I wish to highlight three areas where we can further strengthen our collaboration.

First, ASEAN and India can collectively promote a rules-based approach to governance in the region. Such measure would be made possible as the ASEAN and India share common vision in Indo-Pacific. I am pleased to note that the AOIP has been well received by India as it concurs with India's "Act East Policy" and its vision in Indo-Pacific as reflected in the 'SAGAR'- Security and Growth for All in the Region.

Action orientation of the ASEAN's Indo-Pacific Outlook through practical cooperation is also in line with the highlights of Delhi's Indo-Pacific Report 2019 on the importance of multi-dimensional regional cooperation within the Indo-Pacific for strengthened economic relations and enhanced regional capacity to deal with complex security challenges.

*Excellencies,*

Let me turn to my second point that relates to strengthening collaboration in addressing transnational and non-traditional security challenges, particularly in dealing with the challenge of cybercrimes.

Along with the expansion of the digital space, digital economy, and digital connectivity, cyber security has become an important public policy issue for both ASEAN and India. As there is a lag in the governance of cyber space globally and nationally, India and ASEAN need to advance together to create value-based regional cooperation in cyber space.

In this respect, I wish to commend India for hosting "India-ASEAN Track 1.5 Dialogue on Cyber Issues" on 14 October 2019 providing opportunities to take stock of cyber in-security in the region and finding ways for meaningful policy response to tackle new digital realities where challenges on cyber space are borderless.

I also wish to welcome India's support for "Child online risk awareness campaign" to Cambodia and its offer to provide similar support to other ASEAN Member States. I am encouraged with the ongoing supports of India in establishing IT Training Centres in Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar and Viet Nam, and I believe these facilities would help strengthen our peoples' ability to avoid risks on cyber space.

*Excellencies,*

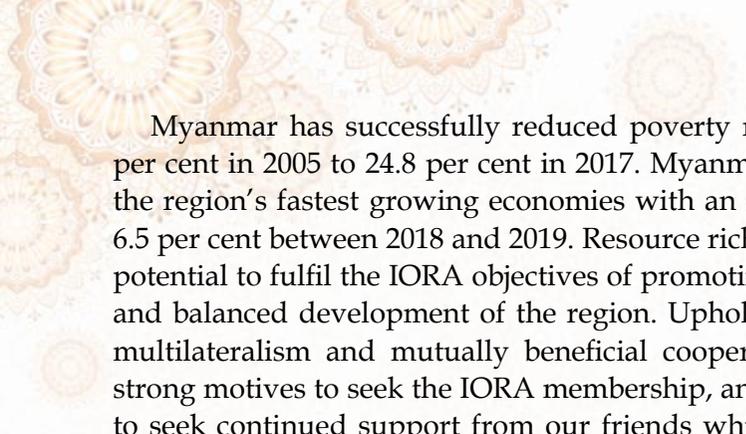
The third area where ASEAN and India can work together more closely is to enhance greater physical, commercial and people to people connectivity. I wish to recognize the progress of several infrastructure projects linking ASEAN and India, including the Trilateral Highway connecting India's Northeast to Thailand, the Dawei Deep-sea Port and the Kaladan Multi-modal Transit Transport Project in Myanmar. Being a land bridge between Southeast Asia and South Asia, Myanmar is ready to contribute to India's efforts to expand its relations with other ASEAN Member States.

In fact, trade, tourism and people to people exchanges are also important bridges to close the development gap among and the countries in the region. In this regard, I am pleased to note the encouraging trajectory of the ASEAN-India economic cooperation with a two-way trade of US\$ 79.8 billion and Indian Investment to ASEAN of US\$ 1.7 billion in 2018. If we maintain such momentum, I believe, ASEAN and India will realize the bilateral trade target of US\$ 200 billion in 2022. I also wish to welcome India's initiative in commissioning the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA) to study the development of an economic corridor along the Trilateral Highway.

As we mark 2019 as the ASEAN-India Tourism Cooperation Year, we expect an increase in two-way tourist visits. Both sides need to capitalize historical and cultural affinities to promote people-to-people exchanges through research, education, youth exchanges, media exchanges and cultural activities in the future.

*Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

Before I conclude, I wish to add one more point relating to my country's application to the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) for the second time this year. We truly appreciate the support rendered by India and ASEAN Members States for our candidacy to fill the missing link in the rim of Indian Ocean.



Myanmar has successfully reduced poverty rate by half from 48.2 per cent in 2005 to 24.8 per cent in 2017. Myanmar is becoming one of the region's fastest growing economies with an annual growth rate of 6.5 per cent between 2018 and 2019. Resource rich Myanmar has strong potential to fulfil the IORA objectives of promoting sustainable growth and balanced development of the region. Upholding the principles of multilateralism and mutually beneficial cooperation are Myanmar's strong motives to seek the IORA membership, and thus, we would like to seek continued support from our friends which I believe will help overcome politically-driven opposition from some members of the IORA.

I would like to reiterate our firm commitment to moving ASEAN forward and intensifying ASEAN-India cooperation in all dimensions as we are marching towards a common vision of peace and prosperous future.

Thank you.

# Remarks

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## H.E. Somchith Inthamith

Deputy Minister  
Ministry of Industry and Commerce, Lao PDR

*Excellencies,*

*Distinguished delegates,*

*Ladies and gentlemen*

At the outset, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to India for the warm welcome and generous hospitality extended to me and for the excellent arrangements made for this meeting.

India is one of the important dialogue partners of ASEAN. ASEAN-India dialogue relations have grown from strength to strength, i.e., from a sectoral dialogue partnership in 1992 to a full dialogue partnership in December 1995 and was elevated to a strategic partnership in 2012. India has actively contributed to both physical and institutional connectivity, including road projects, people-to-people exchanges and maritime cooperation activities through ASEAN-led mechanisms, as well as India's initiative to convene annual Delhi Dialogue, which has contributed to experiences sharing of knowledge and expertise in various areas of cooperation.

We are pleased to note that ASEAN remains a priority in India's Act East Policy. As strategic partners, ASEAN and India have a lot to do together in order to enhance our mutually beneficial cooperation including utilizing opportunities in terms of trade and investment, connectivity and people-to-people contacts for shared prosperity.

The ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific, adopted by the ASEAN Leaders at the 34th ASEAN Summit, is intended to enhance ASEAN's Community building process and strengthen cooperation with external partners through existing ASEAN-led mechanisms. The outlook will serve as an important document in guiding ASEAN's cooperation with its external partners in the wider Indo-Pacific. Moreover, this document is based on the principles of ASEAN Centrality, openness, transparency, inclusivity and a rule-based framework. Lao PDR stands ready to work with other ASEAN Member States and cooperate with interested

partners in implementing the four areas of cooperation as outlined in the AOIP through the implementation of concrete projects including the synergies with the existing international, regional and sub-regional connectivity frameworks and initiatives such as G20, the Master Plan of ASEAN Connectivity (MPAC) 2025, Mekong-Ganga Cooperation, GMS and others.

The Lao PDR appreciates India's efforts to promote cooperation with ASEAN in the on-going efforts to forge closer cooperation in the area of transportation infrastructure as well as maritime transport through the implementation of ASEAN-India Plan of Action 2016-2020.

Lao PDR highly values India's efforts in forging physical and digital connectivity between ASEAN and India through various initiatives in line with the MPAC 2025 and ASEAN ICT Master Plan 2020.

We appreciate the on-going efforts to realise the Trilateral Highway projects: India-Myanmar-Thailand and its extension to Lao PDR, Cambodia and Vietnam and welcome India's proposal for a study by the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA) on developing an economic corridor along the Trilateral Highway and the feasibility of its extension to Cambodia, Lao PDR and Viet Nam. We look forward to its findings. We look forward to continued efforts to enhance ASEAN-India connectivity through the effective implementation of the Delhi Declaration to promote physical infrastructure and digital connectivity.

*Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

People-to-People Connectivity is another area of cooperation to be further enhanced in order to build trust and understanding between people in wider region, which helps create conducive environment for the maintenance of peace and development cooperation in the world. Over the past, ASEAN and India have enjoyed robust people-to-people ties, underpinned by strong cultural and historical links between both sides.

Lao PDR is pleased with the continued progress of ASEAN-India cooperation at the people's level, which is one of the central pillars of our strategic partnership, and welcomes India's continued commitment to promoting people-to-people linkages including education and cultural exchanges.

The Delhi Declaration, adopted by the Leaders of ASEAN and India at the ASEAN-India Commemorative Summit in 2018 in New Delhi, reaffirmed the commitment of both sides to strengthen cooperation in education and youth sectors as well as cement stronger cultural links.

In the area of education, we appreciate India's support through the ASEAN-India Students Exchange Programmes, scholarship programmes for students from CLMV countries at Nalanda University, and the Special Course for ASEAN Diplomats, among others. We also welcome the successful convening of the 2nd ASEAN-India Youth Summit on 3-6 February 2019 in Guwahati, India.

As ICT, advancement of technology innovation, IR 4.0 are India's comparative advantage, I am of the view that India's supports in these areas will enable ASEAN well on embracing challenges caused by the technological disruption and seizing well the opportunity to digitalise our MSMEs to do e-commerce and access to both regional and international markets.

We are pleased with the announcement by Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi at the 2018 ASEAN-India Commemorative Summit on dedicated training courses at the Indian Academy of Highway Engineers for ASEAN Highway Professionals as well as 1,000 Fellowships to students and researchers from ASEAN countries for integrated PhD programmes at the Indian Institutes of Technology. We note that work is being done by officials of both sides to materialise these initiatives and look forward to their consequent successful implementation.

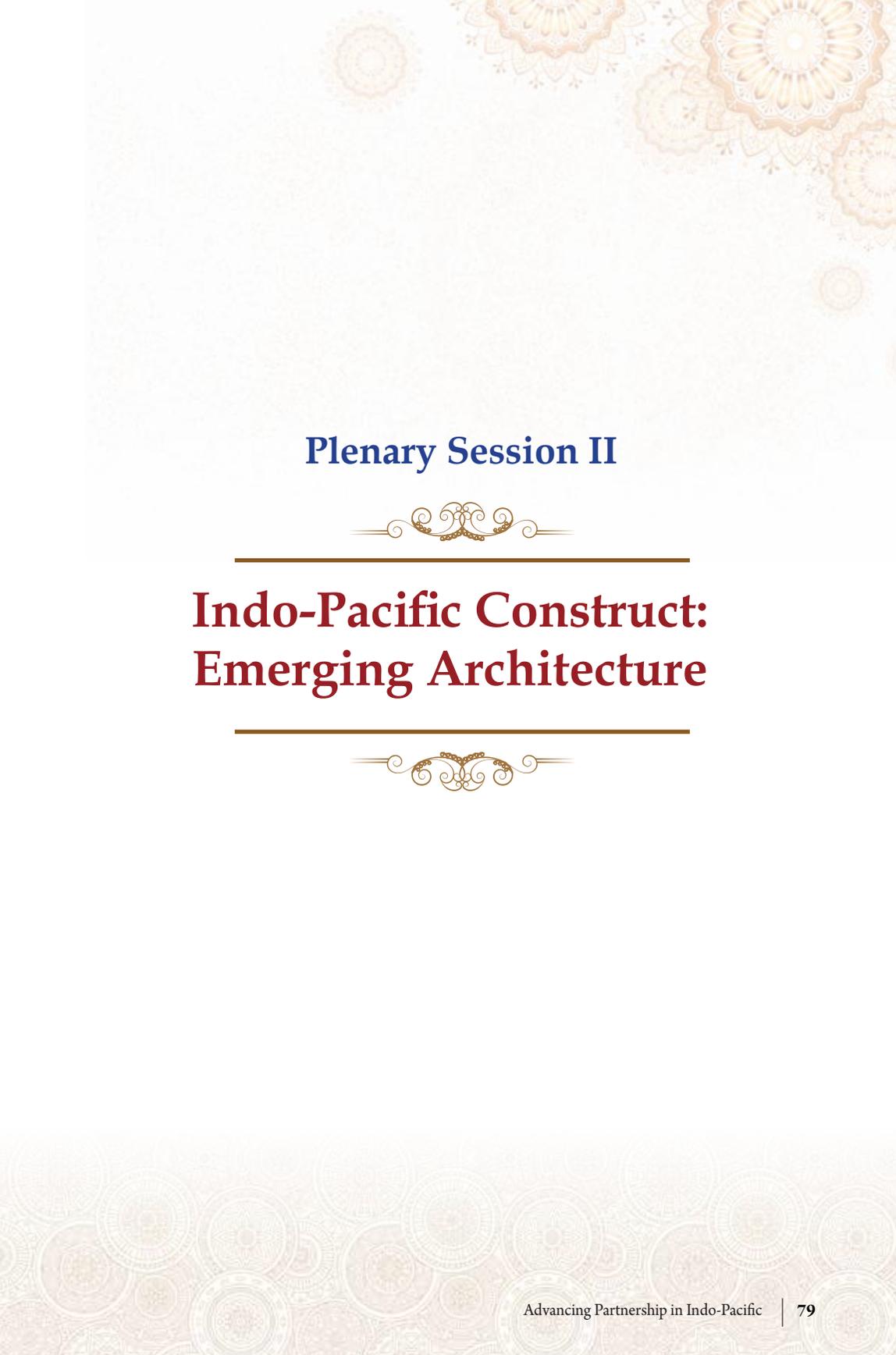
On cultural cooperation, we encourage India's continued support to further promote understanding of cultures of ASEAN and India through continuing Media Exchange Programmes and other people-to-people initiatives such as exchange programmes for students, think-tanks, parliamentarians and farmers, as well as cultural tourism.

We welcome the launch of ASEAN-India Tourism Cooperation Year 2019 at the 7th Meeting of ASEAN-India Tourism Ministers on 18 January 2019 in Ha Long City, Viet Nam. We look forward to the successful implementation of activities under this ASEAN-India Tourism Cooperation Year. Given the huge potential of tourism industry of ASEAN Member States and India, and the importance of this area in promoting economic growth, I believe that ASEAN and India should work together to promote quality and sustainable tourism, including eco-tourism, through concrete cooperation projects with a view to boost two-way tourist visits and promote greater people-to-people exchanges.

We look forward to India's growing support in the areas of education, cultural and people-to-people linkages as we continue to advance ASEAN-India Strategic Partnership towards shared prosperity.

Thank you.





## Plenary Session II



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# Indo-Pacific Construct: Emerging Architecture

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## A U.S. Perspective on the Indo-Pacific



Alyssa Ayres\*

The United States has begun to fully embrace the concept of the Indo-Pacific and has been engaging in new initiatives to highlight its priorities for a vast and expansive geographic space. The concept of Indo-Pacific is still the work in progress and its existing framework for coordination across the geographic space has several challenges as well. In this context, I would like to discuss the definition of Indo-Pacific and what it constitutes, the platforms that exist for coordination and the issues engaged, and what we ought to consider for looking ahead.

In terms of geographic space, there is a lack of overlap among the geographic definitions employed by key Indo-Pacific nations. Therefore, we should first discuss about the concept of Indo-Pacific itself. A framework first offered by Prime Minister Abe, when he visited India and shared the idea of the confluence of the two seas, which he offered in a speech before the Indian Parliament back in 2007. The idea of the free and open Indo-Pacific concept came slightly later, but the concept encompasses the entirety of the Indian and the Pacific Oceans. As Ambassador Raghavan mentioned, India's concept of the Indo-Pacific extends from the east coast of Africa to the west coast of the United States. This concept has given way to a platform for coordination for example the Japan-India collaboration on the Asia Africa Growth Corridor. The United States follows a slightly different geographic understanding. The US version of the Indo-Pacific as a region is extending from Bollywood to Hollywood, that has been historically more centered on the Pacific Ocean without encompassing the maritime geography of the entire western Indian Ocean let alone the East African coast. Australia, on the other hand, described the Indo-Pacific in its 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper as a region "extending from the eastern Indian Ocean to the Pacific

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\* Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, DC.

Ocean”, which has not included the east coast of Africa and extends somewhere from the middle of the Indian Ocean. My assessment is that over time as concepts of the end of Pacific gain greater currency, these definitions of where the region begins and ends will probably need to acquire greater convergence. So, we are all discussing the same region when we talk about the Indo-Pacific.

What are the priorities for engagement in the Indo-Pacific. The term itself tends to connote maritime security, particularly freedom of navigation principles and images of naval exercises. These are, of course, the highest profile illustrations of military cooperation and indeed we have seen a shared emphasis among many Indo-Pacific nations. On the importance of preserving a rules-based international order in the maritime context, it specifically focused on preserving freedom of navigation and protecting the sea links. These are the core pillars of the free and open Indo-Pacific idea. Japan’s elaboration of this concept elevates maritime peace and security including humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. There are also important civilian security concerns that a robust agenda for an Indian Ocean concept should include for broad security coordination encompassing economic growth and prosperity and environmental priorities. Therefore, in the security category we should also not lose sight of the civilian priorities such as cooperation on counterterrorism and countering violent extremism. This is a challenge in some form or another for many of the Indo-Pacific countries. There should be deepened conversations about terrorism designations and sanctions as well as counter terrorist financing. These are closely related subjects which the United States collectively refers to as homeland security, and there is emphasis on fortifying oneself domestically in terms of police training and capacity, mega cities or airport and sea ports of entry. Collaboration on this set of issues requires mechanisms to engage national, state and city level law enforcement. That is the type of exchange that we are also seeing in the diplomatic world gaining ground through new forms of para diplomacy engaging at different levels of government across international boundaries. It is also worth underscoring that the human security concerns are global issues that have substantial impact on the Indo-Pacific region: refugees and also trafficking in persons in the Indo-Pacific region has some high profile needs. For example, there are nearly one million Rohingya refugees essentially stranded in camps in Bangladesh without any guaranteed safe return to their homes. The South and Southeast Asian regions have large numbers of citizens who are guest workers abroad

and at times are trapped, trafficked or otherwise held against their will. In fact, this issue within the region led to the creation of a specific dialogue process to focus on the issue.

Focusing on the rapid development of China's Belt and Road Initiative, connectivity and open markets are on the international security agenda. The emerging problem of debt trap diplomacy resulting from China's use of unsustainable loans to smaller countries that need the infrastructure but find themselves unable to afford repayments years later, has spurred attention to infrastructure finance, sovereignty and economic statecraft. That is something that has acquired a strategic dimension.

The Indo-Pacific region also faces enormous and quite obvious risks from climate change. The growing urgency of tackling climate change will require a much more intensified level of international coordination not only on the important issue of transitioning to renewables and reducing carbon emissions, which all must do faster, but also on the nuts and bolts of building greater resilience in our coastal areas as well as inland. The known major threats like sea level rise will put at the peril population in island nations and in low-lying regions. Here in South Asia we have got the most famous climate vulnerable examples like Maldives and Bangladesh and, of course, the lengthy Indian coastline. So, the best practice is sharing on disaster risk reduction and disaster response can be a key element of Indo-Pacific concerns.

Similarly, there is a real opportunity here to think through cooperation across this region on sustainability and agricultural adaptation. There are ways to adapt to a greater or lesser rainfall or variable climate and more extreme weather events. In countries like India, more than half the population still makes a living on agriculture so this becomes a massive economic security issue for the entire country. The Rockefeller Foundation sponsored coordination with more than a hundred major cities in the world to focus on building resilience and the C40 Network focused on climate change includes more than 30 cities in this larger Indo-Pacific region. The Indian Ocean region is already experiencing crises of cyclones, droughts, sea level rise, crop destruction and other climate related challenges. A way to boost this priority element and encourage faster action would be important for the entire region. On the overarching issue of economic growth and prosperity, these open markets and deeply interlinked economies across the Pacific and part of the Indo-Pacific but much less so in the Indian Ocean in particular the western Indian Ocean part.

So here are few thoughts on advancing Indo-Pacific priorities amidst an array of partial institutional coverage. How can regional NATO can ever come into being the regional architecture that does exist has often been described as an alphabet soup. The existing architectures offer a patchwork that like the non overlapping definitions of Indo-Pacific leave some countries in and other countries out. The most institutionalized organizations were developed without considering to include the western Indian Ocean part of the Indo-Pacific. The East Asia Summit, for example, is a very high visibility leader level platform with both strategic and economic concerns. Although it is not a military platform, it does not extend to the east coast of Africa nor to the western Indian Ocean island nations. ASEAN has long been at the center of Asia-Pacific architectures but ASEAN centered consultations like the ARF similarly do not extend to far West, to the Indian Ocean island nations, nor to the east coast of Africa nor the Gulf. The premier economic focused forum APEC is truly Asia-Pacific centered, not even extending its reach to South Asia. In fact, it is argued elsewhere that APEC ought to consider Indian membership. The fact that mere discussions have dragged on with no openness to new membership shows how difficult reformulating the new membership and changing geographies of architectures can be.

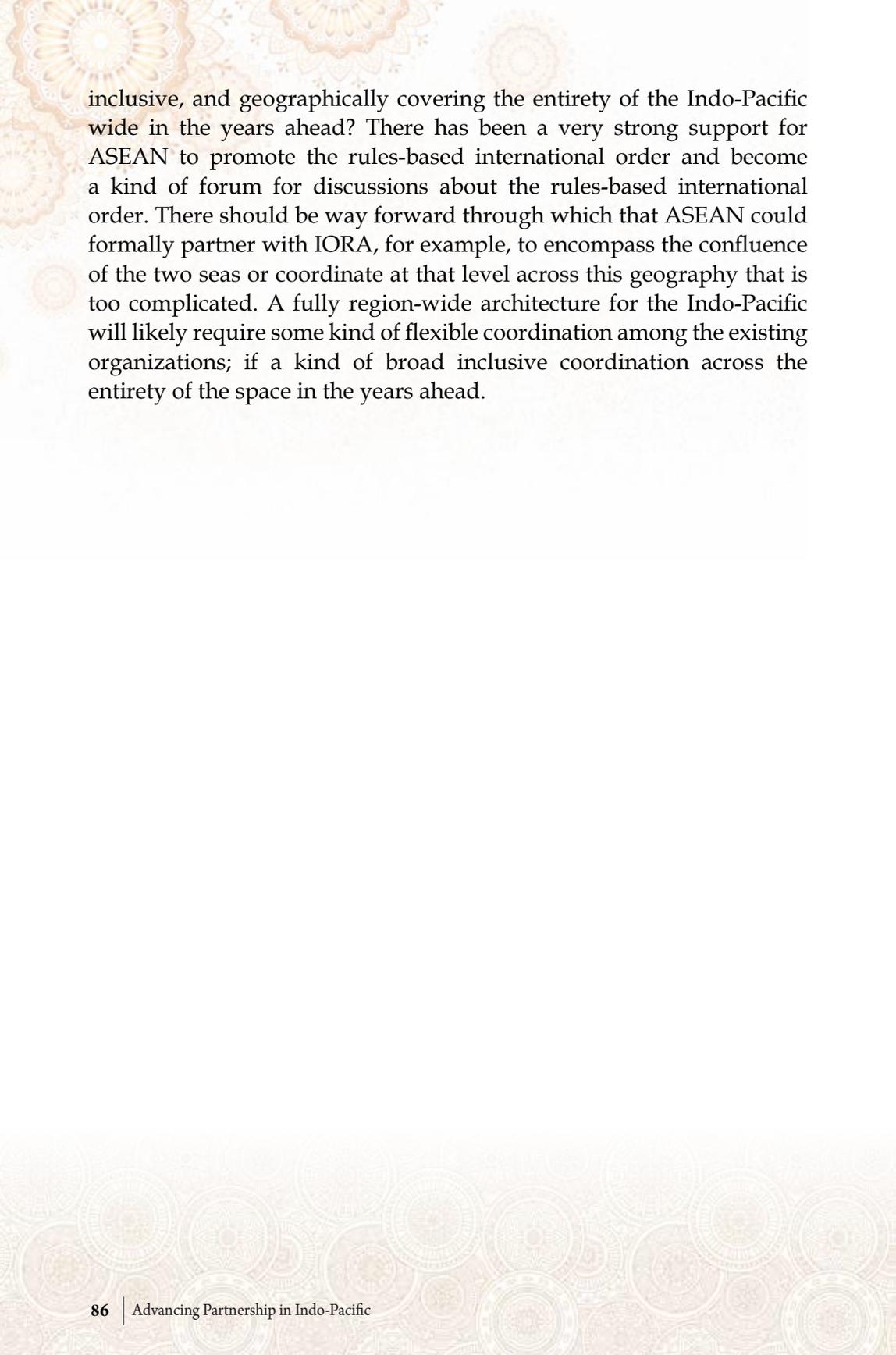
On a specifically military security focused side, there is the western Pacific Naval symposium which covers the Pacific and includes India, Bangladesh and Pakistan as observers but not East Africa for using the western Pacific Naval symposium as a blueprint. India created the Indian Ocean Naval symposium (IONS). This includes East Africa, the Gulf, South and Southeast Asia and Australia but does not extend up to Northeast Asia although China, Japan and Russia are formally observers. The United States has participated in past gatherings but is not a formal observer of the group. So, these twin symposia show how a region-wide naval coordination mechanism is not yet there. There is no Indo-Pacific wide consultation that specifically covers counterterrorism and countering violent extremism - a security concern that has a very strong law enforcement component as distinct from military component.

The Finance Ministry has led Financial Action Task Force consultations such as the Asia-Pacific group on money laundering covers a geography that looks like the U.S. concept of the Indo-Pacific, incorporating the Asia-Pacific plus South Asia but not the western Indian Ocean in East Africa. Still, it is substantial regional coverage that offers a wide degree of coordination on a big swath of this area and has been operating well for years; so that is one model to look at. There is a growing concern

about the after-effects of large infrastructure loans in the form of the Belt and Road financing with Indo-Pacific countries like Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Maldives and Pakistan, which are prime examples of debt burdens. Great countries have come under pressure not always with desirable outcomes such as the case of the Hambantota port. There is no specifically Indo-Pacific wide architecture at present dealing with the precise issues raised by these concerns. Other lending institutions exist, of course the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, new banks such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank; but the infrastructure needs are so great that they cannot fill the gap alone. This is actually a discussion where we are seeing some nascent or what we would call mini lateral cooperation such as the formal coordination among the United States, Japan and Australia on infrastructure support in financing.

Migration and trafficking issues are important issues. We have the Colombo process with other UN bodies and regional organizations, but this is not an overarching region-wide architecture. APEC, for example, has prioritized enhancing trade and environmental goods. The East Asia Summit has had a long-standing emphasis on climate change for at least a decade. ASEAN established a working group on climate change in 2009. The Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) has a blue economy and sustainability priority. It is worth noting that IORA is an underdeveloped organization compared with which are more institutionalised across the Pacific Region. IORA has a forward-looking set of priorities and membership that amply covers the Indian Ocean part of the Indo-Pacific but not the Pacific part. This is the exact converse of the APEC situation. It is declared priorities cover the kinds of important maritime security, human security, sustainability, economic development and gender equity concerns. These could serve as an ideal blueprint for a more institutionalized Indo-Pacific wide coordination should one ever become possible.

Finally, there appears to be an increase in trilateral and even quadrilateral consultations among Indo-Pacific countries precisely on the slate of priorities noted earlier. These include groupings like, for example, the US-India-Japan trilateral, the India-Japan-Australia trilateral and the revival of the QUAD, which brings together all four democracies together. That is a revival since 2017 in the civilian-led format, a civilian-led consultation not a military coordination as sometimes people assume. But with this array of partial geographies and institutions, that partially cover the whole region, it takes on some but not all issues. Is it possible to envision something that is geographically



inclusive, and geographically covering the entirety of the Indo-Pacific wide in the years ahead? There has been a very strong support for ASEAN to promote the rules-based international order and become a kind of forum for discussions about the rules-based international order. There should be way forward through which that ASEAN could formally partner with IORA, for example, to encompass the confluence of the two seas or coordinate at that level across this geography that is too complicated. A fully region-wide architecture for the Indo-Pacific will likely require some kind of flexible coordination among the existing organizations; if a kind of broad inclusive coordination across the entirety of the space in the years ahead.



## Planning for a Multipolar Indo-Pacific: Building a New Web of Security Relationships



David Brewster\*

The future security architecture for the Indo-Pacific region is a crucial issue. The starting point for this is an understanding of how the Indo-Pacific is likely to become a much more complex, congested, contested and multipolar space. That sort of understanding of the strategic and future of the Indo-Pacific is really fundamental to understanding what future security architectures are going to look like. Regarding definition of the region, we must remember that countries will have different definitions and those definitions may or may not coalesce but they will certainly evolve to include regions, which become of interest for particular reasons. For example, perhaps a little while ago many people might not have thought that the South Pacific was part of the Indo-Pacific but certainly within Australia there is a strong view that the South Pacific Islands form part of the Indo-Pacific and that is really driven by developments in strategic competition between some major powers. So, putting aside the geographical definition of the Indo-Pacific, it is a region and overlaid across and on top of that region can be a variety of security architectures. The diversity and size of the Indo-Pacific makes an overarching security architecture unlikely and unworkable. Instead, there will be a complex web of security relationships which allow countries to come together for different and specific reasons. It is going to be a lot messier than many people might expect.

Starting with few words about some of the strategic changes we are seeing across the Indo-Pacific, there are a lot of drivers and these include relative decline of the US power, relative rise of Chinese power and the emergence of India as a major regional power. Also, there have been the changing roles of middle and small states in the security world. Finally, we should not underestimate the likely impact of climate change, as

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climate change could become the new superpower in terms of strategic dynamics.

Firstly, although the Indo-Pacific can be seen as a sort of a relatively cohesive strategic space between the Indian and Pacific Oceans, we also have to acknowledge and be aware of the fact that there are somewhat different dynamics have been occurring in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. Different players and different issues necessarily drive what security architecture might look like. But it is not just about the major powers. The development of the Indo-Pacific towards a more multi-polar region really enhances the roles of middle powers in particular. We are seeing at the moment many middle powers finding good reasons to hedge their relationships and find alternatives to just relying on the United States as a security provider as they did in earlier decades. This is why we are seeing middle powers such as Australia, France and Japan and others becoming much more active at that at any time in living memory in trying to build new relationships and structures across the region. As time goes on, they are going to be joined by a number of other middle powers. For example, Indonesia, Bangladesh, South Korea and many others may find good reasons to become much more active in building these relationships. In my view, in some ways they may become the key drivers in building new security architectures across the region.

The smaller and weaker countries also have very important roles to play in terms of building new architectures. Some small states are likely to become the battlegrounds for strategic competition among the major powers, and others will try to find new ways to shelter themselves from this strategic competition. We have seen a number of examples of this development in recent years. Sri Lanka would be one such example that has found itself in many ways as a battleground between major powers. There are many other or weaker states that will similarly find themselves in that position, and it may happen with greater frequency you can be sure of that. So what can the small countries do? They can attempt to avoid the impact of strategic competition by declaring themselves a non-aligned or neutral, while others might try and to build new multilateral groupings to bring themselves together to balance against the larger powers. A new non-aligned movement is very unlikely in the coming period of major power competition, but certainly we could see other types of groupings of smaller states in ways that we cannot be guessed at present.

That is the dynamics, but let me discuss more specifically that there is the potential impact of these changes in the strategic environment on new strategic architectures in the Indo-Pacific. Firstly, there is currently no meaningful strategic architecture that spans the entire Indian Ocean, although some Asia-Pacific centered institutions such as the EAS and ARF have been in recent years expanded to include some Indian Ocean states. In reality, these institutions pay very little attention to the problems of the Indian Ocean and are poorly suited to deal with issues in this part of the world. It will be a mistake to try and rely on those institutions to address challenges in the Indian Ocean. For example, we cannot realistically expect to see a new broad-based security mechanism that spans the entire Indo-Pacific. The region is just too diverse to realistically think of such an institution could function. The word “broad-based” is specifically used because in fact there is one institution that currently spans almost the whole of the Indo-Pacific region and that is the regional grouping of coast guards. The Heads of Asian Coast Guard Agencies Meeting is an interesting event because it is a grouping that functions on a specific issue or among specific institutions and it functions reasonably well. So, that may be a pointer to how we can build institutions that address certain issues or agencies.

Despite this general lack of overarching strategic architecture across the Indo-Pacific, there are a lot of developments in the security architecture in the region. In fact, middle powers are playing a really key role in this. Different sorts of examples of how this can play out. In the past, many countries in the Indo-Pacific have relied on their security relationship with the United States as part of the so-called hub and spokes alliance system. But, we are now seeing much closer relationships between the US alliance partners to join the spokes of that system together. One very good example is the increasingly close security relationship between Japan and the United States, which if we go back to 10 or 20 years had very little direct security relationship. But now it is quite a closed security relationship. Another trend is the closer bilateral security relationships between US alliance partners and non-traditional US alliance partners (for example, the increasingly close security relationship between France and India).

Yet, a third trend is towards the establishment of mini-lateral. Mini-lateral dialogues involving small and informal groupings of states that share common interests are important. These groupings are really quite nascent, but they do provide valuable forums for discussion of issues that could ultimately evolve into new security structures and perhaps

even become building blocks for new security architecture. For example, for some years Australia, India and Japan have undertaken regular trilateral dialogue at the foreign security level. There is an interesting Indian Ocean triangle between Australia, India and Indonesia, which have been holding senior officials' meetings for about one or two years on shared interests in the Indian Ocean including concerns about China's actions in the South China Sea and other issues such as illegal fishing. Yet, another mini-lateral dialogue is the QUAD, i.e. between Australia, India, Japan, and the United States. It is more than possible that this mini-lateral structure to gain in substance and also ultimately involve other countries as well such as France. But, the overriding value of these mini-lateral structures are informality and their looseness, so they can provide an excellent signalling function, without necessarily binding their members, and also a useful way for coordinating responses of their members to specific issues. These mini-lateral structures also provide useful ways for middle and smaller powers to band together to increase their bargaining power vis-a-vis the larger powers, and try and mitigate some of the adverse effects of strategic competition.

One of the most recent members is Turkey. To highlight the relative success of coast guards, the Heads of Asian Coast Guard Agencies Meeting (HACGAM) may be strengthened, which may provide a forum for Coast Guards in the region, spreading all the way from the Korean Peninsula right across the Asian littoral. It provides a valuable forum for the Coast Guards to come together to talk about issues of shared concerns in terms of crime and transnational security issues and to provide mutual support, training, etc.

Another opportunity to build institutions which have a pan-Indian Ocean view is the climate change. The climate change is likely to become one of the big guerrillas of the Indian Ocean, almost a superpower in itself in terms of the challenges that it is going to present to all. We really need to start thinking about structures that bring together countries and civil and military agencies to talk about ways to deal with the security impact of climate change and look at ways of mitigating those security impacts. At present, there is a specific environmental security forum. Countries from all over the region in a pretty non-political and cooperative manner, both military and civil agencies, talk about ways to develop shared understandings of the security threats coming from climate change. There is certainly room for a similar form which spans right across the Indo-Pacific. That is just one example, but, it is specific because we should move away from trying to develop some grand



overarching security architecture across the Indo-Pacific at least for the moment because it is really just too hard. If we want to develop a regional security mechanism, we should be careful in selecting particular agencies such as coast guards or particular issues in which we can develop our shared understandings across the region.





# The Indo-Pacific Construct: Promise and Peril



William Choong\*

I present four points that need to be highlighted. The first is the Indo-Pacific concept that has been outlined by Australia, India, Japan and the United States. Second, there are divergences within the Indo-Pacific on the definition of Indo-Pacific. Third, we need to understand how this concept converges with ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP), and the last point is on India and Indo-Pacific and the implications of India's recent withdrawal from the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP).

The Indo-Pacific is not the new concept. While addressing the Indian Parliament, Japanese Prime Minister Mr Shinzo Abe in 2007 stated the dynamic coupling of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. However, the Indo-Pacific concept did not evolve further. But in recent years, the concept of Indo-Pacific is emerging. The promise and potential of the Indo-Pacific concept being promoted by Australia, Japan, India and the United States is a sophisticated way of advocating a regional order. Mr Shinzo Abe at the Shangri-La Dialogue in 2014 used the term 'Indo-Pacific' to state the regional order based on the principles of three rules of law, namely, the rule of international law, no recourse to the use of force and freedom of navigation. Mr. Abe applied the rules of law in the context of the South China Sea disputes. It indicates a clever pushback against China's actions in the South China Sea and encapsulated the concept towards free and open Indo-Pacific, as emphasised by the US, Australia, Japan and India.

There is a clear divergence within the Indo-Pacific in terms of differences in the geographical definition of the Indo-Pacific. In addition, here we focus on the clear divergences within the Indo-Pacific when it comes to managing the threat of China or to challenge China. For

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instance, Japan and the United States have been quite candid in trying to use the free and open Indo-Pacific concept as the pushback against China. The United States made it very clear in its 2017 national security strategy that China is a revisionist power. In June 2019, the Pentagon in its Indo-Pacific Strategic Report said that China is undermining the values and principles of the international rules-based order. Australia and India tend to be more sanguine in terms of using FOIP (Free and Open Indo-Pacific) to challenge China. Prime Minister Modi spoke at the Shangri-La Dialogue in 2018 where he talked about civilizational linkages between India and Southeast Asia. He used the term “free, open and inclusive”, which does not indicate any exclusive approach to the free and open Indo-Pacific.

The idea of Asia-Pacific Community (APC) was first pitched by Australian Prime Minister Mr. Kevin Rudd in 2009, which includes six countries, namely, the USA, China, Japan, India, Indonesia and Russia. But, the APC did not include ASEAN countries. As a result, the idea of APC did not pitch well. Therefore, ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP) emphasising the ASEAN centrality has gained huge attention for the last few years. AOIP supports the principles of international law, economic growth centers, transparency and inclusiveness. Though ASEAN released the AOIP, there is no clear acceptance on the AOIP among the ASEAN member states. For example, Malaysian Foreign Minister Saifuddin Abdullah quoted on Twitter “I’m not particularly impressed by the Indo-Pacific concept that was signed off by ASEAN”. He also said that Malaysia signed off on the AOIP more because of ASEAN unity rather than any excitement about what AOIP really means. On the other, Singapore’s long-serving permanent secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Mr. Bilahari Kausikan said that major powers only profess ASEAN centrality only when it suits their interests and such powers consider ASEAN central not because of ASEAN strategic weight but because of its relative strategic weakness.

India’s Act East Policy (AEP) for open Indo-Pacific, as mentioned by Prime Minister Modi emphasising on civilization linkages between India and Southeast Asia at the Shangri-La Dialogue in 2018 and inclusion of AOIP is highly commendable. However, it is regrettable that India withdrew from the RCEP. It shows that India’s foreign policy objective has actually overtaken by its domestic economic imperatives due to which India withdrew from RCEP. ASEAN is also working with the other five partners in the RCEP to push forward the RCEP and it might sign in 2020 and may even try to get India back again to RCEP sometime

in the future. But, this does not do very well for the advancement of the Indo-Pacific concept and gives China a way to defining the Indo-Pacific. ASEAN has already laid it out very clearly that the Indo-Pacific is open and inclusive. India really needs to be back in defining the definition of the Indo-Pacific.





# Indo-Pacific Construct: Emerging Architecture



**Tomohiko Satake\***

**I**make an attempt to interpret Japan's vision for free and open Indo-Pacific (or five features), which was mentioned by Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in August 2016. We start with the question: Are these five concepts really new or not? Surely, the term Indo-Pacific at the geographical concept is new. This concept is invented by Australia, the United States rather than by Japan. If we look at the substance or contents of such as the freedom of navigation, the rule of law, free trade and connective and these are nothing new.

Japan has pursued free and open Indo-Pacific for many years since the end of the World War II. Japan is surrounded by seas and it preserves natural resources, which come from the sea beyond trade and that is the reason why Japan has strongly supported the freedom of navigation and the rule of law at sea. In other words, Japan cannot survive without free and open Indo-Pacific. China may survive without free and open Pacific if it can successfully solve the Malacca dilemma issues, but Japan cannot. So, in rather than inventing something new, let's just reconfirm and reinvigorate what Japan has been doing over the past decades. If that is the case, why does the Japanese government stress it right now? That is simply because the desirable international order has been increasingly undermined by the changing power brands in the region.

Japanese policymakers are increasingly concerned about South China Sea issue, which is an apparent challenge against the freedom of navigation and peaceful resolution of conflicts. Economic coercion, political interference and cyber espionage to these old important challenges work against so-called rules-based international order.

Japan welcomes Chinese BRI project, but also increasingly concerned with many problems such as a transparency, sustainability and also

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environmental concern and so on. Unless Japan strengthens its regional engagement like its past efforts, reality becomes different. This is the general feeling shared by Japanese policymakers and this is the fundamental motivation why Japan prefers for free and open Indo-Pacific. It is a kind of long-term and more structural response to the current geopolitical reality rather than Prime Minister Abe's personal initiatives. Some people say that 5Ps are simply a geopolitical or geo-economic strategy in order to contain China, but that is true as well.

First of all, Japan has maintained some constructive engagement with China through diplomatic and economic measures. As a result of that we actually agree that Japan-China relations have completely returned to a normal state and Japan has resumed some defense exchange with China such as mutual port visit or educational exchanges and so on. Unlike geopolitics or geo-economic strategy, which is purely exclusive and competitive, Japan's policy under the five principal includes cooperative and competitive aspects rather than directly targeting at a particular country. Japan aims at enhancing the resiliency and connectivity of the region so that the region can successfully accommodate the rise of China in the future. So, 5Ps is for something but not against something. Japan also encourages regional countries sustainable economic growth based on the peaceful self-help so that these countries can become more independent rather than remaining dependent on a particular country. Japan has many fields in surrounding regions, but it has never tried to change the status quo by force by sending the ships and so on. The use of economic measures to achieve a diplomatic purpose has been increasingly popular in Japan right now. Japan has carefully refrained from the so-called trade embargo or economic coercion against countries. The fundamental purpose of this fight is not to exclude a particular country but to incorporate all countries under common rules, norms and standard. Japan's continuous and constructive engagement with China has been possible under such a stable and inclusive framework. In order to avoid hegemonic cold war and in order to escape from strategic trap, we must find the product space that can accommodate both the rising power and expand geopolitical scope from Asia-Pacific to Indo-Pacific. It is a kind of attempt to find and create a broader strategic space in the region. Unlike, Asia-Pacific, where the US has been the dominant economic and military power, Indo-Pacific features more diverse actors such as Japan, India, Australia, ASEAN and some extra regional countries such as the UK and France.

Although 5Ps is nothing new, the path lead for itself could lead to the emergence of a more multipolar Asia that is different from the past US-centric order. Japan's cooperation with ASEAN as well as with India is essentially important in this multiple Indo-Pacific because in a geopolitical or geo-economic strategy there is not so much that ASEAN can do in such a competitive game but if we understand the five as a regional order building rather than geopolitical, geo-economic strategy, ASEAN becomes a centre of this regional order building strategy under these 5Ps. This is not only because of ASEAN geography, which links Indian Ocean and Pacific, but also because of its role to maintain inclusive and rules-based international order through multilateral institutions such as APEC, ARF, ADMM+, East Asian Summit and so on. ASEAN has been also a centre of regional integration and promotion of free trade, which is vital for the success of RCEP along with other players such as Japan, Australia and India. Japan also supports Mekong-India Economic Corridor, which could yield greater benefits to ASEAN and India. Most importantly, Japan and ASEAN share some important principles of norms. For example, both support free and open rules-based order, peaceful resolution of conflicts, complementarity, ASEAN centrality and inclusiveness. If that is the case, Japan's cooperation with ASEAN to achieve free and open Indo-Pacific will become even more important in the foreseeable future.





## The Future of Indo-Pacific Construct: Towards Eurasia



**Dmitry Mosyakov\***

**T**here is a serious discussion in Russia about the future of the Indo-Pacific region. The process of creation of Indo-Pacific construct acts as the defining core of the entire changing system of international relations in the Pacific and in the Pacific Asia. There is no doubt that not ones the ongoing changes open up new opportunities for the countries of the region but also create new threats. It is not yet clear what these new opportunities or new threats will be. Everything depends on how and in what direction the winds will go. The problem is that Washington plans to build the Indo-Pacific as a kind of a military block. If we look on the boundaries of the Indo-Pacific region marked by the Americans, we find that the border almost completely coincides with the areas of responsibility of the Pacific Command of the United States. This confirms by the declaration of American politicians that military objective was key in the development of the plan of the Indo-Pacific region. As about Russia we can see that the whole territories of Northeast Asia remain outside the borders of the Indo-Pacific construct; that Russia is outside of the Indo-Pacific political map from the perspective of American plans. Keeping in view the threat, that is considerable achievements in the development of cooperation but the Russian presence in the various spheres is under real threat.

In terms of condition for participation in the Indo-Pacific project, USA considers including only the democratic countries in order to prevent the possibility of China's participation in the future of the Indo-Pacific construct. Excluding China may immediately generate tension and the confrontation in the region and complicate opportunities for compromise for mutually beneficial cooperation between all parties. Broadly, all countries of the Asia-Pacific and Indo-Pacific regions are interested in

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economic development cooperation and security. Therefore, the method of exclusion and confrontation in the Indo-Pacific construct is not the road to the noble task.

We can see two alternatives about the future of the vast region of Indo-Pacific. These two variants are an American vision on the one side and the vision of India and ASEAN countries on the other side. Their positions are very close and how these two visions will interact in the future is not clear entirely. American interest may contradict the wish of India and ASEAN countries turning international competition into international cooperation. Moreover, the key principles of the organization and functioning of ASEAN's sovereign, equality, non-interference, no user force, mutual support, a central role in Asian politics are very weakly combined with aggressive approaches with the primacy of ideology that we can see as the foundation to American plans. ASEAN countries at a meeting in Bangkok in June 2019 approved the vision of Indo-Pacific, and are completely in solidarity with the position of India regarding the future format in which integration should take place. The geo-strategic concept of the Pacific region adopted by them stated that ASEAN countries confirmed their centrality, inclusiveness, order based on rules and international law and commitment to promote economic operation in the region.

There is still a possibility to form a common vision on the future of the Indo-Pacific construct, which can use the proposition for India and ASEAN countries and would occupy an important place. But, there can be a situation that the United States will impose its reason on all other participants of this project. Naturally between these two projects, Russia really supports the Indian and ASEAN vision of the future since it is close to the vision of future of Asia of Moscow. We believe that India should wait as Americans will never be able to build an Indo-Pacific construct without the participation of India. Some Russian experts are of the views that the project of open and free Indo-Pacific is not suitable for them. There is another point of view and this idea undermines Russian global concept of Greater Eurasia. Others agree that Indo-Pacific construct in Indian and ASEAN version is very close to Russia's and understanding of future of Asia.

Greater Eurasia is the idea formed around Russia, a global space with more or less general rules in trade and investments from the European Union to ASEAN countries that is from Western Europe to Southeast Asia. The political foundation of the project would be the principles of peace, stability, justice and mutual trust that are very close to our



partners in India and ASEAN countries. It also includes the principle of connectivity as the vital part of the policy in Asia when no one dictates values between connected countries. The project of Greater Eurasia is designed for the long term and the large decisive Russian efforts in Asia as it involves huge areas of peace, prosperity and cooperation. Progress on this path can be closely linked with the Indo-Pacific project only if it is developed in the framework of the India-ASEAN political initiatives. It should also be said that for Moscow it is very important that the potential Indo-Pacific construct participants like India has been advocating an open and inclusive Indo-Pacific. Therefore, the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi stated that India does not consider the Indo-Pacific region a closed club with a limited number of members. It includes all countries within its geography as well as other countries who are interested in this. To conclude, we can see the common base of Russia, India and ASEAN interest for the future of Indo-Pacific and to promote their common plans for the future Indo-Pacific. In this regard, Russia should respond to the initiatives of India and ASEAN, and support their ideas and their vision of the future of Indo-Pacific.





**Plenary Session III**



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**Regional Connectivity  
in Indo-Pacific**

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## Regional Connectivity toward Indo-Pacific Construct



Rajat Nag\*

Adam Smith in 200 years back said on connectivity that “good roads, canals, and navigable rivers, by diminishing the expense of carriage, put the remote parts of the country more nearly upon a level with those in the neighbourhood of the town. They are upon that account the greatest of all improvements” and what he said about towns can expand to a global village and the Indo-Pacific is no exception. Needless to mention, improvements in infrastructure and connectivity leads to reduced transportation costs and there is necessary condition again for reaping the huge potential of the Indo-Pacific region. It is important to recognize that the Indo-Pacific could become a critical building block in achieving global prosperity and global security, if South and Southeast Asia could be linked through the creation and promotion of connectivity with special focus being placed upon developing roads and railways. More importantly, maritime linkages need to be enhanced in the Indo-Pacific region with improved trade facilitation and other networks, leading to reduce the trade cost.

The improvement of the physical infrastructure is important. It is equally important to recognize that the development of the physical infrastructure will only be effective if it is accompanied by appropriate policies, processes and institutions. Software and devising common platforms and transportation policies should enable vehicles from one country to pass through another by recognizing driving licenses of one country in another with one-stop customs clearance, custom harmonization, etc. Gradually, over the last three decades, through series of reforms the tariff barriers have come down remarkably, both within ASEAN and other FTA partners. But, the non-tariff barriers are critical,

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which make a difference. Therefore, the trade facilitation measures really need to focus on the non-tariff barriers, that is particularly true in the Indo-Pacific region, where again the measures are quite uneven. With that backdrop, here we discuss four issues which are very important for connectivity in the context of regional cooperation in the Indo-Pacific.

The asymmetric incidence of benefits and costs are so convinced about the benefits of regional cooperation that we take it to be self-evident and we do not think it is important to make a case for it. That means regional cooperation is good. A study was undertaken by ADB and ADBI in 2015 to assess the benefits of connecting South and Southeast Asia. The study estimated the benefits of integrating South and Southeast Asia amounted to US\$ 568 billion in 2015 and these are based on some comprehensive integration scenarios or a removal of all tariffs, a 50 per cent reduction in non-tariff barriers, and a 15 per cent reduction in costs reflecting improved trade infrastructure, connectivity and trade facilitation. The benefits were huge, which is estimated to be more than five times. If we look at it in terms of this US\$ 100 billion, it is only a fraction of the US\$ 1.7 trillion which ADB estimated in 2017 as the annual cost for infrastructure development in Asia (developing Asia, excluding Japan and Korea and Australia). So, the macro benefits are significant, but in regional cooperation there are gainers and there are losers, i.e. the incidence of benefits and costs is asymmetrical. The benefits go to a huge number of people because of greater trade and physical connectivity. However, people in the border areas, who get dislocated in terms of their economic activities, are few. Economists assume that the redistribution process will compensate the losers and they will be compensated by the gainers. Accepting that we do not really work through who and how that will happen. The first issue that one has to be able to get to this incidence of costs and benefits and whom it pays for that. There is a very interesting study that Prabir De and his colleagues did recently. They did a multi-country computable general equilibrium simulation of the quadrilateral alliance between the US, Japan, Australian and India. The study demonstrates a positive economic gain, but if South and Southeast Asia fully commit themselves to this Indo-Pacific construct, the economic benefits would be huge. Their simulation is based on assumptions, but what struck was that Prabir's report came up with the idea that Indo-Pacific group may generate over 1 trillion CGE equivalent annually as a welfare gain. That is a lot of money and, therefore, one could assume it is a great idea but there are winners and losers. We need to analyse that and the next step is to talk

about how this is shared. No matter how good BREXIT is obviously many people do not quite buy that.

Second point is financing and coordination challenges in context of connectivity. It is mentioned that the financing requirements of Asia alone are about US\$ 1.6 - 1.7 trillion a year. These amounts are usually too large to be financed by governments alone. Private investors are also available who are looking for infrastructure projects in Asia. So, there are people with money saying where are the projects, and there are a huge number of governments saying where is the money. It is necessary to match these two in terms of financing. Public Private Partnership (PPP) is easier to say than implementing. Therefore, when we actually start to talk about risk sharing then it becomes a major challenge but this challenge has to meet for effective connectivity projects unless government's dip into their deep pockets. It is important to coordinating the design and implementation of cross-border projects, which are also a major challenge. Suitable institutional arrangements are not easy to put in place. In Asia alone we have institutions and all are working to varying degrees of success - some better, some not, but there are the ASEAN, SAARC, SASEC, BIMSTEC and there are institutions like ADB. The coordinating and coordinators themselves become a major challenge. That is something the Indo-Pacific Forum will face even more as we obviously expand the ambit of this cooperation.

Third issue is the security. Again, those of us who believe in regional cooperation think security is a concern only of the people in uniform. But, it does not seem to be when we got involved with people in uniform on all sides and both sides of the border. We have to say we have come up with a much more respect grudgingly at times. They actually do have a point because after all regional cooperation is regional but nation-states make it happen. So, security i.e., national security, border security, etc. are definitely a concern. However, greater regional cooperation improves security rather than diminishes it. Some people say when we build roads across countries it makes easier for illegal immigrants, drugs, human trafficking and other social ills. Therefore, when countries get vested in each other then it is necessary to increase the motivation to work out mutually acceptable security arrangements. One can argue that we cannot be safe in an unsafe neighbourhood as we cannot be rich in a poor neighbourhood. The security issues do take on importance and must not be ignored. But they cannot and should not overwhelm the great economic benefits.



Fourth and the lastly BRI in one sense given the huge infrastructure needs in Asia, US\$ 26 trillion of the next 15 years, one should welcome BRI. There is more money on the table that countries need and, therefore, so much the better. But, there are some issues and, again issues between friends need to be discussed very openly. One is what is called a better term as panda hug. There is a genuine concern by many countries and by India as well that the BRI construct is actually a construct of encirclement. Chinese friends say that is not so but if we look at the configuration, we can see why those concerns are present. The other concern is the potential debt traps, i.e., there are concerns about countries getting into debt traps and from India's point of view, this concern is not only just altruistic. There is obviously a security angle to it as well because China possibly is gaining equity control of projects like what happened in Sri Lanka's Hambantota port. This is obviously a geo-strategic concern for other countries. Finally, what it does in terms of the global security and regional security is a concern.

These are not only four concerns for connectivity in general but also apply to other considerations in the Indo-Pacific Forum. The Indo-Pacific is expected to open up market and will facilitate flow of capital goods and services and ideas. This will be cooperation driven rather than just liberalization. This will require strong political leadership and commitments. We all together have to constantly believe and work at it to make sure that a prosperous, equitable and sustainable global community does in fact happen of which we all are apart.

## Role of Japan in Regional Connectivity

Naoyoshi Noguchi\*

**A**part from the manufacturing sector which contributes to the future of India's economic growth, India also faces serious challenges of creation of the job opportunities and expansion of the export. This is a one of the agenda of the 'Make in India'. Creation of the job opportunities is urgent issue because India is having the population bonus or demographic dividend. Unfortunately, the capacity of the domestic resource is not enough to fulfil the requirement from the market. Therefore, we must utilize the foreign players' capability. The biggest achievement of India-Japan relation is the Neemrana Industrial Park, which is dedicated for the Japanese investors. Rajasthan state government provides grant to JETRO, and it attracts Japanese investors. But more than that India must show improved infrastructure in terms of energy, water supply and also the durability of the capable workforce. Free and open policy of trade and investment is also very important.

India has achieved breakthrough progress in the Ease of Doing Business Survey, which was conducted by the World Bank. India has made substantial economic progress, but foreign investment in India has not increased much. We must analyse the reason for such low level of FDI inflow. Started in the 1980s, JETRO surveys Japanese affiliated companies in Asia and the Oceania. It covers 20 countries in this region and generates a cumulative data over the years that help us to understand the trend of the economic growth of this region. Currently in India, there are more than 1,400 Japanese companies, but among that only 14.8 per cent Japanese companies are engaged in export business. This is a second smallest figure among our survey. In case of other countries, more than 63 per cent of Japanese companies in Lao PDR are

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engaged in export business and 62.5 per cent in case of the Philippines. In Bangladesh, it is 54 per cent, and in case of Vietnam, it is around 50 per cent. In contrast, India registered smallest number in the JETRO Survey over the years, but India has improved its position in the 2019 JETRO Survey. Although it is a minor change, this is a very big achievement because the same survey identifies profit ratio or profit margin of the export related Japanese companies, which are found to be higher than that of domestic market oriented Japanese companies in India. This means India is becoming more competitive in terms of export. However, still some Japanese companies feel difficulties in procurement. It is a little bit difficult to find good quality parts or materials at affordable price from the local market. Therefore, they must import from abroad. This issue is big disturbance for the development of the export business.

Japanese companies, which are located in ASEAN countries, especially in Indonesia, have tried to increase the import from India because quality of Indian products has very much improved. If we compare the recent survey results with previous three years, it is found that the level has almost doubled. India has a very good chance to penetrate to the other countries' markets. If that is the case, FTA and EPA have been providing good leverage to the activity of the Indian export. According to the Thai government's statistics, if we compare the first half of 2008 with the first half 2019, export from India to Thailand has almost doubled. If we look at industrial products, HS chapters 84, 85 and 87 have dominant position and also increased from 17 per cent to 26 per cent. That means 10 points increased during these 10 years. But, same statistics of the Thai government show that the usage of the ASEAN FTA and Thailand FTA has been still very raw - only 15.5 per cent. It means there is a huge potential to expand the export from India to Thailand and other ASEAN countries.

While continuing to support the Japanese companies' investment in India, there is need to provide correct information on making local Indian companies competitive. I think there was a lot of argument or discussion in ASEAN countries about FTA. Nevertheless, Indian industry needs to study how ASEAN had overcome the problems and led to the formation of an integrated market in the region.



## Challenges of Regional Connectivity in Indo-Pacific and Role of ADB



Arjun Goswami\*

I present five points on regional connectivity. Firstly, from the macro perspective connectivity has changed entirely due to slowdown in advanced economies in terms of economic growth, which is projected to be 1.4 per cent in 2020. Global inward foreign direct investment (FDI) has also contracted to 13.4 per cent. On the other side, we have observed that the growth prospects in developing Asia are also sinking on average from around 5.9 per cent to around 5.4 or 5.5 per cent. Why are these macro statistics important for connectivity because for manufacturing sector in Asia, global value chain, merchandise goods exports. There is going to be a change in the way we look at connectivity.

We have observed that there is a rising integration in the region, which ADB highlights every year. This tells us that trade and investment within the region is increasing. Intra-regional trade has increased by 58 per cent, and intra-regional foreign direct investment has also increased by 48 per cent. This means we are moving increasingly to an era of regional value chains and regional connectivity, certainly with some redirection of trade as a result of the US-China trade disputes. This will affect connectivity investments needed within the region. However, connectivity is not just about trade and investment, but it is about people. Tourism is jumping through the roof globally and the regional tourism has grown at 2.7 times over the period 2009 to 2018. This has strong implications the way we should look at connectivity.

Asian integration is not homogeneous, as different parts of Asia are integrating at different speed. Trade and investment, money and finance, regional value chains, movement of people and institutions, and social

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integration are the six dimensions of the regional integration. It has been observed that over these six dimensions East and Southeast Asia are integrating much more deeply and faster than South Asia or Central Asia. It means that the unfinished agenda of connectivity for parts of the region is much deeper. Now, this changing nature of connectivity which is indicated by surface and maritime freight expansion is expected to be doubled by 2035, with aviation demand jumping to twice of its current number by 2030 because that is a combination of both freight and passenger. But there is another factor: 12 per cent of physical trade of goods was conducted B2B and B2C digitally through e-commerce in 2017. The number projected for 2019 for digital trade is between US\$ 800 billion to US\$ 1.5 trillion. Relative to merchandise goods trade, it is smaller but the rate of growth is explosive and dynamic. So, if we are not thinking about digital connectivity, we are not serving the connectivity needs properly.

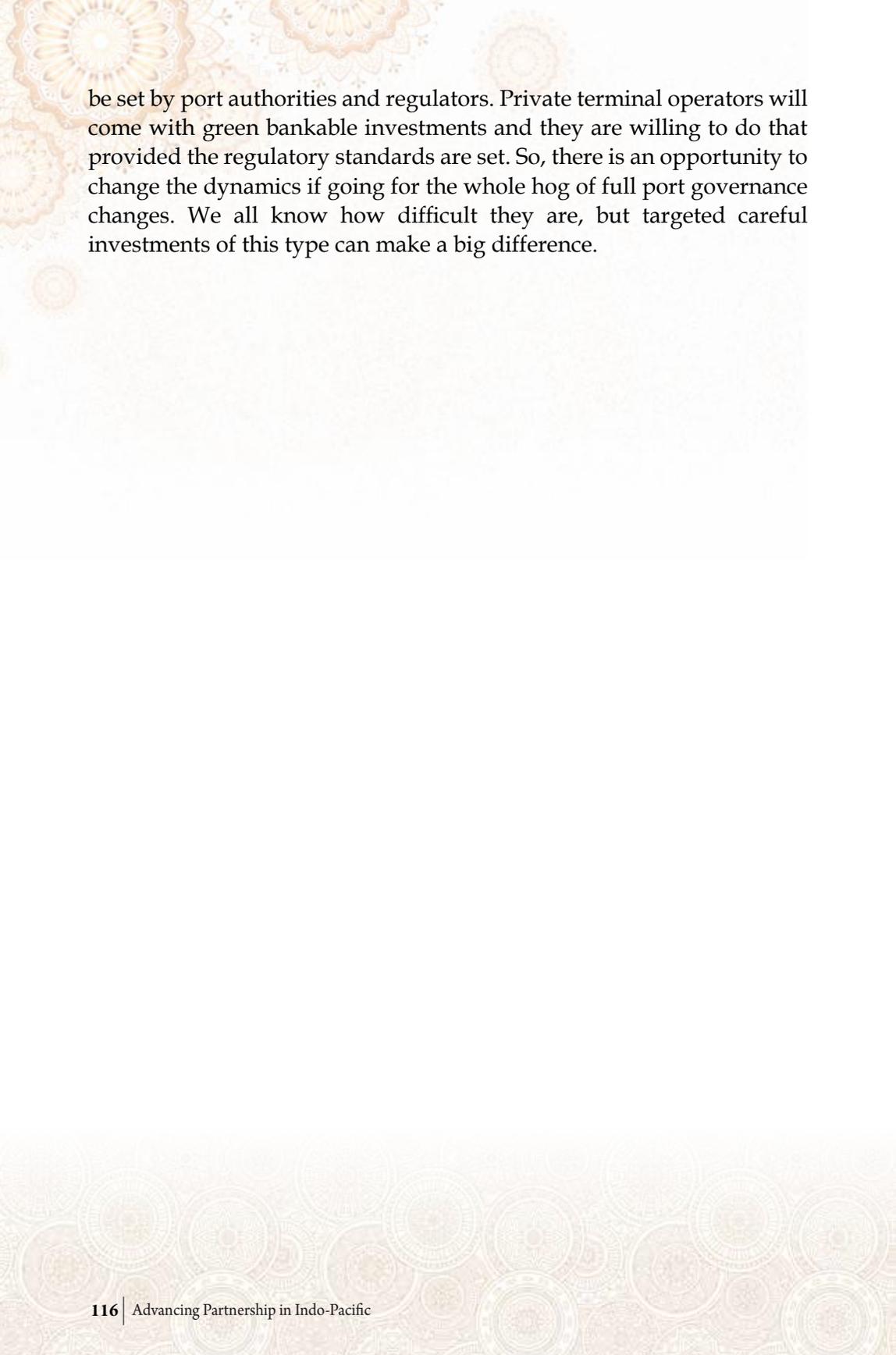
Another point is that the huge carbon footprint i.e., sustainability issues. Infrastructure demand cannot be done simply through sovereign lending, it requires public-private partnership. But, public-private partnership in this context would require patience, perseverance and persistence to address 3Ps, when we are considering cross-border risk. Since 2001, we have been pursuing Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India (TAPI) gas pipeline. Logically it makes absolute sense. Landlocked Turkmenistan is an energy-rich country exporting energy to deficient South Asia but there are issues related to desired infrastructure. What is needed is Development Bank's partnering with the private sector in order to do this. But there are not quick wins. The platforms that ADB traditionally enjoys (including the Greater Mekong Sub-region) need to go through this change of public-private partnership. In October 2019, ADB approved a new operational plan in regional cooperation for the next five years. Looking at the new narrative of connectivity, it is needed to be public-private partnership. Connectivity itself in the physical sense is not sufficient, though it is necessary but it is not enough. Economic connectivity is vital and that is very difficult to achieve. There will be the risk of losing the entire agenda on connectivity if this is not properly done.

If the four major forgotten groups – small and medium enterprises, agriculture, women-led enterprises and lagging areas – would not participate in trade and investment flows then we are going to see a backlash against integration and connectivity. That is what we saw

in the RCEP discussions. The way forward is to make these sectors competitive, productive and outward oriented.

Another issue is sustainability. Now the digital connectivity could be the future for next generation of connectivity. There is a small example that the ADB in 2019 has approved a loan for a Singapore-based company called Pacific Broadband satellites. This loan is focused on delivering affordable broadband internet to underserved remote areas. This was a private sector investment. It is not the case that ADB had not done public sector submarine investments before. But some of this digital connectivity must be private and it is not easy to do it especially for underserved areas. With the right conditions we can get that. For agriculture, it is necessary to go beyond the physical connectivity. There is a need to emphasis on capacity development for small farmers so that they can genuinely take advantage of these opportunities. ADB has invested in a company called Olam, which is investing in small holders for coffee value chains in remote countries like Papua New Guinea and Timor-Leste. This is needed to be accompanied by work on an information system that looked at certification, standards, capacity development that is what ADB means by full suite development and not just the infrastructure. For Indian SMEs it has said that they will remain forever small. But, now there is an opportunity for internationalization of SMEs, not simply along the course of value chains but internationalizing those even as independent enterprises along the whole chain. The small investments which SMEs make in opening offices need to have capacity development through business accelerators in both countries. We need this kind of intervention for SME internationalization to take place on the back of connectivity efforts. This is a different era where we need to execute and this is one way in which we can do it through business accelerator programmes, through business associations, etc. It is not always that the government needs to do it.

Lastly on the blue economy, Indo-Pacific region's discussion is incomplete without discussing about the blue economy and the opportunities it provides. For blue economy, we need to look at the port sector as maritime trade covers the 90 per cent of goods trade. However, ports have to turn green as International Maritime Organization (IMO) is going to institute decarbonization rules from 2020. But how can ports do this? How can they suddenly turn green without any assistance? Will this only come from the public sector? Firstly, the standards will



be set by port authorities and regulators. Private terminal operators will come with green bankable investments and they are willing to do that provided the regulatory standards are set. So, there is an opportunity to change the dynamics if going for the whole hog of full port governance changes. We all know how difficult they are, but targeted careful investments of this type can make a big difference.



## Myanmar's Perspective on Regional Connectivity in Indo-Pacific



Zaw Oo\*

Myanmar is the least developed country (LDC) in Indo-Pacific region. ASEAN has few LDCs within it, such as Myanmar, Cambodia and Lao PDR and in South Asia, Bangladesh, Nepal and a few other countries are also LDCs. In my views, LDCs views are not necessarily well taken. They have very little say and also do not have much leverage to shape some of these connectivity initiatives. Myanmar is the only country in ASEAN that shares border with both China and India and has a strategic location, where it can facilitate a lot of connectivity initiatives between the two giant economies as well as number of different regions. Myanmar also has a long coastal border. It can act as a land-bridge for landlocked Yunnan province of China as well as Northeast India. Myanmar is the place where two of the connectivity projects try to link up with Yunnan with Northeast India through connectivity initiatives. However, there are many missing links in Pan-Asian connectivity initiatives spearheaded by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) for many years, mainly because Myanmar was under the international sanctions. Myanmar does not have any access to the multilateral concessionaire loans. Therefore, it cannot necessarily develop and collaborate with these projects. Many of the areas are supposed to be connected under the Pan-Asian connectivity initiatives, but, somehow, the region has not really been able to fix a lot in the last 10-20 years. There are some recent initiatives including the initiative of the BRI, which tries to connect the Kunming, the capital of the Yunnan province of China, to three cities in Myanmar through the y-shaped corridors. But from Myanmar perspective, this has the potential to link up with not only with China but also with India. This can also integrate both South Asia and Southeast Asia and East Asia

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through China. However, there are some constraints in Myanmar, most of which are rooted in domestic situations and pose huge challenges for some of these regional initiatives. Here, I highlight four key points and propose few measures that some of our leaders of the region can consider.

Firstly, we used to miss the boat of the connectivity projects when there was a lot of funding around. But now Myanmar is out of the sanctions and has access to many of the international financing opportunities. However, it is overwhelmed with many approaches, and therefore, is cautious towards some of these lending. It is mainly because the country like Myanmar does not have necessary capacity and knowledge that are required to understand some of these complex mega projects. Myanmar parliamentarians and the public are also very much concerned about most of these earlier projects, which unfortunately became regrettable investments. So, there are no regret investments when it comes to connectivity. We have to be very careful and this is where many of our leaders and politicians have not really decided on many of these initiatives and this is where we are stuck in some of these project proposals. India can play a major role because of the latest initiative from the Indian leaders to make India as a hub of the knowledge sharing and capacity building. It may be that this sort of initiative can help many of these LDCs to understand the regional connectivity schemes in terms of their cost benefits and long-term potential.

The inclusivity of the connectivity projects becomes very critical and the trade can be one of the dimensions where the inclusive growth can be achieved. If we compare the trade situations of past and present, Myanmar has become one of the most open and very much trade driven with neighbouring economies. But unfortunately, it went along the wrong direction and then in the last 70 years missed the whole East Asian miracle in terms of growth opportunities. Myanmar is trying to correct the trade issues. Therefore, from inclusive connectivity, people will immediately benefit in terms of livelihoods and welfare. But, we must weigh carefully if trade will be boosted up immediately, following the connectivity projects especially for the LDCs. The public perception is very critical in terms of livelihoods and the welfare. These issues must be weighed carefully and then trade should be expanded through the connectivity projects especially for the LDCs.

Third issue is non-tariff barriers. For example, Myanmar has a very strong trade relationship with India especially in the area of pulses. It contributes to pulses import of India. Whenever India faces crisis in

pulses production, Myanmar is there to help India. In the last 20-30 years, the prices for pulse trade between the two countries are moving smoothly. However, there is a co-integration of a trade relationship. Unfortunately, when India exercise tariffs and the quota restrictions which are targeted against big exporters like the United States or Australia or Canada, as fourth largest exporter to India, Myanmar also is caught in trade wars. What happened is that the price between our producer i.e., the FOB prices and then the Indian domestic prices have been widened since quantitative restrictions were still active until end of 2019. It resulted in welfare loss for Indian consumers and Myanmar farmers. It is necessary for these types of connectivity initiatives to take into account both the producers or the farmers and the consumers' benefit from the long-term trade. Agriculture trade can be very strategic. Perhaps the designer of the regional connectivity initiatives can also take into account the agriculture trade, which can really build the people-to-people relations towards a long-term partnership.

Lastly, most of the connectivity projects in the past heavily emphasized on the hardware aspect of the infrastructure deployment and in many cases the software aspects were missing especially for the LDCs. This is a most needed part where there is need to bring and develop the institutions that can manage the complex and mega infrastructure projects. In this regard, Myanmar is looking forward to collaborate more with Indo-Pacific initiative on connectivity as there can be more opportunities toward developing necessary software for endeavours in regional integration. There are number of ways that the leaders like India in the Indo-Pacific initiative can take a step forward in terms of building up these software aspects of the infrastructure development. India and Myanmar share many socio-cultural attributes. Both countries can build upon developing the software aspects of the infrastructure development and connectivity eco-system.





## India's Engagements on Regional Connectivity in Indo-Pacific



Seshadri Chari\*

Connectivity actually has been the lifeline of all economic activities ever since trade winds began blowing in this universe. If we see from practically from this famous or infamous spice route to Silk Road, every trade related activity has been using various innovations and new forms of connectivity to explore new landscapes and new geographies. If we come to the Indian situation, India's natural geographic location has played an important seminal role in its emergence as a bridge between the north and the south, the west and the east, between the buyers and sellers; in fact, all over the world. If we go back to history, India has been the most important destination for anyone trading in spice. If we go back to the history of East India Company and much before that the colonization process that started long back. But that also has left another advantage for India. It is not merely that trade was happening between India and the rest of the world but India has been able to leave its footprints of India's soft power outreach through its cultural, philosophical and humanitarian exchanges. If we travel centrally that is now resonating with a new vigour in the form of South-South Cooperation, IORA, Indo-Pacific. Once again, this region is brimming with a new energy and India is looking at this region not only from trade point of view but also from the point of view of a lasting and sustainable peace, progress and to work for the common good of all the people in the region. India actually takes pride in a positioning itself not as an aid giver or a lender but as a partner in sustainable development, so that we are able to prioritize on projects that are closer to the people. Of course, that has resulted in certain setbacks but notwithstanding those setbacks, India still continues to stand on the principles that it has adopted for itself.

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This is why for India building basic infrastructure and creating contours of connectivity are important. All these activities are not in competition or conflict with a broader view of commonwealth.

The trade and transit routes for India are careers of goods and services, but more importantly, they are brick and mortar of friendship bridges that connect, cultures and hearts. Prime Minister Modi said: "From culture to commerce; from traditions to technology; from investments to IT; from services to strategy; from people to politics; India's connectivity pledge encompasses not just its commitment towards better physical connectivity between different geographies but also establishment of peace and stability of economic prosperity and new trade ties curbing radicalism, removing shadows of terror and spreading familiarity among people." This is the broad template on which India looks at the trade and other forms of connectivity.

In 2010, the new construct, namely, Indo-Pacific, was created to evoke India-US perspective. But nevertheless, Indo-Pacific as a concept has started developing and emerging into a new form since 2009-2010. Indo-Pacific has a natural geography since ages and with the new political dimensions, it has emerged from the continuous debates, not only on maritime power but also on certain other issues that have been flagged earlier. In fact, India's strategic partnership with countries to the east especially Vietnam is very comprehensive and substantial economic, defence and cultural cooperation. On the Pacific end, a new institutional framework that is a Forum for India Pacific Island Cooperation (FIPIC) has been created.

A few years back since 2014, the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi has been visiting several of the African countries and the Western littoral of the Indian Ocean like Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, Kenya, only to name a few of course. In 2015, India-Africa Forum Summit had come. That enhanced the basic structure of the connectivity projects that India and Africa would be looking up. More importantly, in continuation of that India is embarked on a very prestigious project called the Asia Africa Growth Corridor. I am directly engaged not only with ASEAN-India Centre but also with Asia Africa Growth Corridor which involves more than 54 countries of Africa and also an equal number of countries as far as the Asia is concerned. So, this important aspect of Asia Africa Growth Corridor becomes the most important template for connectivity in the region which encompasses not only the Indian Ocean Rim Associations but also the Indian Ocean and Pacific countries.

Another aspect of Asia Africa Growth Corridor is the involvement and participation of not only public-private partnership but also the private sector in India which is very robust. We have already had three meetings with the private enterprises, which include not only product exports but also project exports. These product exports and project exports can be coordinated between these two regions but not with India centric viewpoint. The most important aspect is going to be the country specific, people specific projects.

Another point to mention is the RCEP. Recently India has announced that it would not be joining the RCEP. However, it is not just merely saying no to RCEP. The most important thing is that India would have to explore various other new avenues of regional cooperation especially involving the Pacific region and the Africa region. India will have to probably look into new avenues of BIMSTEC, creating a more robust BIMSTEC institutional framework such as ASEAN-India Center framework, Africa Asia Growth Corridor Center framework. With all these we will have to increase the number of engagements which we are going to have in different countries.

In 2010, the then defence minister of India Mr. A K Anthony, spoke about the need for India to think in terms of being a net security provider in Indian Ocean region. In 2016, External Affairs Minister late Mrs. Sushma Swaraj emphasized on the same and said that “these concerns shape India’s emphasis on its role as a net security provider in the Indo-Pacific” in a speech which she made on 1st March, 2016. What is more important is not only mere connectivity but also security along with connectivity. These concerns will have to be taken into consideration. Connectivity very obviously has become very important aspect. In 2012 then Foreign Secretary suggested that India as a country had broadened its footprint and intensified its investment, trade and technical exchanges in an unprecedented manner. It had become more sensitive to regional cooperation aggressively collaborating with other regional groupings and making growing commitments to broader connectivity efforts. Now since 2014 under Prime Minister Modi, India has been engaging with the world with greater confidence and assurance with the intent of ensuring stronger growth, greater connectivity, closer integration and deeper harmony. India is now all set to expand its command and shoulder greater responsibilities. Ultimately it is the India’s world view of *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam* to treat the entire world as one family, which is the underlying principle and also the template on which we look at newer forms of connectivity.





# Regional Connectivity in the Indo-Pacific: Through the Lens of Small Economy (Sri Lanka)



Ganeshan Wignaraja\*

**W**e aim to discuss the relationship between the regional connectivity and growth of the Indo-Pacific and also attempt to emphasize the link between economics and security in the context of Sri Lanka's perspective. The discussion broadly covers the aspects of inclusion, security issues in the maritime space, Sri Lanka's experience in the strategic importance and the architecture for the Indo-Pacific.

India may include smaller neighbours as part of the Indo-Pacific framework where India is becoming the rising power in the Indo-Pacific. Several studies indicate that India may gain more in terms of economic welfare if it takes smaller neighbours into the comprehensive scheme such as goods, services, investment, infrastructure promotion, etc. along with East Asia and beyond. It is also reemphasised by India's 'Neighborhood First Policy' that provides opportunities for the smaller neighbours to take part in the concept of Indo-Pacific.

Maritime security is the major concern in the Indian Ocean region. According to the UNODC, about 18 per cent of drug trade happens in the waters of Indian Ocean. In addition, there is major risk of skirmishes at sea. About 160 or so warships of a great size are present in this Indian Ocean region, which includes aircraft carriers, destroyers, submarines and a South China Sea syndrome occurs in this ocean. Besides, there is the bigger risk like a nuclear accident involving a naval vessel, where none of the countries in the Indian Ocean region have the capacity to

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cope with, particularly, small countries in South Asia like the Maldives and Sri Lanka, which may face huge catastrophic effect.

There is also need to address the freedom of navigation issues, without hard law approach due to lack of willingness on a global scale. Countries may follow soft law approach. The soft law approach such as Djibouti code of conduct may be a bridge to move towards a shared understanding as a first step in diplomatic parlance, where people agree on a voluntary basis in order to believe certain frameworks. Sri Lanka had a major track 1.5 conference on the future of the Indian Ocean. Measures like soft approach would be very important to concretize the security architecture in the Indian Ocean.

Sri Lanka's coherent national strategies are essential to reap the benefits of engagement within Indo-Pacific connectivity. Sri Lanka has long aspired to be a hub in the Indian Ocean situating itself between Dubai and Singapore because of its strategic geographical positioning. Since 1980s Sri Lanka has invested in ports particularly, in containerized traffic and built four new terminals. Colombo port today is one of the most competitive ports in South Asia. With respect to Hambantota port, the popular narrative which comes from the US in particular says that it is a Chinese debt trap. This view is outdated mainly because they have not looked at debt sustainability data as of December 2019. The port is now being reengineered and is expected to contribute to increasing Sri Lanka's maritime port capacity to around 13 million TEUs (Sri Lanka's current capacity is 8 million) in the next five to six years. It will contribute to Sri Lanka's drive to become a port-led maritime hub in Indian Ocean.

Sri Lanka is also going to renegotiate the Hambantota deal and looking more at the security issue, which is still a concern for India. The more important aspect is of spill over benefits from this type of infrastructure project for Sri Lanka. The industrial zone that is adjacent to the Hambantota port will become the gateway ports, where Sri Lanka has built the industrial zone in order to export. Indian investors are also investing in Hambantota industrial zone, which is coming up very fast. On the other hand, Sri Lanka is building a port city adjacent to the Colombo port, which has reclaimed land of 269 hectares from the sea. It will eventually triple the office space in Colombo and spur services development in Sri Lanka. The government has established a committee to look at the port city to ensure the integration into the port-led story of Sri Lanka.

The third aspect is that Sri Lanka is a fairly open economy. Average tariffs are down to 5 per cent and it has a national strategy. The new government wants to build comprehensive trade agreement with India, which has eluded us for many years mainly because of small and medium industry concerns, both in India and Sri Lanka as well as due to the service sector lobbies on both sides that have been worrying. In terms of governance structure of the Indo-Pacific architecture, countries can start with membership contribution based on GDP per capita. They can evolve a forum to debate and share the ideas, lessons learned, and form governance structure among the countries.





**Plenary Session IV**



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**Industrial Revolution 4.0  
and Indo-Pacific**

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## Technology Vision 2035: Industrial Revolution 4.0 and Indo-Pacific



**Prabhat Ranjan\***

India's "Technology Vision 2035" was prepared by TIFAC and released by Prime Minister of India in January 2016. It presents a vision for India with technology road map. Before this Technology Vision 2035 was prepared, there was question about the objective of preparing such a document. This document actually, unlike the Technology Vision 2020, is concerned on moving from India to Indians, and focuses on developing the quality of life of every single citizen of India. This vision document defines 12 prerogatives, which are the parameters to outline the quality of life of citizens. Out of these, the six on the top are individual parameters, which are important for every single citizen. Each of these parameters defines to achieve the vision.

The technology table has four columns. The leftmost is the technology, which is ready to deploy, showing technology which is available in the country and outside the country but not being used on a large scale. The second column is technology, which needs to go from lab to field. We found that this is India's weakness, where most of our work remains within the research lab and do not go out to field. The third is very interesting and this is the one where we put those technology areas which need targeted development. In these areas, India's defined targets are very clear, especially space, atomic and missiles, where Indians have done quite well. But, targets are not well defined and are very scattered in most of the other areas. In total, about 60 targets are there in this category and out of which, NITI Aayog has taken about 20 to take forward. The last column, where there is only one dot, is very interesting. It is called technology in imagination, where we look at

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those technologies which may happen or may not happen or may take 25-30 years to happen. Those technologies are there in the imagination.

Some of the technologies mentioned in this document started to happen even before the ink had dried so to say. Two trends are very clear. First, technology is moving at much faster pace than we expect. Second, technology diffusion is also happening at much faster pace. This also means that technology obsolescence is extremely high. In the document, there is one more chapter, which talks about the essential prerequisites. There are three transversal technology areas viz materials, manufacturing and ICT. These are the three areas which are actually fuelling the Industrial Revolution 4.0. This document, which is actually a vision for India, is also followed by 12 roadmaps to achieve that vision.

The first on the top is education because education is the key success of each one of these roadmaps, then healthcare, transportation, manufacturing, materials and information and communication technology. The fourth industrial revolution is fuelled by a group of technologies as well as advancements in biological processes, sensing, actuation, processing, communication, energy, etc. The phrase, what is called deceptive phase, is going to change slowly into disruptive phase. This term has been used from what is called 6Ds of technology: disruption, deception, disruption, demonetisation, deep industrialisation and democratization. It is like when you were young you used to be very proud owner of a camera. Today, everybody has a camera because of digitisation. So once one gets digitized it is something that it leads in democratization.

Here, we talk about impact of IR4.0 and improving the efficiency of existing industrial processes. New processes for existing products will evolve including biological products. One more thing is that completely new products and environments will become possible, which will see new users. For example, by vertical farming or multilayer vertical farming using 90 per cent less water, no pesticide and using no sunlight we can grow 40 to 300 times more crop, which we can call urban farming. From the farm to the consumer within two hours we can have fresh crops. Already this work has started in India (in Goa), and in Singapore, the US, Japan, and so it is already happening. Therefore, this type of farming is likely to grow very much and will save a lot of resources because we are saving a lot of land, saving 90 per cent water and so on, which is very important. Cellular agriculture is like a revolution in food production, where actually a huge cell cultured in the lab to create products, where animals were involved. Three examples of these are

meat without animal (meat 2.0) that means we do not grow animals, we do not have to kill animal but we can take the cell and grow it in the lab. We can produce the same meat that we are eating. Therefore, it is the same thing, but the process is different. In one case, animals are being grown and killed, and in second process, we do it in lab. In this process we can save 99 per cent resources. Livestock farming consumes huge amount of resources. We are not even aware that about more than 20 per cent greenhouse gas emissions come from livestock farming. Another example is egg without meat. Meat without animal has been produced already and it is in process of commercialization. Egg without chicken has been produced, milk without cow has also produced and milk without cow already commercialized. This means that even the concept of what is vegetarian and non-vegetarian completely goes away because we do not know how to define non-vegetarian. So far, we have defined that we are harming an animal. Probably that is non-vegetarian, but when we have no animals involved then is it really vegetarian or non-vegetarian. This remains questionable. That is the kind of disruption, which is happening.

Additive manufacturing, popularly known as 3D printing, is game changer. Before the first industrial revolution in 1750s, India was on top and produced 20 to 30 per cent of global manufacturing. Both India and China competed each other for the first two positions. However, from 1800, it got discontinued and then slowly colonization brought our manufacturing down to less than 2 per cent in the world. Currently, we are going back to the same customized manufacturing. It will have an impact on supply chain because the production of goods will happen closer to the consumers' place of consumption and will be most sustainable and cost-effective. For example, there is a house being made with 3D print technology in 24 hours. Thus, we can build this house of 500 or 800 square feet. It looks as good as anything else, uses much less material and also cost is much cheaper like US\$ 4000 to make an 800 square feet house. We can imagine the impact it would have on rehabilitation efforts, on low-cost housing and so on. Even big buildings have been made using this technology. If we look at biological system, bone and cartilage can be produced through this 3D printing technology. If someone has had a fracture then we use plaster casts, which are very heavy and uncomfortable. But now we can have designer cast, and choose the colour, design and can feed ultrasound into that to heal the bone even faster. We have organs being produced in less time. We are likely to have organs, and heart and blood vessels

are being produced at the same time. What is happening is the fusion of biology and technology. This means that organs for human transplant are being grown inside sheep and pigs. We grow those organs and then take those organs out for transplanting in the humans. At the same time, we have artificial womb that has been created. Baby sheep is being successfully grown in this and for one month it was kept. Slowly human babies could also be cared by this. At the same time, a sperm has been grown in the lab. Eggs have been grown in the lab. Does it mean that the way we see reproduction today will end and we can grow human being in the lab itself? A brain computer interface is something that was worked on for last eight to nine years mainly with focus to help people with disability. Can a computer develop consciousness? In other words, can the AI system develop consciousness? In 2015, one of the tasks was about adding memory to the brain. It is like a pen drive that we carry so you add the pen drive to your brain to add memory. Actually, it was predicted in 2018 that it would happen, and this is the news that it happened with 33 per cent enhancement in memory power by adding additional memory from outside. This can impact in ways that the whole educational system can get disrupted, and in that case people would not need teachers. They can have materials and transfer knowledge to brain directly. It is already happening. New pilots have been trained using the systems so that the old pilots experience is being transferred and the new pilots are training 33 per cent faster. Does knowledge transfer mean that we do not need teachers anymore? A gentleman lost his hand. He does not want the prosthetic arm. He wants a testing machine. The machine and body are combining together. Exoskeletons are doing wonderful things. Similarly, are we close to achieving digital immortality? There are four stages of that. Work is going on a stage C of this to create a digital avatar of a person who will combine holography, speech recognition, etc. Artificial intelligence may recreate a person even after they have left this world. This will mean that experiences can be stored. Like many of you have probably seen a lot of experiences. You can continue to have benefit of your experiences too and have impact on education because teachers could be created everywhere.

Combining together - Robotics and Artificial Intelligence - probably we will hear more. Here focus is on two areas; one is the deep sea conditions and other is a space part. In two growth areas, one is growing closer to centre of earth and other is going away from centre of earth. Deep sea mining work is very important. Most of this will be without human beings. Robotics and AI will play a key role. Communications

are going to be tough. So, robotics and AI independent decision-making will be there. We look at space, and we are going to inhabit multiple planets. Plans are there for Moon, Mars and so on. According to the NASA report, between Mars and Jupiter there is asteroid belt. That has so much mineral wealth that if we divide it among all the people on the earth today, everybody will get hundred billion dollars. We could imagine the amount of wealth that is lying there. Obviously, we are trying to pursue that asteroid mining that is something coming up in a big way. Therefore, it will require robotics and AI. For example, a particular space rock is valued to be US\$ 10,000 quadrillion. If we have to pursue space where we might have to travel for 10-20-30 years, robots have an advantage that they could be put into hibernating mode or switched off mode. But human beings cannot because they need to consume food. If they have to commit to the robot, have to have the capability of hibernation so that they can go into low-power mode, just like animals do. We have somehow lost this knowledge. Therefore, we need to learn back that knowledge to compete with robots, otherwise robots are going to take over this space travel and we will not be able to compete.

Based on the above mention issues, there are four takeaways. First is the education as it is key to all. Traditional knowledge, the area that these countries have, but we have not done enough in combining our knowledge together. The other two areas of growth are space and the deep sea. In case of space, India is strong. In deep sea, most of the countries are participating in this process. Interest in this is going to be extremely important for our growth.





# Industrial Revolution 4.0 and the Indo-Pacific: The Unwarranted Pessimism over Job Losses



Jayant Menon\*

**H**ere is the focus on some of the macro or broad economic implications of the fourth industrial revolution, in particular on the concern that has been raised over the employment consequences of the fourth industrial revolution. There is widespread pessimism whether a robot will steal jobs or do we need to fear the job impact of this new age of digitization and the fourth industrial revolution. Another concern is the distributional impacts of the fourth industrial revolution. Will it lead to increase inequality within and between countries? We need to discuss about the driving factors of the outcome and what we can do to arrest one of these consequences of increasing national and international inequalities. Besides, what we can do and prepare for the fourth industrial revolution to meet the challenges as well as to take full advantage of the opportunities that it has to offer.

It is useful to remind ourselves that the world has experienced fourth industrial revolution and each has unfolded predictions of massive job losses. Looking back at the first three of these industrial revolutions, it becomes clear that these concerns were terribly misplaced. The number of jobs increased each time and so did living standards. Just about every other social indicator history is also on our side. Indeed, ever since early human species carved a stone into a tool, the welfare of the human species has been on a trajectory of increase. This is probably the first technological breakthrough. The carving of a stone which soon led to the hand axe and today we have the iPhone. But, McKinsey predicts that

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800 million workers could be displaced in 42 countries, which means one third of the workforce would become unemployed because of the fourth industrial revolution. All those similar predictions were made at the onset of each revolution of the past. We need to ask ourselves whether there could be something more to it in this time. Of course, every revolution is different, but how different is this one, i.e. the fourth industrial revolution.

As we are aware that destructive technologies like Artificial Intelligence, Robotics, Blockchain and 3D printing, to name just a few, are indeed transforming social, economic and political systems often in unpredictable ways. The technology itself is difficult to map because its growth rate is uncertain. It could be exponential or it could be factorial or could be even higher. Therefore, this unpredictability makes impact assessment difficult. If we cannot properly understand the changes how we can try and predict the consequences. This is making life difficult, but not impossible. We can still try and come up with some broad parameters about likely impacts using reasonable assumptions about future trajectories.

One of those trajectories is how many low-skilled repetitive jobs are automated already. This automation started in high wage countries or industrialized countries. However, it is rapidly spreading to the developing world. With two-thirds of the world's robots are already living and working in the Indo-Pacific region, and some expecting this region to be particularly susceptible to these negative changes. But, are there limits to this automation? To answer this question properly, it is important to first understand how work itself is transforming especially within global value chains. GVCs dominate production in the exportable sectors of many Indo-Pacific countries. India also is slowly but surely catching up. In global value chains, jobs consist of a bundle of tasks and this is true at all skill levels. As long as if at least one of these multitude of tasks that a worker performs cannot be technically and economically automated, that job is probably safe. There are lots of jobs like that within and outside global value chains, even though they may not appear so on the surface.

The debate also tends to wrongly focus on gross. In this debate, we should consider net jobs and not gross jobs. For example, greater automation of production processes will require greater supervision and quality control. That will require humans to carry out this function. This illustrates how the focus on gross jobs ignores a number of highest

skilled jobs that are created directly as a result of the greater automation. Supervisory jobs will be created because of automation and this will be highly paying jobs. Furthermore, the reduction in the price of the final good that will occur with automation will spur an increase in demand for that good. Now, if the increase in demand is large enough, it may even expand the number of jobs in factories that automate parts and components. But, not all of the production processes, with automation actually lead to a net increase in jobs. There will also be inter-industry effects, productivity gains from new cross the board. Higher demands and more production in one industry raises demand in other industries and on it goes.

Why then do we have so much pessimism about the 4IR and jobs? It is easier to imagine how existing jobs may be lost than to imagine the creation of new jobs in undefined future, that is just human nature. Another reason could be that it is often more sensational to highlight the job displacing possibilities than the job creating ones. Here, we can blame the media to some extent. We might also hear more about job losses since benefits are widely dispersed across general public due to trade liberalisation. Through lower prices, it can displace low-skilled workers. When there is enough uncertainty and it is generally safer to overstate rather than understate the potential cost to innocent victims of change. All of these factors combine to explain the unwarranted pessimism over jobs. There will be a lot of disruptions. Let us not be unclear or fool ourselves about it that there will be a lot of job churning. But, there is no reason for this much pessimism as a result of it. So, what do we do to prepare for the future of the 4IR? If we are going to focus on one policy measure, it would have to be education and not the form of education that we are used to. We need to learn how to keep learning. This will be the real challenge facing countries in the 4IR. Jobs are unlikely to be lost in the long run but they will be in the short run. Disruption creates opportunities in the long run, but generates a lot of pain in the short run. We often focus on the short run and forget the long run. If we can see through into the long run, we can actually embrace the many benefits that will come with the fourth industrial revolution.





# Artificial Intelligence Driven Industry 4.0



**U Dinesh Kumar\***

**W**e highlight how do we survive in AI world and what the government, decision makers and policymakers should be doing or preparing society when AI in its full force. To start with, the quote made by Oliver Holmes in 1897 said that “the man of the future is the man of the statistics”, which we can say today the man of artificial intelligence. So, he had the vision almost 120 years back to see the impact of data or data science. To understand what is AI and how it is going to impact us so, another quote by Professor Andrew Ng is important. He said that “artificial intelligence is the new electricity”. If we go back to the beginning of 20th century, the economic development was driven by electricity, but what we are going to see today is that the economic development or the wealth creation of the countries will depend on how well they are sophisticated in the technologies or the concepts associated with artificial intelligence.

What is this artificial intelligence and data science all about? Data science is basically a subset of artificial intelligence. A small example on artificial intelligence is like Facebook relationship breakups status. When people break up, they go to their Facebook site and announce to the world that they are single, they are happy, they are in the market, anybody else in the market like that. Apparently, it is observed that there is a trend that indicates that a lot of break ups happen in December every year. The question is why we think about break up that usually happen in December. Probably, because the working couple usually go to office come back then eat and sleep. But in December there are a lot of holidays and they start talking to each other and then it is the time when the problem starts. As long as they are not talking to each

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other the relationship is fine, the moment they talk to their spouses or partners then the problem starts. But why should anybody worry about this pattern. So, this is where the data science and artificial intelligence comes in. There is a spike in break ups happen in December. It has lot of impacts on many things. For example, if they are living together at least one person has to get out of the house that means that demand for housing goes up, the demand for lawyers and relationship counsellors goes up and download of tinder or account opening in tinder or other dating apps downloads will increase. One company said that people change the brand of the beer that they drink after break up. There will be a lot of changes happening in individual's life and probably in January it may be large in number.

From the above example what we are seeing is that there is a pattern and we are trying to connect the dots to understand what that pattern means to various businesses. This is a simple explanation of what data science means to us. But, pattern recognition is very tough in today's world because each one of us use a smart phone or may be some of us two or three and we access many apps. We do a lot many things with our smart phone. The amount of data that we create is humongous and add to that all the IOT devices. We are seeing a lot more data which is getting generated. The question is if we can use this data intelligently and make our lives effective and efficient. When we talk about industry 4.0, we talk about a society which is digitally-enabled. We are living in a digital age and we are moving towards that age where it will be dominated by AI. Sundar Pichai, the Google CEO, couple of years back said that Google would move towards AI first company or artificial first company. What does that actually mean? If we look at may be 20 years back most companies move towards internet. Most of the transactions happen through internet and then they move to mobile. For example may be 20 years back we were sending emails through laptops and desktops; now we send emails from our smart phone. What would AI do? For example, 20 years back people used to write in their diaries about their appointments. Five years back they started putting their appointments in their Outlook Express. People knew that they had to go and check every day about their appointments. But today, thanks to the mobile technology as soon as we wake up our mobile phone says that you have these many appointments today. The AI world will tell us that okay you have an appointment at 10 o'clock which is going to be boring. Should I (e.g. AI of the mobile) send them an email saying that you are sick. This is what the AI can do, and that is where we are heading. But

what does that mean to society? It is going to transform every industry no single industry will be left off. But the good news is that McKinsey company has predicted that AI will generate about US\$ 30 trillion GDP by 2030. There is an opportunity for every country, and every society to take advantage of AI provided they prepared for that.

We are going to see a lot more changes and that will make the lifelong learning as a necessary part of work. Whatever skill we learn in our under graduation or graduation may not be sufficient to survive for long. Therefore, the re-skilling will happen lot more frequently. Probably 50 years back when somebody had a degree and with that degree they survived 30-40 years in their work. But, that is not going to be the future. We have to re-skill our workforce probably every three years if not every five years. We will have lot of issues: the forces of change, unemployment driven by technology, etc. But, it was also said that there will be lot of employment created through AI. This means we have to prepare the workforce or the future generation for AI. The borders will start disappearing, so people do not require to get a visa to work in a country or work for a company, which is in a different country because they can work from their houses for any company anywhere in the world because that is what the AI is going to do. The technology will enable us to do work for any company anywhere in the world. This implies that we need to look at few important things. The technology is going to reshape the jobs of the future and also there will be a lot of change in the arrangement of the job itself. Today the millennials do not want to work five days a week. They may say that they will be ready to work for the company for two days and the remaining three days they want to do stand-up comedy. So, that is the way in which millennials look at their life. Therefore, the lifelong education is going to be a major force and government and policy implementers or creators should be prepared for that. If we look at the skill groups, there are physical manual skills, which still forms a largest workforce like drivers and construction workers and so on and that will slowly disappear, the moment we have self-driving cars. We will see that a lot of those jobs are going away. Most of the jobs will move towards higher cognition and dealing with complex problems, which are social and emotional skills and technology skills. Therefore, slowly we have to create skill for digital age. That is basically going to be the challenge and even then there are worries about job loss. However, there will be lot more jobs that will be created through AI and we have to prepare our society for that.





## Industrial Revolution 4.0 and the Indo-Pacific



Sudeshna Sarkar\*

There are challenges and opportunities that industry 4.0 presents. There is definite role that academia can play here and we discuss how academia should play up to this. It is very clear that this fourth industrial revolution is going to bring radical changes to our world, which can be disruptive and it is going to impact every sector. There have been three other industrial revolutions before, but there may be one of the differences that the world is changing at a very fast pace today. This is a revolution that we cannot shy away from. It has to be embraced by every country and every industry and government so that they remain competitive. Obviously, the fourth industrial revolution brings with its benefits. There is a potential to reduce cost, to have better production efficiency and better throughput. Developing countries have a unique opportunity to fast track their economic and social prosperity through innovative use of new technology to drive sustainable economic growth; an optimized resource usage that benefit the planet. However, there are a lot of challenges in adopting this technology. These challenges are faced by different stakeholders for adopting this technology. For the government it is important to build infrastructure. They allow investments, financing and innovative policy to support the new order. For industries it remains challenging because all industries, especially the small and medium enterprises, they are at a disadvantage to adopt the benefits of the new technology. There are numerous barriers like awareness about the technology, lack of talented manpower, lack of skilled or semi-skilled people who can work in today's digital age. Therefore, these pose a lot of challenges in adopting this technology. However, there is a potential of increased divide; divided different segments of the population, between

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different countries, between different companies as all of them are not similarly empowered to embrace this technology. There can be new barriers like uneven growth, increasing threat of cyber security, threat to human privacy - these are very real causes for concern.

However, to enable 4IR, different steps are required and a few of them are technology, education, innovation and research, and good infrastructure, good policy and cooperation are very important enablers to embrace 4IR by everyone. Firstly, there are various technology pillars for 4IR than AI. Machine learning, etc. play a very important part in this intelligence. There is data which is the revolutionary factor and there are other technologies like robotics, edited manufacturing, AR VR and apart from the technology, different people are bringing in new business models and services to take advantage of this technology. The advances in 4IR can impact all sectors, but some sectors, which are very important for boosting the economy of a country and harnessing the technology for social good, are healthcare including precision medicine, agriculture and food security, manufacturing, education in all forms including remote education to lifelong learning, safer and faster transportation, clean energy, environment and climate change and the other fascinating revolutions in science. From the government side, there is a need to invest in infrastructure, financing and policy. It is also very important to create uniform standards and have data and knowledge sharing agreements so that small and medium industrial units can benefit from each other and also from different countries. It is very important that the responsible technology, which instead of disrupting our world and creating more divide, serves humanity, creates better jobs and works towards social goods.

Another point here is that education has a very important role to play as an enabler of the fourth industrial revolution. As said by many that due to this technology, low level jobs may go away. Therefore, it is very important to increase the level of education and improve digital skills and literacy among the population so that they can take advantage of the new wage jobs. On the other hand, at the higher end of the spectrum, innovation and research will be the drivers of creative use of new technology. It is very important to develop talent which should have necessary research expertise and the innovative mindset as it is very rare. Therefore, it is very important to develop such talents so that more and more industries and countries can take advantage of this. Universities must make sure that the curriculum promotes innovative thinking, creates awareness about the technology and challenges facing

the planet and prepare students for lifelong learning. There should be research and innovation with industry partners and universities can take part in skilling, re-skilling, up-skilling and lifelong learning. Industry can also work with universities to deliver relevant technology expertise and the university should also promote entrepreneurship. The research and development are very important. An ecosystem needs to be developed that connects academia and research labs with industry that can drive innovation in order to benefit the industry. At the same time, one needs to promote entrepreneurship so that the people can develop home grown innovative solutions to meet societal challenges. Cooperation is extremely important for countries and industries have to be adaptive and embrace the technology so that they remain competent in sharing data, knowledge, use cases, technology and expertise.

IIT Kharagpur has set up a centre for excellence in artificial intelligence. This is a new centre and the objective is to work towards four goals: fundamental research in AI, to work with industry for industry relevant projects, to work on teaching and outreach and to promote entrepreneurship. The centre looks for scientific collaboration, industry consultancy and sponsored research. It also takes part in outreach education on different aspects of the new technology in order to spread more skill development through workshops and symposia. There is also another centre which is relevant in IIT Kharagpur; it is the DHI centre of excellence in advanced manufacturing technology, which has been supported by the Ministry of Heavy Industries and industry consortium. They drive innovative research in different vertical domains in manufacturing and other smart industry. The centre has different initiatives, and some of them are relevant to 4IR such as working on the digital trade, building of digital space, retrofitting of the industry to legacy technology and other aspects. Therefore, what is felt by looking at different models that exist in the world, it is important for academia to develop centres, which is known as technology transfer in industrial bodies which can take the technology and make it ready for sharing with industry and start-ups to take advantage. Therefore, these sorts of structures are very important for industry and academia to work together.





## Industrial Revelation 4.0: Perspective of Living



Vivek Saha\*

**D**igital transformation and Industry 4.0 for NASSCOM is a new division. NASSCOM has Center of Digital Excellence, called CoE-DS. Let's know how many people out here are using Fitbit watch or Google watch or Apple kind of a watch or any device on the phone. All those people are Industry 4.0 compliant. You have an Android phone or Google pixel, which are fully loaded with artificial intelligence; it can gauge your speed and it can do everything for you as it senses so many things. The Google assistant would do all the jobs for you. There are two important things. Firstly, demystification of industry 4.0 is very important and second is the digital adoption. Some of those use cases which are already in exist, but we have to understand how they have been used in case of health care. Fitbit is a best example of recording all our health data and with the restrictions of that data is being shared to minimum number of hospitals. We can imagine that data can really cure a lot of diseases. The Government of India is working with NASSCOM Centre of Excellence. We are trying to get a solution around respiratory problems in India and that can come through data from some of our devices. It is very important for us to scale up innovation. We have to move from academia and research to the shop floor and that work in tandem has to work to make it scalable to create the impacts. The digital adoption group in automotive industry is talking about shop floor automation and bringing optimization of supply chain. If we see the whole value chain of automotive industry, it starts right from sourcing then it goes into manufacturing, distribution and logistics. Whether in manufacturing, it would have 3D printing and all sorts of different technologies. We have nine emerging technologies. We have digital channels as most of the people call it as social mobility

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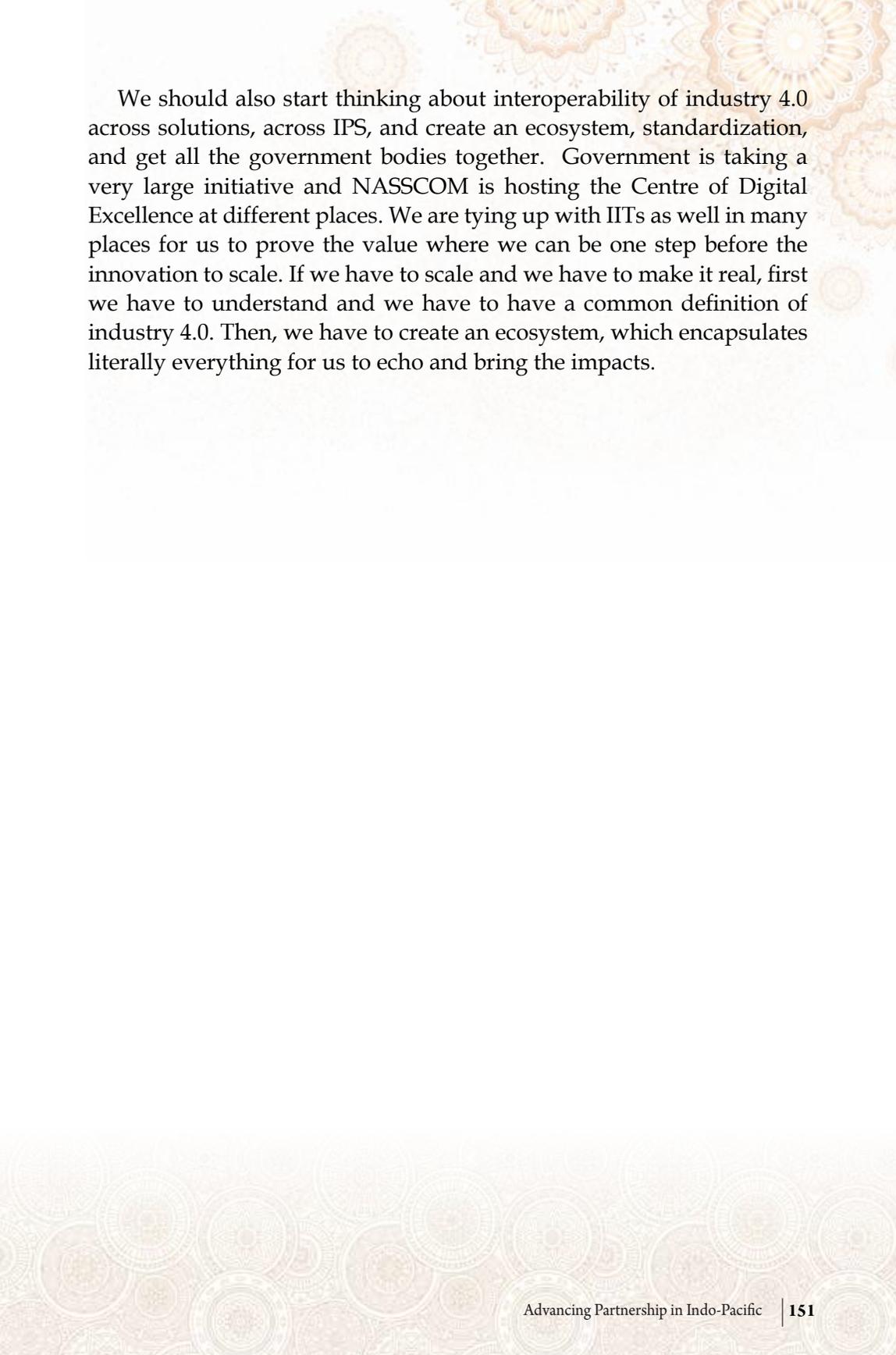
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analytics cloud and security. The intersection points where all these resonate is industry 4.0. If we can make business impact, if we can impact a shop floor in a manufacturing industry for a supply chain or inventory for that sake with different solutions all tied in together and very much interoperable then we are moving towards scaling up industry 4.0 in some way.

Frameworks, policies, regulations, standardization - these are four big critical success factors for digital transformation to scale or any innovation to scale. We can talk about research and the R&D which lot of companies do. This is a larger framework, which is required us to scale across framework, policies, regulations and standardization. For example, BIS is doing a lot of standardization across some of the industry 4.0 elements.

Huge amount of data is going to come from all directions. We have technology to support it and we have machine learning to get the intelligence out of it. But how do we really scale that, how do we make it meaningful, how can we enhance supply chain by no cost or reduce operational cost by 20 per cent or 15 per cent? It is very important to see the layer-by-layer approach of AI industry 4.0 infrastructure, communication, devices, IOT gateways, platform, services company and people who are the top-notch players in terms of doing R&D. Communications play a very vital role. Today, we have 4G. We have long-range LoRaWAN or other technologies, but if we can imagine that there is an assembly line and we want to deploy industry 4.0 out there, then there should not be an iota of second or iota of mischance to happen because if the communication breaks somewhere the whole data line gets broken-off at some point in time. The IT and IOT convergence is coming out to be the most important layer and with the advent of 5G technologies there are lot of tariff issues and other regulations. But, if we are able to solve that we are going to really see the enormous benefit of IT and IOT convergence.

People spoke about skills to execute. There is no risk at all about the jobs and there is no challenge at all. It is about getting more skilled work as unskilled work is going to go away; the mundane jobs are going to go away. Therefore, we are trying to develop strategic skills and with the advent of new technologies, we have to get new skills on the table. We have to stay relevant, otherwise we all will be antiquated on the skills we would have. Therefore, it is very important aspect.



We should also start thinking about interoperability of industry 4.0 across solutions, across IPS, and create an ecosystem, standardization, and get all the government bodies together. Government is taking a very large initiative and NASSCOM is hosting the Centre of Digital Excellence at different places. We are tying up with IITs as well in many places for us to prove the value where we can be one step before the innovation to scale. If we have to scale and we have to make it real, first we have to understand and we have to have a common definition of industry 4.0. Then, we have to create an ecosystem, which encapsulates literally everything for us to echo and bring the impacts.





**Plenary Session V**



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**Future of Multilateral  
Trading System**

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## The WTO and Multilateral Trading System: Issues and Concerns



Anup Wadhawan\*

The multilateral trading system as embodied in the WTO stands severely disrupted in present time and stands virtually non-functional. On top of years of subtle and sometimes not so subtle protectionism, we have reached a stage where we saw unilateral actions by various countries. Unilateralism involving non-abidance by the established rules of the WTO, we had security exceptions being used by the most prosperous nations in the world. These countries would benefit the most from the global economic order that was established after World War two and in fact they had benefited the most even from the pre-world war two global economic order. Therefore, we reached a situation where the established rules of the system were not being abided by through unilateral actions involving the invocation of some very specious security clauses. For instance, the U.S. imposed steel aluminium duties on security grounds, whereas they produced 80 per cent of the steel and aluminium. The remaining 20 per cent was largely imported from some very close strategic partners and yet the security ground was imposed. This situation is compounded by the fact that today we have a situation of non enforceability of rules. The appellate body of the WTO as we all know has collapsed. The quorum required is no longer there and nomination of new members is being disrupted by the same sort of elements. Now question is who have brought in the unilateralism? Who have brought in the non-abidance with the rules? So clearly the prognosis does not look good, prognosis looks bad. There seems to be no sort of light at the end of the tunnel. There do not seem to be live active channels through which one can hope some desirable outcomes can materialize. At one level it is disappointing, but at another level it is not surprising. If we look at how

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the global economic order has evolved, we will see a pattern to it and in a sense what has emerged is not surprising. It is consistent with the way the global economic order evolved; it is consistent with some underlying characteristics that the global economic order always had.

Let's look back and see how that economic order evolved. If we go back to the pre-industrial revolution age when countries like India and China dominated the world economy, they dominated the world trade. That in a sense was an age of pure free trade when trade largely was devoid of politics. We had trade and the foundation of which was in small enterprises. Complete competition at the production end involved significant risk. In trading across borders and across the seas there was an element of competition. The nation-state was not directly involved with the political economy of trade, which was largely governed by economic causes. This was followed by the Industrial Revolution, which saw a situation of technological domination of the western world. It got combined with certain political influences on trade through the process of colonization. Here, we saw increasing state involvement in the political economy of trade. For example, the East India Company sponsored by the state and the politicized of trade evolved in the post-industrial revolution age. If we see the characteristics of that period, in many ways they persist with us even today. That is why it is not very surprising as to how things have shaped in the multilateral system. It is obvious that Industrial Revolution and colonization led to the typical colonial pattern of trade exploitation of primary resources; exploitation of raw materials based on political and economic domination and manufactured goods being produced by the developed world being exported to developing countries. After the World War II, the world emerged from the horrors and there was an apparent change of heart. There appeared to be some sort of pangs of conscience at the way the world had evolved thus far. After the horror of World War II, there was a voice for freedom for the colonies. Even President Roosevelt spoke about the developed world losing their colonies after the war was over. Therefore, there appeared to be a change of heart and there were talk of economic aid, technical assistance, technology sharing with developing countries. In fact, technology sharing was a part of developing countries demand all the way through after World War II. This led to the multilateral trading system evolving under GATT. WTO improved upon the GATT arrangements. It brought in the system of consensus and it reinforced the principles of special and differential treatment. It brought in a two-stage appellate process, i.e. a transparent process for

resolving disputes and it brought in a development focus. It appeared that we were learning from the past and were turning a new leaf.

However, the outcomes that emerged were somewhat disappointing for developing countries as we saw very legalistic agreements; some of them turned out to be very unfair for developing countries. They included agreements like in agriculture where we find huge subsidies of the developed world. These subsidies were put into some legal boxes with the myth that they were no-distorting. However, they are clearly not non-distorting. If we remove those subsidies, we will see the agriculture production shift in accordance with comparative advantage, which lies in the developing world. We had a very legalistic process for which developing countries were not really equipped and they were also amenable to coming under pressure. Many developing countries had close to 70-80 per cent of their budgets being supported by aid. It is in that situation where we were not in a position to resist these outcomes. The result was that many of these agreements negotiated under this new order were very unfair to developing countries. Then again there seemed to be a realization and there was talk about implementation issues, which needed to be addressed for the underlying intent of realization of these agreements. There were some lip services paid to implementation issues. We had the Doha round, which was envisaged with the developmental focus but that hope was also belied. Very soon, the Doha round came to a complete halt and we realized that expression of faith in the principles, which the Doha round embodied, was very shallow and not really sincere. We had a situation where established mandates were abandoned, particularly mandates which were agreed to at a ministerial level. It included mandates to renegotiate unfair agreements like the agreement on agriculture; mandates to deliver on some key concerns of developing countries; for instance, even the public stock holding concern for a country like India. In India with huge population living at subsistence levels very fragile and vulnerable towards food security issues, India had some very genuine concerns about issues like public stock holding. To a larger or lesser extent, it got abandoned and Nairobi finally got it documented that there was no consensus on that agreed mandate, which had been derived in the past from ministerial decisions.

We also had new issues coming in like e-commerce, investment facilitation and all sorts of new issues that spoke very poorly for the credibility of the system. We negotiate something over years and we agreed to something after very significant and substantive negotiations.

Then we abandon the mandate and say that we need a new mandate for new issues. Obviously, lack of credibility led to lack of any forward movement on the new issues also.

Therefore, we reached a situation where there was no forward movement on arriving at some reasonable outcomes; there was a complete stalemate. Agreed mandates were abandoned and the new mandates were highly contested. There was lack of consensus for them. The present situation has been further compounded and not only there is no forward movement, there is a movement in the reverse direction. The agreed rules are not being abided by and now those rules are not enforceable, thanks to collapsing of the appellate body. This comes on top of a very subtle legalistic environment of protectionism that was always the undercurrent. There were various measures by way of non-tariff barriers. SPS measures were non-scientific, including the MRL limits for pesticides, etc. in agricultural products, which are very important for developing countries, based on level of detection rather than a system of scientific analysis and risk estimation. You had an effort to bring in various non-trade issues as trade issues such as labour and environmental standards subtle protectionism not so subtle at times aimed at undoing the comparative advantage of developing countries. Every macro economy has evolved over time. Wages, labour and other standards in the West today have evolved over time, but the effort here was to thrust them unnaturally, prematurely on the developing world and undo that comparative advantage. If for the Indian economy, a certain wage rate is sufficient for survival, a premature effort to thrust a certain minimum wage, which that economy cannot support, or some standards which are not possible to achieve overnight, are unreasonable actions. The situation evolved amidst that underlying subtle protectionism. The other aspect of that was the entire issue of IPR and technology. All this coexisted with the effort to create an IPR regime that was in our view quite unbalanced because typically IPR regimes need to balance the concerns for encouraging innovation, R&D and balancing public health and public policy concerns. Clearly, the effort was to have a regime, which was highly unbalanced and highly in favour of corporate. You had a highly prosperous global pharmaceutical sector, earning huge profits and splashing those profits around to create a favourable environment, whether it was with the medical profession or whether it was with parliamentarians. We saw that an unbalanced IPR regime and developing countries had to fight and struggle for that balance. India, for instance, had a TRIP's compliant

regime which strove for that balance, but the pressure to undo that has been consistent. The other aspect is technology sharing. If we have a regime where IPR protection is unreasonable, where 20 years of patent protection is not sufficient. Huge profits of the patent holders are not seen as reflection of a satisfactory regime from the corporate point of view. Technology sharing is mere lip service. What we replicate is the same old colonial pattern of trade, where all the value addition lies in the developed world and developing countries are simply sources for raw materials and labours. So, the underlying nature of the global economic order did not fundamentally change, it was achieved by certain very overt and somewhat crude methods in the past. The same objective was attempted to be achieved through certain more subtle and somewhat covert methods. That brief period of apparent realization or apparent change of heart has quickly come to an end. We are again on ground zero, where certain rules which were multilateral, had some elements of fairness and promoting equity in the global economic order were abandoned. The entire facade has come to an end and today we have a situation where effectively no rules prevail, countries with economic clout are free to violate them. There is no dispute resolution system which is working today and what the future holds is hard to predict. But, clearly the bilateral arm-twisting based on economic clout will be a very important element of the global economic order.

The question is what the future holds for us in this situation. Clearly this outcome is welfare reducing for the world. The US-China trade dispute is the most convincing real-world validation that barriers to trade are welfare reducing; tariffs are welfare reducing. That realization although not admitted has dawned upon the perpetrators of that unilateralism. Therefore, one hope is that the world will learn its lessons or the perpetrators of that unilateralism will learn a lesson the hard way. Let's hope some realization dawns; some wisdom dawns and we learn these lessons at the minimal possible price. If it is perpetuated too long then the lessons will be learned in a really hard way. It will be welfare reducing and of course the brunt of it will be borne by developing countries. We cannot predict how the personalities on the world stage will change in the future. Elections are hard to predict and we have seen some very recent results. There again one can only hope that the choices people exercise lead to some outcomes which put on the stage personalities with wisdom and foresight but perhaps that is too much to hope for. The other aspect is that certain doors once open do not closed even when the personalities change. There will be some

doors which will never close. This whole option of unilateralism, and security grounds, do not abide by rules. That is a door which has been opened forever and in some senses it will never close that is a worrying thing. In some ways policymakers have tasted blood and it will be hard to address that fully in the future. What are the options for countries like India or for developing countries or for that matter for any country? One option is to appeal to the better side of the disruptors. Another option is to appease the disruptors that happen consciously or unconsciously through a system of real politic and the clout of nations being exercised. Some element of appeasement will happen and if we see this entire appellate body crisis clearly that effort to appease the disruptors was there even unfortunately neutral bodies. Secretariats tend to enter into that appeasement process to appease the disruptors rather than hold them to account, confront them and encourage countries to unitedly confront them. Whether we wish it or not, that appeasement will happen but there again it is not a desirable or optimal policy for any country to follow. It is suboptimal and it will lead to outcomes which will undermine the outcomes which we are trying to protect. The WTO, for instance, embodies certain principles, and underlying features which need to be protected. Appeasement will only dilute those elements. Again, there is much talk that some of these outcomes, which are being discussed, will be suboptimal. Thus, it brings us to the third option. The third option is to make ourselves strong, acquire bargaining power, and work with like-minded countries to reduce our vulnerability by individual countries.

Today, we have a world economic order which is very prone to disruption by some countries in the developed world. Like-minded countries must come together and create a system, which is less vulnerable to that kind of disruption. Some steps are happening in that direction. Countries are working towards such arrangement which is logical. In order to make ourselves strong and to give ourselves some bargaining power, we have to make our domestic environment competitive. Our domestic environment must be competitive in terms of being business friendly, investor friendly and in terms of affording an environment which is low cost efficient. That needs to be the primary goal for developing countries in particular. The underlying key intervention that we must pursue is making ourselves strong, and less vulnerable, which will give ourselves bargaining power. That is the only way we will have an outcome that will give us these key underlying principles which we were trying to uphold. All this that has been

described here is rooted in the underlying nature of human beings, who in economic transactions are not inherently benevolent. To that extent policies of nations are not inherently benevolent. To expect something different would be somewhat unreasonable, impractical and naïve; one could not have expected something different. The world has been and always will be shaped by the interaction of our bargaining power with that of others. Whoever has economic domination, and bargaining power the outcomes will be shaped in that direction. All nations and all human beings are ultimately guided by their self-interest and all these outcomes are coming from their self-interest; so there is no moral or ethical comment in that.

The other lesson from that is in the global marketplace where countries will engage with each other and arrive at these outcomes we must acquire bargaining power, we must acquire economic clout so this is clearly the goal for India and for I think all developing countries. Let me once again highlight in this context of putting our domestic house in order, as I mentioned the US-China trade war is clearly demonstrated that violating some basic rules of trade, imposing tariffs which are not justified by economic arguments like infant industry protection for a short and reasonable period of time is suboptimal and we have to realize that we cannot resolve widespread inefficiencies in our domestic economy, we cannot address them through tariffs. And we cannot blame the consequences of some of those domestic inefficiencies on the lack of tariffs. So I think there is a lesson for us from what has happened of late in particular between the US and China and the lesson clearly is that put our house in order and we need to use legitimate methods to protect our economy if there is unfair trade or dumping, if there are subsidies to aim at predatory pricing, if there are import surges clearly we have to strongly and very proactively use countervailing duties, anti-dumping duties, safeguard duties - they need to be exercised very consciously; to the extent there is an infant industry argument for protecting our industry till it acquires competitiveness- we need to adopt those protections. I think broadly that has been our policy also in India and within the ambit of that we need to address domestic inefficiency.





## What Future for the Multilateral Trading System?



Carlos Correa\*

The WTO system has a number of merits, and these are predictability, non-discrimination and rule-based system. However, there are many aspects of WTO system, which are not perfect or good from the perspective of developing countries. In fact, Ambassador Mohan Kumar has written an excellent book *Negotiation Dynamics of the WTO: An Insider's Account*, where it is clearly stated the frustrations of developing countries and extent to which they were not able to reach many of the objectives. On the contrary, there were many issues that were in fact imposed by developed countries that are part of the problem. Just to mention a few of them, say the TRIPS Agreement, in which the disagreements that has increased dramatically the level of protection for intellectual property and also the burden that developing countries are facing in terms of payments for royalties. During 1990 to 2016, royalty payments have increased 15 times from US\$ 24 billion to US\$ 315 billion and most of these are receipts for the United States. In the case of India, royalty payments have increased during 2005 to 2015, from US\$ 1 billion to more than US\$ 5 billion; which is an increase of more than five times. The TRIPS Agreement prevents developing countries to use a very important tool for industrial development, i.e. the local content policies which were used extensively by developed countries earlier. The extent to which performer requirements can be applied to investor has been curtailed. This is something that has actually limited the capacity of developing countries to develop their industrial policies.

Although there was an agreement on agriculture, this agreement contains many faults. Developed countries were able to continue subsidizing. For example, they subsidize their cotton producers. The

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\* Executive Director, South Centre, Geneva.

subsidy given by the United States to protect their farmers in the context of the trade war with China is quite clear, i.e. US\$ 12 billion for farmers. The problem of food stockpiling is a major concern for India. But, it has not been solved. Therefore, when negotiation of a treaty takes place we need to take care of the food nodes because they may create a lot of problems for the country.

Another challenge is dispute settlement. Although there is a system that allows all member countries to bring complains in case of violation. In fact, 80 per cent of the disputes in this dispute settlement system of WTO has been used by developed or upper middle-income countries. Least developed countries (LDCs) have never used the system and in the case of Africa only four African countries have been able to use this disputes settlement. Therefore, there are also asymmetries. There is a complaint between a big economy and a small economy. One example is the banana case between European communities and Ecuador in which Ecuador was able to show that European communities were violating the rules. But, what kind of impact can trade retaliation impose by Ecuador have on the European communities and in the European Union economy? So, this is a major imbalance when a big country wins in a complaint. The retaliation may have a major impact on a smaller economy, but the reverse is not the case. Therefore, there are many flaws in the system.

There are some benefits too. Actually the system has helped developing countries to increase their participation in international trade, which reaches now more than 40 per cent. It has also contributed to a significant increase of GDP in developing countries. Therefore, this is important in the context of options for the WTO. There is no doubt that WTO system is in crisis. The dispute settlement system is completely frustrating. The use of the National Security clause as an argument in order to impose tariffs is a mockery of the system. This is beyond any rational interpretation of such a clause. The United States, in particular, is aiming at abolishing one of the pillars of the WTO system, which is a special and differential treatment. That means country like China or India should not have the right to this special differential treatment, which is certainly unacceptable in terms of the real situation of these countries. The United States and other countries are pushing for a reform of the WTO-based on plurilateral rules rather than multilateral rules. One of the main concerns for many countries is the fact that for some of the members of the WTO so-called development ground is dead

and in particular the issue related to agriculture will not be effectively addressed to the benefit of developing countries.

What can be done for the future of the WTO? Firstly, because of this attack by a number of industrialized countries to the rules-based system in WTO, developing countries have been put in a position of defending the system as it is. This is not the correct position. Developing countries need to defend the WTO system as a rules-based system not to protect the system as it is now. The right position should be to take this opportunity to improve the system and there are many aspects in which this could be done. In fact, it is interesting that after the Marrakesh Agreement was signed. There were a large number of proposals by developing countries to amend the WTO system. These proposals have now been forgotten and we are only talking about the proposals which are made by developed countries. Secondly, it will not be enough just to oppose to these very aggressive proposals by developed countries to reform the WTO. It is indispensable for developing countries to develop their own country proposals. It is encouraging in this respect that India and South Africa and other countries are making together in to see how reform of the WTO system should look in the future.

Finally, this is the opportunity for new coalitions in WTO. Three of the biggest economies in the world are developing countries, i.e. China, India and Brazil. If we have a coalition that includes countries such as South Africa and Indonesia plus, there should be the capacity for developing countries to seek reform of the WTO or to preserve the essential values of the WTO as a system, which is based on rules and not as a system and which is based on the exercise of economic power.





# The Future of the Multilateral Trading System: Challenges and Opportunities



**John Hancock\***

**T**he future of multilateral trading System is a very relevant topic. There is an elderly couple in their early 60s and they are celebrating their 40th wedding anniversary. They have been a lovely couple and so kind that the fairy godmother comes to visit them and says ‘you have been so nice. I am going to grant you each a wish’. The wife says ‘I have always wanted a romantic round-the-world cruise with my husband’. The fairy godmother raises her magic wand and Kazaam. The lady has two tickets in her hand and the husband thinks to himself, ‘I have always wanted a companion thirty years younger’. The fairy godmother raises her wand and Kazaam. He turns 93. The moral of the story is be careful what you wish for. It just might come true and that is basically the theme of today’s short remarks.

At the end of the Second World War and after a series of economic crises in two devastating world wars, the architects of the WTO system had a simple but utopian idea. It was the answer that global peace lays in spreading global prosperity. The idea was to create a positive world of international cooperation, not a zero-sum world of great power rivalry. WTO has succeeded far beyond what anyone in 1947 would have expected. The global economy has grown eightfold and world trade has grown 37 folds since 1950s. We have witnessed the most extraordinary period of growth and economic development. The WTO system started with 23 countries, and it has now expanded to 164 countries. Every major economy in the world is now part of a single global economic system. Finally, we have moved, at least until recent times, towards a system of international rule of law rather than the rule of power. The WTO dispute mechanism in the last 20 years has solved about 560 disputes.

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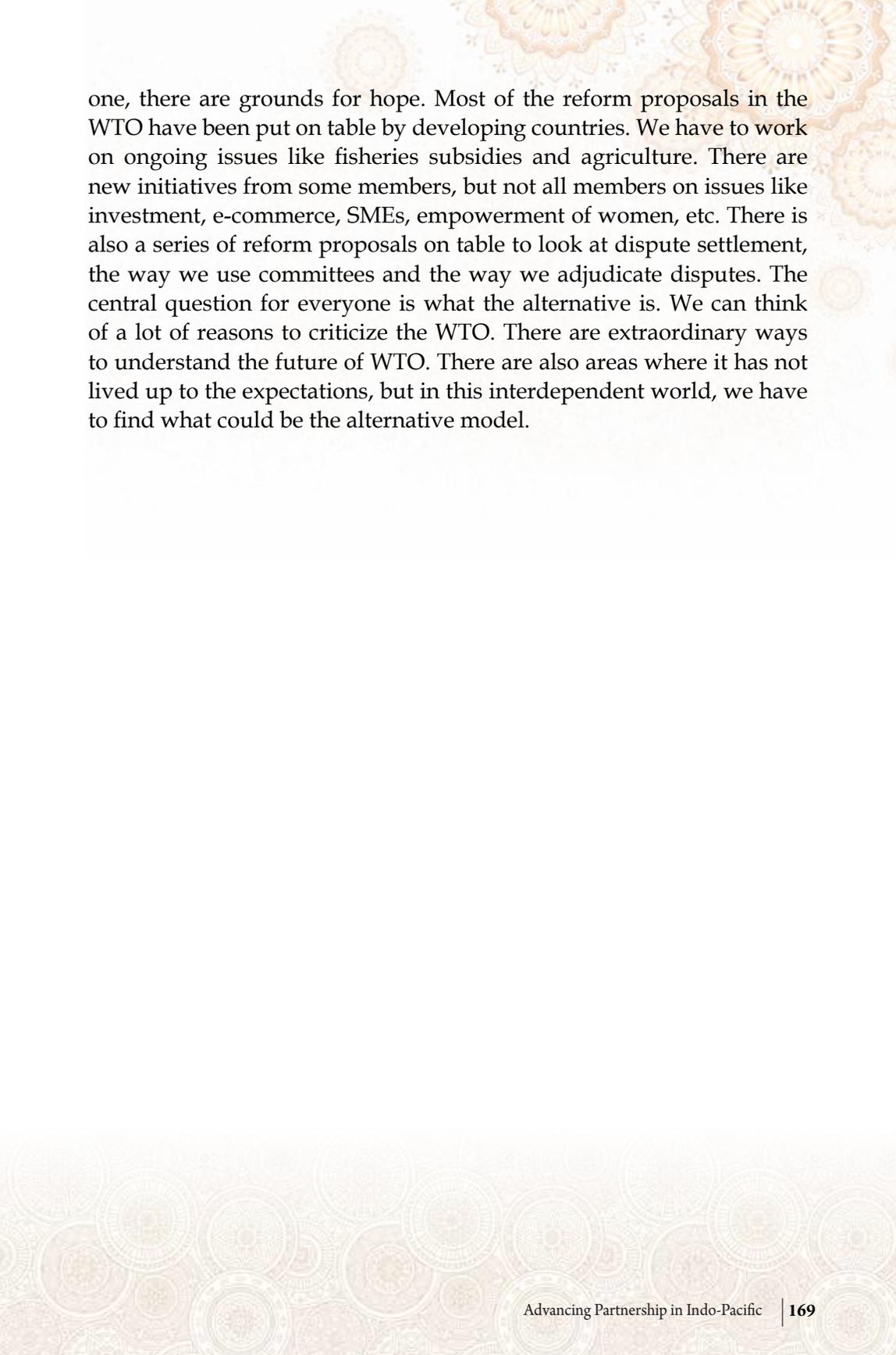
\* Senior Counsellor, Economic Research and Statistics Division, World Trade Organization (WTO), Geneva.

We suddenly forget those successes. We take them for granted. It is a bit like the air we breathe; we do not know what is around us until it starts to disappear. Maybe that is where we are today.

Success has created its own challenges or its own problems. One is the problem of interdependence, which makes cooperation more difficult and has increased the potential friction. We are dealing with issues today in the WTO and elsewhere that there were once strictly domestic but are now spilling over into global affairs: climate change, industrial subsidies, financial reform, etc. There has been a huge shift in power. When China joined the WTO, it represented just over 2 per cent of the world GDP. Today, it represents over 18 per cent. It was the 16th largest trader then, and now it is the number one trader. The United States meanwhile has seen its share of global GDP go from 24 per cent to less than 15 per cent. These new power shifts have been an unsettling feature for the countries that used to call shots. They have also delivered responsibility on countries that in the past never had that power. Therefore, we live in a world today which is combining greater interdependency with greater geo-political rivalry.

In the present context, there are three possible scenarios. One scenario is that we just muddle along as we are; that nothing changes. That is probably the least likely scenario if only because change is already being thrust upon us. WTO just reported the trade restrictive measures. New barriers have been imposed by countries at highest level. Since the financial crisis, they have grown by 27 per cent in just one year. Issues are being imposed on the agenda whether they are negotiated or not in the WTO. EU has just announced new measures to take retaliatory trade action. A number of countries are contemplating new digital taxes. Climate change has already prompted discussion about border tax adjustments. Change is coming whether the WTO is ready or not. The second option is to go back to a world of regionalism, to a world of deglobalization and decoupling that is not an impossible scenario. But, it is a scenario that is difficult to imagine. Try to take an issue like e-commerce and resolve it in bilateral or regional trade agreements. Take the issue of agricultural subsidies. By definition we cannot solve that problem in a regional context. Then we get into the truly global issues like climate change, which, almost by definition, requires global approaches.

Finally, what we are really looking at is how to find the means and the will to reform the system or have a system that would be designed for the 20th century and bring it into the 21st century economy. On this



one, there are grounds for hope. Most of the reform proposals in the WTO have been put on table by developing countries. We have to work on ongoing issues like fisheries subsidies and agriculture. There are new initiatives from some members, but not all members on issues like investment, e-commerce, SMEs, empowerment of women, etc. There is also a series of reform proposals on table to look at dispute settlement, the way we use committees and the way we adjudicate disputes. The central question for everyone is what the alternative is. We can think of a lot of reasons to criticize the WTO. There are extraordinary ways to understand the future of WTO. There are also areas where it has not lived up to the expectations, but in this interdependent world, we have to find what could be the alternative model.





# Future of Multilateral Trading System



**Harsha Vardhan Singh\***

**I** focus on the future of the multilateral trading system. The reason for which we are focusing on it is that it is a system which is of value, we can criticize it, and we can try and see ways in which it needs improvement.

In an interconnected world, it is the analogy of trade when there is predictability, stability and order. People follow the rules and then a lot more trade take place. That system is today challenged not by developed or developing countries, but by one developed country. There is only one country which has challenged the system and led us to this situation. The countries or members of WTO, which are trying to find solutions, are both developed and developing countries. India itself has proposals with EU and other developed countries. We should not see this as an issue of developed or developing countries.

The US thinks there might be different situations. One is a strategic tool or a lever of power to change the rules. According to the US perception, the best trade regulatory system is in place so that unfair trade policies are addressed. There is no overreach according to their estimation of the system of dispute settlement. It is a strategic affair focused on China. There are some members in the WTO who agree with the US and there are many who do not agree with the US. The other situation is that the US today is in a bilateral mode and it says that will not follow any rules, but every system, which is available, we will use it for our own benefit. It is the unfettered expression of power. We will have unilateral measures, which violate most favoured nation (MFN) treatment, national treatment, and the erstwhile sacrosanct concept the way security was seen. They have violated the fundamental principles

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\* Former Deputy Director-General, World Trade Organization (WTO).

brazenly and they have done this for strategic reasons. The US has taken the disputes to the dispute settlement process while destroying it. Because, if I win, I have you under on the mat, if I lose I will not agree. So, this is where we are at present in the WTO system. There is negotiation going on, but negotiation today is not multilateral, rather it is plurilateral. Committees and councils are active. Data suggest that 60 per cent of the problems, which we face, are solved just by talking to each other. And, 60 per cent of the disputes taken to the dispute settlement process never go to panel. The forum is functioning with trepidation. There is unfettered use of power by the US. The US does not bind itself to the WTO rules, but the rest of the members do. In fact, if the US does not follow the rules and there is no other mechanism to sustain those rules, we will see an attrition of the multilateral trading system. Others will say why they should follow the rules. What is there which actually will sustain us? So, here if you change the scenario and say the US leadership changes its perspective, it actually will allow establishment of the new system which people have been trying to come up with for appellate body. But, main focus is on China, and if members have to negotiate something related on China that is a trilateral initiative which can go further, it will not take less than five or six years. The system will go towards attrition. Suppose the US does not follow the rules but other members too. In fact, the EU and Canada have made an agreement drawing on what they have adopted the appellate body rules of procedure for arbitration. Appellate body's previous members will be arbitrators.

The EU and Norway have agreed on that. China is saying let more countries agree on it. If that system comes through then there will be two tracks: one with the US not agreeing but being a member of WTO and other one, where those who have agreed will go on as if there is an appellate process there, and these two tracks will go on. If we have these two tracks, the issue will be then who will be part of the track which actually means agreeing to these arbitration processes since that is the full implementation of the system. The US will not be there. You will have a situation where the largest economy in the world is actually not subject to the rules. Its truck will go through honking and its horn trying to make way in the traffic. There will be a time when other traffic will not make the way for the US. Therefore, in long term, the US will be weaker but the system will also become weaker. We have to see what we can do. Do we focus on ourselves because we can decide? If US is not following the rules, we will also not follow the rules. If we value

the system and if we want to strengthen the system then the answer is very clear. The EU is now coming up with its own law. If you take part in the dispute settlement process or panel of process but you do not go to the next stage, depending on the result of the panel, levy retaliatory trade measures. Basically, it is a rule against the US. If that is likely to happen, there will be tensions in the system. There will be rethinking and Congress has already started thinking. The new form which may emerge will be plurilateral rather than multilateral. In this way, the US may not be part of the system for the next five to seven years.





## Dealing with Multilateral Trading System and the Implications for Asia



Vo Tri Thanh\*

The present concerns are the problems of WTO and multilateral system that we are facing today. We should discuss how we move forward and what role Asia can play in supporting WTO to move forward. Vietnam joined WTO in the year 2007. After joining the WTO, the FDI and trade have expanded significantly in Vietnam. Vietnam became a most open developing economy. Trade and investment have played key role in the Vietnam economy. WTO plays a catalytic role in Vietnam's domestic reform. The lesson we learned from joining the WTO and from deepening integration is that it is not just about opportunity. There are challenges in terms of risk associated with integration, but without integration we cannot develop our economy. Therefore, Vietnam took the risk and that is the first lesson we have learned. Second, in the case of Vietnam the lesson we have learned is that we do not have to wait until we have enough capability to implement the commitments and reforms. We think commitments as a catalyst for institutional reforms. Therefore, we saw the high-quality FTA like a TPP, CPTPP and now Vietnam-EU FTA.

What are the problems or challenges that we are facing in WTO? We have four or five challenges or problems. Firstly the proliferation of FTAs i.e., policy makers and the leaders keep away from their own role from WTO and forget the beauty of the WTO. The second problem is protectionism and extreme nationalism and populism due to political reason. Thirdly, WTO so far has not dealt effectively with many issues which are relevant for today's time such as the global value chain, connectivity, trade facilitation, behind the border issues, services trade,

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\* Senior Advisor, Central Institute for Economic Management (CIEM), Hanoi.

digital trade, to mention a few, and WTO is yet to tell us how to balance between agriculture and food security. How can WTO incorporate these development issues into the trade arrangement, particularly for inclusiveness and sustainability? For example, in TPP, where Vietnam is a member, there is chapter on labour standard and environment standard. Can we have these sorts of arrangements under WTO? Lastly, it is the way of negotiation, which has a problem. We have more than 160 members and how then we can have consensus. Therefore, we need to have another approach for negotiation, but so far we did not have any consensus.

The question is how we can move forward. We think FTA (even high-quality FTA) cannot substitute WTO for many reasons. Dispute settlement mechanism (DSM) is the best instrument to enhance rules-based trade regime and should be more effective one. The key point is to pick up the priority for the WTO. First is the dispute settlement mechanism. We have to defend that mechanism. Second, we need to take into account the new issues of trade, border issues, services and development. Together we can pick up priority. We need to have merit group, following plurilateral approach rather than just scale up multilateralism.

Finally, this is about our own Asia, which already has a strong clear commitment towards supporting the WTO-led multilateral system; but, we need actions to uphold such commitment. We need to follow open regionalism that is one of the key elements whether we talk about CPTPP or RCEP. At the same time, we have to consider behind the border issues and design an appropriate strategy for implementing this effectively under the FTA. Cooperation is necessary. If we can do that effectively, this can be replicated at more critical mass at the global level.



## Part III



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# List of Delegates

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# List of Delegates

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## **Brunei Darussalam**

**H.E. Ms. Emaleen binti Abdul Rahman Teo**  
Permanent Secretary  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Brunei Darussalam

## **Cambodia**

**H.E. Mr. Norng Sakal**  
Under Secretary of State  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Cambodia

## **Indonesia**

**H.E. Ms. Retno L.P. Marsudi**  
Foreign Minister  
Indonesia

## **Lao PDR**

**H.E. Mr. Somchith Inthamith**  
Deputy Minister  
Ministry of Industry and Commerce  
Lao PDR

## **Myanmar**

**H.E. U Soe Han**  
Permanent Secretary  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Myanmar

**Dr. Zaw Oo**

Executive Director

Centre for Economic and Social Development (CESD)

Yangon

## **Singapore**

**Dr. William Choong**

Shangri-La Dialogue Senior Fellow for Asia-Pacific Security

The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

Singapore

## **Thailand**

**H.E. Ms. Pornpimol Kanchanalak**

Advisor and Special Envoy

Minister of Foreign Affairs

Thailand

## **Vietnam**

**Dr. Vo Tri Thanh**

Senior Advisor

Central Institute for Economic Management (CIEM)

Hanoi

## **Australia**

**Dr. David Brewster**

Senior Research Fellow

Australia National University (ANU)

Canberra

## **Japan**

**Mr. Naoyoshi Noguchi**

Head, Bangkok Research Centre

Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO)

Bangkok

### **Dr. Tomohiko Satake**

Senior Fellow

National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS)

Tokyo

## **Russia**

### **Prof. Dmitry Mosyakov**

Professor

Institute of Oriental Studies

Russian Academy of Sciences

Moscow

## **Sri Lanka**

### **Dr. Ganeshan Wignaraja**

Executive Director

Lakshman Kadirgamar Institute (LKI)

Colombo

## **USA**

### **Dr. Alyssa Ayres**

Senior Fellow

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

Washington D.C.

## **ASEAN**

### **Amb. Le Luong Minh**

Former Secretary General

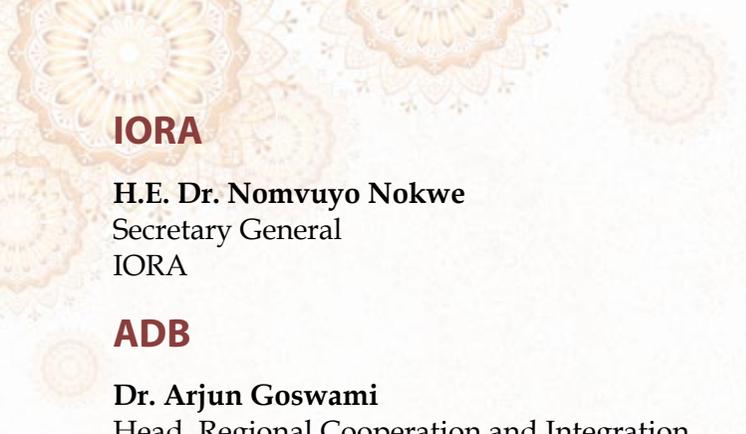
ASEAN Secretariat

### **Mr. Robert Matheus Michael Tene**

Deputy Secretary-General

ASEAN for Community and Corporate Affairs

ASEAN Secretariat



## **IORA**

**H.E. Dr. Nomvuyo Nokwe**  
Secretary General  
IORA

## **ADB**

**Dr. Arjun Goswami**  
Head, Regional Cooperation and Integration  
Asian Development Bank  
Manila

**Dr. Jayant Menon**  
Lead Economist  
Asian Development Bank  
Manila

## **South Centre**

**Dr. Carlos Maria Correa**  
Executive Director  
South Centre  
Geneva

## **WTO**

**Dr. John Hancock**  
Senior Counselor  
Economic Research and Statistics Division  
World Trade Organization  
Geneva

## **India**

### **Dr. Subrahmanyam Jaishankar**

Minister of External Affairs  
Government of India

### **Mr. V. Muraleedharan**

Minister of State  
External Affairs & Parliamentary Affairs  
Government of India

### **Dr. Anup Wadhawan**

Commerce Secretary  
Government of India

### **Mr. Vikram Doraiswami**

AS (BM & IP)  
Ministry of External Affairs  
Government of India

### **Prof. Sunaina Singh**

Vice Chancellor  
Nalanda University  
Rajgir, Bihar

### **Amb. (Dr.) T C A Raghavan**

Director General  
Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA)  
New Delhi

### **Mr. Rajat Nag**

Distinguished Fellow  
National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER)  
New Delhi

### **Prof. Prabhat Ranjan**

Vice Chancellor  
D Y Patil International University  
Pune

**Prof. U Dinesh Kumar**

Professor

Indian Institute of Management Bangalore (IIMB)  
Bengaluru

**Prof. Sudeshna Sarkar**

Head

The Centre for Excellence in Artificial Intelligence  
Indian Institute of Technology (IIT)  
Kharagpur

**Mr. Vivek Saha**

Director and Head

Digital Transformation and Industry 4.0  
NASSCOM  
New Delhi

**Dr. Harsha Vardhan Singh**

Former Deputy Director-General  
World Trade Organization (WTO)

**RIS**

**Amb. (Dr.) Mohan Kumar**

Chairman

Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS)  
New Delhi

**Amb. Sudhir Devare**

Chairman, Research Advisory Council

Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS)  
New Delhi

**Mr. Seshadri Chari**

Member, Governing Board

Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS)  
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**Amb. Bhaskar Balakrishnan**

Science Diplomacy Fellow

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**Dr. Prabir De**

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Coordinator, ASEAN-India Centre (AIC) at RIS

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**Dr. Durairaj Kumarasamy**

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**Ms. Sreya Pan**

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ASEAN-India Centre (AIC) at RIS

New Delhi

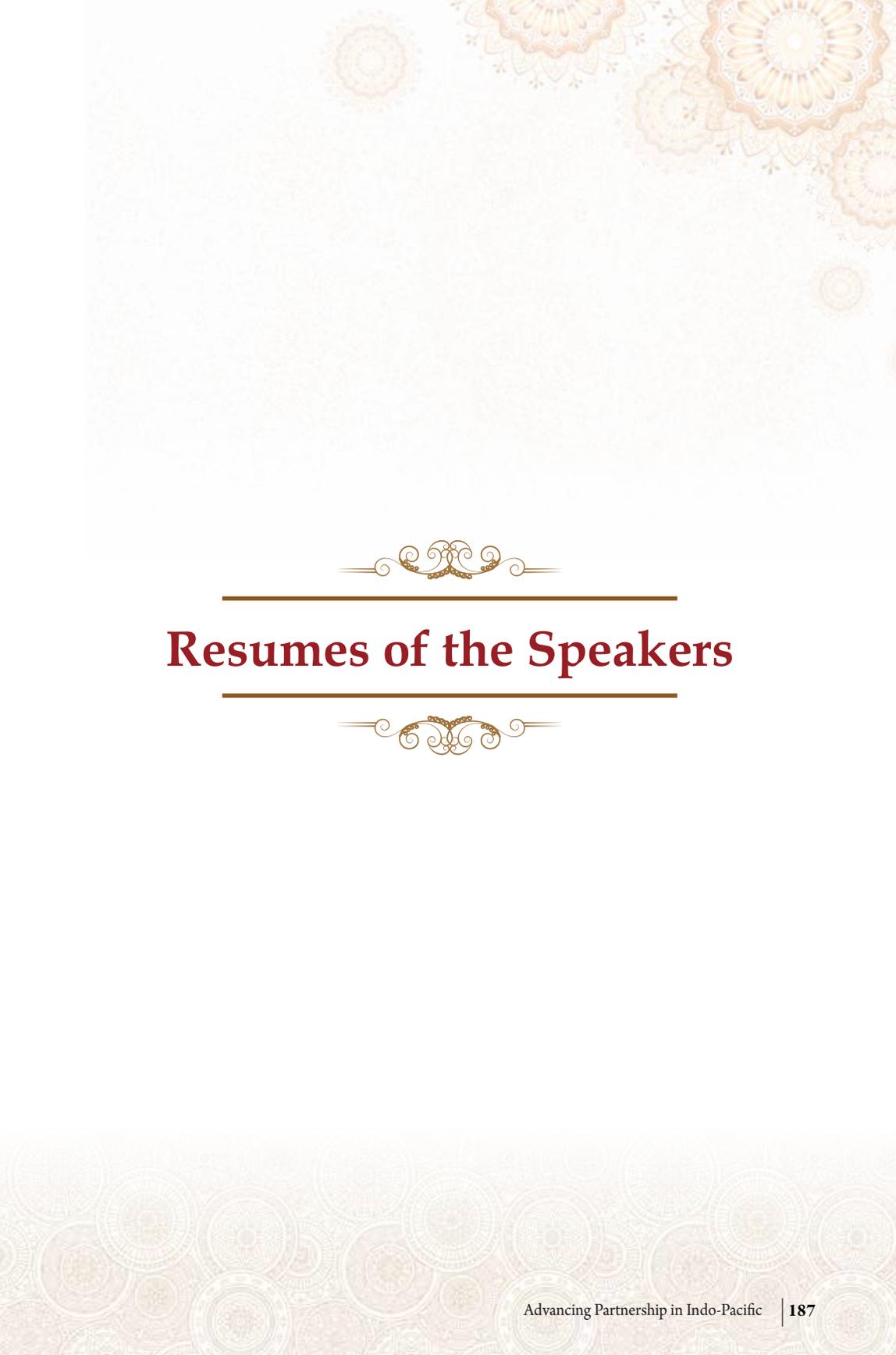
**Ms. Prativa Shaw**

Research Assistant

Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS)

New Delhi





Resumes of the Speakers



# Resumes of the Speakers

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## SUBRAHMANYAM JAISHANKAR

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Dr. S Jaishankar is India's External Affairs Minister. Earlier Dr S Jaishankar was President - Global Corporate Affairs at Tata Sons Private Limited from May 2018. He was Foreign Secretary from 2015-18, Ambassador to United States from 2013-15, Ambassador to China from 2009-2013, High Commissioner to Singapore from 2007-2009 and Ambassador to the Czech Republic from 2000-2004. He has also served in other diplomatic assignments in Embassies in Moscow, Colombo, Budapest and Tokyo, as well in the Ministry of External Affairs and the President's Secretariat.

Dr S. Jaishankar is a graduate of St. Stephen's College at the University of Delhi. He has an MA in Political Science and an M. Phil and Ph.D in International Relations from Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi. He is a recipient of the Padma Shri award in 2019. He is married to Kyoko Jaishankar and has two sons and a daughter.

## V. MURALEEDHARAN

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Mr. V. Muraleedharan, born on 12 December 1958 in Kanuur District of Kerala to Mr. Gopalan Vannathan Veettil and Ms. Devaki Namballi Vellam Velli, was sworn in as a Union Minister of State on 30 May 2019 by the President of India. Mr. V. Muraleedharan officially took charge as Minister of State for External Affairs and Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs on 31 May 2019. After graduating in English Language and Literature from Government Brennen College, Thalassery, Kerala. Mr. Muraleedharan started his journey as an activist in socio-political affairs which vastly enriched his experience. He held various positions such as Vice Chairman of Nehru Yuva Kendra (under Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, Government of India) from 1999-2002 and later Director General, Nehru Yuva Kendra from 2002-2004. In April 2018, Mr. Muraleedharan was elected to Rajya Sabha from Maharashtra. In June 2018, he was nominated as Member to the Standing Committee on

External Affairs. In June 2018, he was also appointed as a Member to the Consultative Committee for the Ministry of Railways. Later in December 2018, he was appointed as a Member of the Committee on Rules. Mr. Muraleedharan is married to Dr. K. S. Jayasree.

## RETNO L.P. MARSUDI



H.E. Ms. Retno L.P. Marsudi is the first female Foreign Minister of Indonesia, appointed on 27 October 2014. Minister Marsudi joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1986. She has served in various posts such as Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia to the Kingdom of the Netherlands (2012 – 2014), Director General for American and European Affairs (2008 – 2012), Ambassador of the Republic of

Indonesia to the Kingdom of Norway and the Republic of Iceland (2005 – 2008), Director for West Europe Affairs (2003-2005), Director for Intra and Inter Regional Cooperation for America and Europe (2001-2003), She has also served at the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra (1990-1994) and in The Hague (1997-2001). Minister Marsudi has received several national and international awards. Recently, Minister has received The “El Sol del Peru” (the “Sun of Peru”) in Peru on 24 May 2018 and the Special Award for Humanitarian Diplomacy Leaders from the PKPU Human Initiative on 19 December 2018. Minister Marsudi has written numerous articles on issues related to Foreign Affairs.

Minister Marsudi graduated in 1985 from Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, and majored in International Relations. She has also pursued several other studies, namely “European Union Law” at the Haagse Hogeschool in Den Haag, and “Human Rights Study” at the Oslo University.

## NOMVUYO NOKWE



H.E. Dr Nomvuyo Nokwe is a dynamic and client-focused diplomat with broad experience and substantial success in driving economic diplomacy and engaging with governments and communities. She has previously served as South African High Commissioner to Mauritius and Seychelles from 2011-2016 and Consul General in Milan,

Italy from 2006-2011. Earlier, Dr Nokwe was a medical doctor (MBCHB) and completed her studies at the Martin Luther University of Halle-

Wittenberg, Germany. She worked in several locations in Germany, Ghana and Zambia, including as a Military Senior Medical Officer (Anaesthetist) in Accra (1990-1999), and in the South African Liberation Community (1985-6 and 1977-80). She is fluent English, German, Xhosa and intermediate French. She assumed the role of IORA Secretary General on January 31, 2018.

## LE LUONG MINH

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Ambassador Le Luong Minh was born in 1952. He is a native of the central province of Thanh Hoa in Viet Nam. Upon graduating from the Diplomatic Academy of Viet Nam, then Jawaharlal Nehru University of India, he began his diplomatic career in Vietnam's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1975. During his career, he had held important positions as Acting Director-General for International Organizations, Director-General for Multilateral Economic Cooperation in the Ministry, Ambassador-Permanent Representative to the United Nations Office at Geneva, then at Headquarters in New York where he twice was President of the Security Council. Ambassador Le Luong Minh was appointed Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs in 2007, then Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs in 2008, which post he held until the ASEAN leaders endorsed him as Secretary-General of ASEAN for five years from 2013 to 2017.

## ROBERT MATHEUS MICHAEL TENE

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H.E. Robert Matheus Michael Tene is appointed as the Deputy Secretary-General (DSG) of ASEAN for Community and Corporate Affairs for 2019 – 2022. He assists the Secretary-General of ASEAN in providing strategic direction and guidance on research, public affairs and outreach programmes for the ASEAN Community. DSG Tene is also responsible for the implementation of corporate support functions, including administration and general affairs, finance and budget, human resources, information technology, information resource management, protocol and formalities, legal affairs, and programme cooperation and project management. As a seasoned diplomat with 25 years of experience, DSG Tene had served various appointments at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) of Indonesia. In his most recent overseas posting, he was the Deputy Permanent Representative/Ambassador of

the Permanent Mission of Indonesia to the UN and other International Organization in Geneva between 2015 and 2018. Prior to assuming the current role, DSG Tene was a Senior Official at the Directorate General for ASEAN Cooperation at the MFA of Indonesia. He holds an MA in Public Administration from the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies in Tokyo, Japan and a BA from Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia in Jakarta, Indonesia. DSG Tene is married to Madame Atria Amino Rai and they have two children.

## T C A RAGHAVAN

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Dr. T C A Raghavan retired from the Indian Foreign Service in December 2015 while Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan (2013-15). He had earlier served as Deputy High Commissioner in Pakistan (2003-2007) and High Commissioner to Singapore from 2009 to 2013.

During his last posting in New Delhi (2007-09) in the Ministry of External Affairs Dr Raghavan was Joint Secretary dealing with Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran. He has also served in Kuwait, the United Kingdom, and Bhutan. Posts earlier held in the Ministry of External Affairs include Director of the Office of the External Affairs Minister (2000-2003). He was awarded a PhD by the Jawaharlal Nehru University in 1992 for his dissertation relating to the economic history of India.

His current interests are historical research, strategic analysis and the diplomatic and intellectual history of modern India. He writes, lectures and participates in discussions on issues relating to Indian and South Asian diplomatic history, Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan and South East Asia.

He is the author of (i) *Attendant Lords, Bairam Khan and Abdur Rahim-Courtiers and Poets in Mughal India*, awarded the Mohammad Habib Memorial Prize by the Indian History Congress in December 2017. (ii) *'The People Next Door- The Curious History of India's relations with Pakistan'*. (Harper Collins, 2017). His latest book is entitled *"History Men: Jadunath Sarkar, G.S. Sardesai, Raghubir Singh and their quest for India's Past"* (2019).

He assumed charge as Director General, Indian Council of World Affairs on 24th July, 2018.

## ALYSSA AYRES

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Dr. Alyssa Ayres is senior fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). She is a foreign policy practitioner and award-winning author with senior experience in the government, nonprofit, and private sectors. Her book about India's rise on the world stage, *Our Time Has Come: How India is Making Its Place in the World*, was published by Oxford University Press in January 2018, and was selected by the Financial Times for its "Summer 2018: Politics" list. She is also interested in the emergence of subnational engagement in foreign policy, particularly the growth of international city networks, and is working on a new book project about India's urban transformation. Ayres came to CFR after serving as deputy assistant secretary of state for South Asia from 2010 to 2013. Before serving in the Obama administration, Ayres was founding director of the India and South Asia practice at McLarty Associates, the Washington-based international strategic advisory firm, from 2008 to 2010. She received an AB from Harvard College, and an MA and PhD from the University of Chicago.

## DAVID BREWSTER

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Dr. David Brewster is a Senior Research Fellow with the National Security College, Australian National University, where he works on Indian Ocean security and Indo Pacific issues. Dr Brewster's books include *India as an Asia Pacific power*, about India's strategic role in the Asia Pacific and *India's Ocean: the story of India's bid for regional leadership* which examines India's strategic ambitions in the Indian Ocean. His latest edited volume is *India and China at Sea: Competition for Naval Dominance in the Indian Ocean*. Dr Brewster's recent reports include *Australia's Second Sea: Facing our Multipolar Future in the Indian Ocean* which proposes a new economic and security strategy for the Indian Ocean region. He is also so part of an Australia-France project on environmental security in the Indian Ocean which produced a recent report *Environmental security in the eastern Indian Ocean, Antarctica and the Southern Ocean: A risk mapping approach*.

## WILLIAM CHOONG

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Dr. William helps to run the annual IISS Shangri-La Dialogue and contributes to research on regional security issues such as the South China Sea territorial disputes and Japan's evolution into a 'normal' power. Prior to joining IISS-Asia, William had a lengthy career with Singapore's main English-language newspaper, *The Straits Times*, where he worked most recently as Senior Writer responsible for opinion pieces and editorials, focusing on defence, diplomacy and US policy in Asia. He wrote his PhD at the Australian National University (2005-09) on US-China deterrence. His specialized area includes territorial disputes in the Asia-Pacific (East China Sea and South China Sea), Major power relations in the Asia-Pacific; Asia-Pacific regional security architecture – ASEAN and its related regional institutions; Korean Peninsula security issues – conventional and nuclear deterrence; Japan's gradual evolution into a 'normal' military power.

## TOMOHIKO SATAKE

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Dr. Tomohiko Satake is a senior research fellow of the policy simulation office at the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS) located in Tokyo. He specializes in Asia-Pacific Security, Japan's regional security policy, and the US-Japan-Australia security cooperation. Between 2013 and 2014, he worked for the International Policy Division of the Defense Policy Bureau of the Japan Ministry of Defense as a deputy director for international security. He earned B.A. and M.A. from Keio University, and PhD in international relations from the Australian National University. He has written extensively on the US-Japan alliance, Japan-Australia security cooperation, and Japan's defense and security policy in Indo-Pacific.

## DMITRY MOSYAKOV

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Dr. Dmitry Mosyakov is Head of South-East Asia Department and he is also working as a Supervisor of the Centre for South-East Asia, Australia and Oceania. Dr. Mosyakov also a professor in the Oriental University and as a Head of the Department of Regional Problems at the faculty of International Relations, Moscow Humanitarian

University. Since 1998, Dr. Mosyakov has been the editor in chief of the Russian academic journal *The Southeast Asian Affairs*, one of the leading academic journals on South-East Asia in Russia. He has been a visiting professor at Yale University and a lecturer at the universities in Russia and abroad.

He specializes in studying modern problems in Oriental countries, particularly in South-East and East Asian countries. He has published more than 200 research papers and monographs. His monography "*China's policy in Southeast Asia now and in the past*" (2012) was in 2017 translated into Vietnamese and published in Viet Nam. In year 2016 there was released another book called "*Modern and Recent History. Modernization and Globalization of Oriental Communities*" which caused a big interest in the academic community.

## SUDHIR DEVARE

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Ambassador Sudhir Devare served in the Indian Foreign Service from 1964–2001. He retired in 2001 as the Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi. As a Secretary, Amb. Devare was closely associated with the evolution and the implementation of India's 'Look East' policy. He has served as a Member in the National Security Advisory Board from 2001 to 2003 and was the Director General of

ICWA from 2009-12. Currently, he is the Chairman of Research Advisory Council at the RIS. He has been the Ambassador of India to South Korea (1985-89), first Ambassador to Ukraine with concurrent accreditation to Georgia and Armenia (1992-94) and Ambassador to Indonesia (1994-98). He has also served as the Joint Secretary (Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Myanmar) from 1980-82 and has served in India's missions abroad in Moscow, Washington and Sikkim. Amb. Devare has a long list of publications which includes a book titled, 'India and Southeast Asia: Towards a Security Convergence' published in 2006.

## RAJAT NAG

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Mr. Rajat M. Nag joined NCAER as a Distinguished Fellow. He was the Managing Director General of the Asian Development Bank in Manila from 2006 to 2013 and has held several other top positions at the ADB. Rajat is internationally well known for his intellectual leadership, extensive operational experience, and in-depth knowledge

of development issues, particularly in infrastructure financing, public-private partnerships, and regional cooperation. His research interest is in working to enhance regional cooperation and integration in Asia. He holds engineering degrees from the Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi, and the University of Saskatchewan in Canada. He also has Masters Degrees in Business Administration from Canada and in Economics from the London School of Economics.

## NAOYOSHI NOGUCHI

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Mr. Naoyoshi Noguchi is President of Bangkok Research Center, JETRO Bangkok. He served as an Executive Vice President of Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) (2017-2019), a government-related organization that works to promote mutual trade and investment between Japan and the rest of the world. He had finished his second tenure as Chief Director General of JETRO India at the end of December 2016. The Neemrana Japanese Industrial Zone which is well known as the first success model which is dedicated space for the Investment from specific foreign country in India. The Neemrana is the symbolic achievement for Mr. Noguchi as this project during the first tenure in Delhi during 2005 to 2010. He also served as Director-General of the Overseas Research Department (2016-2017), as Research Director of JETRO Kuala Lumpur (1998-2001) and Representative of JETRO Dhaka (1991-1993).

## ARJUN GOSWAMI

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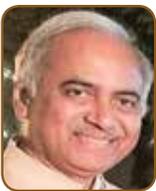
Mr. Arjun Goswami is the Head of Regional Cooperation and Integration, Asian Development Bank (ADB) at Manila, The Philippines. Mr. Goswami works on ADB-wide regional cooperation and integration operational planning, knowledge products, mobilization of resources, and skills development. During his earlier stint in the Southeast Asia Regional Department, he played a leading role on regional cooperation and integration initiatives and programs in the ASEAN region, and was the first Administrator of the ASEAN Infrastructure Fund. Before joining ADB almost 20 years ago, Mr. Goswami worked in the private sector.

## ZAW OO



Dr. Zaw Oo is Executive Director of the Centre for Economic and Social Development, an independent think-tank dedicated to inclusive development in Myanmar. Previously, he was the Presidential Economic Advisor from 2012-2016, serving as a principal advisor on finance, industry, commerce and labour issues. In 2012, Zaw Oo contributed to the Framework of Economic and Social Reform, a strategic policy framework guiding comprehensive reforms in Myanmar from 2012 to 2015 and subsequently, assigned to negotiate a historic decision of Paris Club in cancelling 60 per cent of Myanmar's debt. He also served as founding National Coordinator for Myanmar Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative, an international audit and multi-stakeholder dialogue on natural resource governance. He is presently a member of National Minimum Wage Setting Committee as well as an independent advisory member in several inter-ministerial committees such as pulses, rubber, fishery and a few other taskforces of the Government of Myanmar. Previously, he taught at Chiang Mai University from 2006 to 2011 as well as serving consultancy for international organizations. He holds graduate degrees from Columbia University and American University in international development, finance and banking, and political economy as well as certificates from Harvard University and Turin University.

## SESHADRI CHARI



Mr. Seshadri Chari was former editor of *ORGANISER* English weekly (1992-2004). He was former consultant (Governance) (2006-2009) UNDP, Juba, Southern Sudan. Currently, he is the member of RIS Governing Council. His other association are namely member, Planning and Monitoring Committee, Manipal Academy of Higher Education (MAHE); Jt. Director, (International Affairs) Institute for National Security Studies (INSS); Research Director, Chronicle Society of India for Education & Academic Research (CSIEAR); Vice-President, Society for Consumers' and Investors' Protection (SCIP); Director, Forum for Strategic & Security Studies; Secretary General, Forum for Integrated National Security (FINS). He was former national convener of Foreign Affairs Cell, Bharatiya Janata Party and presently he is member of Foreign Affairs Committee, BJP. He is also member of National Executive of BJP.

## GANESHAN WIGNARAJA

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Dr. Ganeshan Wignaraja is the Executive Director at the Lakshman Kadirgamar Institute of International Relations and Strategic Studies in Sri Lanka. He concurrently serves as a Member of the Monetary Policy Consultative Committee of the Central Bank of Sri Lanka and the Prime Minister's Task Force on the Indian Ocean. He is also a Senior Research Associate at the Overseas Development Institute in London.

In a career spanning over 25 years in the UK and Asia, Ganeshan has had senior roles in international organizations (including the Director of Research at the ADB Institute in Tokyo) and the private sector (Global Head of Trade and Competitiveness at Maxwell Stamp PLC in London). He has published 18 books and led teams to deliver complex projects in over 30 countries. Ganeshan has a DPhil in economics from Oxford University. His latest monograph is *Asia in 2025: Development Challenges and Prospects for Middle-Income Countries*.

## BHASKAR BALAKRISHNAN

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Dr. Bhaskar Balakrishnan has been an Indian diplomat for 33 years and served as Ambassador of India to Greece and Cuba. He has worked in several countries in Africa, Europe and Middle East and for over ten years with various UN organizations in Geneva and Vienna. He set up and headed the Investment & Technology Promotion Division of the Ministry of External Affairs concerned with promotion of

foreign investment and technology flows. He was educated at Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur, Delhi University, and Stonybrook University, New York, USA. He is an adjunct faculty member at JSS University, Mysore. Presently, he is Science Diplomacy Fellow at Research and Information System for Developing Countries, New Delhi.

## PRABHAT RANJAN

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Prof Prabhat Ranjan is currently Vice Chancellor of D Y Patil International University, Pune. He is a Nuclear Fusion Scientist, a Futurist, an Educator, an Innovator and a Science Communicator. From 2013-18, he was heading India's Technology Think Tank, TIFAC (Technology Information, Forecasting and Assessment Council) in Delhi as its

Executive Director. During his tenure, TIFAC developed *Technology Vision 2035*, which was released by Hon'ble PM in Jan 2016. Prof. Ranjan has worked on Nuclear Fusion in National and International Labs in India and USA and made major contributions to this field for nearly two decades. He was Project Leader of ADITYA Tokamak and SST-1 Tokamak Control Group at Institute for Plasma Research, Gandhinagar till 2002. After this he served as Professor at Dhirubhai Ambani Institute of ICT in Gandhinagar for 11 years. His remarkable innovative contributions include India's Moon Mission, Wildlife and Agriculture sector. He is particularly known for his innovations in the field of assistive technology that has helped to put smiles on the faces of persons with severe disability. He obtained his PhD from University of California, Berkeley and did college education from IIT Kharagpur and University of Delhi after schooling from Netarhat School. He has received many awards and accolades for his contribution to Science, Technology and Society.

## JAYANT MENON

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Dr. Jayant Menon is Lead Economist in the Office of the Chief Economist at the Asian Development Bank. He joined ADB in 1999 and has worked in research and operational departments, including the ADB Institute in Tokyo. In 2020, he will be at ISEAS in Singapore as a Visiting Senior Fellow. Prior to joining ADB, he worked as an academic in Australia for more than a decade, mainly at the Centre of Policy Studies at Monash University at its original campus in Clayton, Melbourne. He has also worked at the University of Melbourne, Victoria University, and the American University in Washington, DC. Dr. Menon holds adjunct appointments with the Australian National University, University of Nottingham, UK and the Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs (IDEAS), Malaysia. He has served as a Board Director of the Cambodia Development Resource Institute and on the Advisory Board of the University of Nottingham Campus in Malaysia. He also serves on the editorial board of several academic journals. He has authored/edited 15 books, more than 40 chapters in books and 70 articles in peer-reviewed journals.

## U DINESH KUMAR

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Dr. U Dinesh Kumar is a Professor of Decision Sciences at IIM Bangalore and Chairperson of MBA (Business Analytics). He holds a Ph.D. in Mathematics from IIT Bombay. Dr Dinesh Kumar has over 20 years of teaching and research experience. Prior to joining IIM Bangalore, Dr Dinesh Kumar has worked at several reputed Institutes across the world including Stevens Institute of Technology, USA; University of Exeter, UK; University of Toronto, Canada; Federal Institute of Technology (ETH), Zurich, Switzerland; Queensland University of Technology, Australia; Australian National University, Australia and the Indian Institute of Management Calcutta. Dr Dinesh Kumar has published more than 70 research articles in leading academic journals and authored 4 books.

Dr. Dinesh Kumar introduced Business Analytics elective course in 2008 to the PGP students at IIM Bangalore and started one of the first certificate programs in Business Analytics in India in 2010 and also contributed 37 case studies on Business Analytics based on Indian and multinational organizations, which has been published at the Harvard Business Publishing's case portal. Dr Dinesh Kumar was awarded the Best Young Teacher Award by the Association of Indian Management Institutions in 2003. He is listed as one of the top 10 analytics academics in India by the analytics India magazine. He is the governing council member of the Karnataka Government's Centre of excellence for Data Science and Artificial Intelligence set up in Collaboration with NASSCOM. He is the founding president of the Analytics Society of India (ASI).

## SUDESHNA SARKAR

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Dr. Sudeshna Sarkar is the Head of the Centre of Excellence in Artificial Intelligence at Indian Institute of Technology Kharagpur where she is a Professor in the Department of Computer Science and Engineering. She did her B.Tech. from IIT Kharagpur, MS from University of California Berkeley, and Ph.D. from IIT Kharagpur. She has earlier taught at IIT Guwahati and at IIT Kanpur. Her research interests are in Artificial Intelligence, Machine Learning, and Natural Language Processing. She has been working on Text Mining and Recommender systems and is involved in developing natural language processing resources and tools for Indian languages. She is interested in exploring the use of AI to make positive impacts in different domains of society and business and in spreading AI education and skill development.

## VIVEK SAHA



Mr. Vivek Saha is currently a Director and Head for the Digital Transformation and Industry 4.0 at NASSCOM – Centre of Digital Excellence. He did his B.Tech from Nagpur University in 1995 and MBA from IMT Ghaziabad in 2001. Mr Saha has 25 years of industry experience in cross-industry Digital Transformation Consulting, SI-Consulting & Digital Intelligence (Advanced Analytics/AI) for Manufacturing (including Automotive), Comms/Telco, Media, High-Tech, Energy & Banking/Insurance clients. Last 15 years, he has been holding Senior Management & Leadership roles for Digital Industry Transformation Consulting & Solution Strategy, Value based Digital Innovation leveraging digital channels (interactive user experience, mobility, analytics & cloud) deeply ingrained with prescriptive Digital Intelligence (Advanced Analytics (IoT/AI/ML) for data-driven Decision Support & Automation. Mr. Saha has received both national and international awards for his contributions.

## MOHAN KUMAR



Dr. Mohan Kumar is the Chairman of Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS) since June 2018. Ambassador Kumar has had an outstanding career in the Indian Foreign Service lasting 36 years which culminated in his being India's Ambassador to France based in Paris. Under his watch, the Indo- French strategic partnership was strengthened and consolidated further in spheres such as defense, space, nuclear & solar energy, smart cities and investment. Earlier, Mohan Kumar was India's Ambassador to the Kingdom of Bahrain where he witnessed and dealt with a strategically complex region characterized by events such as the "Arab Spring". He was India's lead negotiator first at the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) and then at the WTO (World Trade Organization) in crucial areas such as Intellectual Property Rights, Services, Dispute Settlement, Rules and Technical Barriers to Trade. He was a leading member of India's delegation at the WTO Ministerial Conferences held in Marrakesh (1994), Seattle (1999) and Doha (2001). Ambassador Kumar also has strategic understanding of India's ties with some of her key neighbors such as Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Maldives. Ambassador Kumar's specialization thus includes: diplomatic practice & foreign policy, strategic

partnerships between countries, multilateral negotiations especially trade negotiations, climate change and globalization.

Ambassador Kumar holds a Master's in Business Administration (MBA) from the Faculty of Management Studies, University of Delhi and a Doctorate (Ph.D) from Sciences Po University, Paris. Ambassador Kumar also teaches at the Jindal School of International Affairs and is Vice-Dean and Professor of Diplomatic Practice.

## ANUP WADHAWAN

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Dr. Anup Wadhawan is currently Commerce Secretary, in the Department of Commerce, Government of India. He previously held Special Secretary, in the Department of Commerce. His appointments have ranged from magisterial and development administration positions in the field to development policy related and regulatory assignments in areas like education, planning, hill development, rural development, panchayati raj, cooperatives, urban development, forests & environment, revenue, home and disaster management in the States of U.P. and Uttarakhand. He was District Magistrate in Etawah and Secretary of the Uttar Pradesh Electricity Regulatory Commission. He has served in the Government of India in the Departments of Economic Affairs, Financial Services and Commerce, and the Prime Minister's Office. He was a member of an African Development Bank team that evaluated its lending to the public utilities sector in Ghana and Tanzania. He has worked for the Water and Sanitation Program of the World Bank providing technical assistance for enhancing accountability in Water Supply & Sanitation service-delivery through policy, institutional and utility reform.

He holds a doctorate from Duke University, Masters Degrees from the Delhi School of Economics and Duke University, and a Bachelors Degree from Hindu College, University of Delhi, in the area of Economics. His doctoral thesis was on the "Time Path of Macro Variables in Alternative Structural Settings".

## CARLOS MARIA CORREA

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Prof. Carlos Maria Correa is the Executive Director of the South Centre, an intergovernmental organization established in Geneva. He has been Director of the Center for Interdisciplinary Studies on Industrial Property and Economics (University of Buenos Aires), a visiting professor in post-graduate courses of several universities and consultant to UNCTAD, UNIDO, UNDP, WHO, FAO, IDB, INTAL, World Bank, SELA, ECLA, and other regional and international organizations. He has participated in international negotiations on trade, technology transfer, genetic resources and intellectual property, advised several governments and non-governmental organizations, conducted and supervised policy-oriented research, and published several books and numerous journal articles. He was a member, inter alia, of the UK Commission on Intellectual Property, of various expert groups convened by the World Health Organization, and of the FAO Panel of Eminent Experts on Ethics in Food and Agriculture.

## JOHN HANCOCK

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Dr. John Hancock works at the World Trade Organization in Geneva, Switzerland, where he has served as senior policy advisor to the Director-General, representative to the IMF and World Bank, and head of investment issues. He provided Member Countries with advice in launching the WTO's Aid-for-Trade Initiative, as well as in exploring new issues such as e-commerce, facilitating investment, and small and medium enterprises. Prior to joining the WTO, Mr. Hancock was senior advisor to Canada's trade minister. He has also been a guest lecturer at Cambridge, Oxford, Columbia, and other universities. He holds a PhD from Cambridge and has written and spoken frequently on international issues.

## HARSHA VARDHAN SINGH

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Dr. Harsha Vardhan Singh is Chairman, IKDHVAJ Advisers LLP, and Senior Fellow of the Council on Emerging Market Enterprises (Fletcher School, University of Tufts, USA). He has worked for over three decades on international trade policy, development, infrastructure regulation and global governance. Earlier, he was Executive Director, Brookings

India; Deputy Director-General at World Trade Organization for eight years from October 2005 to September 2013; Economic Advisor and then Secretary of the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (eight and plus years); and member of the GATT/WTO Secretariat for twelve years from mid-1985 to mid-1997. As Deputy DG, his direct areas of responsibility included trade in agriculture, services, trade and environment, technical barriers to trade, sanitary and phytosanitary measures, and electronic commerce. Earlier in GATT/WTO he worked on Rules (anti-dumping, subsidies and safeguards), trade and environment, trade policy reviews, and economic research. He has taught at SIPA (Columbia University), Fletcher School (Tufts University), and Nan Kai University in China; been Senior Associate at International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD); Senior Fellow at International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD); member of Global Agenda Council on Trade and FDI 2014-2016 (WEF); chair/member of high level policy committees; chair of WTO dispute settlement panels; and visiting faculty at research institutes on trade and regulation. Dr. Singh is a Ph. D. in Economics from Oxford University, where he went as a Rhodes Scholar from India.

## VO TRI THANH

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Dr. Vo Tri Thanh is former Vice-president of the Central Institute for Economic Management (CIEM). He is currently Chairman of Vietnam National Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation (VNCPEC) and a member of the National Financial and Monetary Policy Advisory Council. He is also Director of Institute for Brand and Competitiveness Strategy (BCSI). He holds a Bachelor of Science from the Moscow State University, and a Master degree in Economics and a PhD degree in Economics both from the Australian National University. Dr. Vo Tri Thanh mainly undertakes research and provides consultation on issues related to trade liberalization, international economic integration and macroeconomic policies. His other areas of interests include institutional reforms, financial system and economic development.

## VIKRAM K DORAISWAMI



Mr. Vikram K Doraiswami joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1992. Prior to joining the Indian Government, he worked for one year as a journalist. He took a Masters' Degree in History from the University of Delhi.

He has served as Head of Division in the MEA for the Americas, and for SAARC prior to that. At Headquarters, he has also served on the staff of Prime Minister Vajpayee and thereafter, as Private Secretary to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. Mr. Doraiswami has also served at India's diplomatic Missions in Hong Kong, Beijing, Johannesburg, and in India's Mission to the UN in New York. He has been India's Ambassador in Uzbekistan and thereafter in the Republic of Korea. Vikram Doraiswami's interests include reading, sports, fitness, travel and Jazz. He speaks Chinese, some French and Korean.





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# Glimpses of Delhi Dialogue XI

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## Ministerial Session





## Plenary Session I: Building Bridges in Indo-Pacific



## Plenary Session II: Indo-Pacific Construct: Emerging Architecture



## Plenary Session III: Regional Connectivity in Indo-Pacific



## Plenary Session IV: Industrial Revolution 4.0 and Indo-Pacific



## Plenary Session V: Future of Multilateral Trading System



## Valedictory Address by H.E. Dr. S Jaishankar



## Group Photo





## About RIS

Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS) is a New Delhi-based autonomous policy research institute that specialises in issues related to international economic development, trade, investment and technology. RIS is envisioned as a forum for fostering effective policy dialogue and capacity-building among developing countries on global and regional economic issues.

The focus of the work programme of RIS is to promote South-South Cooperation and collaborate with developing countries in multilateral negotiations in various forums. RIS is engaged across inter-governmental processes of several regional economic cooperation initiatives. Through its intensive network of think tanks, RIS seeks to strengthen policy coherence on international economic issues and the development partnership canvas. For more information about RIS and its work programme, please visit its website: [www.ris.org.in](http://www.ris.org.in)

## About AIC

ASEAN-India Centre (AIC) has been working to strengthen India's strategic partnership with ASEAN in its realisation of the ASEAN Community. AIC at RIS undertakes research, policy advocacy and regular networking activities with relevant public/private agencies, organisations and think-tanks in India and ASEAN countries, with the aim of providing policy inputs, up-to-date information, data resources and sustained interaction, for strengthening ASEAN-India Strategic Partnership. For more information about AIC, please visit its website: <http://aic.ris.org.in>



**RIS**

Research and Information System  
for Developing Countries

विकासशील देशों की अनुसंधान एवं सूचना प्रणाली

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