

“ We must play a role in shaping policies  
**THAT SHAPE THE NATION,,**



**DELHI POLICY GROUP**

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**DELHI POLICY GROUP**  
**20th Anniversary Conclave**  
**VISION 2034**

October 16-17, 2014  
The Taj Mansingh Hotel, New Delhi

**PROGRAM AND  
SPEAKER PROFILES**



**DELHI POLICY GROUP**  
**20 YEARS OF RESEARCH AND POLICY FORMULATION**  
[www.delhipolicygroup.com](http://www.delhipolicygroup.com)





“The issue transforms  
depending on the perspective  
it is viewed from,”

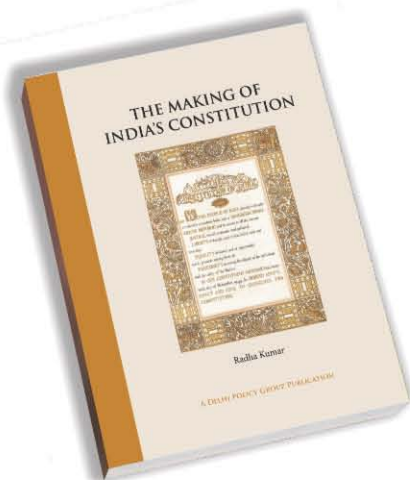
## THE DELHI POLICY GROUP

### 20 YEARS OF RESEARCH AND POLICY FORMULATION

#### Vision 2034

In 1994, when DPG was founded, India had just begun reforms to rescue its faltering economy, strengthen its weak security, deal with spiralling insurgencies, and move from estrangement to engagement with the U.S. and Europe. Today, twenty years later, India's economy has had a ten-year run of 7 percent growth, security has greatly improved, and the country has strategic partnerships with all the great and regional powers.

Each of these achievements has been roiled by highs and lows, including stagnation. With a new government in place, one that has vowed second generation reforms, this conference asks what policy steps the new government can and should take to ensure stable trajectories of growth and partnership that will enable India to further reduce poverty, provide peace and security, and ratchet up human development by 2034.



## DELHI POLICY GROUP

### 20th Anniversary Conclave

# VISION 2034

**October 16-17, 2014**

at The Taj Mansingh Hotel, New Delhi

Inaugurated by:

**H. E. SHRI M. HAMID ANSARI**  
VICE PRESIDENT OF INDIA

#### General instructions:

1. Please be seated 15 minutes prior to the start of the conference.
2. Please carry identification for security purposes. This invitation is non-transferable & valid for one person.
3. Cameras are not allowed.
4. Please switch off mobile phones during the conference.

# PROGRAM Thursday, October 16, 2014

Venue: Dewan-E-Am, The Taj Mansingh Hotel, New Delhi

Program Thursday

10.15-10.45 am	Registration/Tea			
11-11.45 am	<b>Inaugural Session</b>  Conclave Introduction <b>Vision 2034:</b>  Chairman's Welcome:  <b>KEYNOTE ADDRESS:</b>  Vote of Thanks:	<b>Speakers</b>  Radha Kumar  Ambassador Shankar Bajpai  <b>H.E. SHRI M. HAMID ANSARI, VICE PRESIDENT OF INDIA</b>  Siddharth Shriram		
11.45 am-1.15 pm	<b>Panel 1: National Security</b>  National security as a concept was considered a preserve of select Government agencies in 1994. The understanding that the nation must ensure the safety, wellbeing and right to life of every Indian citizen in conditions of internal and external peace, was a chimera. Terrorism had raised its hydra form and insurgency specially, in the North-East, Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir had taken a heavy toll. The financial crisis was recent memory and uncertainty prevailed as to the future of India. The past two decades have seen transformation, awareness through democratization of information and a degree of stability. However, all this has come at enormous cost and there is still ambiguity with respect to the future.  What do we desire for an India of 2034? What are likely to be the new and emerging challenges? What are the steps for confronting these, specially with respect to internal security? What are likely to be the outlays and how can they be managed so not to impede growth?	<b>Overview:</b>  <b>M K Narayanan</b> , Former National Security Advisor of India <i>India's National Security Priorities</i>	<b>Panelists:</b>  <b>P Mehendru</b> , Former Special Director Intelligence Bureau <i>Responses to 'Left-Wing Extremism'</i>  <b>Raghu Raman</b> , Former CEO NATGRID <i>Emerging Threats</i>	<b>Chair:</b>  <b>Lt. Gen. Aditya Singh</b> , Delhi Policy Group
1.15-2.30 pm	Lunch			
2.30-3.15 pm	<b>Special Session: Afghanistan 2015-24</b>  Afghanistan has a new unity government, inaugurated on September 30, 2014, which will have to deal with the twin problems of drawdown and decline in external funding. Sustained international support is still required for Afghans to settle their security, governance and development issues in accordance to their own genius. Challenges in the coming decade include preventing Afghanistan from again becoming a launching pad for terrorism in the region and the world, and preserving the constitutional and social gains of the last 13 years.  What are the minimum conditions for the sustainable stabilization of Afghanistan and the region? How can Afghanistan's neighbors help maintain its sovereignty and independence in a way that contributes to regional peace? What needs to be done to spur the process of reconciliation with and reintegration of the Taliban?	<b>Speaker:</b>  <b>H.E. M Hanif Atmar</b> , National Security Advisor of Afghanistan	<b>Chair:</b>  <b>Ambassador S.K. Lambah</b> , Former Special Envoy of the Prime Minister to Afghanistan and Pakistan	



3.15-4.30 pm	<b>Panel 2: Peace in Our Neighborhood: Current Options</b>  India has faced persistent and continuous threats on its Western border for over two decades. Analysts currently warn that threats will intensify post-2014 with the international drawdown in Afghanistan, when Pakistan-based militant groups will redouble their attempts to destabilize the Afghan and Indian governments. In response, the three countries' governments have sought a combination of conflict management and peacemaking measures, with occasional breakthroughs as in the 2004-6 India-Pakistan peace process. Today a new option has emerged, of enabling bilateral initiatives by providing regional anchors through the SCO or SAARC. So has a new challenge: of youth radicalization.  Can we forecast the trends for peace between Afghanistan and Pakistan, or Pakistan and India? Are there steps that the three governments can take, unilaterally, bilaterally and regionally, towards sustainable peace processes? What is the combination of strategies that will enable an end to Afghanistan-Pakistan and India-Pakistan conflict by 2034?	<b>Panelists:</b>  <b>Ambassador Jayant Prasad</b> , Delhi Policy Group <i>Regional Overview</i>  <b>Hamid Mir</b> , Geo TV <i>Afghanistan-Pakistan-India</i>  <b>Lt. Gen. Ata Hasnain</b> , Delhi Policy Group <i>India-Pakistan: Potential for Progress</i>  <b>Shafqat Mahmood</b> , MNA Pakistan <i>The View from Pakistan</i>	<b>Chair:</b>  <b>Radha Kumar</b> , Delhi Policy Group
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4.30-4.45 pm	Tea
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4.45-6.15 pm	<b>Keynote Discussion: India Growth and Development 2034</b>  The key to India's future lies in sustained, rapid economic growth. It is the only one of Asia's large economies (the others being China, Japan, South Korea) that has not achieved average annual growth of at least 10 percent for more than a decade. The result is continued poverty on a mass scale, the limited spread effect of the benefits of growth, poor socio-economic indicators when compared to most other countries, and vulnerabilities on the security front. Market-oriented economic reform is incomplete, and governance failures undermine ambitious plans, even as demographic change offers the chance of a once-for-all 'demographic dividend'. How can these issues be addressed, and opportunities grasped, so that the next 20 years will be radically better than the last 20?	<b>Speakers:</b>  <b>Nitin Desai</b> , Co-Chair India-UK Round Table <b>Bibek Debroy</b> , Centre for Policy Research <b>Ashok Lahiri</b> , Former Chief Economic Advisor to Ministry of Finance of India	<b>Chair:</b>  <b>T N Ninan</b> , Chairman Business Standard Group
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*Dinner for all delegates*

Hosted by:

**Siddharth Shriram**  
Managing Trustee, Delhi Policy Group

**Venue:** 26 Sardar Patel Road, Chanakyapuri, New Delhi  
**Time:** 7.30 pm

# PROGRAM

## Friday, October 17, 2014

Venue: Dewan-E-Am, The Taj Mansingh Hotel, New Delhi

Program Friday

9-9.30 am	Tea		
9.30-11.00 am	<b>Panel 3: A Volatile Asian Security Dynamic</b> <p>With a shift in the global geo-strategic salience of Asia, and the rapid rise of China, Asian politics will see greater flux, which needs to be carefully managed well into the 21st Century. History both anchors and unsettles intra-Asian relations, as between China-Japan, Japan-Korea, China-Vietnam, or India-China. India's interaction with Asia begins in concentric circles, beginning with China and the SAARC countries, followed by ASEAN, the Koreans, Japan and Australia. Russia as a Eurasian power, and the United States, are also significant Asian players.</p> <p>Will the tensions in the East and South China Seas lead to Asian militarization, or new, cooperative Asian security architecture over the next decade? Who will act as balancers and who as counters in the years to come? Does India face a dilemma given its strong relations with several Asian states, including China and Japan?</p>	<b>Panelists:</b> <p><b>Admiral William J Fallon</b>, MIT Center for International Studies <i>The US Rebalance</i></p> <p><b>Ambassador Yasukuni Enoki</b>, Soka University <i>Rethinking Security in Japan</i></p> <p><b>Ambassador Shyam Saran</b>, Research and Information Systems for Developing Countries <i>Indian Engagements</i></p> <p><b>Frances Yi-Hua Kan</b>, National Chengchi University <i>View from Taiwan</i></p>	<b>Chair:</b> <p><b>Ambassador Leela Ponappa</b>, Delhi Policy Group</p>
11.00 am-12 noon	<b>Panel 4: India's Strategic Partnerships</b> <p>India and the U.S. share core values of pluralism and democracy. Yet, the two countries nursed an estranged relationship for much of the five decades following India's independence. With a new found congruence of interests, the two countries are now strategic partners, as are India-Russia, India-EU and India-Japan. In the triangular China, Russia, U.S. relationship, the U.S. ascendancy has passed into China's hands. Europe is still coping with the effects of the economic slowdown, even if Germany is doing better than others. India's efforts to forge a special relationship with the European Union have slowed.</p> <p>How strategic are our partnerships? Can India ensure that the Indian ocean region remain a shared 'global commons' rather than an arena hegemonized by one or more antagonistic powers? With India rising, but without the growth gap with China closing significantly, how does India balance its strategic partnerships with the key global players simultaneously?</p>	<b>Panelists:</b> <p><b>Ambassador Robert Blackwill</b>, Council on Foreign Relations <i>India-US: Adding the Strategic</i></p> <p><b>Ambassador Hemant Krishan Singh</b>, ICRIER <i>India's Strategic Partnerships</i></p>	<b>Chair:</b> <p><b>Ambassador Shankar Bajpai</b>, Delhi Policy Group</p>
12 noon-12.45 pm	<b>Special Session with Li Zhao Xing</b> , Chairman, Public Diplomacy Association of China	<b>Chair:</b> <p><b>Ambassador Chandrashekhar Dasgupta</b>, The Energy and Resources Institute</p>	
12.45-2.00 pm	Lunch		



2.00-3.15 pm	<p><b>Panel 5: West Asia: Transitions or Shifting Sands?</b></p> <p>India's interests in West Asia range from energy security to the safety of the close to 3 million Indians who live and work there. The Arab Spring was predicated on the quest for democracy, development, and social justice. Uprisings occurred in the Maghreb: in Algeria, Tunisia and Libya; in the Mashreq: in Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria; and in the Gulf: in Yemen, with rumblings of change in many other countries in the region. Their early promise has been largely extinguished, and a new, brutal Islamist movement seems to be taking its place, with Iraq's Anbar province now becoming the base of operations of a rapidly expanding Islamic State (IS). Shias and Sunnis are at each other's throats throughout the region.</p> <p>Will the U.S.-led Western-Arab alliance hold and succeed in defeating IS and other Islamists in the region? What impact will the war have on the longest pending issue in the region - the Middle East Peace Process? Can Iran and Saudi Arabia build a modus vivendi amongst themselves?</p>	<p><b>Panelists:</b></p> <p><b>Ambassador Talmiz Ahmed</b>, Former Indian ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Oman and the UAE <i>West Asia: Transitions or Shifting Sands? - Challenges for Indian Diplomacy</i></p> <p><b>Sultan Sooud Al-Qassemi</b>, MIT MediaLab <i>Use of Social Media and Broadening of India - GCC Relations</i></p> <p><b>Sebastian Von Einsiedel</b>, Centre for Policy Research, United Nations University <i>The Challenge of Non-State Actors</i></p>	<p><b>Chair:</b></p> <p><b>Ambassador Chinmaya Gharekhan</b>, Delhi Policy Group</p>
3.15-4.15 pm	<p><b>Panel 6: The Post 2015 Development Agenda: Gender Issues</b></p> <p>With increasing reporting of crimes against women, gender has become a mainstream policy issue both in India and in global governance institutions such as the UN. Reviews of the Indian Government's commitment to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set in 2000 show that the condition of Indian women has improved, but only patchily, as the DPG Gender Scorecard shows. In his recent speech to the UNGA, PM Modi emphasized the significance of the Post-2015 Development Agenda, and the Indian Government has proposed new action points for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which are a priority agenda for global governance institutions such as the UN in the decade ahead.</p> <p>What will India's role be in pushing the Post-2015 Development Agenda? Will India be able to improve on its MDGs performance under new SDGs? What policies will best contribute towards creating an environment by 2034 in which women will be safe and empowered to seek employment, service and development opportunities?</p>	<p><b>Panelists:</b></p> <p><b>Margaret Alva</b>, Former Governor of Rajasthan <i>Gender and Governance</i></p> <p><b>Amitabh Kundu</b>, Delhi Policy Group, <i>What the Gender Data Tells Us</i></p> <p><b>Vani Tripathi</b>, Former National Secretary Bharatiya Janata Party <i>Critical Issues Post 2015</i></p>	<p><b>Chair:</b></p> <p><b>Nidhi Razdan</b>, NDTV</p>
4.15-4.30 pm	Tea		
4.30-5.45 pm	<p><b>Special Session: Regional Cooperation</b></p> <p>The 1998 SAARC Group of Eminent Persons had a three-stage vision for regional cooperation by the year 2020: the establishment of a South Asian Free Trade Area in Phase-I; a Customs Union in Phase-II; and a broader Economic Union in Phase-III. Nobel Laureate Mohammad Yunus called for 'an integrated, poverty-free South Asia by 2030 in a well-functioning South Asian Union'. We are well short of this lofty vision, with even its building blocks not in place. Intra-South Asian trade continues to languish at below double digits. The negative opportunity cost of non-cooperation and non-integration of South Asian economies amounts to losing 2% of additional GDP growth annually.</p> <p>Can the SAARC countries rise to the challenge of creating an economic space in South Asia, which is further linked to ASEAN, GCC and SCO? Or should India pursue regional cooperation with other groupings such as Mekong-Ganga Cooperation (between India, Myanmar, Thailand, Laos PDR, Cambodia and Vietnam), BIMSTEC (Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation, bringing Bhutan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, India, Myanmar and Thailand together), or BBIN (Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal)?</p>	<p><b>Speakers:</b></p> <p><b>H.E. Sunil Bahadur Thapa</b>, Commerce Minister of Nepal</p> <p><b>H.E. Shirin Chaudhury</b>, Speaker, National Assembly of Bangladesh</p> <p><b>H.E. Rohitha Bogollagama</b>, Former Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka</p>	<p><b>Chair:</b></p> <p><b>Ambassador Sheel Kant Sharma</b>, Former Secretary General SAARC</p>
5.45-6.00 pm	Closing Remarks		



# SPEAKER PROFILES

## INAUGURAL SESSION



**H.E. Shri M. Hamid Ansari** is the Vice President of India, President of the Indian Institute of Public Administration and Chancellor of Panjab University, Chandigarh, former ambassador to the UAE, and former Chairman of the National Commission for Minorities (NCM).



**Radha Kumar** is Director General of the Delhi Policy Group, former Member Group of Interlocutors for Jammu & Kashmir, and former Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.



**Ambassador Shankar Bajpai** is Chairman of the Delhi Policy Group, former Secretary, External Affairs Ministry of India and former Ambassador to Pakistan, China and the U.S.



**Siddharth Shriram** is Managing Trustee of the Delhi Policy Group, Chairman of Mawana Sugars Ltd, Honda Suel Power Products Ltd and co-Chairman of Usha International Ltd.

## PANEL-1



**M.K. Narayanan** is the former Governor of West Bengal, the third National Security Advisor to the Government of India, and former Director of the Intelligence Bureau, Government of India.



**P. Mehendru** is the former Special Director, Intelligence Bureau (IB) Government of India with nearly two decades of experience in dealing with the problem of Left Wing Extremism at the national level.



**Raghu Raman** is the former CEO of the National Intelligence Grid, former instructor at the School of Armoured Warfare and writes a column on National Security and Leadership for Mint newspaper.



**Chair: Lt. Gen. Aditya Singh** is Advisor to the Delhi Policy Group's National Security Program, former Member of the National Security Advisory Board (NSAB), and Former GOC-in-C of the Southern Command.

## SPECIAL SESSION



**Mohammad Hanif Atmar** is National Security Advisor of Afghanistan. He has been the Minister of Interior (2008-2010), Minister of Education (2006-2008) and Minister of Rural Rehabilitation and Development (2002-2006).



**Ambassador Satinder Lambah** is the former Government of India Envoy to Afghanistan and Pakistan, Ambassador of India to Hungary, Germany and the Russian Federation, and former High Commissioner to Pakistan.

## PANEL-2



**Ambassador Jayant Prasad** is Advisor to the Delhi Policy Group's Foreign Policy Program and Non-Resident Visiting Scholar at CASI, former Ambassador of India to Nepal, Afghanistan and Algeria.



**Lt. Gen. Ata Hasnain** is Senior Fellow, Delhi Policy Group and visiting Fellow at the Vivekananda International Foundation, and former Commander of the Srinagar based XV Corps.



**Hamid Mir** is a Pakistani journalist, news anchor, and security analyst. He currently hosts the political talk show Capital Talk on Geo TV and also writes columns for Urdu newspapers.



**Shafqat Mehmood** is Member of Parliament of Pakistan, former Senator and Federal Minister and has been a member of the Senate Standing Committees on Cabinet, Establishment and Management Services, Defence, Defence Production, Aviation, Foreign Affairs, Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas.

## KEYNOTE DISCUSSION



**Nitin Desai** is Trustee, Delhi Policy Group, former Member Planning Commission of India (1973-88), Chief Economic Adviser, Ministry of Finance GOI (1988-90), and former Under Secretary General for Economic and Social Affairs, UN.



**Bibek Debroy** is Professor, Centre for Policy Research, former Director of the Rajiv Gandhi Institute for Contemporary Studies, and Consultant to the Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Govt. of India.



**Ashok Lahiri** is former Chief Economic Adviser, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance of India, and has held advisory and consulting roles with the Asian Development Bank, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.



**T N Ninan** is Trustee of the Delhi Policy Group, and Chairman, Business Standard Group. Former Editor of Business Standard.



### PANEL-3



**Admiral William Fallon**, USN is Chairman of the Board of CounterTack Inc., a new company in the cyber security business, partner in Tilwell Petroleum, LLC, advisor to several other businesses and a Distinguished Fellow at the Center for Naval Analyses.



**Ambassador Yasukuni Enoki** is visiting Professor at Soka University and former Ambassador of Japan to India.



**Ambassador Shyam Saran** is Chairman of the National Security Advisory Board under the National Security Council, Government of India, and Chairman, Research and Information System for Developing Countries.



**Frances Yi-Hua Kan** is Adjunct Associate Professor and Director, European Union Research Centre, National Chengchi University; Secretary General, Association of International Relations of the ROC; Deputy Director General, European Union Centre in Taiwan and Member of Board of Directors, The Cross Strait Interflow Prospect Foundation.



**Chair: Ambassador Leela K. Ponappa** is a Trustee of the Delhi Policy Group, former Deputy National Security Advisor of India and Secretary, National Security Council Secretariat, former Ambassador to the Netherlands and Permanent Representative to the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons.

### PANEL-4



**Ambassador Robert D. Blackwill** is Henry A. Kissinger Senior Fellow for U.S. Foreign Policy at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), and former Ambassador of the U.S. to India.



**Ambassador Hemant Krishan Singh** is Chair Professor for strategic studies at ICRIER. During his diplomatic career, he has been Ambassador of India to Japan, Indonesia and Colombia.

### SPECIAL SESSION



**Li Zhao Xing** is President of the Chinese Public Diplomacy Association, former Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of China's National People's Congress, and former Minister in China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He has been China's Ambassador to the United States and Permanent Representative to the United Nations.



**Chair: Ambassador Chandrashekhar Dasgupta** is Distinguished Fellow, TERI. He has been India's Ambassador to the European Union and Ambassador to China, Member of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; and Co-Chair of the India-EU Round Table, as well as Chairperson of the China Task Force.

### PANEL-5



**Ambassador Talmiz Ahmad** is former Ambassador of India to Saudi Arabia, Oman, and the UAE, and former Director-General of the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi.



**Sultan Sooud Al Qassemi** is Directors' Fellow, MIT, Media Lab, and columnist whose articles have appeared in The Financial Times, The Independent, The Guardian, The Huffington Post, The New York Times Room for Debate, Foreign Policy, Open Democracy and The Globe and Mail. Al Qassemi is also a prominent commentator on Arab affairs on Twitter.



**Sebastian von Einsiedel** is Director, Centre for Policy Research, United Nations University, former Non-Resident Fellow of the Center on International Cooperation (CIC), New York University, and former member of the Secretary-General's Strategic Planning Unit.



**Chair: Ambassador Chinmaya Gharekhan** is a Senior Fellow of the Delhi Policy Group, former Permanent Representative to the United Nations in Geneva, and former UN Special Coordinator for the Occupied Territories (of Palestine).

### PANEL-6



**Margaret Alva** is former Governor of Rajasthan (2012-2014). A lawyer, parliamentarian and former Union Minister credited with steering several landmark legislations through Parliament to improve the position of India.



**Professor Amitabh Kundu** is Senior Fellow of the Delhi Policy Group, and former Professor of Economics at Jawaharlal Nehru University.



**Vani Tripathi Tikoo** is the former National Secretary of the Bharatiya Janata Party, an activist on youth and gender issues and also an 'actor' by profession.



**Chair: Nidhi Razdan** is Senior Editor at NDTV. She hosts a prime time news show called 'Left, Right and Centre' and covers foreign policy. Has extensively reported on Kashmir and national politics with award winning documentaries from Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan Administered Kashmir, Tibet, Iran and others.

### SPECIAL SESSION



**H.E. Sunil Bahadur Thapa** is Minister of Commerce and Supplies, Government of Nepal, and Member of the Central Working Committee of the Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP), Nepal. He was former Executive Head, UNHCR.



**H.E. Shirin Sharmin Chaudhury** is Speaker, National Assembly of Bangladesh, the Awami League of Bangladesh, and a noted human rights defender.



**Rohitha Bogollagama** is former Sri Lankan Minister of Foreign Affairs and before that Minister of Enterprise Development & Investment Promotion. Member of Sri Lankan government delegation for peace talks with LTTE. Former Chairman & Director General of the Board of Investment of Sri Lanka.



**Chair: Ambassador Sheel Kant Sharma** was the ninth Secretary General of the SAARC from 2008 to 2011. He is also an expert on energy. Former ambassador to Austria.