



CHANAKYA

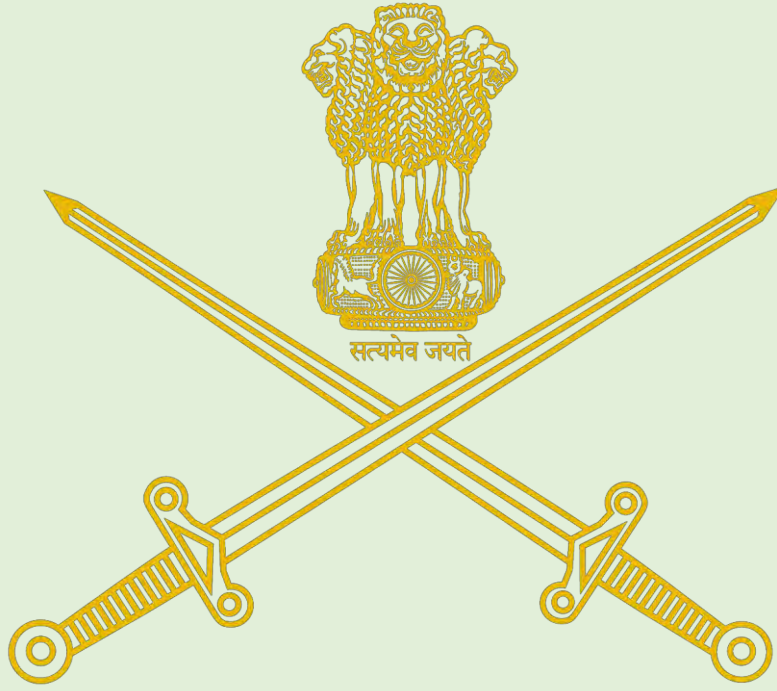
DEFENCE DIALOGUE

COLLABORATING FOR ENDURING
PEACE & SECURITY

03 - 04 NOVEMBER 2023 | NEW DELHI



Chief of the Army Staff with Team CDD 2023



“We share a vision of a free, open, and inclusive Indo-Pacific, connected by secure seas, defined by international law, free from domination and anchored in ASEAN centrality... A region where all nations small and large, are free and fearless and in their choices, where progress is not suffocated by an impossible burden of debt, where connectivity is not leveraged for strategic purpose”.

- Shri Narendra Modi, Prime Minister of India



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CHANAKYA DEFENCE DIALOGUE 2023



Inaugural Address
Shri Jagdeep Dhankhar, The Honourable Vice President of India



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



Overview and Background

- The Chanakya Defence Dialogue (CDD) is an international conference organised by the Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS) under the aegis of the Indian Army. It is a platform for global engagement on various issues that significantly impact India's national security and interests. It addresses strategic and operational level discussions and focuses on critical issues.
- This year's dialogue, held on the 3rd and 4th of November 2023, provided an open and inclusive platform for discussing the geo-political developments affecting the peace and security of India and the Indo-Pacific region. It sought to foster an exchange of ideas and promote deliberations on issues pertaining to policy prescriptions with representation from the government and non-government agencies, think tanks, academia and the student community.
- The rising importance of the Indo-Pacific for India and South Asia has generated the need to promote awareness about the region. Accordingly, '**Securing India and the Indo-Pacific Region: Collaborating for Enduring Peace and Security**' was the theme for the CDD 2023.
- The CDD 2023 began with a 'Curtain Raiser' on 26 October 2023 with the main objective being to promote awareness about the event. It consisted of a Fireside Chat with Gen Manoj Pande, PVSM, AVSM, VSM, ADC, Chief of the Army Staff; moderated by Lt Gen Raj Shukla, PVSM, YSM, SM (Retd), and a Round Table Discussion on '**Securing India and the Indo-Pacific Region: Collaborating for Comprehensive Security**'.
- The overall theme of the seminar guided the thematic alignment of the sessions of CDD 2023 in the following manner:-
 - **Session One.** Neighbourhood First – South Asia Prognosis.
 - **Session Two.** Indo-Pacific – The Decisive Frontier.
 - **Session Three.** Collaborative Partnerships for Security.
 - **Session Four.** How Emerging Technologies Impact Defence and Security.
 - **Session Five.** Indian Defence Industry as Enabler for Collaborative Capacity Building.
 - **Session Six.** Comprehensive Deterrence – The India Way.



- Shri Jagdeep Dhankhar, the Honourable Vice President of India graced the occasion as Chief Guest and set the stage by enriching the audience through his Special Address. The sessions thereafter were interposed with addresses by eminent personalities such as Amb Vijay Keshav Gokhale, Former Foreign Secretary, Govt of India, Dr Arvind Virmani, Member NITI Aayog, Amb Kanwal Sibal, Chancellor, JNU and Former Foreign Secretary, Govt of India, Amb V Misri, Deputy NSA and Shri Giridhar Aramane, Defence Secretary. They gave focused insight and guidance to the ensuing sessions which also helped in drawing valuable key takeaways from the event.

Session One: Neighbourhood First – South Asia Prognosis

- The current era is uncertain and unprecedented, driven by factors like the COVID-19 pandemic, regional conflicts and economic slowdown.
- Recognising that the countries have only sporadically involved themselves in the region or engaged in specific issues is essential. Long-term relations are rare. Despite cultural commonalities, South Asian nations often struggle to translate these into solid relationships.
- ➡ India needs to be a torchbearer in ensuring mutually beneficial and robust relations with South Asian countries, as its foreign policy is seen as ambiguous and lacking consistent support to other nations in times of crises.
- Bangladesh and India share connectivity and similar viewpoints on global issues such as advocating for a more equitable United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Collaboration between Bangladesh and India should extend to more significant global issues like climate change.
- Sri Lanka faced many economic crisis and governance issues, including corruption, unsustainable projects and debt restructuring, with implications due to its relationship with China.
- ➡ Nepalese engagement with China is a reality and working together for economic benefits is a significant development. Timely assistance from India is crucial for Nepal to avoid falling into the Chinese debt trap.
- ➡ To foster greater co-operation, countries such as India, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka need to harness their historical and cultural linkages.



Session Two: Indo-Pacific – The Decisive Frontier

- The global order is transitioning towards a multipolar world, indicating a distribution of power among multiple nations rather than dominance by one or two superpowers.
- The Indo-Pacific region is becoming a hub for economic treaties and trade agreements, reflecting its growing economic significance.
- The Indo-Pacific concept transcends geo-strategic alliances, indicating a multifaceted approach that includes economic, security and diplomatic dimensions.
- ➡ The region has become a focal point of strategic competition between the US and China, with the US aiming to reaffirm its role in the world order through alliances and partnerships.
- Emerging technologies foster new cultural norms and values, influencing societal structures and individual behaviour.
- There is a transition and diffusion of technological power, with China notably expanding its technological influence.
- There is an increasing focus on hybrid threats in the grey zone such as information warfare and cybersecurity challenges.
- ➡ Co-operation among friendly government agencies is crucial for enhancing maritime enforcement and development within the Indo-Pacific region.
- The US is actively forming partnerships in the Quad to foster the development of emerging technologies and to ensure the security of critical trade routes.
- China has expressed strong opposition to Quad, criticising it as an 'Asian NATO' and accusing it of creating a Cold War-like atmosphere in the region.
- The US plans to prioritise India in its Indo-Pacific strategy, with President Joe Biden recognising India's role as a bridge between developed and developing nations.



Session Three: Collaborative Partnerships for Security

- The idea of a rising China is closely tied to a potentially belligerent Indo-Pacific region and the consequences of adversarial politics and influences international politics. Chinese grand strategy may be unsynchronised, particularly with respect to its relations with regional maritime countries.
- Eastern philosophy has moved beyond the '**with us or against us**' approach to a '**with us or without us**' perspective and needs to be considered.
- The game of international relations is about winning narratives and achieving psychological dominance. China is actively showing its military power to project a sense of regional and global strength, as part of its goal of winning without fighting. However, this may be less effective now.
- The Quad is not an alliance but an association that emerged due to increasing tensions between the nations and China, including issues like the diplomatic dispute between Australia and China and India-China animosity.
- ASEAN considers the competition between major powers to be a favourable occurrence. The Southeast Asian countries are examining their interests in the context of this ongoing strategic competition. The most significant inquiry for ASEAN member states is to comprehend the actualities of China as it regards Southeast Asia as its region and it's essential to ascertain whether Southeast Asian nations acknowledge this.
- While the Indo-Pacific region faces threats from China, the term 'Asia-Pacific' does not encompass all the areas under the Chinese threat. The late Shinzo Abe emphasised the importance of India in the Quad, which is projected to be the most influential group in shaping the order in the Indo-Pacific. Quad and Indo-Pacific partnerships/ groupings can counterbalance Chinese influence in the region.
- Collaboration between India and Japan could help counter Chinese regional investments, with alternative projects developed if the Quad nations cooperate.
- France sees India as a crucial partner for its Indo-Pacific strategy, with numerous partnerships between the two countries. France is also India's second-largest supplier of military equipment.



- The partnership between India and the US is considered the most critical in current times, especially in the Indo-Pacific. Both countries are stable democracies with large growing economies. The Indo-US relationship has a comprehensive bilateral agenda with a whole-of-government approach, making the US, India's most valued partner.
- The Indo-US bilateral partnership can be leveraged to fulfil the needs of other regional nations, enhancing their capabilities and capacity building. The co-operation has expanded to other domains, such as health and food security and addresses new and emerging threats like supply chain resilience and climate change.

Session Four: How Emerging Technologies Impact Defence and Security

- Technology across the world is being developed at an unprecedented pace. Today, every nation can enhance its technological development, especially in indigenous technologies.
- Technology can offer viable solutions to issues like climate change. Developing cost-effective hardware is a crucial research objective to provide poorer communities with greater accessibility.
- Developments in Artificial Intelligence, Precision Guided Munitions, Quantum communications etc. are seen as the next frontier of a nation's technological development.
- India can play an essential role in developing and selling technologies and hardware.
- India has been among the few developing nations who has been investing its increasing GDP in the development of current and emerging technologies. India's space program is a prime example of the positive results of this investment.
- Space is not only a domain of warfighting but also has very high utility in the daily lives of an average citizen. All space-faring nations, especially those with a large and capable private sector, are investing increasing amounts of money and manpower in developing cost-effective space-based technologies, for their nations' defence and improving the lives of their citizens.
- One of the significant challenges facing any nation today is ensuring the security of its citizen's data. As data is fast becoming an inseparable facet of the functioning of any country, it is imperative that any security calculus also considers the need and measures necessary to protect the data of its citizens and institutions.



Session Five: Indian Defence Industry as Enabler for Collaborative Capacity Building

- ➡ Modern India, including its defence industry has embraced new policies and reforms. There is an acknowledgement of the importance of international collaboration in defence manufacturing.
- Collaboration, innovation and civil-military integration are essential to address future battlefield challenges. India is ensuring integrating startups with multinational corporations to prepare against the emerging threats. India's academia and industry must work together to forecast and address future battlefield challenges.
- Ethical leadership and a robust military mind are crucial for addressing contemporary challenges. India's military engagements have been for self-defence and protecting weaker nations against aggression.
- India is the first responder in the Indo-Pacific region, indicating its regional leadership role. The Indian Ocean Region (IOR) is critical to disseminating information among its nations and enhancing regional co-operation in co-operative capacity building. The current economic climate in India offers promising growth opportunities.
- ➡ The perspective of Indian startups and other contributors has shifted from being viewed as mere 'vendors' to 'partners', thus emphasising the importance of absorbing and developing technologies.
- Manufacturing will be critical in India's growth, contributing around 25% to the GDP. Developing all sectors will require significant investment in research and development.

Session Six: Comprehensive Deterrence – The India Way

- ➡ The international system is undergoing significant transformation, characterised by a re-emergence of state actors using their unique attributes to shape the world order due to its perceived design flaws in the post-World War II era. The contemporary order is seen as inadequate in serving the interests of all nations, particularly emerging powers like India.
- The COVID-19 pandemic has been a health crisis and exposed the existing mistrust and adversarial thinking among nations. This concern has revealed the fault lines in international relations and emphasised the need for supply chain resilience given that trade can be used as a weapon in times of crisis.



- Technology and politics are becoming increasingly intertwined, shaping political decisions and actions. This integration necessitates a more integrated approach to the research and development of technologies to address emerging challenges.
- ➡ The increasing globalisation of trade has been used as a justification to compromise the sovereignty of nations, particularly when supply chains are vulnerable. As a result, there is growing emphasis on trusted sources and suppliers, and a renewed focus on industrial policies and discussions regarding supply chain resiliency. The Indo-Pacific region is viewed as indispensable to global supply chains and therefore, must be secured.
- ➡ Nations are increasingly weaponising their mutuality with other countries, using it as a tool for leverage in international relations. The legitimacy of international structures is constantly questioned, and there is a call for creating international goodwill and co-operative frameworks to promote global peace.
- ➡ The character of warfare is evolving, shifting from conventional force-on-force conflicts to sub-conventional and hybrid systems and platforms. This evolution blurs traditional lines between peace and war, combatants and non-combatants, and civilian and military roles.
- Building robust and indigenous manufacturing, along with research and development capabilities are critical aspects of national security and resilience.
- ➡ The growing importance of the cyber domain in national security calculations is evident. India has suffered numerous cyberattacks, underscoring the need for a more substantial cybersecurity infrastructure.



DAY ONE (03 November)



Zorawar Hall, Manekshaw Centre, New Delhi



Special Address



Shri Jagdeep Dhankhar, The Honourable Vice President of India, delivered the Special Address on the first day of the CDD 2023. The salient points of his speech, focusing on the centrality of the Indo-Pacific and India's place within the region, are as follows:-



- South Asia and the Indo-Pacific are crucial to global security. India aims to secure a peaceful environment as a responsible stakeholder and believes in the concept of the **Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam**, or **World as One Family**.
- Reconciliation is a core aspect of the global outlook for peace and security, as evidenced by the G20's historic success in fostering co-operation.
- India's global stature has risen in the Indo-Pacific, by virtue of the political and diplomatic legacy of astute statesmen like Acharya Chanakya and Swami Vivekananda.
- ➡ To adapt to the current environment, resolutions should consider economic strength, security, supply architecture, scientific prowess and power dynamics. Collaborative security partnerships can transform the nature of war. Essential actions include calibrating power and shifting mindsets.
- ➡ Peace and security require cultural transformation and civil-military fusion. The CDD and other initiatives can catalyse this transformation. We must ensure peace from a position of power, which includes military strength, a strong economy, knowledge centres and a capable industrial base.
- ➡ The rise of Bharat ensures peace and development in the region, fostering peace and security. The nation's rise as an economic power coupled with its soft power enhances global stability, and development in the region.



Plenary Address



The Plenary Address for CDD 2023 was delivered by **Gen Manoj Pande, PVSM, AVSM, VSM, ADC, Chief of the Army Staff, Indian Army**. The critical points of his speech, focusing on issues dominating geo-politics in the 21st century are as follows:-



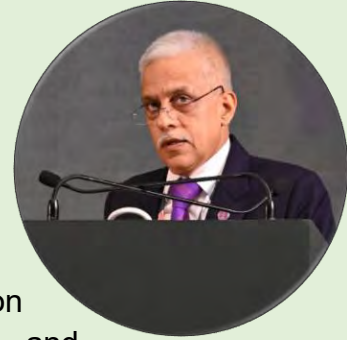
- The growing salience of national security in contemporary times due to the outbreak of pandemics, conflicts in Europe and West Asia, radicalisation, terrorism, piracy and climate change are global concerns which continue to rise and further complicate the environment.
- Issues like de-coupling, de-risking and de-globalisation are becoming prominent. Technology has transformed warfighting and has become a new strategic arena of geo-politics with an increasing expansion of the grey zone domain.
- The pandemic was a litmus test for India and its vaccine initiatives and resilient economy demonstrated its eminence as a bright spot in the world.
- ➡ Partnering with many countries, India helps mitigate global issues by providing solutions rooted in the Indian ethos. A noteworthy example is the successful completion of the G20 hosted by India which brought heads of all countries' together, while seeking answers to common issues.
- Collaborative efforts for global issues within South Asia and the Indo-Pacific are vital in the security discourse.
- India does not view international relations as a zero-sum game but instead seeks peaceful military and civilian diplomatic resolutions.
- India's policy initiatives emphasise engagement processes that prioritise equality and peaceful resolution.
- Open dialogue and innovative solutions guide India towards a brighter future despite immense challenges.



Opening Remarks



The Director General, Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS), **Lt Gen P S Rajeshwar, PVSM, AVSM, VSM (Retd)**, delivered the opening remarks for the CDD 2023. The salient points of his opening remarks are as follows:-



- The various levers of national security, such as diplomacy, technology, economics and information are intertwined with the military dimension of national security. Discerning challenges and opportunities, especially with like-minded partners, will usher in an era of cooperative security and development, while mitigating conflicts.
- ➡ Chanakya's insights and prescriptions see applicability in the 21st century, particularly his postulations 'Yogakshema', which combine the dual concepts of action-taking and consolidation to achieve global peace and security. Chanakya's paradigms of the role of war in human affairs, the fluid nature of adversaries and partners and the utility of force are pertinent in a changing geo-political environment.
- The Indo-Pacific, with its growing importance and the turbulent nature of the South Asian subcontinent, have together made it a region of challenges and opportunities for stakeholders worldwide. These constitute a critical geo-strategic space.
- India's policy initiatives are focused on achieving security through collaboration, reflecting India's ethos of prosperity for all through shared values and co-operation.
- Collaborative security partnerships are the only way forward to create a paradigm shift in national security complexes and rewrite changing and evolving character of war.



Keynote Address



Shri Vijay Keshav Gokhale, Former Foreign Secretary, delivered the Keynote Address for the first day of the CDD 2023. The salient points of his address, focusing on the changing world order and the relevance of the Indo-Pacific, are as follows:-



- The Indo-Pacific is becoming one of the geo-political hotspots due to its economic growth, importance in emerging technologies and many other factors. The global balance of power is also shifting to the East.
- The Indo-Pacific is becoming a global theatre of action, due to its importance for key nations to consolidate their regional presence. Efforts to provide for the region's security have led to a binary geo-political picture, with the main contestation between the US and China.
- The US and China have diametrically opposite visions for the Indo-Pacific. The US wants the Indo-Pacific to be a region that follows a rules-based order. China, on the other hand, has its vision, which is leading to competition and fears of escalation into a conflict within the region.
- ➡ It is important for countries in the Indo-Pacific, especially India, to not view regional security as a binary issue. India should expand its definition of the neighbourhood beyond traditional territorial borders to include the maritime domain. It is crucial to construct a secure and thriving Indo-Pacific, while acknowledging the significant role of the US and other powers in this area. All stakeholders must work together to initiate a dialogue with China, in order to determine their influence and role in the region through peaceful means. It is imperative that we seek peaceful measures to address this issue. The participation and co-operation between China and the US is critical for materialising a secure and open Indo-Pacific. The region will not benefit from a confrontation between them. India's foreign policy, based on principles of brotherhood and plurilateralism focuses on a 'Neighbourhood First' policy, can help nations arrive at better frameworks of lasting co-operation.



Session I: Neighbourhood First – South Asia Prognosis



Preamble

Session One of the Dialogue focused on the importance of a cooperative South Asia in regional and global geo-politics. South Asia is at a critical juncture, dealing with global upheavals and regional power shifts. The pandemic, Ukraine conflict and Israel-Hamas tensions have caused significant disruptions. This session explored strategic competition, sustainable development, regional connectivity and national interests amidst China's growing influence in South Asia. It sets the stage for a deeper dive into the challenges and opportunities facing South Asia as it navigates transformative change.

Opening Remarks of the Chair

The opening remarks of the session were given by **Shri Ashok K Kantha, Former Ambassador to China**. The remarks are summarised below as follows:-



- South Asia is experiencing acute uncertainty, unprecedented changes and significant dislocations due to the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Ukraine conflict and the Israel and Hamas conflict.
- The progress towards Sustainable Development Goals needs to be on track, with a surge in poverty and disappointing climate change mitigation efforts.
- ➡ The region is influenced by the strategic competition between the USA and China, with China viewing India through the prism of this rivalry, potentially affecting its relations with other South Asian countries.
- ➡ India's stability, secular democracy and autonomous foreign policy contribute to regional stability. However, there is a belief that India has yet to fully realise its potential as a growth engine in South Asia.
- ➡ There is a need for India to lead in enhancing regional connectivity and co-operation despite the existence of underperforming regional institutions and low levels of intra-regional trade.
- The discourse raises the question of how South Asian countries would respond to Indian initiatives aimed at regional integration and leadership.



- There have been advancements in infrastructure and connectivity, such as the inauguration of new rail links between India and neighbouring countries, but there is room for significant improvement.
- ➡ South Asian countries must balance the benefits of increased connectivity with India and their apprehensions about over-dependence.
- The region should capitalise on restructuring global value chains and technology networks, moving away from China to become a more significant player in the worldwide economy.
- Despite being one of the most vulnerable regions to climate change, South Asia faces challenges in forming a united front on climate action, mitigation and finance.
- The region must navigate the challenges posed by China's aspirations and influence, balancing the strategic interests of India and China.

Speaker Presentations

The first speaker was **Lt Gen (Dr) Rakesh Sharma, PVSM, UYSM, AVSM, VSM (Retd)**. His remarks on the current role of India in the developments of South Asia are as follows:-



- ➡ India's increasing influence on the global stage is primarily driven by its economic growth, with ambitions to become a significant global player. The country's economy, growing at 7%, has positioned it as the fifth largest globally, with the potential to rise to third place. This economic trajectory is vital for India to absorb the 12 million young people entering the job market annually and effectively leverage its demographic dividend.
- ➡ India's G20 Presidency allowed it to shape the agenda, reflecting its role as a leader in the Global South. India's foreign policy is marked by a refusal to align solely with Western powers, maintaining a stance of strategic autonomy and forming multiple partnerships.
- ➡ Despite technological advancements, India faces challenges as a developing nation with a low per capita income relative to its GDP. The need for sustained economic growth is critical to prevent youth unemployment and social unrest and mitigate the impact of climate change.



- Culturally, South Asian countries share many commonalities, such as language, religion and media, which foster regional affinity. However, internal dynamics within South Asia are complex, with long-standing conflicts like those between India and Pakistan and India's challenging relationship with China over unresolved border issues. These tensions are exacerbated by China's Belt and Road Initiative and its growing influence in the Indian Ocean, which raises strategic concerns for India.
- ➡ India's relationship with its South Asian neighbours has been inconsistent, often reactive during crises but lacking sustained engagement. For India to play a credible role globally and for the Global South, it must become an engine of growth for the region and adopt a more considered approach to regional issues.
- ➡ Looking towards 2050, the region's future is shaped by five key variables: geo-political dynamics, economic growth, demography and social development, infrastructure, and regional co-operation. India and Bangladesh are poised to be economic powerhouses, with Bangladesh expected to become an upper-middle income country. However, the region's youthful demographics could become problematic if not harnessed properly.
- South Asia remains the least economically integrated region globally, with interregional trade at a mere 5%. This is attributed to protectionist policies, high logistical costs, and a need for more political will. South Asia must improve interconnectedness and dismantle trade barriers to grow as a region.
- India's relationship with Pakistan is complex, with trade only in essential goods like medicine due to political tensions. This underscores the potential for economic co-operation that could benefit both nations.
- The security environment in South Asia is unpredictable, with threats from state and non-state actors, terrorism, and cyber-attacks. The region lacks a resilient mechanism to withstand and recover from such challenges, which could undermine regional integration and growth.
- ➡ India has begun to address these issues through infrastructure projects and regional agreements, but more concerted efforts are needed. India must foster regional co-operation, leverage its technological prowess and address shared challenges like climate change and river management.



The second speaker was **Ambassador Shamsheer M Chowdhury, former Ambassador of Bangladesh to the USA**. His remarks on the role of Bangladesh in the developments of South Asia are as follows:-



- The expected peace dividend after the end of the Cold War has yet to be realised, with ongoing conflicts such as in Ukraine and Gaza highlighting the persistence of both traditional and non-traditional security threats. They stress the importance of regional co-operation in South Asia, with India playing a pivotal role.
- ➡ The Indo-Pacific is strategically vital for the world and the need for geo-economic considerations must take precedence over purely geo-political ones. The rising Asian powers, through their role in the shifting global power dynamics, have enormous potential for co-operation.
- Civilian and military diplomacy are complementary but exist in very different domains. Military diplomacy can also serve to bring an end to conflicts, as we have seen in India-Bangladesh ties. Connectivity between Bangladesh and India is praiseworthy, with a call for more streamlined travel and customs processes. A more inclusive global governance structure, in the backdrop of the lack of representation for countries like Bangladesh in the UN Security Council is called for.
- There is a need for a cautious approach for the promotion of democracy, considering the presence of extremist forces within Bangladesh. The US should support stability and not inadvertently foster instability.
- ➡ Regional and subregional co-operation is encouraged, with the potential for engagement in platforms like BIMSTEC and IORA. The importance of addressing climate change and maritime issues collaboratively is salient.
- The Rohingya crisis is one example of a multi-faceted crisis, which has the dangerous capability of affecting all nations in the South Asian subcontinent negatively. All nations in the region need to work together, assisting Bangladesh so that it is not made to shoulder all the responsibilities related to solving the crisis.



The third speaker of the session was **Mr Asanga Abeyagoonasekara, Senior Director, Global Think Tank, Washington D.C.** His remarks on the role of Sri Lanka in the developments in South Asia are as follows:-



- The IMF report on Sri Lanka is a comprehensive look into the corruption in the Sri Lankan government, the lack of transparency within it, and the influence both internal and external actors have on governance of the nation.
- The delay in the conduct of elections is a matter of grave concern for the population of the nation. This has led to a lack of stable and effective government, a factor which nations such as the People's Republic of China (PRC) are taking advantage of.
- ➡ The lack of effective government structures leads to the creation of inadequate Standard Operating Procedures, which allow the arrival and docking of ships detrimental to the security of the nation. Despite the assurances given by Sri Lanka to India regarding the common strategic and security concerns, with reports of PLA Navy ships docking in Sri Lanka, a clear discrepancy between the promises and actions of the Sri Lankan government can be observed.
- The Mahinda Rajapaksa government, during its tenure, has taken many loans with unfavourable interest rates and conditions from the PRC. The infrastructure projects funded by these loans have also not seen the desired returns on investment. All these factors have contributed to a major strain on the Sri Lankan economy, already suffering from neglect. Public perception towards these projects is mixed, with projects such as highways and ports being viewed as beneficial, and others such as the **Lotus Tower** being seen as wasteful.
- ➡ The funding by the PRC, and the conditions placed on their loans, has led the Communist Party of China being given excessive access to the political parties and the military capabilities of Sri Lanka. This places the nation in the 'strategic trap' of the PRC, a trap which can lead to grave consequences for the nation.
- Most nations in India's periphery, excluding India, support the arrival of Chinese investments in their nations. These nations see it as their singular avenue for efficient and time-bound development, a core need for many smaller and developing nations in South Asia.



- ➡ As Sri Lanka is slowly moving into the Chinese sphere of influence, it is imperative that the nation recalibrates its foreign policies, looking for more cooperative partners in the region and beyond. This will help balance the ambitions of the PRC, while also ensuring that Sri Lanka is not totally dependent on one nation for its development.

The fourth speaker for the session was **Mr Chiran Jung Thapa, a scholar based in Kathmandu**, specialising in civil-military relations and the security sector. His remarks on Nepal and its role in the developments of South Asia are as follows:-



- ➡ India is a growing power within South Asia. It has the capability to project itself as a strong leader among nations of the world, helping the collective Asian voice find an avenue to put its thoughts and aspirations forward.
- In an interconnected world such as the one we live in today; it is imperative that each nation share its strengths and capabilities with others to ensure that security and prosperity is achieved in a collective manner. Nepal has contributed in many peacekeeping operations across the world and houses some of the most decorated and sought-after military units in the world. Nepal has reasonable military capabilities, despite its economic and demographic size.
- ➡ India and China, despite their economic and military prowess and cultural influence across the globe, do not find themselves adequately represented in the affairs of the world. This leaves the entire Asian region inadequately represented in voicing its concerns and aspirations for the development of the region.
- ➡ While India and Nepal have worked together on various issues, with India being the first nation to aid Nepal in mitigating the worst effects of any natural disaster, many issues and grievances persist between the two nations.
- ➡ The grievances Nepal shares against India are also a point of exploitation for the PRC and is meant to drive a permanent wedge between India-Nepal relations, undermining India as a viable partner for Nepal.
- ➡ India needs to take responsibility, as the singular power in the region to create a conducive environment of trust between itself and its neighbours, ensuring they do not fall into the sphere of influence of the PRC. Increasing trade and investment in Nepal by India will ensure it does not fall into any kind of Chinese 'Debt Trap'.



- ➡ India's strategic choices will have significant implications for the region. India needs to advocate and work towards the creation and development of a collaborative, multilateral framework for the prosperity and security of all nations in the region. This will ensure all nations in the region work towards a common vision, with common end goals.

Open House Discussion

The Open House Discussion and questions posed by the audience mainly focused on the need to lay down clear red lines in Indian foreign policy, the increasing influence of the PRC in South Asia, and the measures which India can adopt to mitigate the same. The essence of the discussion is as follows:-

- ➡ While India does need to lay down clear 'red lines' in its foreign policy, it should not do so in a unilateral manner, as it can lead to alienating other nations within the region. The demarcation of any 'red line' in a multilateral and collaborative framework, if collective security and development is the objective.
- ➡ The PRC is indeed a worrying influence in the region, especially their investments in the development of Nepal's infrastructure, media and education sectors, among others. This can have detrimental effects on the present and future of India-Nepal relations. India needs to take cognizance of these facts and work towards improving relations with Nepal at the earliest.
- ➡ While interference in the governance and functioning of Sri Lanka is not advocated, the US can work with India to support and build democratic frameworks within the nation, ensuring Sri Lanka is not left alone to fend for itself. One of the frameworks which needs strengthening is the institution and execution of regular elections at all levels of government. Additionally, the US and India need to have a clear and joint vision for the Indo-Pacific, which involves Sri Lanka, providing guarantees for the autonomy of Sri Lanka at all costs.

Session Outcomes

The session underscored the multifaceted challenges and opportunities within the South Asian region, exacerbated by the global upheavals of the COVID-19 pandemic, geo-political conflicts, and the overarching shadow of climate change. This session highlighted the critical role of India in fostering regional stability and growth, while also pointing out the necessity for it to realise its full potential as a regional leader. The concerns regarding China's growing influence in the region, particularly in Nepal and Sri Lanka, were duly noted, thus calling for strategic engagement and support for democratic processes as potential counterbalances. The need for regional co-operative, economic integration and a collective approach to security and climate change in South Asia remains paramount. As the region stands at a crossroads, the choices made by South Asian countries, with India's leadership, will be instrumental in shaping a stable and prosperous future for all its inhabitants.



Session II: Indo-Pacific – The Decisive Frontier



Preamble

Session Two of the Dialogue focused on the importance of the Indo-Pacific for the advancement of regional and global security. The Indo-Pacific has gained significance in recent years as a geo-political concept. It serves as a vital region for trade and cultural connectivity among nations. Countries in the region aim to establish a safe and secure maritime environment through a multilateral approach with like-minded nations. Their primary goals include supporting the international order and fostering regional stability. However, the rise of a belligerent China and the weakening of the current international order have led many to speculate on the future of the Indo-Pacific.

Opening Remarks of the Chair

The Chair for the session was **Admiral Sunil Lanba, PVSM, AVSM, (Retd), Former Chief of the Naval Staff**. His remarks were as follows:-



- The post-Cold War transition from a bipolar to a unipolar world and now towards a multipolar world, has created a period of strategic uncertainty with unstable and uncertain global security dynamics.
- The rise of China as an economic and technological power is challenging the existing international order and raising questions about the adequacy of current international institutions and norms.
- There is a growing difficulty in resolving disputes, with conflicts potentially escalating. The United Nations system and other international mechanisms are struggling to enforce compliance and address the subversion of international law.
- The increasing quest for resources, especially in the global commons, could lead to more intra-state and inter-state conflicts, necessitating preparation and mitigation strategies for global and regional peace and security.
- The ability of individuals and groups to exert significant political, economic and ideological influence is undermining traditional institutions, with groups like Hamas serving as prime examples.



- The concept of the Indo-Pacific has gained popularity, emphasising the interconnectedness of the Indian and Pacific Oceans and the strategic importance of this supra-region as a centre of global economic and security concern. China's growing military capabilities and quest for maritime supremacy are evident in its defence-related white papers and actions, particularly in the South China Sea.
- China's influence in the global shipping market is substantial, with significant control over the world's container fleet and shipping construction and an expected increase in ownership of international merchant ships by 2030.
- China seeks a dominant role in the Indo-Pacific, viewing the US, Japan, and other nations' activities in the South China Sea as principal threats and internal security concerns.
- The shift of international focus to the Indo-Pacific is evidenced by various countries, including the EU, developing their Indo-Pacific strategies.

Speaker Presentations

The first speaker of the session was **Vice Admiral Amarulla Octavian, Deputy Chairman, BRIN, Indonesia**. His remarks on the role of Indonesia in the development of a security framework of the Indo-Pacific are as follows:-



- The current global landscape is marked by significant geo-political turmoil, with the Russia-Ukraine and the Israel-Hamas conflict at the forefront. These wars have polarised the international community.
- Technological advancement continues unabated, reshaping lifestyles and governance structures through AI, big data and unmanned systems.
- The Indo-Pacific region, a central focus of this narrative, is viewed differently by various countries. For Indonesia and India, it encompasses the entire Indian and Pacific Oceans, highlighting its strategic importance for economic growth and stability.
- Indonesia envisions the Indo-Pacific as a peaceful, stable and prosperous ecosystem, advocating for comprehensive political, economic and cultural co-operation among the nations within this vast maritime domain.
- The region faces traditional interstate conflicts and non-traditional threats that could destabilise nations and have far-reaching impacts. Combining traditional and non-traditional elements; hybrid threats represent a new frontier of security concerns.



- Indonesia's strategic location between two continents and two oceans places it at the heart of these issues. The nation's geographical position is pivotal for international shipping and trade, making it a significant player in the Indo-Pacific.
- Indonesia has embarked on a robust maritime development program to leverage its strategic position. This includes rebuilding its maritime culture, managing maritime wealth, developing infrastructure and connectivity, engaging in maritime diplomacy, and strengthening maritime defence.
- Maritime security co-operation is crucial for the success of these development programs. Indonesia's Global Maritime Fulcrum Policy aims to unite regional interests and foster shared prosperity.
- Indonesia's foreign policy, within the ASEAN framework, is committed to resolving conflicts in the Indo-Pacific region through peaceful, multilateral efforts.
- The Indian and Pacific Oceans are crucial in the global climate system. Proper stewardship of these waters is crucial with Indonesia exploring innovative solutions to utilise the abundance of seawater for various purposes.

The second speaker of the session was **Ms Lisa Curtis, Senior Fellow, CNAS, USA**. Her remarks on the role of the US in the development of a security framework of the Indo-Pacific are as follows:-



- The Indo-Pacific region has become a pivotal arena for strategic competition between the US and China.
- The US is catalysing co-operation to address challenges such as maritime security, grey zone activities and the creation of resilient supply chains.
- A principal component of President Biden's Indo-Pacific strategy is strengthening the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad).
- The origins of the Quad can be traced back 15 years, with significant credit given to the late Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, when he advocated for India's inclusion in the existing trilateral security talks between Japan, Australia, and the US.



- A pressing concern for the Quad is China's dominance over critical mineral supplies, essential for green energy transition.
- ➡ India's role in the Quad is pivotal for maintaining a stable and secure Indo-Pacific. The US has prioritised strengthening ties with India, as seen during Prime Minister Modi's visit to Washington and initiatives to build technology and defence co-operation. President Biden's subsequent visit to India for the G20 summit further underscored US confidence in India as an emerging global leader.
- Japan has also signalled a new era of prioritising defence and security, partly in response to China's military activities near Taiwan and the broader implications of Russia's invasion of Ukraine.
- The Philippines, strategically located near Taiwan and a key conduit for global maritime trade, has expanded military co-operation with the US.
- Vietnam's enhanced ties with the US, moving to a comprehensive strategic partnership, is another example of Southeast Asian nations gravitating towards the US in the face of Chinese maritime assertiveness.
- The AUKUS agreement between Australia, the UK and the US is another significant development, aiming to combine strategic defence capabilities to compete with China and Russia.
- The US – China relations are critical, with China seeking to marginalise American influence and establish technological dominance in the region.
- The planned meeting between President Biden and President Xi Jinping on the sidelines of the upcoming APEC Summit is crucial. While no breakthroughs are expected, such meetings are vital for maintaining open lines of communication to ensure that strategic competition does not escalate into conflict.



The third speaker of the session was **Mr Saurabh Kumar, Secretary (East), MEA, India**. His remarks on the role of India in the development of a security framework of the Indo-Pacific are as follows:-



- The Indo-Pacific, a term that has gained considerable traction in international discourse, encapsulates a region extending from the eastern shores of Africa to the western shores of America.
- The region contributes to 63% of the world's GDP and accounts for 60% of global maritime trade, highlighting its economic might and centrality to international commerce.
- ➡ India's approach to the Indo-Pacific is informed by its Act East policy and the SAGAR (Security and Growth for All in the Region) Vision, which envisions a free, open and inclusive region. This vision aligns with the country's broader strategic goals, reflecting its emergence as a significant global player and the fifth-largest economy.
- ➡ India's Indo-Pacific strategy emphasises the importance of a rules-based international order, sustainable infrastructure investment, freedom of navigation and peaceful dispute resolution.
- The Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative (IPOI), announced at the East Asia Summit in Bangkok in 2019, is a collaborative effort to manage and secure the maritime domain across seven pillars of co-operation.
- Economic initiatives like the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework aim to shape the region's economic landscape through supply chain resilience, clean energy, and fair-trade practices.
- The Indo-Pacific Maritime Domain Awareness Initiative focuses on maritime safety and mitigating natural disaster consequences, reflecting the region's reliance on the seas for trade and commerce.
- ➡ India's relationship with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has been elevated to a comprehensive strategic partnership, with ASEAN centrality being a cornerstone of India's Indo-Pacific vision.
- Despite the challenges posed by the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic and geo-political tensions in Europe and the Middle East, the speaker emphasised the need to remain focused on the Indo-Pacific's challenges and opportunities and expressed a preference for the term 'preponderance' over 'decisive frontier' to describe the region, suggesting a continuous and evolving influence rather than a finite strategic outcome.



Open House Discussion

The questions asked by the audience focused on the role of multilateral institutions such as the Quad, the need for a 'Quad Plus', China's role in the Arctic, the possibilities of bilateral military co-operation between the Quad and other nations in the Indo-Pacific, the role of Quad in provision of present and future technologies, among others. The salient points are as follows:-

- A 'Quad Plus' format suggests interest in opening the dialogue to include countries like Vietnam, South Korea, and the Philippines on an issue-by-issue basis. This reflects a strategic approach to include more countries in regional security and co-operation discussions without formally expanding the Quad.
- The suggestion that a centralised secretariat may not necessarily reflect an opinion that the current decentralised approach needs a hard look, as coordination among the Quad countries is being managed without a central body.
- The concern about Chinese influence in the Arctic and the potential role of the Quad in this region indicates the scope for the Quad's security considerations. The emerging Northern Sea Route is a significant development due to its potential for new shipping lanes and resource extraction opportunities, which also brings to fore new security dynamics.
- There is an indication that India is expected to play a role in technology development and sharing within the Quad, particularly in areas like AI, computing, and semiconductors. This reflects ongoing co-operation and confidence among Quad members in India's capabilities.
- The concern about the US and its allies being stretched thin due to conflicts in Ukraine and the Middle East is a valid strategic consideration. The question is whether the Indo-Pacific will remain in focus and allow Quad members to consider security considerations.
- The discussion about whether the Quad should engage in military co-operation, such as joint exercises and planning, reflects an ongoing debate about the nature of the Quad and its future direction.
- The Indo-Pacific region remains a long-term strategic focus and that peace and stability here are linked to the concept of deterrence. The failure of deterrence in other regions was highlighted as a cautionary example for the Indo-Pacific.



Session Outcomes

The session highlighted the Indo-Pacific's critical role in global strategic competition. It delved into the geo-political evolution from a unipolar to a multipolar world, with the Indo-Pacific at the crux of this transformation. Speakers from diverse backgrounds illuminated the region's complexities, from China's ascent to multifaceted security challenges, including cyber threats and climate change. The discussions affirmed the Indo-Pacific's strategic and economic importance, advocating for multilateral co-operation to foster stability and address emerging security threats. The Quad's development and the possibility of its expansion were discussed, stressing the need for a flexible yet unified security framework. The session concluded that the Indo-Pacific is a dynamic balance of co-operation and competition, essential for shaping the global order. It called for sustained dialogue and partnership to manage the region's intricacies, ensuring it remains a beacon of opportunity, not a flashpoint for conflict.



Session III: Collaborative Partnerships for Security



Preamble

Session Three of the Dialogue emphasised the need for collaborative partnerships in the Indo-Pacific region to ensure security. As threats become more diverse and severe, countries must work together to create multiple frameworks. With the weakening of the current international order and the rise of belligerent global powers, it is important for like-minded nations to come together in an environment of co-operation and peace to further the ideals of cooperative regional security, collaborative networks for regional development and shared prosperity.

Opening Remarks of the Chair

The Chair for the session was **Lt Gen Prakash Menon PVSM, AVSM, VSM, (Retd)**, Director, Strategic Studies Programme, Takshashila Institution. His remarks are as follows:-



- Partnerships are seen as different from military alliances, where an attack on one ally is considered an attack on all. In partnerships, there is an extra level of commitment and co-operation.
- ➡ India has many partnerships, including strategic partnerships, reflecting its proactive and multifaceted approach to international relations.
- The choice of partnerships is context specific. India may partner with different countries based on the specific issue at hand.
- Relationships, whether in international politics or personal life, are dynamic. They oscillate between co-operation and conflict, much like the ups and downs in a marriage.
- Cultural differences may impact how different regions view and navigate relationships. The West tends to see relationships in black-and-white terms, while Indians are comfortable with nuances and shades of grey.
- To understand a country's foreign policy and behaviour, it is essential to consider domestic politics and how these factors shape a nation's approach to international relations.



- China is making mistakes, particularly in its maritime relations with neighbouring countries in the Indo-Pacific. China's actions and behaviour could impact its dominance in the region.
- Psychological Dominance suggests that China seeks to win without fighting by impressing and dominating the perception of smaller nations through its military and economic might.
- Security and co-operation are critical in the Indo-Pacific region, and convincing others they will benefit from co-operation is fundamental to inter-state relations.
- China's military displays, even if not yet operational, are highlighted to impact potential adversaries psychologically.

Speaker Presentations

The first speaker of the session was **Dr Renato de Castro, Distinguished Professor, De La Salle University, Philippines**. His remarks on the role of the ASEAN in the building of collaborative frameworks for security are as follows:-



- ➡ External actors like the Quad could be crucial in Southeast Asia. It must be emphasised that Southeast Asian countries are not inclined to let any single power, especially China, dominate the region.
- A survey reveals diverse perceptions of China among Southeast Asian countries. While some countries have closer relations with China, they do not entirely trust it for various reasons, including political and security concerns.
- China's economic dominance in the region is acknowledged, but Southeast Asian countries are wary of its negative externalities, such as human trafficking, cyber security issues, and illegal immigration.
- Nations within the Asian continent should recognise the importance of economic diversification and having multiple financial options rather than allowing a dominant power to control the region's economy.
- ➡ The Quad is seen as a counterbalance to China's regional dominance. It could actively support the capabilities of Southeast Asian countries and help counter China's economic and political influence. This helps maintain a regional equilibrium.



- Southeast Asian countries have experience dealing with major power competition, during the colonial era and particularly during the Cold War. They have learned to navigate this competition for their benefit.
- Southeast Asian countries do not wish to be forced to choose between Washington and Beijing. They value their diplomatic flexibility in the face of major power competition.
- The Quad should emphasise its symbolic presence and engage in an open-ended discourse with ASEAN to converge on a free and open Indo-Pacific concept.
- Given China's maritime expansion in the South China Sea, the US role as a strategic offshore partner in the region, through the presence of its Seventh Fleet, is crucial for force balancing aspects.

The second speaker of the session was **Dr Satoru Nagao, Non-Resident Fellow, Hudson Institute, Japan**. His remarks on the role of the Quad in the building of collaborative frameworks for security are as follows:-



- The concept of the Quad in the Indo-Pacific is traced back to the ideas of former Japanese Prime Minister, the late Shinzo Abe. His contributions to this concept include addressing the Indian Parliament in 2007 and publishing an article titled 'Democratic Security Diamond' in 2012. As Abe envisioned, the Quad aimed to prevent China from dominating the Indo-Pacific region.
- The Indo-Pacific region has become the centre of world politics. This concept has emerged as a response to the rising significance of the region on the global stage.
- The Quad is a counter-China strategy designed to address China's territorial expansion, particularly in the South China Sea. China's activities have been expanding by taking advantage of shifts in military power.
- ➡ To prevent China from dominating the region, it is crucial to maintain military balance. Co-operation among Quad members, such as Japan and India, can create a situation where China must divide its defence resources, reducing its dominance.
- China has undertaken infrastructure projects, such as ports and road networks, to secure its interests in the Indian Ocean region. The Quad can



suggest alternative infrastructure projects that align with the security and economic interests of the region, providing choices for the countries involved.

- Some countries recognise the risks associated with over-reliance on the Chinese market. This recognition has led to factory relocations to other countries, such as India, as a strategic response.
- The Quad is currently facing challenges, with Russia aligning itself with China and the growing popularity of China in some Muslim countries due to anti-US sentiment. The US needs to address various issues globally, but the rising tensions in the Indo-Pacific, particularly with Taiwan, require focused attention.
- ➡ Quad members, particularly India and Japan, should play a more active role in sharing the security burden in the Indo-Pacific, considering India's rising resources and the critical situation in Taiwan.

The third speaker of the session was **Dr Paco Milhiet, from France, Visting Fellow, RSIS, Singapore**. His remarks on the role of other partners in the building of collaborative frameworks for security are as follows:-



- The French Indo-Pacific strategy is essentially a geo-political narrative that allows France to showcase its diplomatic, cultural, economic, and military capabilities in the region. France has significant assets in the Indo-Pacific, including an extensive diplomatic network, cultural influence through the French-speaking community, scientific diplomacy, an established economic network, and a unique status as the last EU member with sovereign territories in the Indo-Pacific.
- France emphasises its role as a 'resident power' in the Indo-Pacific due to its overseas territories and exclusive economic zones (EEZ). France has sovereign bases, military commands, and over 7,000 permanently stationed military personnel across the Indo-Pacific.
- France participates in various collaborative security initiatives, including bilateral and multilateral exercises, counter-piracy operations, and regional forums. These activities enhance interoperability with regional partners and strengthen regional security co-operation.
- France collaborates with key partners in the Indo-Pacific, such as Japan, the US, Australia, New Zealand, and India. India has become a cornerstone of



France's Indo-Pacific strategy, with significant bilateral ties in various areas, including nuclear energy, space research, arms exports, and military co-operation.

➡ France and India formalised their Indo-Pacific strategy in 2018, emphasising collaboration in various domains, including maritime co-operation, seabed exploration, logistics, etc. Reunion Island in the western Indian Ocean is a strategic platform for military co-operation between the two countries.

- Trilateral co-operation and expanding collaboration in the Pacific Ocean region are potential avenues for the future. France and India are looking to extend their joint efforts into the Pacific Ocean region, exploring opportunities for co-operation in the South Pacific.

The fourth speaker of the session was **Ms Vani Sarraju Rao, Joint Secretary (Americas), MEA, India**. Her remarks on the role of India in the building of collaborative frameworks for security are as follows:-



- The India-US partnership is considered one of the most critical partnerships in the current global context, particularly in the Indo-Pacific. Both countries, as stable democracies with large and robust economies, play essential roles in the region and on the worldwide stage.

➡ The relationship between India and the US is underpinned by a comprehensive bilateral agenda encompassing various sectors, including trade, defence, information exchange, capacity building and counterterrorism.

- The US is India's largest trade partner and both nations have settled bilateral trade disputes in the World Trade Organization. This reflects the maturing commercial ties between the two countries and their commitment to resolving trade issues amicably.

- The defence relationship between India and the US has significantly transformed in the last two decades. Both countries engage in numerous military exercises, leading to excellent compatibility and interoperability among their defence forces. The relationship now focuses on co-production, technology transfer and innovation in the defence domain.

- The definition of security has evolved to include non-traditional issues such as health security, climate mitigation, trusted technologies, energy security and food security. India and the US are broadening their agenda to address new-age security threats.



- The US has increased its diplomatic engagement with countries in India's neighbourhood and has opened new diplomatic missions in the region. While both countries have different priorities and approaches in the region, they engage in discussions to address shared challenges.
- The Quad is a plurilateral platform involving India, the US, Japan, and Australia. It focuses on delivering public goods in the Indo-Pacific region and provides alternatives that do not induce debt or vulnerability. The Quad addresses various areas, including maritime security, new technologies, health security, climate mitigation and more.
- ➡ India's strategic priorities in the Indo-Pacific include ensuring maritime security, safeguarding naval trade routes, energy security and maintaining diverse supply chains. India highly values a rules-based international order for the region's peace, stability, and prosperity.
- The Quad has become a powerful platform for promoting the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the rules-based international order. It has reinforced India's relations with Japan, Australia, and the US, particularly in the defence and commercial domains. The Quad has also garnered global attention, opened conversations on issues like supply chain friend-shoring and strengthened India's position in the Indo-Pacific.

Open House Discussion

The questions asked during the discussion focused on the mitigation of non-state actors in the digital space, combating fake news and disinformation, the importance of human intelligence and the application of niche technologies in the military domain. The salient points are as follows:-

- Island states in the Indian Ocean region are crucial to provide access, control, and influence over critical maritime routes, trade, and resources. The Indian Ocean is rich in rare earths and essential minerals.
- Various great powers, including distant powers like the US and regional powers like India and China, are vying for regional influence and presence. These powers recognise the strategic value of island states as stepping stones for their strategic goals.
- ASEAN negotiations have faced certain challenges since China had initially ignored discussions on the Code of Conduct, but started to negotiate after the Philippines won the arbitration ruling in 2016. Some ASEAN member states, like Cambodia, are not as concerned about the South China Sea disputes, making it difficult to establish a typical wish list among all member states.



- There are significant substantive issues to be resolved, including the extent of coverage of the South China Sea that the Code of Conduct should address. China claims sovereignty over large portions of the South China Sea, while ASEAN countries wish to include all stakeholders in the resolution of the region's issues.
- The strategic partnership between France and India benefits both countries due to aligned interests in the region. The convenience of the partnership is highlighted in terms of military equipment, with France providing advanced military hardware.

Session Outcomes

The session highlighted many partnerships India is a party to, reflecting its proactive approach to international relations. External actors like the Quad could be crucial in Southeast Asia to prevent China from dominating the region. France has significant assets in the Indo-Pacific and collaborates with key partners such as Japan, the US, Australia, New Zealand and India. The India-US partnership is considered one of the most critical partnerships in the current global context, particularly in the Indo-Pacific. Both countries engage in numerous military exercises, co-production, technology transfer and innovation in the defence domain. In summary, the session underscored the complex and dynamic nature of international relationships, the role of cultural perspectives and the significance of psychological dominance in shaping the behaviour of nations in the Indo-Pacific region.



DAY TWO (04 November)



Ashoka Hall, Manekshaw Centre, New Delhi



Special Address



The special address on the second day of the CDD-2023 was delivered by **Shri Kanwal Sibal, Chancellor JNU, former Foreign Secretary of the Government of India**. The salient points of his speech, 'The Global Churn- India's Search for Strategic Balance' focusing on the changing relationships with respect to a rising China, are as follows:-



- A 'Global churn' is going on in the contemporary international system. India is working to establish strategic balance in this dynamic environment.
- China's rise and the decline of the USA are transforming the global power structure, which has implications for India's strategic positioning.
- ➡ The strained relationship between the US and Russia and the ongoing competition between China and the US are significant global concerns for India. It must navigate these situations and consider the impact on its strategic balance.
- ➡ BRICS and other international organisations are expanding as a strategy to hedge against the US influence. India is positioning itself as a leader of the Global South to shape the approach of this group of nations.
- Strategic balance does not imply fence sitting, nations need to indulge in constructive interactions. Strategic autonomy is an important aspect of strategic balance. India seeks to preserve its autonomy for making independent decision.
- ➡ India must maintain strategic autonomy and pursue stable domestic policies. Collaborating with like-minded nations can help India achieve its goals while progressing its interests. India is adapting to global changes, securing critical resources and technology, and focusing on internal strength.
- ➡ Nations should not be manipulated by others and should pursue a foreign policy that can serve their long-term interests. India is adapting to the global changes, securing critical resources and technologies, focusing on the nation's internal strengths. Nations, however, should not only focus on the short-term gains of their choices, but also of the effect of those choices on our long-term interests.



Keynote Address



The Keynote Address on the second day of the CDD-2023 was delivered by **Dr Arvind Virmani, full time member, NITI Aayog**. The salient points of his address, focused on the evolution of global power and India's role in the changing world order, are as follows:-



- Power is a pyramid, where domestically, the economy of a nation is at the base, with the military domain above it and diplomacy at the top. On the other hand, the international environment and the global economy stand above the security environment and are dictated by geo-politics.
- Power in the international realm is relative, with the US being the benchmark in many metrics for the position for a superpower. Recent trends have seen China and India showcasing a steady rise, while the erstwhile powers such as Russia and the UK are in decline.
- ➡ Demographic change is seen as one of the reasons for the economic and military decline of former powers such as Japan, Russia, and Germany. India, China, the Philippines, and other nations in the Asian continent are showing positive trends, partly due to their demographic dividends.
- The world of the mid-21st century will be a tripolar world with a multipolar rim. The multipolar rim will consist of nations with selective specialities, such as Russia, Japan and France. The three poles will be led by India, the US and China.
- The coming years will see a great decoupling of the technological and economic superpowers. The economic decoupling will be an amorphous binding of nations and interest groups. The technological decoupling will see two clear camps, one led by the US, and the other led by China. India will be an important partner for the US in all domains.
- The tripolar world will see major economic and military imbalances, with each nation looking to have a multi-layered defence architecture to ward off any escalation between nations. This phase will also see building of resilient economic groupings to mitigate the current and future monopoly China will have over the manufacturing sector.



Special Address



The Special Address on the second day of the CDD-2023 was delivered by **Shri Giridhar Aramane, Defence Secretary, Government of India**. The salient points of his address, focused on India's defence policy, production capabilities and the conduct of military diplomacy, are as follows:-



- Since times of antiquity, benevolent leadership, efficient administration, alliance-building and warcraft have been accorded equal importance as building blocks of a strong nation.
- ➡ India's defence diplomacy, drawing on the principles of brotherhood and mutual security, seeks to always protect the smaller and weaker nations against any outside adversary. This thinking has been applied from the ancient kingdoms of the subcontinent to the present day.
- ➡ India's policies of *Atmanirbharta* and its goal of strategic autonomy are also born out of principles of building shared prosperity among nations, creating a network of equitable interdependence, and scaling new frontiers of technology and science through a shared spirit of co-operation.
- ➡ India has seen changes in the world order since the early 19th century and has adopted a policy of self-reliance to mitigate any worldwide shocks or downturns. However, this policy encompasses a morals and ethics-based worldview, prioritizing the development and safety of the common citizenry over short-term nationalistic gains.
- ➡ India believes that regular interaction and increased sharing of knowledge and resources among militaries protects all parties from any escalation into conflict. To that end, India regularly carries out military exercises, foreign training programmes, first response in the Indian Ocean Region, coastal and trade route security exercises, along with contributions to UN Peacekeeping missions. It also collaborates with major defence industry players worldwide, to strengthen its own and the region's security.



Session IV: How Emerging Technologies Impact Defence



Preamble

Session Four of the Dialogue discussed the impact of emerging technologies on military capabilities. Disruptive technologies like autonomous weapons, cyber tools, space weaponisation and Artificial Intelligence are reshaping military capabilities and those investing in research and development will have an advantage over their adversaries. India must integrate advancements of industrial revolutions into its military capacities. The nation must also remain aware of the developments in this global and interconnected arena, enhancing the spirit of scientific curiosity and sharing of knowledge among peers in like-minded nations.

Opening Remarks of the Chair

The chair of the session was **Prof Ajay Kumar Sood, Principal Scientific Advisor to the Honourable Prime Minister of India**. His remarks are as follows:-

- Rapid technological progress is occurring, notably in India, where advancements have been exceptional. Multiple advanced technologies are converging, including space technologies, quantum advancements, communication technologies, digital transformation, Artificial Intelligence, cybersecurity, clean energy, and biosecurity.
- The future of warfare is moving towards an 'Intelligentised' state involving Artificial Intelligence, autonomous drones, information explosion, human performance enhancement and big data.
- Emerging technologies are no longer exclusive to power-centric players. Their widespread innovation and adoption can alter power balances and transform existing practices.
- These new technologies could impact deterrence strategies, even nuclear deterrence, through precision-guided munitions, hypersonic weapons, decapitation attacks, space-based weapons, and advancements in cyber and quantum technologies. They might affect response mechanisms, making launch orders and nuclear codes vulnerable.
- Quantum technology, with the scale of its development, will see major applications in all sectors of military and civilian life in the future. In this regard,





India is working through its Quantum National Mission to foster a vibrant and innovative ecosystem in Quantum Technology.

- The role of Artificial Intelligence in defence is significant, processing vast data from multiple sources to offer real-time information on enemy movements, weather and terrain analysis.

Speaker Presentations

The first speaker was **Dr Umamaheshwaran R, Distinguished Scientist, Former Dir HSFC and Scientific Secretary, ISRO**. His remarks on the contribution of the space sector towards scientific achievements and the Defence industry of India are as follows:-



- The aims of the Indian Space Programme include Space Exploration, Advanced Space Systems Creation, Launch Vehicle Development, Space Commerce, Space Applications, Earth Observation, Satellite Communication and Satellite Navigation.
- Future Aims of the Indian Space Programme include Upgraded Cryogenic Stage and Engine Creation, Development of Man-rated Launch Vehicle, LOX/ LNG Engine Technology Development, Reusable Launch Vehicle Development, Hypersonic Air Breathing Vehicle with Airframe Integrated System (HAVA).
- Global trends in Space Technology include the deployment of a Microsat Constellation in Lower Earth Orbit for Communication Satellites, plans for Manned Interplanetary Explorations, the rise of Space Tourism, the development of Solar-Powered Spacecraft and the development and deployment of Q/V Band Communication.
- Issues related to Space Security include the proliferation of Space Debris, the dual – use of Commercial Satellites, potential deployment of Space Weapons and Space Pollution during Orbit Raising.
- The current scenario in the US regarding the American space programme is the Capstone Doctrine focusing on freedom of action, joint lethality and R&D advancements in communication, surveillance, environmental and navigation satellites, space fencing and missile warning systems.



- Challenges posed by China's Space Capabilities to India include operation of four spaceports and a fleet of Long March Space Launch Vehicles, rapid increase in the number of Chinese satellites, ownership of over 150 dual-purpose satellites, possession of ground-based lasers capable of damaging optical sensors and development of the 'Relativistic Klystron Amplifier' with satellite-jamming capabilities.

➡ Space opportunities for India include ISR (Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance) via satellites, Signals Intelligence through radio interception, secure and reliable communications, space control, including defence, offence and situational awareness strategies.

The second speaker was **Prof V Kamakoti, Director of IIT, Chennai**. His remarks on the role of the cyberspace in the defence industry are as follows:-



- Cyberspace is a multifunctional domain driven by modern technologies, impacting offence, defence, surveillance, communication, and intelligence operations on the battlefield.
- Emerging technologies like Artificial Intelligence, Digital Twins, the Internet of Things (IoT) and Cyber-Physical Systems (CPS) are leveraged for automating information processing, knowledge extraction, creating resilient frameworks and transforming defence and security operations.
- Cyberspace is now a central arena for international conflicts. States recognise the importance of cyberspace as a domain for espionage, coercion and cybercrime, fostering a more significant role for states in cybersecurity.
- Cyber warfare is an alternative tool of warfare employed by non-state, state-sponsored, or proxy actors. Cyber-attacks can severely impact countries by crippling critical infrastructure, economy and through psychological tactics like fake news and deep fakes.
- Human intelligence can never be replaced. But human intelligence must be augmented by advances in cyber technology and sophistication and miniaturisation of devices.
- ➡ A military semi-conductor fabrication plant is an idea that the Indian Army and the Government of India can pursue in the days to come.



- ➡ Dual use of technology is important as it has the potential to fulfil the 'Atmanirbharta' policy initiative of India.

The third speaker was **Prof Mayank Vatsa, Professor at IIT, Jodhpur**. His remarks on the role of the Artificial Intelligence and Big Data in the Defence industry of India are as follows:-



- Artificial Intelligence has far-reaching applications such as reducing violence, ending abuse and exploitation of human beings, especially children, promoting the rule of law, combating organised crime, providing legal identity and strengthening national institutions against terrorism and crime.
- Artificial Intelligence is used to recognise injured faces resulting from accidents or disasters and to identify individuals in various conditions.
- The widespread use of Artificial Intelligence carries significant social and financial implications, influencing various facets of society and economics.
- India needs to develop its own AI system and not be reliant on the West to solve our problems.
- Detecting adversarial attacks is important with the need to detect and mitigate noise being paramount.

Open House Discussion

The questions asked during the discussion focused on the mitigation of non-state actors in the digital space, combating fake news and disinformation, the importance of human intelligence and the application of niche technologies in the military domain. The salient points are as follows:-

- ➡ India should keep working on cyber security. There is a need to give the nation an advantage over its adversaries. Lots of imagination will be required to solve the problems arising from this domain.
- ➡ While the nation is conducting research into deepfake technology, Artificial Intelligence and Quantum Computing, it is imperative for India to have its own foundational models for any emerging technology.



- ➡ Identifying what is fake and what is real, building a system resilient to any intrusion are some of the major challenges facing all nations today. However, the Indian Army should continue taking measures to adopt Artificial Intelligence and other niche technologies into its defence architecture.
- Research is being conducted in the arena of cognitive intelligence, but it is still a very futuristic domain of technology. Further research in the domain of Human-Machine Intelligence, where Artificial and Human Intelligences meet and combine is also progressing. Nations like the US and China are investing a lot in this domain, and India is also working to catch up to the leaders.
- ➡ Data-based decision making is here to stay, and no nation can afford to remain outside this domain.
- Lots of steps are being taken in the development of the cybersecurity domain, with technologies such as post-quantum cryptography being paid a lot of attention.
- Many problems in the cybersecurity domain are mainly due to failures of certain basic cyber hygiene practices, such as irregular updates and a lack of information among the human users.
- A sense of military discipline in the maintenance of cyber infrastructure and adherence to cyber hygiene practices are foundational to a strong cybersecurity infrastructure.

Session Outcomes

The session highlighted how India should approach the emerging technological landscape in its military strategy, including space, autonomous weapons, Artificial Intelligence, and cyber warfare. The speakers emphasised integrating ground-based sensors with space-based assets, leveraging AI for military efficiency and focusing on cyber offensives. However, technology should aid in achieving political objectives rather than driving warfare autonomously. Integration, rather than mere capabilities, will be crucial for prosecuting successful military campaigns.



Session V: Indian Defence Industry as Enabler for Collaborative Capacity Building



Preamble

Session Five of the Dialogue discussed India's defence industry and its role in enhancing the capabilities of the Indian Armed Forces. As India is charting a course geared towards strategic autonomy, the nation needs a strong and dynamic defence industry that incorporates emerging technologies to meet its evolving defence and security needs. Both private and public defence corridors need to be enabled to streamline defence production. These factors, coupled with a spirit of self-reliance, are some of the key methods in which India can emerge as a leader in the worldwide defence industry.

Opening Remarks of the Chair

The chair of this session was **Lt Gen (Dr) Subrata Saha, PVSM, UYSM, YSM, VSM** (Retd), former DCOAS (P&S) and Member, NSAB**. The salient points of his remarks are as follows:-



- A nation's defence capabilities can be measured through their developing capacities.
- The private industry, pre-2021, was either unable, or unwilling to supply the Indian Armed Forces in a quick and efficient manner. To negate their shortfalls, the DRDO, its subsidiaries and DPSUs were providing for their needs.
- The DRDO and the private sector can work together to scale up any startup working in the defence sector. The Armed Forces can provide a conducive environment for the growth and development of these startups.
- ➡ Many policies have been introduced for the successful growth of startups in the defence sector in India. Some of the primary policy changes are:-
 - * Giving 25% of the defence research and development budget to the industries, startups, and academic institutions. The use of initiatives such as the Innovation for Defence Excellence (iDEX) ensures this development is given a major boost in efficiency and output.
 - * Increase in the number of defence systems and equipment included in the Positive Indigenisation Lists and the creation of import embargoes for some equipment, therefore ensuring an urgency and need for indigenisation.



* Easing of licensing norms, along with patent registration and protection of Intellectual Property towards building a positive environment. This will ensure all parties are secure in the knowledge that their innovations can be put into the market as soon as possible and without excessive government interference.

➡ Other policy changes that could help are:-

* The creation of defence corridors across India, in all sectors (Northern, Eastern, Southern, Western and North-Eastern) will ensure a greater pool of talent which can be brought into the defence industry. Integrating and building collaboration between these defence corridors will ensure greater research output, among many other advantages.

* Build more robust strategic partnerships between nations and multilateral institutions, giving all sides the opportunity to collaborate and inculcate a cooperative atmosphere for research and development of new technologies.

* Policies such as liberalisation of FDI policies, ensuring foreign companies can start more Joint Ventures and partnerships, both with the established players and startups.

- Indian defence production, in the last three years, has increased its turnover from 70,000 crore INR to 94,000 crore INR. The target set for 2025 is over 1,23,000 crore INR.

- Some of the achievements of the Indian Defence Industry are the *Akash* Surface-to-Air Missile System, the *Dhanush* 155 mm Artillery Gun System the *Tejas* Light Combat Aircraft, the *Swathi* Weapon Locating Radar System and the INS *Vikrant*.

- Current policies are moving in the right direction. 68% of all contracts handed out have been given to the domestic defence sector, with the majority of them going to the DPSUs. 1500 crore INR has also been earmarked for procuring equipment from startups.

- The DPSUs have already indigenised 2700 out of the 3500 items in the defence sector marked for indigenisation.

➡ While the defence sector is showing positive trends in the indigenisation of the defence industry, India still has a long way to go before it can call itself a self-reliant defence industry.



➡ The Indian Armed Forces need to involve industry experts at all levels of ideation and execution, to ensure that the industry is kept updated with the demands and needs of the Armed Forces. An independent body designed to assign projects to the various DPSUs, and the private sector needs to be created, to ensure the DRDO does not end up shouldering all the responsibility.

- The defence sector, with help from the government, needs to inculcate specialised units and companies within the industry, to ensure that we break the psychology of the License Raj, which led to companies vying for all contracts, creating a lack of specialisation within any sector.

Speaker Presentations

The first speaker of the session was **Mr R S Bhatia, President and CEO of Bharat Forge Defence and Aerospace Limited**. His remarks on the need for Industry Collaboration are summarised as follows:-



- India has the capabilities to be a software giant, but the growth of these capabilities has not happened as effectively as with other technologically – enabled nations. This potential can today be seen in the defence industrial base but is not being realised fully.
- One of the major ways in which India can become a 5 trillion USD economy is through the development of an increase in India's manufacturing capabilities, especially in the defence sector. India's manufacturing needs to account for 25% of the GDP if it is to meet its targets.
- Despite the idea that the wars of the future will be technology saturated, there will always be a need to have boots on the ground at all stages of conflict. This underscores the primacy of conventional weapon systems, even in the battlefields of the future.
- The two main pillars of any self-reliant industrial base are the ability to indigenously produce technology required for the industry and that the manufacturing of any system or equipment for immediate use is in the hands of the end user.
- While initial research and development of any new technology needs to be sponsored by the state, it cannot develop beyond a certain point without the involvement of the private sector.



- The Indian private sector and startups need to adopt a mindset for profits at the earliest, which requires having a set vision and workable schedules to meet this vision. Without an endpoint, both in terms of schedule and final product, it is impossible for any startup to envision themselves as a full-fledged private entity.
- The Indian private ecosystem, particularly the startups, cannot survive without a steady infusion of money from investors. If there is any delay in payments, it is impossible for startups to survive in such a competitive and fast-paced market.
- India needs to start working towards dominating the market in terms of Intellectual Property (IP). India, despite its vast talent in engineers, still does not have a strong foothold on IP to be taken seriously as an indigenous producer. Most of our talent is pushed into working for foreign Original Equipment Manufacturers (OEMs), who work towards registering their next patent.

The second speaker was **Cmde A P Golaya, VSM, Indian Navy**. His remarks on the policy initiatives undertaken by India are as follows:-



- The Indian defence industry, the need for collaborative capacity building and the government's policy initiatives are three elements which are deeply interlinked. The right policies and a good ecosystem are symbiotic.
- ➡ A major change in the Defence Acquisition Procedure has been its intent of the industry. *Atmanirbharta* and the policies that have been introduced and amended reflect this intent. The introduction of the new Defence Acquisition Procedure is one such example.
- One of the drawbacks is the lack of awareness within the industry of the new changes in policies. Despite this, the targets for the induction of technologies into the Indian Navy, set through the SPRINT Project [Supporting Pole-Vaulting in R&D through (iDEX, NIIO and Technology Development Acceleration Cell (TDAC))] have been surpassed.
- ➡ The need and applicability of dual use technologies, especially in the maintenance of assets in the Indian Air Force and Navy need to be given priority and attention, if they are to be properly inducted into the operations.



- India also needs to start research into the induction of emerging technologies and materials such as carbon fibre nanotubes, aerogels, and other Multiple Input Multiple Output (MIMO) technologies. Particular attention needs to be given to its civilian applications, ensuring the dual-use nature of all emerging technologies and materials is understood before its application in any scenario.
- As India rapidly shifted from being an agrarian nation, to an industrial one, to a nation in the information age, it did not spend enough time developing its manufacturing capacities. These need to be developed, while ensuring that the gap between developed and developing nations in the information age, in technology, remains small.
- While startups are essential to the development of a modern defence industry, it is imperative that the larger and institutional players in the industry also help the startups grow to the levels expected and required levels. This needs to be done without undermining the independence of the startup industry.

The third speaker was **Dr R Shivaraman, Co-Founder of Big Bang Boom Solutions**. His remarks on the role of startups in India's Defence industry are as follows:-

- The US and Israeli defence industries have always been a vibrant place for startups to evolve and flourish. The US has more than five hundred startups in its defence industry alone. China also has several startups in its defence industry. India is slowly catching up to these nations.



- In India, there are about four hundred startups that are dedicatedly working on Defence technologies. Another four hundred startups are working on dual-use and multi-purpose technologies.

➡ Startups provide many advantages in their operations and output which the legacy institutions such as DRDO cannot. Some of them are:-

- * The ability to develop new and niche technologies at a far more rapid pace. Some of the startups working with the Indian Navy have been able to conceptualize the requirements, work on its development, conduct user trials and induct them into the Indian Navy within a seven-month period.



* The ability to be agile and pivot towards new technologies and research projects in a quick manner. This allows them to drop old projects which do not work and move on to projects which do in a fast-paced manner.

- Startups, for all their advantages, cannot begin and stay operational without a guarantee of a steady stream of income. They need to raise capital and keep their investors interested in the long-term vision for their company.
- Having the end user understand the need and applicability of the technology or equipment they produce is another challenge which leads to the winding up of many startups.
- Startups also need sustained procurement guarantees from the end users if they are to stay viable. This can only be achieved if the environment they operate in is a supportive one.
- The need for a supportive environment in the startup industry is essential with failure in the research and development processes being a core part of the growth of any sustained cycle of development.
- While India is facing shortfalls in the allocation of its research and development budget, nations across the world are doubling or tripling their budgets.
- Initiatives such as SPRINT and iDEX have helped the startup industry, but more needs to be done for the startup culture to develop and contribute to the long-term development of the defence industry.
- ➡ The iDEX should be made the face of the startup industry culture, ensuring all startups are able to access the tools and resources given through this initiative. India also needs the appropriate infrastructure for the ideation, research, development and production of technologies and equipment developed by the startups.
- ➡ India also needs to work on its international collaborations, to ensure the research and development of any new technology is shared, along with the output. This will ensure the startups of like-minded nations do not work in isolation and can collaborate to speed up the development of the required technologies.



Open House Discussion

The questions posed by the audience focused on highlighting the induction of new technologies in the Armed Forces, other aspects of the research and development of technologies and on the testing phase of the said technologies. The answers are as follows:-

- ➡ Simulators have a wide range of applicability, not only in the training of recruits, but also in the testing of new materials and technologies. One of the advantages of using simulators is that it essentially eliminates the need for physically sending people and material to different terrains to calculate effectiveness parameters. Another advantage is the fast pace of data gathering and the ability to use this data for the development of next-generation material and technologies.
- ➡ Today's protocols for development of new materials have moved from physically creating a prototype and testing it, to designing the prototype and testing it on simulators. This has reduced the innovation, development, and production cycles from a decade to about two years.
- While there is a mutual agreement, internationally, for the Acceptance Test Procedures for any new technology, the creation of these is through collaboration between defence industries.
- India is in the process of integrating its research facilities, where testers can have remote access to see which technology is being tested and developed. The private companies and startups have been invited to join in this integration, ensuring that research and development is done on the public-private-partnership platform.

Session Outcomes

The session delved into the role of the startups in the Indian defence industry, the private sector, and carefully articulated policies to ensure smooth and seamless development of new technologies and equipment. All speakers highlighted the achievements of the Indian Defence Industry in the creation and growth of the defence sector. The speakers also highlighted the drawbacks within the system and stressed upon the need for India to work on mitigating these drawbacks, ensuring a collaborative environment in which the Indian defence industry can flourish.



Session VI: Comprehensive Deterrence – The India Way



Preamble

Session Six of the Dialogue emphasised the need for India to create a comprehensive deterrence structure that takes into account the role of all sectors of society. The session highlighted the importance of updating traditional views on deterrence and considering new concepts in the development of a modern deterrence framework. The session also focused on the idea of deterrence being a concept which cannot be developed individually by nations, but through an examination of a nation's priorities in the spirit of global co-operation and collaboration among like-minded nations.

Opening remarks of the Chair

The opening remarks were delivered by the chairperson of the session, **Lt Gen D S Hooda, PVSM, UYSM, AVSM, VSM** (Retd), former Army Commander, Northern Command**. The remarks of the chair are summarised as follows:-



- Deterrence is a national endeavour against adversaries. An effective deterrence strategy can only be born out of a clear understanding and application of India's national security objectives and priorities.
- This only comes out of a combination of military power, diplomatic initiatives, technological capabilities, and many other aspects of a nation's functioning.
- An effective deterrence posture sees the need for diplomacy as a tool to prevent war from breaking out. Thus, hard military power is not the only determinant of a nation's deterrence capabilities. The role of diplomacy and its relation to a nation's hard power capabilities needs to be woven together in great detail.
- Technology can both enhance deterrence and undermine it. The emerging importance of cyberspace, along with the importance of data and information in today's day and age is a clear example of its role.
- ➡ India has largely maintained deterrence postures vis-à-vis China and Pakistan. While simple hard power projection is a preferred strategy against Pakistan, a mix of strategies against China has been adopted.



- Recent events at the Doklam Tri-Junction and Galwan Valley have underscored the need for India to re-evaluate and refine its deterrence postures vis-à-vis China.

Speaker Presentations

The first speaker of the sixth session was **Shri DB Venkatesh Varma, former Ambassador to Russia**. His remarks on the role of diplomacy in India's deterrence articulation were as follows:-



- ➡ Nations have seen traditional postures of deterrence fail, with standards of deterrence also seeing a marked downgrade. While the world can aspire for the return of traditional postures of deterrence, the fact remains that all nations need to look beyond traditional deterrence postures for their safety and security.
- There appears to be little to no pressure against the use of force. This has been a key factor in the weakening of multilateral and other international institutions and laws. A consequence of this has been the increasingly risky behaviours being undertaken by nations as part of their strategic choices. This has led to a reduction in fears over escalation.
- Deterrence in an age of recklessness has also come to be doubted with proliferation of non-state actors, each one capable of using force for the success of their objectives.
- ➡ The recent wars in Eastern Europe and West Asia have showcased the fact that the US, with its presence across the world cannot act as a guarantor of peace. These have also highlighted that the US cannot meet its commitments in all regions at the same time.
- Despite India's success in the execution of a deterrence strategy against Pakistan, the strong allies and partners that Pakistan has in the region make our deterrence posture questionable going ahead.
- Diplomacy is still an important aspect in the creation of a comprehensive deterrence posture. India needs to be cognizant of this, while also seeing the gaps which are created due to the limits of diplomatic outreach.



➡ There are some fundamental steps which India needs to take to strengthen our diplomatic abilities. They are as follows:

- * India's defence attachés should be cognizant of recognizing changes in the world order and must get back enhancing our diplomatic connect at their level.

- * Risk assessment needs to be a function of India's efforts to recognise threats, both to itself and the region.

- * The majority of our diplomatic efforts needs to be on enhancing our maritime connects with other nations. India cannot be a major power if it is isolated in South Asia itself.

- * India needs to recognise the fact that China is a threat to different nations at different scales. China not the same threat to India as it is to the US or Vietnam. Therefore, India needs to have its own deterrence structure against China, focusing on the level of threat it perceives China to be.

- While technology is an important aspect for any nation in the creation of a deterrence posture, no nation must fall into the trap of having a 'technology fetish', where it is the only solution to all challenges.

- The strategic autonomy of any nation depends on the level of confidence in the capabilities it can project.

- The point of having a deterrence posture must be that a nation can fight its own wars without having to resort to assistance from other players.

➡ The events of this decade have shown that in times of war and peace, technology will be the lens through which deterrence postures will be determined. Some of the more salient features of this decade and the next in the creation of a deterrence posture for India are as follows:-

- * India will have to be in a state of perpetual semi-mobilisation. Thus, there will be a need to prepare for a prolonged war, especially since we have two adversaries.

- * Military build-up and modernisation are highly necessary, with more investment into the military modernisation of India being a core objective. India needs at least 3% of its GDP for modernisation over the next ten years, if it is to see timely and effective fruits of its labour.



* Asymmetries in the deterrence postures, especially in the nuclear realm, needs to be discussed. Additionally, the applicability of a 'No First Use' policy also needs to be addressed.

- India must make its deterrence postures public for the world to see. It should be done with the understanding of clearly articulating India's Red Lines and what it can tolerate and what it will not in the international realm.

The second speaker for the session was **Col KPM Das (Retd), National Cybersecurity and Trust Officer, CISCO India and Asia Pacific**. His remarks on the role of technology in India's defence posture are as follows:-



- India, today, has over 800 million citizens connected to the internet. The nation also boasts of the highest rate of adoption of Financial Technologies. However, there is a stark gap present between the Digital India and Secure India initiatives. This leaves the common public very vulnerable to attacks in the cyber realm.
 - Each nation is investing heavily in their technological development. This is evident through the amount of spending China is undertaking in its research and development in technology. China has also been adhering to the current standards of product making to get maximum customers. But the world is now seeing China move towards controlling these standards.
 - China is a world leader in effective civil-military fusion. Each company within the nation has a representative from the PLA present to ensure the military needs of the nation are met along with the civilian ones.
- ➡ In the technology saturated world of today, some fundamental points regarding the role of the cyberspace in a nation's deterrence need to be understood:-
- * Cyberspace is an inseparable and all-encompassing domain of a nation's performance. One cannot have an effective deterrence posture without understanding the role cyberspace plays in it.
 - * There is no fundamental difference between the equipment required for cyber offensives and cyber defensives, as the skillset and technology required for both is fundamentally the same.



- * The defence services of a nation must be seen as the bootstrap for the ideation, creation and execution of an effective national cyber defence policy.
- * The need to elevate structures and bring in single point of responsibility to effectively develop a national cybersecurity architecture is much-needed.
- Deterrence becomes more difficult when the economy is more dependent on foreign supply chains. Thus, the need to secure a nation's supply chains against foreign influence and interference is a core need for any effective deterrence posture.
- The race for technology is high among nations, especially in the realm of emerging technologies such as Artificial Intelligence and Quantum Computing. Further, India is not far behind other nations in such development.
- One of the main problems faced by India in the development of its cybersecurity architecture is the lack of talent which is retained in India. India has a lot of talent in the engineers it produces every year, but a lack of lucrative opportunities, both within and outside the government in the Indian ecosystem forces many to migrate to more developed nations. India must move from this concept of 'brain drain' to a concept of 'brain gain', where the brightest minds of the nation stay and work within the nation.
- ➡ India can adopt a multi-pronged strategy in the articulation of a tech-oriented deterrence posture. Some of the measures which can be undertaken are:-
 - * Having partnerships with like-minded nations in the research and development of emerging technologies, collaborating with the understanding that a comprehensive deterrence posture requires all partners to work in a cooperative manner.
 - * Understand the need and advantages Open-Source Intelligence (OSINT) brings to a nation's capabilities and invest in the strengthening and credibility of OSINT tools.
 - * India must adopt a whole-of-nation approach for the creation of a tech-oriented deterrence posture, realising the advantages universities and Centres of Excellence can give to research and development towards a robust deterrence posture.



- * The private sector can be a key player. India needs to promote the study of niche technologies within its universities and corporations, through the funding of PhDs.

Open House Discussion

The questions posed by the audience centred around the role of China and its influence today in a nation's functioning, and the contradicting relationship India has with China vis-à-vis trade. The answers given were as follows:-

- Trade between nations is not a marker of friendship. Any trade agreement needs to be well articulated to ensure both sides get the best advantage. However, a nation must be clear about its objectives and move to achieve success.
- It is not in India's interest to not trade with China, as it is the world's most powerful economy. If India can address the gaps in the conventional capabilities between itself and China, trade between India and China will not be a factor.
- India needs to trade with all nations to ensure its economy runs in the most profitable and efficient manner.

Session Outcomes

The session highlighted many salient issues regarding the creation of an effective deterrence posture in the 21st century. The speakers stressed on the need for an interconnected economy without falling into the trap of dependence on powerful nations. While speaking on the crafting of a deterrence posture, and the necessity of a nation's hard power capabilities in the creation of any comprehensive deterrence posture was also highlighted. Further, they stressed upon the fact that a comprehensive deterrence posture requiring a whole-of-nation approach will be the only one which can stand the test of time and protect the nation's interests in the long-term.



Closing Address



General Manoj Pande, PVSM, AVSM, VSM, ADC, Chief of the Army Staff, Indian Army delivered the closing address of the CDD 2023, reflecting on the articulation of the many issues which were brought to the fore during the dialogue. The salient points of his speech are as follows:-



- The 'Neighbourhood First' Policy, based on the building blocks of economic co-operation, security enhancement, mutual respect and shared aspirations and enhancing connectivity are affirmations of India's commitment to regional stability and shared prosperity.
- The enhanced salience of the maritime domain is of special significance. Improving connectivity and the development of a robust infrastructure for this are essential. The potential of the ASEAN to evolve into a platform for regional co-operation can help create a secure Indo-Pacific region.
- The strategic competition and inter-state contestations in the Indo-Pacific region are seen as major security concerns. Promotion of peace, security and resilience through a layered security architecture are some of the core needs of the region. Increasing threats in the non-traditional domain bring to the forefront the need for like-minded nations to achieve a balance while addressing new threats in a cooperative manner.
- India must strengthen its economic and military frameworks and devise pragmatic policies. However, this ideal of strategic balance must not hinder the nation's collaborative spirit and the conduct of its foreign policy.
- The permeation of disruptive technologies in the military domain has changed the character of modern wars. Consequently, battlespaces have become more lethal, complex and contested. India must adhere to a policy of safe and responsible application of current and emerging technologies, and promote the same within other nations.
- India's defence industry and its capabilities of leveraging technology into state-of-the-art equipment, along with adherence to the vision of *Atmanirbharta* has led to the nation being seen as a reliable partner for defence innovation and development.



Vote Of Thanks



The Vote of Thanks for the CDD was delivered by **Lt Gen M V Suchindra Kumar, AVSM, YSM & Bar, VSM, Vice Chief of the Army Staff, Indian Army.** The salient points of his speech, expressing thanks to all stakeholders for the seamless conduct of the inaugural edition of the Dialogue are as follows:-



- The Chanakya Defence Dialogue 2023 has seen a convergence of minds, strategic thinkers and experts to deliberate on various pressing issues of national, regional and global peace and security.
- Each session in the Dialogue was infused with a wealth of knowledge derived from speakers of different nations and backgrounds, to enhance debates around the various aspects of the Indo-Pacific and the future of the world at large as it pertains to the development of the South Asian region.
- The knowledge shared and the insights gained will help guide discussions in the future and help shape the understanding of concepts related to the national and regional security calculus of each nation who is a stakeholder in the South Asian and Indo-Pacific region.



Key Takeaways



The CDD 2023 conducted on the theme '**Securing India and Indo-Pacific Region: Collaborating for Enduring Peace and Security**'. Given its exhaustive nature, the deliberations of the dialogue gave the following insights:-

Neighbourhood First – South Asia Prognosis

- In an unpredictable South Asia, due to traditional and non-traditional threats posed by state and non-state actors, the region looks forward to India's initiatives to stabilise peace, enhance regional connectivity and co-operation, improving intra-regional trade, dismantle trade barriers and make the region well connected. The focus should be more on regional and subregional co-operation by encouraging various platforms, such as BIMSTEC and IORA.
- India engages with multilateral institutions and advocates for global governance reform to accurately reflect the changing world order. It also focuses on building technical capacities and capabilities. In South Asia, India should take responsible steps to foster a conducive environment in terms of building trust with its neighbours and prevent them from falling into the trap of China. India's strategic choices will have a direct impact on the region.
- The key variables that will shape the future of South Asia are: geo-political dynamics, economic growth, demography and social development, infrastructure and regional co-operation.
- India's strategy to compete with China should involve coalition with like-minded partners, make significant global investments and modernisation of its military capabilities.

Indo-Pacific – The Decisive Frontier

- India sees itself as a bridge between the West and the Global South and its policy aligns more closely with other middle powers. The 'mini-laterals' it has joined, such as the Quad, are essential for Indian foreign policy and are aimed towards achieving goals that have eluded traditional institutions in the Indo-Pacific region.
- China's pursuit of regional hegemony seriously threatens India's vision of the international order in the Indo-Pacific. It has increased its military and economic power to dominate the region through coercion.



- The Indo-Pacific region cannot be secured unilaterally. India has recognised the imperative of formulating multilateral partnerships with like-minded nations, so that a collaborative security architecture prevents any belligerent power from acting to the region's detriment.

Collaborative Partnerships for Security

- India is balancing strategic autonomy with alignment on vital geo-political issues, diversifying partnerships with the US, Japan, France, and Australia. It continues to pursue an independent foreign policy while emerging as a reliable partner for the West.
- Nations with a stake in this region should recognise the advantages greater connectivity and multilateralism will have on the security and development dynamics of the region.
- It is important for nations within the Indo-Pacific region to form bilateral and multilateral frameworks, ensuring collaborative security as the ideal way forward.

How Emerging Technologies Impact Defence and Security

- India is boosting its technological collaboration with the West, particularly in defence and critical technologies. It is partnering with the US on the Initiative on Critical and Emerging Technology. The US must consider India a potential partner to protect its critical technological supply chains.
- As the cyber domain is a complementary and cross-sectional domain of warfare and economic development, it is important that nations in the Indo-Pacific region identify the importance of security of this domain and work with established space powers in the region.
- States need to recognise the importance of cybersecurity, particularly as it pertains to protecting the cyber infrastructure of nations in the Indo-Pacific. Investment in indigenous space-based capabilities, while encouraging data sharing and analyses, is one of the core methods of security.
- Recognising the role of technology in combating climate change, the Indian Army must factor-in environmental security into its strategic planning, contributing to national and international efforts to address climate-related challenges.



Indian Defence Industry for Collaborative Capacity Building

- India's defence industry, primarily its startup culture, has the potential to serve as a force multiplier in addition to being a strong indicator of economic development. India needs to accelerate their development, while promoting a culture of risk-taking and innovation. Creating and promoting an integrated framework designed for the enhancement of India's strategic needs is a priority.
- India's vision of *Atmanirbharta*, geared towards self-reliance for the Indian Armed Forces, also takes into account the Indian ethos of cooperative security and collaborative development, looking to be a security provider for all nations in the region.
- India's defence industry should help create a robust and cooperative system of civil-military fusion, where the Armed Forces can directly collaborate with the private players in the industry. This will help in the adoption of emerging technologies for defence in a time-bound manner.

Comprehensive Deterrence – The India Way

- Deterrence, as ideated using traditional principles, is inadequate to deal with the ever-changing and hybrid character of warfare. The world needs to work towards the ideation of new concepts of deterrence, particularly due to emerging technologies and their effects on the security architecture of any nation.
- China's economic dominance deters regional countries from seeking support from India until a crisis is at its peak. Any major operations against China's strategic aims would involve air, maritime, space and cyber domains. Land power alone cannot counterbalance Chinese influence in the Indo-Pacific region.
- The Armed Forces of the nation can be a decisive factor in establishing deterrence. As synthesis of technology, warfighting and diplomacy, contributes purposefully to deterrence. These should be progressed assiduously.



Annexure – I: Concept Note



Theme: Securing India and Indo-Pacific Region: Collaborating for Enduring Peace and Security

India is actively progressing into the *Amrit Kaal* era, aiming resolutely to establish itself as a *Vishwamitra* by the year 2047. This ambitious aspiration is firmly rooted in the principles of inclusivity and a steadfast commitment to the international order based on established rules and norms. Given India's increasing influence in the Indian Ocean and Indo-Pacific regions, it is of paramount importance to engage in cooperative initiatives and intellectual exchanges with like-minded regional and global partners. These endeavours are crucial for aligning our strategic vision with the broader international context. In pursuit of this goal, the Indian Army has initiated a flagship National Defence Dialogue, Chanakya Defence Dialogue – 2023, with the theme *Securing India and Indo-Pacific Region: Collaborating for Enduring Peace and Security*, which will serve as a prominent forum for discussing global and regional security issues.

The primary goal of this endeavour is to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the security challenges facing South Asia and the Indo-Pacific region and assess their far-reaching implications. In parallel, the Dialogue aims to develop a strategic roadmap for fostering collaborative security measures within the region. By doing so, we seek to bolster our national security apparatus, positioning India as a proactive, resurgent and influential participant in both regional and global arenas.

The event is being conducted by the Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS), New Delhi, under the aegis of the Indian Army on 03 and 04 November 2023, and is structured into six sessions:-

- **Session One.** Neighbourhood First – South Asia Prognosis.
- **Session Two.** Indo-Pacific – The Decisive Frontier.
- **Session Three.** Collaborative Partnerships for Security.
- **Session Four.** How Emerging Technologies Impact Defence and Security.
- **Session Five.** Indian Defence Industry as Enabler for Collaborative Capacity Building.
- **Session Six.** Comprehensive Deterrence – The Indian Way.



Eminent speakers, subject matter experts and representatives of premier think tanks and research institutions from India's geo-political partners would be invited to participate and attend. The countries would include Australia, Bangladesh, France, Japan, Nepal, Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, USA and Vietnam. Participants will also include members of the National Security Apparatus, Strategic Community, Senior Defence Officers, Foreign Defence Attaches in India, Academia, Defence PSUs and the Industry.

The Chanakya Defence Dialogue serves as a forum to enhance national and regional security by discussing contemporary issues, including the impact of emerging technologies. By evaluating existing structures and collaborating with like-minded nations, the Chanakya Defence Dialogue helps India address emerging threats and challenges, catering to the strategic and defence community, academia and leading think tanks.



Annexure – II: Curtain Raiser



The CDD 2023 began with a Curtain Raiser on the 26 October 2023. The event featured a Fireside Chat with **Gen Manoj Pande, PVSM, AVSM, VSM, ADC, Chief of the Army Staff, Indian Army**, and a Round Table Discussion featuring **Vice Adm Anil Chopra, PVSM, AVSM (Retd), Amb Gautam Mukopadhaya and Mr Jayadev Ranade** as discussants. The Fireside Chat and the Round Table Discussion was moderated by **Lt Gen Raj Shukla, PVSM, YSM, SM (Retd)**.

The main objectives of the Curtain Raiser event are as follows:-

- The event served as a precursor to the eventual CDD 2023, helping bring to fore some of the core issues related to India's national security apparatus, and the challenges which the Indo-Pacific region would pose in the future.
- It served as a platform for some of the most eminent minds to ideate issues pertaining to India's national security and was an interactive platform between the speakers and the audience.
- It also enabled the Chief of Army Staff to articulate his views on the challenges to India's security apparatus, while providing an in-depth analysis of aspects which would be discussed during the course of CDD 2023.

The salient points of the Fireside Chat and the Round Table Discussion are as follows:-

- The global geo-strategic landscape is changing rapidly and national security is becoming increasingly important. India faces various challenges and opportunities as it rises in different metrics. Collaboration among all ministries and organisations is essential for comprehensive development including within the defence industries.
- The Indo-Pacific is a region of great geo-economic and geo-strategic importance due to its fast-growing economies. The Honourable Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi, emphasised this during the Shangri-La Dialogue in 2018. With a quarter of the world's population, South Asia is an important region that presents opportunities for peace and stability. Multilateral collaboration is essential to foster growth and development in India, South Asia and the larger Indo-Pacific region.
- The current state of international relations is moving towards a more Hobbesian state, with growing importance on power and technology. Failures



in diplomacy are leading to the possibility of global crises turning into raging conflicts, which can impact the whole world.

- Nations challenging the current world order need a blue-water navy for offensive capabilities. The military's primary role is deterrence and building capabilities is necessary to achieve that purpose.
- India and China have been engaged in a long period of diplomatic engagement, with China increasingly hoping to wear down India's resources and willpower. China is actively working on advanced technology for defence, including digitisation, AI and hypersonic vehicles. There are concerns about the use of nuclear capabilities against India and India must develop counter-capabilities to respond to China's aggressive actions.
- The LAC is a two-way relationship between India and China, while the Indo-Pacific involves multiple stakeholders. China can create conflict on the LAC, diverting India's focus from building naval capabilities. Land grabs are more likely to occur through gradual encroachment in the continental division, as India's offensive capabilities remain more prominent in the Indo-Pacific maritime zone.
- China's economic rise has prompted geo-political responses from the West. Economic, diplomatic and military responses are helping manage their relations with China. Economic interdependence is a significant deterrent to war. Xi Jinping's leadership marks a paradigm shift towards a more aggressive stance, making China an official challenger to the US. India must recognise its maritime and continental power status and remain vigilant about China's actions. A period of turbulence with China is expected in the future.
- The Indo-Pacific hosts some of the fastest-growing economies in the world and is a region of tremendous geo-economic and geo-strategic importance.
- The region provides global challenges as well as enormous opportunities. Opportunities need to be identified, harnessed, and worked upon for peace and stability.
- The Indian Army is adapting to the changing strategic environment by focusing on technology, self-reliance, and collaboration. It is exploring new technologies to enhance their capabilities and strengthen national security.
- The Indian Army is prioritising self-reliance and reducing import dependence by promoting startups. It also leverages niche and disruptive tech for efficient warfighting, including Artificial Intelligence, surveillance, robotics, drones and driverless vehicles.



Fireside Chat

Moderated by **Lt Gen Raj Shukla, PVSM, YSM, SM, (Retd)**, the session had **Gen Manoj Pande, PVSM, AVSM, VSM, ADC, Chief of the Army Staff, Indian Army** as the primary participant. The salient points of the session are as follows:-

- There have been unprecedented changes in the global geo-strategic landscape, with national interests remaining central. National security, in this regard, is gaining importance in the international system. India faces numerous challenges and opportunities as it is rising in various metrics.
- The emergence of disruptive and niche technology presents its own dynamics. The character of war is changing, as seen in the Russia-Ukraine conflict and India must be prepared for future challenges.
- Land warfare remains primary, especially on a continent with disputed borders. However, in the 21st century, achieving jointness between land and maritime forces has become crucial.
- Collaboration with various ministries and organisations is essential for defence infrastructure and technology development. This collaboration must also take place within the defence industries of India.
- Self-reliance and reducing import dependence are priorities. To that end, the Army is promoting an ecosystem for startups to scale up and strengthen India's tech capabilities, while also working on the aspects of best practices and standardisation in defence acquisition.
- Modernisation and technology infusion are central to capability development. The Army is cognizant of this, leveraging niche and disruptive tech for efficient warfighting.
- Numerous niche tech projects are in progress, covering areas like AI, surveillance and robotics. Drones, driverless vehicles and AI are being explored for defence.

In summary, the Indian Army is actively adapting to the changing strategic environment, focusing on technology, self-reliance and collaboration to strengthen national security. It is also actively exploring niche and emerging technologies to enhance its capabilities.



RTD: Securing India and the Indo-Pacific Region: Collaborating for Comprehensive Security

The fireside chat was followed by a Round Table Discussion. The discussants were **Vice Adm Anil Chopra, PVSM, AVSM, (Retd), Shri Gautam Mukhopadhyaya and Shri Jayadeva Ranade**. The moderator of the discussion was **Lt Gen Raj Shukla, PVSM, YSM, SM, (Retd)**.

The salient points of the discussion are as follows:-

- The world order is changing and no clear pattern is emerging. Maritime power, however, has remained a central focus of all nations, as control over the seas has determined the place of a nation in the global order. Nations today are looking to challenge the current world order created out of the Second World War and the victory of the Anglo-Saxon powers. Any nation willing to challenge such an order needs to have a blue-water navy. Navies can inflict significant damage on adversaries and naval power emphasises manoeuvrability and offensive capabilities.
- The Cold War 2.0 is less defined and not bipolar, featuring many independent poles, with emerging nations still lacking independence. The personal interests of nations are taking precedence in this era, leaving little room for effective diplomacy. Current alliances are more transactional. International relations are moving towards a state that places growing importance on power and technology.
- The failures of global diplomacy are leading to the notion that global crises such as the Russia-Ukraine conflict, with other potential flashpoints like Taiwan, Israel and the South China Sea, have the capability and capacity to transform into 'Hot Wars' that can impact the whole world.
- China's rise was primarily economic, while responses from the West have been geo-political. Economic, diplomatic and military responses could provide a way to manage future relations with China. Economic interdependence between nations is a significant deterrent to war, as each nation has a stake in the other. Investments and cross-investments in other nations increase the stakes for partnerships between countries.
- Conventional power is often viewed as a last resort, with nations preferring participation in proxy wars. The military's primary role is deterrence and its failure is indicated if war breaks out. It is necessary to continue building deterrence through military capabilities. The approach towards development and security should not be '*either/or*' but '*both/and*'.



- The Line of Actual Control (LAC) represents a two-way relationship between India and China, while the Indo-Pacific involves multiple stakeholders. China has always looked towards creating conflict on the LAC, hoping that Indian focus will be diverted towards protecting land borders and not on the building of naval capabilities.
- The LAC can distract from India's vulnerabilities in other border regions. While conflicts may resemble the 1962 India-China war, land grabs are more likely to occur through gradual encroachment. However, India's offensive capabilities are more prominent in the Indian Ocean Region and the LAC.
- Chinese thinking is holistic, without a strict division between maritime and continental interests, focusing on maximising advantages with minimal effort. India needs to move beyond the maritime VS continental dichotomy, recognise its status as a maritime and continental power and remain vigilant about China's actions.
- A period of turbulence with China is expected in the future. China's historical aim has been to establish itself as the dominant power in the region, a goal that dates back to Mao's era. India, on the other hand, advocates co-existence and believes there is room for peaceful relations with China.
- Xi Jinping's leadership marks a paradigm shift towards a more aggressive stance, aiming to achieve domination during his tenure. Xi has indicated that India-China relations will be marked by animosity unless India submits to Chinese demands. This has led to China emerging as an official challenger to the US.
- India and China are in a protracted period of wearing each other down, seeking to gain an advantage. Chinese negotiations with India can thus be seen as China hoping to diminish India's resources and willpower to fight through constant diplomatic engagement.
- As technology is becoming a central part of a nation's defence architecture, China is actively working on digitisation, AI research, quantum communications and hypersonic vehicles. A full-fledged attack on India could involve cyber warfare followed by invasion. However, an invasion of India by China could result in China's isolation with unclear consequences.
- Using nuclear capabilities against India has been a long-standing concern, although these vectors are primarily directed towards the West. India should therefore develop counter-capabilities to respond to the People's Republic of China's aggressive actions, nuclear or otherwise.



Annexure – III: Programme Schedule



Day One, 03 November 2023

Time	Activity	Speaker
<u>INAUGURAL SESSION – ZORAWAR HALL</u>		
0930 – 1025	Arrival of Delegates & Registration	
1030	Arrival of Hon'ble Vice President of India	
1035 – 1115	Opening Session	
1035 – 1037	Introductory Remarks and National Anthem	
1037 – 1045	Welcome Remarks	DG CLAWS
1045 – 1048	Screening of CDD Movie	
1048 – 1100	Plenary Address	COAS
1100 – 1125	Special Address	Hon'ble Vice President
1125 – 1126	Felicitation of Hon'ble Vice President of India by COAS	
1126 – 1127	National Anthem	
1127 – 1140	Tea & Group Photograph	
1140	Departure of the Hon'ble Vice-President of India	
<u>POST TEA SESSION – ASHOKA HALL</u>		
1145 – 1215	Keynote Address	Amb Vijay K Gokhale
1215 – 1355	Session I: Neighborhood First – South Asia Prognosis	
1215 – 1225	Opening Remarks by Chair	Amb Ashok K Kantha
1225 – 1240	India	Lt Gen Rakesh Sharma (Retd)
1240 – 1255	Bangladesh	Amb Shamsheer A Chowdhury
1255 – 1310	Sri Lanka	Asanga Abeyagoonasekara
1310 – 1325	Nepal	Mr Chiran Jung Thapa
1325 – 1355	Discussion – Moderated by Chair	
1355 – 1445	Lunch	
1445 – 1625	Session II: Indo Pacific – The Decisive Frontier	
1445 – 1455	Opening Remarks by Chair	Adm Sunil Lanba
1455 – 1515	Indonesia	Vice Admiral Amarulla Octavian
1515 – 1535	US	Ms Lisa Curtis
1535 – 1555	India	Mr Saurabh Kumar
1555 – 1625	Discussion – Moderated by Chair	
1625 – 1645	Tea Break	
1645 – 1825	Session III: Collaborative Partnerships for Security	
1645 – 1655	Opening Remarks by Chair	Lt Gen Prakash Menon (Retd)
1655 – 1710	ASEAN	Dr R De Castro, Philippines
1710 – 1725	QUAD	Dr Satoru Nagao, Japan
1725 – 1740	Other Partners	Dr Paco Milhiet, France
1740 – 1755	South Asia	Ms Vani Sarraju Rao
1755 – 1825	Discussion – Moderated by Chair	
1845 – 2045	Dinner	

**Day Two, 04 November 2023**

Time	Activity	Speaker
<u>INAUGURAL SESSION – ASHOKA HALL</u>		
0930 – 1000	Arrival of Delegates & Registration	
1000 – 1010	Initial Remarks	DG CLAWS
1010 – 1040	Special Address	Amb Kanwal Sibal
1040 – 1110	Tea & Group Photograph	
POST TEA SESSION – ASHOKA HALL		
1110 – 1140	Keynote Address	Dr Arvind Virmani
1140 – 1310	Session IV: How Emerging Technologies Impact Defence and Security	
1140 – 1155	Opening Remarks by Chair	Prof Ajay Kumar Sood
1155 – 1210	Space	Dr Umamaheshwaran R
1210 – 1225	Cyber Space	Prof V Kamakoti, IIT Chennai
1225 – 1240	AI & Big Data	Prof Mayank Vatsa, IIT Jodhpur
1240 – 1310	Discussion - Moderated by Chair	
1310 – 1400	Lunch	
1400 – 1410	Special Address	Shri Giridhar Aramane, Defence Secretary
1410 – 1535	Session V: Indian Defence Industry as Enabler for Collaborative Capacity Building	
1410 – 1420	Opening Remarks by Chair	Lt Gen Subrata Saha (Retd)
1420 – 1435	Policy Initiatives	Cmde AP Golaya
1435 – 1450	Industry Collaboration	Mr RS Bhatia
1450 – 1505	Startups	Dr R Shivaraman, Entrepreneur
1505 – 1535	Discussion – Moderated by Chair	
1535 – 1555	Tea Break	
1555 – 1610	Special Address	Amb V Misri, Deputy NSA
1610 – 1715	Session VI: Comprehensive Deterrence – The India Way	
1610 – 1620	Opening Remarks by Chair	Lt Gen DS Hooda (Retd)
1620 – 1635	Diplomacy	Amb DB Venkatesh Varma
1635 – 1650	Technology	Col KPM Das (Retd)
1650 – 1715	Discussion – Moderated by Chair	
1715 – 1730	Closing Address	COAS
1730 – 1740	Vote of Thanks	VCOAS
1745	Dispersal	



Annexure – IV : Photo Gallery



**Shri Jagdeep Dhankhar,
The Honourable Vice President of India, with Speakers**



**Shri Jagdeep Dhankhar, The Honourable Vice President of India
with
Gen Manoj Pande, PVSM, AVSM, VSM, ADC, Chief of the Army Staff
and
Lt Gen P S Rajeshwar, PVSM, AVSM, VSM (Retd),
Director General, Centre for Land Warfare Studies**



**Keynote Address by Shri Vijay K Gokhale,
Former Foreign Secretary, Government of India**



**Shri Vijay K Gokhale,
Former Foreign Secretary, Government of India
with
Gen Manoj Pande, PVSM, AVSM, VSM, ADC
Chief of the Army Staff**



Neighbourhood First – South Asia Prognosis





Indo Pacific – The Decisive Frontier





Collaborative Partnerships for Security





**Special Address by Shri Kanwal Sibal,
Chancellor JNU, Former Foreign Secretary, Government of India**



**Shri Kanwal Sibal,
Chancellor JNU, Former Foreign Secretary, Government of India
with
Gen Manoj Pande, PVSM, AVSM, VSM, ADC
Chief of the Army Staff**



**Keynote Address by Dr Arvind Virmani,
Full Time Member, NITI Aayog**



**Dr Arvind Virmani,
Full Time Member, NITI Aayog
with
Lt Gen M V Suchindra Kumar, AVSM, YSM & Bar, VSM
Vice Chief of the Army Staff**



How Emerging Technologies Impact Defence and Security





Indian Defence Industry as Enabler for Collaborative Capacity Building





Special Address by Shri Giridhar Aramane, Defence Secretary



**Shri Giridhar Aramane, Defence Secretary
with
Lt Gen M V Suchindra Kumar, AVSM, YSM & Bar, VSM
Vice Chief of the Army Staff**



Comprehensive Deterrence – The India Way





Engaged Audience





Interactive Discourse



Global Footprint

About CLAWS

The Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS), New Delhi, is an independent think tank on strategic studies and land warfare in the Indian context. CLAWS is registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860 and is a membership-based organisation. A Board of Governors and an Executive Council govern it. The mandate of CLAWS covers national security issues, conventional military operations, and sub-conventional warfare. The Centre also focuses on conflicts in the region and military developments in countries within India's strategic frontiers, particularly those in the Southern Asian region.

The vision of CLAWS is "To be a leading International Think Tank in development and promotion of strategic culture and futuristic thinking on security issues across the continuum of conflict affecting Land Warfare. CLAWS has been ranked 48th amongst World Top Defence and National Strategic Think Tanks as per '2013 Global Go To Think Tank Report' published by University of Pennsylvania, USA. CLAWS aspires to attract leading strategic thinkers, defence analysts, scholars and academics and media persons to deliberate on all facets of land warfare up to the strategic level. Research at CLAWS is futuristic in outlook and policy oriented in approach.

CLAWS disseminates the products of its research to its members, members of the armed forces, decision makers, members of the strategic community and interested civilians. It also seeks to contribute to developing a pro-active strategic culture for India. CLAWS organises seminars and conferences, round-table discussions, workshops, and guest lectures and undertakes research projects on national security related issues, especially those pertaining to land warfare. Since its inception CLAWS has evolved as an organisation and its activities and research mandate have gradually expanded. It has organised a large number of conferences and seminars and has published several books. CLAWS activities and research can be viewed at its website, <https://www.claws.in/>

Disclaimer: The views expressed in this report are sole responsibility of the speaker(s) and do not reflect the views of the Government of India, or Integrated Headquarters of MoD (Army) or Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS).

Centre for Land Warfare Studies
RPSO Complex, Parade Road, Delhi Cantt, New Delhi – 110010
Phone: 011-25691308; Fax: 011-25692347
Email: landwarfare@gmail.com; website: www.claws.in



