

EU AND INDIA: NEXT STEPS TOGETHER

EU INDIA THINK TANKS WORKSHOP

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CONTENTS

Background.....	2
Executive summary	3
Opening Session	4
Stocktaking Session.....	6
PANEL I: Current context of EU-India relations: Emerging Regional Order in Asia (One Belt One Road initiative, connectivity, Indian Ocean)	10
India's foreign policy towards Asia/EU's growing interest in the region?	15
Keynote Address	19
PANEL 2: The future of EU-India relations: Where do we want to be 10 years from now concerning foreign & security policy cooperation	21
Wrap-up Session	23
Annexures	
Programme Schedule	25
Speaker Profiles	27

BACKGROUND

The European Union and India have jointly worked together for over 50 years on various fields of mutual interest including poverty reduction, disaster prevention, trade expansion, promotion of shared research on energy, health, and agriculture, among others.

Extending this partnership, the Delegation of the European Union to India organised the EU-India Think Tanks Workshop on 'EU and India: Next Steps Together' to identify priority areas to strengthen the strategic partnership, focussing on cooperation in the realm of foreign policy and security. The event, which was graced by senior researchers, experts, and representatives of EU Member States in India, was held alongside the annual Raisina Dialogue.

Aimed at bringing together leading think tanks from India and the European Union to discuss the current geo-political environment in the regions, the workshop was organised in New Delhi on January 16, 2018. The initiative is aimed at bringing together leading think tanks from India and the European Union to promote better understanding and stimulate joint research to provide analytical inputs to the EU-India strategic partnership.

The workshop discussed the current context of EU-India relations in the backdrop of the emerging regional order in Asia focussing on issues such as the One Belt One Road initiative, connectivity, and the Indian Ocean. India's foreign policy towards Asia and the EU's growing interest in the region along with a future-oriented discussion on EU-India relations 10 years from now were also deliberated.

Leading Indian and European think tanks and institutions that participated in the conference included the Asia Pacific Research and Advice Network (APRAN) Brussels, Carnegie India, Chatham House UK, Clingendael Institute Netherlands, European Institute for Security Studies Brussels, Friends of Europe Brussels, Gateway House India Mumbai, Global Public Policy Institute Berlin, Istituto Affari Internazionali Rome, Jawaharlal Nehru University New Delhi, Latvian Institute of International Affairs Riga, Observer Research Foundation New Delhi, Polish Institute of International Affairs Warsaw and Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik Berlin.

This report highlights the main topics discussed at the workshop while presenting a session-wise summary.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The workshop comprised of seven sessions in toto ranging from stocktaking from previous Think Tanks Initiatives to panel discussions on topical issues in EU-India relationship. The Ambassador of the European Union to India, H. E. Mr. Tomasz Kozlowski inaugurated the workshop with his welcome address followed by welcome remarks by Mr. Samir Saran, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation. They highlighted that engagement of think tanks from the EU and India was important to generate fresh ideas and, to some extent, steer political thinking among decision makers to encourage them to go ahead with the cooperation.

The stocktaking session covered projects undertaken as part of previous TT initiatives. The panelists listed the three key takeaways from their projects. The discussion covered maritime security, cyber security, defense industry, radicalisation, Afghanistan, space policy and connectivity. It was highlighted that while EU and India are not necessarily natural security partners, they look at issues in a similar way and communication between the two could enhance further relations.

The subsequent session was a panel discussion on the 'Current Context of EU-India Relations: Emerging Regional Order Asia (One Belt, One Road Initiative, Connectivity and the Indian Ocean'. It commenced with an in-depth presentation by Dr. Manoj Joshi, Distinguished Fellow, ORF. He covered China's growing efforts to dominate connectivity in the region and its consequences in the long run. It was highlighted in the session that there are converging interests between India and EU in terms of shared destinations but there is a lack of shared priority, approach, and timing. There is a need to address this deficit while devising responses towards China's proposed BRI. The growing importance of Asian countries -- politically, economically and security wise—was discussed at the session.

The following session was on 'India's Foreign Policy Towards Asia/EU's Growing Interest in the Region? The key issues discussed at the session included a multipolar Asia with China's increasing assertiveness and India's efforts to seek partnerships with traditional partners as well as middle powers based in and outside the region. This further opens opportunities for India to work with the EU. The two can join forces in concrete areas like maritime security by joining existing initiatives that EU and member states are undertaking across the Indo-Pacific. The idea of developing shared concepts of rules-based international order as well as using instruments together and in third countries where India and EU can work together was also discussed.

The last session was on the future of EU-India relations ten years from now. The panel highlighted that while EU is getting more consolidated and becoming an easier partner, India is also going to be more attractive because of its economic growth. The discussion spanned across six main topics – investment, connectivity, development, crisis management, peace interventions, and redefining interventions. The panel said that India and EU have a lot to learn from each other on resilience vis-à-vis terrorism and maritime security. Democracies of the world are changing in digital technology, and both India and EU have similar opportunities to learn and develop together.

A session-wise detailed summary is given in the following chapters.

OPENING SESSION



H. E. TOMASZ KOZŁOWSKI, AMBASSADOR OF THE EUROPEAN UNION TO INDIA

The workshop commenced with the opening address by the Honorable Ambassador of the European Union to India, H. E. Tomasz Kozłowski. Expressing joy over the second consecutive Think Tanks workshop, Mr. Kozłowski said that the Raisina Dialogue was an important event that attracted regional attention. Mr. Kozłowski said that several important papers have been published under the Think Tanks Twinning Initiative that started two years ago. Therefore, continuation of the project, with participation from increasing number of think tanks and universities from both sides, was important.

Initiatives such as these were important because EU-India relations are in a new stage. The previous summit, held in October, designed a clear and forward-looking perspective for EU-India relations. In the past, the Indian leadership used to see the EU as an economic and trade bloc. He said that the last summit in October underlined the importance of political and security dimension of cooperation. The summit was unique and specific because of the tremendous interest paid by both sides to form a policy around security issues. The leaders from both sides

discussed issues of strategic importance and clear decisions were taken to step up security cooperation related to foreign policy issues including Afghanistan, China, Middle East, Iran and Russia. At the same time, the leaders took concrete decisions to go ahead with result-oriented cooperation in the field of counter terrorism. This was done along with the launch of an implementation process to cooperate on counter radicalism, sharing of information on cyber security and maritime security. He said that engagement of think tanks from both sides was important to give new ideas and, to some extent, steer political thinking among decision makers and encourage them to go ahead with the cooperation.

Highlighting the 'Call for Proposals' for new works, he invited Indian and EU think tanks to produce concept notes for joint research projects in 2018 in key areas of strategic significance in foreign security policy, international relations, and global governance. He said that EU institutions and the EU member states are working towards preparing a strategy on the EU's relations with India and contributions from the think tanks would be important in the process.

Following Mr. Kozłowski's welcome address, Mr. Samir Saran, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation (ORF) welcomed the participants to the Raisina Dialogue. He said that this year, the Raisina Dialogue had 80 participants from the EU, 28 from



SAMIR SARAN, VICE PRESIDENT, ORF

Twining Initiative was extremely useful in helping scholars work together on some solutions that may, in many ways, be responsive to what leaders from the region have discussed before them.

Russia, around 80 from the US. He said that the Russians and the Chinese were similar in number and if Taiwan was added, the tally crosses 35. However, he added, that the EU singularly is the most represented in the programme across themes and the largest number of speakers come from the European Union.

He added that this was by design and not by coincidence. Whether it is climate change, countering violent extremism, growth and trade or any relevant topic, there is a high probability of finding a European voice on the subject. He also highlighted that there was a new optimism and energy in the EU-India relationship and many of the EU-India ideas for the future of the world coincide. He said that while an agreement on the pathway to the ideas is still pending, the two regions have agreed to a common destination and that, in itself, was an achievement. He said that both EU and India agree that value-based politics and a collective response through a liberal rules-based framework on some key domains like cyber security, oceans, climate and ecosystems, finance and trade, was important. Highlighting that the two regions were still “fixing the nuts and bolts”, he said that the Think Tanks

STOCKTAKING SESSION

The first session at the workshop was a stocktaking exercise that included a discussion on the work conducted under the previous Think Tanks initiative.



STOCKTAKING SESSION IN PROGRESS

*L-R: MR. SAMEER
PATIL, DR. GARETH
PRICE, PROF UMMU
SALMA BAVA, DR.
CONSTANTINO
XAVIER, MS.
FRIEDERIKE
TSCHAMPA AND
MR. JOHN JOSEPH
WILKINS*

Speaker	Designation
Professor Ummu Salma Bava	Chairperson and Jean Monnet Chair, Centre for European Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi; and session Chair
Mr. Sameer Patil	Director, Centre for International Security, Gateway House – Indian Council on Global Relations, Mumbai
Dr. Gareth Price	Senior Research Fellow, Asia Programme, Chatham House – The Royal Institute of International Affairs, UK
Dr. Constantino Xavier	Fellow, Carnegie India, New Delhi
Ms. Friederike Tschampa	Head of Political Section, Delegation of the European Union
Mr. John Joseph Wilkins	Public Information Officer, EU Institute for Security Studies, Brussels; and session rapporteur

Professor Bava commenced the session by inviting the panelists to give three key takeaways from their projects. She said that it would give an insight into their accomplishments and set the tone for the next round of the Think Tank Twinning Initiative.

Mr. Sameer Patil, who commenced the discussion, said that their project focused on four sub-themes - India-EU maritime cooperation, defense cooperation, cyber cooperation and challenges in space cooperation. The project involved a mix of research as well as an exchange of commentaries. Overall, four papers and four commentaries on these topics were prepared and the findings were presented at networking seminars in Mumbai and Rome, followed by a presentation to the European Union officials in Brussels. Mr. Patil, then, discussed the four topics in detail.

India-EU Maritime Security: Though India and EU have exercised tackling traditional challenges of maritime security and maintaining the freedom of navigation, both sides differ on what constitutes the regional maritime security. On the Indian side, there is a perception that EU is essentially a player on the sidelines because barring the limited counter-piracy operations, there is no further role for the EU. The project gave a set of recommendations on taking the relationship forward. The recommendations said that an India-EU high level dialogue on maritime security should be developed along with a declaration on the intent of maritime security similar to the US-India joint strategic vision for the Asia Pacific and Indian Ocean region.

India-EU Defense Cooperation: He said that India had good defense ties with individual European countries like France, Germany and even Central and Western European countries but on the whole, there was a lack of substantial defense ties. India is in the midst of a massive defence modernisation and EU can provide political underpinning to that sustained defense engagement. The project recommended a set of dialogues on defense technology, strategic intelligence and on the fact that EU must treat India as a strategic partner in the true sense of the term. Two issues identified by the project included rivalry between EU defense companies and EU's extensive protracted dual use items which could hamper the talks between two entities.

India-EU Space Cooperation: He said that it was interesting to note that the space cooperation preceded the formation of the EU. However, the only EU programme which involves India currently is the Galileo programme barring which there is a dearth of Indian involvement which was a pity given India's vibrant space programme. Commencement of scientific diplomacy between the two sides to take forward the space cooperation was recommended.

Cyber Security and Data Protection: Patil said that India and EU have common concerns on cyber space front. Countering cyber extremism, use of social media by the radicals, critical infrastructure protection, cyber-crimes, and deep web were some of the common concerns. Despite these common threads, cooperation between the two remains symbolic because there is no cyber-security dialogue focusing on these issues. On a related aspect, the project also covered data protection as India's data emphasis is a big issue in the India-EU bilateral agenda of free trade. He said that there should be an understanding of Indian concerns and sensitivities on the issue of privacy by the EU to take forward the India-EU trade talks.

Following Mr. Patil, Dr Gareth Price presented the key takeaways from their project. He said that there needs to be acceptance on the fact that security priorities of EU and India are different. While EU's top security priorities would be Russia, and Middle East migration, India's top concerns would be China and Pakistan. He said that if India is looking at a holistic security partner, he would make the case for Japan above the EU. Therefore, finding the niches and entry points where there is space for constructive dialogue and issues based on shared interests was important. Ideally, when strategic issues are discussed, there are lessons on both sides. He said that if one dissects security issues it appears that different issues have different methods.

While some issues on the level of discussion might not necessarily lead to any substantive amendment, others would require higher level of official cooperation. For instance, on terrorism, the Indian side would talk about Pakistan, which would be an interesting discussion but not a substantive one. While Middle East was of importance to both sides. He said that migration from the Middle East was a massive concern for the EU and safety of expatriate workers in the Gulf was a common concern for India and the EU.

The project covered three topics: Middle East, maritime security, and EU security operations in Atlanta and Somalia. In terms of specific niche issues, there were opportunities of shared learning and understanding on the Indian side. Radicalisation and terrorism were the issues with the scope for shared learning, he said. A massive problem was the number of people leaving the EU and going to the Islamic state. He noted that it was interesting that despite India having the second largest Muslim population in the world, more people have joined the Islamic State (IS) from the Maldives than India. He said that Islamic radicalisation was a massive problem for both regions, and an entry point where both can act as signatories and have shared interests aligned.

Dr. Constantino Xavier was the next panelists to discuss the key takeaways from their project which included two policy dialogues, in Brussels and New Delhi. Two workshops to join academics, scholars, experts and importantly government officials from both sides were organised under the project. They also organised side events. For instance, they spoke at Vesalius University in Brussels to communicate their research to a broader audience. They published op-eds for media engagement. For example, joint op-eds were published in The Hindu by a team of researchers from both sides. The topics

- *There is a need for more communication between India and the EU*
- *Think tanks can facilitate knowledge creation and substantiate general goodwill between the regions*

covered under the project worked included conflict and stability in Afghanistan, peacekeeping operations, particularly in Africa, and EU approach, the larger Eurasian infrastructure connectivity project, and maritime security focused on the Indian Ocean. He said that it was gratifying to look at the EU Parliament resolution on political relations between the EU and India in September last year. Calling the resolution bold, he said it was different from the interventionist resolutions the same EU Parliament would have passed on India 10 years ago. This is a very positive resolution and many of the topics in

all our partnership projects are reflected in that resolution, and that sort of recognition was gratifying, he added.

The first main takeaway from the project was EU-India relations are in a state of flux. Both the regions are trying to expand their security and strategic horizons, trying to become more prominent players in terms of projecting power and influence beyond their immediate regions. The EU's global and maritime security strategy are a representation of these objectives. India, obviously, is concerned about the rise of China, the erratic and reluctant United States, and therefore it is looking for partnerships. The relationship between India and Japan speaks volumes about the way it is looking to diversify its partnerships to new countries and new actors. In this case, the EU shows up as an interesting possibility for India. He added that there was a lot of interest and goodwill on both sides and think tanks play the role of facilitating and substantiating this general goodwill in concrete areas where progress can be achieved.

He said that EU and India look at issues in a similar manner. They approach the problems on international security and strategy in the same way, but they do it separately without talking to each other unlike China and the EU, or the US and the EU. He said that there was a tremendous convergence in the way Europeans and Indians look and identify similar problems in global order, stability, security but they do it in different ways. For instance, in terms of capacity building of the security forces and operations in Afghanistan, and maritime security. Projects like the Think Tank initiative could help by identifying concrete areas where the two regions can talk to each other, share respective individual experiences, pool resources and work together in a coordinated and cooperated way as joint partner in third countries. He said that the nexus between Europeans and Indians in security, development and democracy was important for the establishment of a liberal order.

Following him, Ms. Friederike Tschampa presented her key takeaways. She said that good use of the recommendations made by think tanks has been made in terms of the substantive areas in which the EU can venture into cooperation with its Indian

partners. For instance, the joint statement that was negotiated for the Summit in October is an evidence of both sides making efforts to accommodate each other in terms of situation and topics. She said that the work by think tanks was impactful and appreciated.

She said that there was certainly a need for more communication in several ways - more communication on the EU in India, and India in the EU to know the partner better as the EU has moved from an economic and trade bloc to a foreign and security actor. It is also important to talk about a common attempt to uphold the multilateral world order and find global rules-based solution. There is a functionality to the EU foreign and security policy both in terms of the mechanisms for finding and defining common positions but also the tools that have been created including the common action, and common crisis management. India and EU have common global threats and challenges and they should work together on them, she said. The EU is sort of a first unit in which these solutions are explored. This has been an inspiration for other regions. Therefore, communication is a crucial factor.

Concrete Cooperation: She said that though there are issues where concrete cooperation already exists including Afghanistan and Iran, there is still a host of other regional issues where the two partners venture out in different directions. The joint statement has taken up Africa as an area of future discussion and the think tanks could give an insight on doing that in practice. She said that already specific security cooperation between the two partners has been worked out with four pre-defined dialogues in the Agenda 2020: Non-Proliferation and Disarmament, Cyber Security, Counter Terrorism, Counter Piracy. Under this umbrella of dialogues, the aim is to specify what can be done concretely together. This needs a mapping of competencies and capabilities, she added. On concrete cooperation, she said, it was important to choose the right level of experts. Therefore, they would be very specific in inviting professional experts from now on. Adding that preparing for the future was crucial, she said that the think tanks workshop will be important in sketching out the challenges ahead and identifying the areas where more collaboration could be achieved. She said that while more specific context between the military structures was needed, it was also important to identify interesting capabilities for the EU like the civilian crisis management. She concluded by saying that allies and partnership are needed to multiply the knowledge and think tanks have helped in spreading the knowledge and building a case for cooperation.

To summarise the session, Professor Bava asked the panelists what they would do differently if they were to design their projects again as identifying mistakes is an important point of the learning curve. Commencing the discussion, Mr. Sameer Patil said that going beyond philosophical or conceptual discussions to look at substantial areas of cooperation was the way forward. Dr. Gareth Price said that their project chose tangible areas. However, more dialogue on the less tangible areas like crisis management was needed. Dr. Constantino Xavier said that it's always better to reduce the presence of generalists on EU-India and increasing the presence of actual sector-specific experts and decision makers was needed.

Concluding the session, Professor Bava said that understanding each other was a crucial aspect in EU-India relations. The partnership is more than 54 years old and it was now time to bite the bullet. There was a certain amount of ambition which can be discerned on both sides whether it's New Delhi or Brussels. She said that there are multiple narratives of the liberal rules-based order and it was important to discuss how the issues of concern on both sides be tied together within this liberal narrative order. She added that there was an absolute lack of understanding about India in Europe and about Europe in India. There was a need for knowledge creation and communication, she said. She noted that the discourse has moved beyond trade and other important issues such as maritime security, and cyber security were making inroads. She said that think tanks initiative was a platform where important ideas are explored and dispersed. Creating communities which are responsive will offer opportunities for enhancing the engagement on both sides, she concluded.

**PANEL 1: CURRENT CONTEXT OF EU-INDIA RELATIONS: EMERGING REGIONAL ORDER IN ASIA
(ONE BELT ONE ROAD INITIATIVE, CONNECTIVITY, INDIAN OCEAN)**

Speaker	Designation
Dr. Christian Wagner	Senior Fellow, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) Berlin; and session Chair
Dr. Manoj Joshi	Distinguished Fellow, ORF, New Delhi
Dr. Andris Spruds	Latvian Institute of International Affairs, Riga
Dr. Maaïke Okano-Heijmans	Senior Research Fellow, Clingendael Institute Netherlands; and session rapporteur



DR. MANOJ JOSHI ADDRESSING THE FIRST PANEL ON OBOR INITIATIVE

The first panel discussion at the workshop, following stocktaking, was focused on connectivity. Dr Manoj Joshi presented a paper on the BRI – One Belt One Road initiative and analysed various Chinese connectivity schemes. He said that the goals of Chinese connectivity schemes are:

- To develop ports and railways to use up excess capacity on infrastructural engineering
- To rise in the global value chain shedding light manufacturing jobs to Asia and Africa while integrating them into the value chain

- To promote Chinese-led financial institutions which includes the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), as well as the Chinese policy banks
- To develop China's poorer Western region like Xinjiang which is experiencing a separatist movement
- To create energy route which is proof against interdiction
- Use of high speed transportation networks to crunch Eurasia's vast distance

His whole thesis is that nations, particularly in South Asia, get distracted by the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and think that everything is happening because of the India Ocean but actually the OBOR is all about reaching Europe. He presented a map showing a railway line from Suzhou railway station going right across India. He said it was the southern leg of the BRI. Though India has not been supportive of the BRI, this map shows the Chinese future plans. He said that railroad and port development in East Africa was a priority for China. Already, there are special economic zones in Ethiopia, Mauritius, Zambia, Nigeria, and new ports are being built in Kenya and railroad between Mombasa and Nairobi. These are also linked to oil concessions and oil pipelines that China owns. He added that India has specific concerns about CPEC as it passed through a territory that is legally Indian. Beyond that, India worries over CPEC's actual meaning. Does CPEC mean deeper Chinese commitment to Pakistan? It could have implications for the region as commitment may mean economic along with the military.

Another focus area for Chinese is Middle East and the Indian Ocean region for different reasons including Saudi Arabia and Iran which was incidentally the largest aid recipient of China between 2000-2014 and a very important focus area. He said that the Chinese are developing a lot of port deals in the Gulf. It was striking that the UAE is a big entry port for both India and China. He said that Oman which is key for BRI as it faces India, Pakistan, Iran and Eastern Africa, is the fourth largest oil exporter to China. China is investing \$10.7 billion in developing the port of Duqm between the Gulfs of Oman and Aden.

He said that the map of China's energy routes shows the possibility of interdiction by the US Navy or the Indian Navy through the Straits of Hormuz or Malacca. China is obsessed with the idea. According to him, the destination of the OBOR is Europe. Already 12 Chinese cities are linked to 10 European destinations and the number has increased to almost 14 trains a week from China to European cities. Initially the Chinese routes used to go via Russia and Kazakhstan, but they have developed Southern route which completely avoids Russia. This shows a long-range thinking on the part of the Chinese indicating they don't want to be dependent on anyone particularly on a big power like Russia.

- *Connectivity is a crucial issue*
- *Nations should cherry pick OBOR and, at the same time, collectively pressure the Chinese*
- *EU and India can work together to come up with alternatives to OBOR*

He said that Chinese activity in Central Europe where they're building a rail line from Hungary through Serbia, Macedonia, and Greece was interesting. While Western Europe is the source of technology and markets, Eastern Europe is seen as an investment opportunity and a logistical base.

China has created a 16+1 Central and Eastern European countries (CEEC) body which is successfully helping to break the EU unity, he said. Dr. Joshi pointed towards the political activity including South China Sea arbitration award and the EU's modified reaction to it because of resistance from a few countries.

He said that BRI is a vast geo-strategic project which seeks to transform China's political and economic standing in the world. The problem faced by BRI is that it needs to generate trust as no one trusts it. Countries like India and Russia worry about the geo-political consequences of OBOR. Small countries worry about taking sides and some are concerned about dependency. China is the biggest source of external finance to Central Asia via aids and grants. China doesn't mind if dependency is created in smaller countries like Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Oman, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. Its geopolitical targets are larger – Europe, US, and Russia.

He said that within India there are a number of important connectivity projects – Delhi-Mumbai Corridor, Delhi-Kolkata Corridor. Because India is seen as one country, the implications of this connectivity are not realised, but India is like several European countries because of its huge size. If these internal connectivity schemes come up, they will have huge implications for regional economy and regional politics.

- *The Indian Ocean is going through a dynamic transformation*
- *China is becoming increasingly assertive and looking into Europe for trade and other initiatives*

He spoke about the Asian-African Growth Corridor which is now being proposed by India and Japan. After the OBOR, Indian, Japan and US have been thinking about financing, but the lack of funds for the US is a problem. Europeans and the Americans would rather have the private sector take the lead, he said. However, it is important to create conditions where the private sector can do so.

He said that one of the ways the US did this in the past, although controversial, was the government providing insurance for private sector investments. He said that the Europeans also need to look beyond their region and look South to the Indian ocean to some extent.

He concluded by saying that the issue of connectivity was an extremely important one. The Indian Ocean in itself is changing. The Chinese military activity has been happening in the region since 2014. He said that it was unclear what direction these issues will take in future but definitely the OBOR is a challenge that confronts everyone if they believe that it sets up wrong principles of financing, dependency syndrome or its not beneficial to the people in the region. The challenge is to come up with alternatives and that is an area where EU and India need to think hard.

Following Dr. Joshi's presentation, Dr Andris Spruds, Director, Latvian Institute of International Affairs, Riga brought the Latvian perspective on EU-India cooperation. The perspective followed the general assessment that the relations were intensifying.

Speaking of regional trends, he said that Asia was growing in power and importance. At the same time, complexity is growing as well. On one hand, Asia is growing in importance in what is being called axial supercontinent of Eurasia. And the complexity of trends is also rising. The positive trends include trade, and innovation. He said that while Asia, including India, is becoming a hub or centre of global supply of manufacturing networks, it was also in many ways becoming a source of instability and tension. Some would compare the analogy of South East Asia with pre-first world war situation when there were growing powers and tensions. The instability in the Middle East was one of the reasons.

He said that the Indian Ocean is also experiencing dynamic transformation. It's a great game on a great scale, he said, adding that there were a number of stakeholders, initiatives, organisations in the wider Eurasian area, increasing institutionalisation.



SPEAKERS AT PANEL 1

L-R: DR. MAAIKE OKANO- HEIJMANS, DR. ANDRIS SPRUDS, DR. MANOJ JOSHI, DR. CHRISTIAN WAGNER, DR. CONSTANTINO XAVIER AND DR. GARIMA MOHAN

But at the same time, it coexists with the policies of nations first. The sentiment is India is being activist in the global area and that's more and more visible. China is becoming increasingly assertive in present and looking into Europe for trade and other initiatives, for example 16+1 (Latvia is a part of 16+1). For some it's soft expansionism but for others it's excessive and a concern, he said.

Competition, and confusion among different ideas and projects is a challenge, he said. Even if we take connectivity, we see a lot of ambiguity on those initiatives. India has not been supportive towards the BRI; however, India is an important stakeholder in the AIIB.

Another issue is diversity of strategic foreign policy approaches and interests. Different perceptions of threats persist in EU and India, he said. While India is more cautious of China, Europe is cautious of Russia. Another issue is diversity of societal models. There are different societal development models and it creates difference in the way EU and India approach issues.

Taking a cue from Benjamin Netanyahu who said Israel and India are the world's best democracies, he said that Europe and India are the best democracies and they must understand each other. He said that while there were strategic misconceptions, different assessment gaps on each other's involvement, and expectation gaps there were also opportunities for convergence.

He highlighted counter terrorism, counter piracy, cyber security, climate change, as common interests. He added that both India and EU were interested in a rules-based global order.

- *India and EU are interested in a rules-based global order*
- *Counter terrorism, cyber security & climate change are common interests*
- *Connectivity provides an opportunity to work together*

Speaking of connectivity, he said that though it has its challenges but there are positive elements as well. Latvia considers connectivity to be a comprehensive phenomenon. It brings economies closer under a sustainable, rules-based approach. In the context of infrastructural connectivity, he said, Northern Europe is interested in India's potential project connecting Iran, Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Baltic Sea.

Connectivity provides an opportunity for connecting dots. Not only suppliers and receivers are on board for the project but also countries in between - Central Asia, Belarus and Russia. He said that Russia was important and indispensable if Asia has to connect with Europe in transportation. Of course, with Russia it will never be a marriage in heaven, but at least a marriage of convenience might be arranged, he said. Russia is an important economic and trade partner but not an easy partner, he said. Dr. Spruds said that deepening of mutual cooperation and understanding was required between EU and India which is a work in progress.

Following his address, the house was opened for questions. Dr. Joshi was asked about the contradiction between India being one of the founding members of AIIB and its stark opposition to the OBOR. Responding to the question, Dr. Joshi said there was another government when India became a member of the AIIB. He said that India and other nations should cherry pick OBOR and take what they can from it and at the same time, collectively pressure the Chinese which they have now started to feel.

The next question was on the area of cooperation between Europe and India to jointly develop the North-South International Corridor complementary to Chinese connectivity initiatives. Dr. Joshi highlighted the Chabahar project for Central Asia and Afghanistan, and the International North-South Transportation Corridor Project to link western Indian ports to Bandar Abbas through Iran and onto the Baltic ports. He said discussion on protocols, procedures and customs were needed so that a container that leaves from an Indian port lands up at a European destination.

He said that Iran's relations with the US were a concern. If there was a breakdown of Iranian relations with the US, then India has to confront a dilemma in dealing with this. As with Chabahar, some Indian banks are reluctant to invest because they worry about the American tendency to embargo. He said that ways and means to work around the unpredictable American policy were needed.

Dr. Andris Spruds said a dual approach could be the answer. It includes cherry picking on one hand and complementing it on the another. He said India could play an important role in connecting the South and North corridor to the West and East corridor. Apart from political and geopolitical turmoil and challenges – i.e. Iran or Afghanistan, there is no sustainability without profitability. Basically, the question is how much it costs to have a cargo shipment from India reach the Baltic port. If its profitable, then it could be perceived as complementary and synergy project to the Chinese OBOR.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS ASIA/EU'S GROWING INTEREST IN THE REGION?

Speaker	Designation
Dr. Christian Wagner	Senior Fellow, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) Berlin; and session Chair
Dr. Constantino Xavier	Fellow, Carnegie India, New Delhi
Dr. Garima Mohan	Project Manager, Global Public Policy Institute, Germany; and rapporteur

Dr Constantino Xavier, started with an overview of India's changing strategic outlook with regards to its neighbourhood, Indo-Pacific or Asia Pacific region and the areas of convergence between India and EU. He also spoke about the challenges to that potential of convergence. He said that there was a new self-confidence in India, focusing on quality growth towards standards and regulations which is very different from the India of 10-15 years ago. He also highlighted that China was more capable and assertive across Asia which is again a change from 10-15 years ago. Speaking of the change in the United States, he said it was relatively declining not only in terms of capability but also in terms of intentions to change and playing a more assertive role beyond its shores under President Trump. These changes have kept India on a path of multi-alignment, of trying out new partnerships with countries which are termed as middle powers. In this context, the story with Japan is the most interesting, he said.

The manner in which India has reached out and accelerated its relationship with Japan was interesting. The revival of its quadrilateral relationship together with Japan, US and Australia is another indication. But across the board, there is a new appetite in New Delhi for middle powers and micro powers to serve as facilitators for new partnerships with India, he said. This is a function of less reliance on United States and on the other side necessary to balance China by forging these partnerships. This is where the EU comes in – the main reason beyond all economic, normative, values reasons, this is the main material and structural incentive which is driving the new Indian interest in the European Union and Europe at large. In terms of areas of convergence, specific areas within the larger structural approach need to be explored, he said.

As the BRI is taking shape across the Eurasian heartland, India is looking at alternatives and any type of connectivity between India and Europe will then have to go across this unstable and volatile region whether it's the North Indian Ocean, or the Gulf Straits in the East, he said. Hence, connectivity is the main issue now between Europe and India, he said. Speaking on global governance, he said that reform of the multilateral institutions has been a demand from BRICS and other emerging powers. The importance of multilaterals must factor for greater stability, greater cooperation and coordination across complex areas whether its climate change or trade – two areas which have faced greater setbacks in terms of institutional solutions.

Another area is the nexus between security, development and democracy, which is very dear to the Europeans. A look at their foreign policy instruments and document in the EU highlights the strong nexus and the interdependent relationship between security, development and democracy. In that sense, there is a potential between Europe and India to work together on capacity building of third countries with a focus on transferring technical knowhow, training, and software connectivity in the big infrastructure projects. This includes strengthening rule of law, democracy systems and facilitating transitions of a lot of societies in South Asia which are embracing more democratic institutions like Myanmar, Sri Lanka, and Nepal. Several countries in South Asia and beyond are transitioning to more liberal systems and EU and India have a great potential to join hands and assist these countries, he said.

He suggested three Cs to improve partnership between the regions. Converse more: Often EU and India do the same things, but side by side. Compared to other actors, similarities are much more striking than differences, for example training security forces in Afghanistan, the importance of maritime security and existing legal frameworks that underpin maritime security. There is a great need to converse more, he said. He suggested more shared assessments and bringing in third partners to have more trilateral partnerships like EU, Afghanistan and India or multilateral ones like EU, India and Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC).

Second C was coordinate. Division of labour and focus on competitive advantages were needed if the regions work on similar issues. Cooperation was the most important aspect beyond conversation and coordination. India and EU must coordinate and cooperate on issues, he said. Joining forces in joint projects of capacity building was suggested.

He said that on the Indian side, there are two things which are quite striking. India has been pushing for more cooperation but often fails to deliver. Under the EU NAVFOR (Operation ATALANTA) in the Indian Ocean, EU has pressed several times for Navy support to the world food programme shipping to Africa, particularly Somalia. And despite several such requests, India has not done a single escort mission, while China has done 11. This is the Indian Ocean, an area which should be India's particular zone of influence, he said. In terms of capacity for delivering, India needs to start doing more, he added.

There are stronger NATO-China ties than NATO-India ties. This speaks volumes about India's reluctance and lack of capacity to perform on these expectations from its partners. On the EU side, there are two challenges –the EU Global Strategy. The EU needs to project more power and influence beyond Europe to protect its borders. EU is seen developing more ground presence beyond Europe and its periphery that means Africa, Indian ocean region, Central Asia and South Asia. And second is there will be costs in EU reaching out to India. There will be more pressure from China on the European countries and on EU at large to not engage as much as the EU would like to do with India. This is a scenario EU needs to prepare for, he said.

- *India is increasingly looking at middle and micro powers to forge new partnerships*
- *For EU-India convergence, specific areas within the larger structural approach need to be explored*
- *There is a lot of scope for EU-India to collaborate in their activities in the Indian Ocean*

Dr Garima Mohan complemented Dr. Xavier and talked about three thematic areas where India's foreign and strategic interests in EU foreign policy coincide with Europe's interests, particularly in Asia. These included maritime security, connectivity and a broader move towards ensuring a multipolar Asia with the relative US retreat and stronger presence of China. In terms of maritime security, EU's work in the Asia Pacific and its interests have a lot of potential to complement and partner with India. Maritime security, particularly in the Indian Ocean, is a top foreign policy priority for India as it has been moving towards the idea of a broader Pacific. India is looking at extra regional partnerships, that are not based in the Indian Ocean per se and there is a scope for partnering with EU, US, Japan and Australia. India wants to be the net security provider in the Indian Ocean, it wants to be more involved in search and rescue, humanitarian and disaster relief operations. The EU already undertakes these operations in the western Indian Ocean rather than the eastern Indian Ocean which is India's area of focus.

The EU's activity in the Indian Ocean, includes most importantly the EU NAVFOR Atalanta Mission, and also programmes that are lesser known in India such as MaSe which is for regional maritime security in the western Indian Ocean, CMR which is for Critical Maritime Routes that protects the choke points from the Straits of Malacca, Singapore, and Africa. India is doing big reach programmes like CRIMARIO (critical maritime routes Indian Ocean) which is developing maritime domain awareness,



AUDIENCE AT THE THINK TANK TWINNING WORKSHOP

with Sri Lanka, Maldives, Seychelles but has not reached out to the EU yet and EU has not reached out to India or expanded these programmes in the eastern Indian Ocean. There is a lot of potential to do so if both partners are interested. EU member states also participate in multilateral exercises- missions like RECAP which extend from the Gulf to South China Sea. The EU has a high-level maritime dialogue with ASEAN where it discusses non-traditional security issues. EU can collaborate with India given India's new interests in the region.

In areas of traditional security, post tsunami search and rescue and broadly HADR (Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster relief) missions there is a scope for EU-India to work together on top of the broader normative engagement and cooperation and ensuring freedom of navigation and open seas which is of interest to both partners. She said connectivity was another important issue. India is leading a number of its own initiatives along with Act East policy. It has also developed a more principled position and criticism of BRI which is a good opportunity for the EU to utilise. While discussing the impact of BRI in South Asia, its implications on European unity and political cohesion as well as European security are often overlooked along with the impact on trade and business.

As Europe comes up with its connectivity strategy, it cannot afford to ignore the Indian Ocean region, she said. Majority of the European trade transits through the Indian Ocean, its choke points are extremely important for European business to reach the lucrative Asia Pacific markets. In the future, more engagement through the India Ocean not just on maritime security but also on connectivity is expected. Especially as port development in the region will have both business impact as

well security. Ports are used for logistics and refueling, it will bring Chinese navy presence to Europe's doorsteps. That would create greater potential for EU-India cooperation, she said.

Finally, a move towards ensuring a multipolar Asia is in the broad interest of both partners. EU has, from the beginning, been supporting multilateralism by investing in regional institutions that support stability and India will increasingly move towards that direction, she said. India is reaching out to ASEAN countries as well as other partners in this policy of multi-alignment to ensure that Asia doesn't become unipolar as China increases its political and economic presence. Both EU and India will have a number of opportunities to explore the potential for more cooperation, she said.

The house was then opened for questions. The panelists were asked how EU and India can shape the conversation on the rules of the BRI. Dr. Mohan said that it was possible to shape the rules. Till now Europe had been of the view that through engaging and participating in BRI, it can shape the initiative from within. It proved to be more difficult, easier said than done, she said. She said that to ensure a level playing field, the issues of transparency, fair competition, bidding processes being open to all companies, were brought up at the Belt and Road Forum where all European countries together took a stand that unless these issues were addressed, they would not sign the statement at the end of the forum. On these points, EU and India can shape the conversation particularly on standards and procedures that are followed within BRI, she said. She said she was unsure on the procedure or the platform to do this but there was a possibility of New Delhi and Brussels connecting and exploring the idea.

Dr. Xavier said that it was interesting to note that India released a strong statement on May 14 expressing its concerns over BRI and a day later the EU refused to sign it and took a contentious position. Its concerns were quite similar to the Indian ones which speaks of the convergence of how EU and India look at the issue in the same way. He said that EU-India concerns and visions about BRI on sustainability, fiscal burden, and environmental issue are similar. The challenge is to move beyond the concerns and implement an alternative set of criteria of connectivity.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS



*EEAS DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL PEDRO SERRANO
DELIVERING THE KEYNOTE ADDRESS*

The next session commenced with the keynote address by **EEAS Deputy Secretary-General Pedro Serrano** on development of 'EU Foreign and Security Policy after the adoption of the Global Strategy.' The house was opened for a question and answer session post his address. The session was moderated by Dr Manoj Joshi.

Mr. Serrano said that the European Union has been an important International actor for many decades. The EU has an important development policy, and trade policy but when it started working on its security and defense policy and diplomatic tools, it gained international acknowledgement. He noted that while each region has its problem, the answer lies in putting appropriate tools and structures in place. He said that the European Union has managed to make an impact through its actions in crisis situations. The EU is putting in place tools to address the security crisis like instability and migration. The EU Global strategy has an important security and defense dimension on protecting European citizens and addressing crisis in its neighborhood.

The European Union has always been an actor that has wanted to work with other countries on solving problems, he said. The EU wants to strengthen a rules-based international order, he said. He highlighted the main elements of the EU global strategy. These include increased cooperation in developing defense capability; and crisis management

structures of the European Union; non-conventional threats like cyber terrorism; and working with partners.

He said there was a need to engage more with partners on security issues. He advocated an integrated approach in tackling security issues. It is important to have a global approach to mobilise all instruments towards development of trade and humanitarian cooperation in order to have an impact and make a difference, he said. He said that the region is amid the most difficult security conditions. He gave examples of the volatility in Ukraine, east Europe, regional crisis in the middle east and the gulf, and also the south of Europe in Libya, Sahel crisis.

He said that Europe's immediate neighborhood was going through volatility and there was a risk of spillover if the situation worsens. He highlighted the refugee migration crisis of 2015 particularly as an example. Though things have entered into calmer waters now because of EU actions, the problem is far from over, he said. He added the EU is putting mechanisms in place to counter terrorism and the main components of its global strategy include protection of EU citizens, addressing crisis in neighborhood and building partner capabilities.

He said that EU has to work in multilateral environment with global partners. Increased cooperation in developing defense capabilities; strengthening of crisis management; looking as well into non-conventional threats; working with partners; and overriding this work is acute awareness of the need to engage more outside if they want to ensure security back home.

He said that there is a need to see how internal security elements are better aligned with external security means. He said an integrated approach to tackle security and defense issues is needed. It is important to mobilise all resources and diplomatic tools to have an impact, he said. Speaking of deradicalisation, he said cultural element is important and they need to be developed jointly. EU cannot continue with current atomised system of defense industry in Europe, he said. It has to bring together and consolidate the defense industry, and member states have to work together in developing capabilities.

He said that the European commission has decided to support research on defense. A Defense fund to finance 500 million euros in research and 1 billion euros annually for capability development from 2020 would be started if approved by member states.

He said that there were 16 crisis management operations going on currently with six being military and 10 civilian. He said that 6000 people are deployed in these operations. He said that crisis management tools can be used in Africa. The EU will develop more advisory and training for key partners to fight terrorism and organised crime. He also highlighted ongoing maritime operations in Balkan, Georgia, and Ukraine regions.

He said that the EU is ready to go beyond its immediate area of concern. It is strengthening mechanisms on cyber security. He said that cooperation with partners was at the heart of EU security and defense. It is enhancing cooperation with partner countries. EU is aware that if it wants security in Europe, security in Asia was crucial.

EU has been investing heavily in security in Afghanistan and has engaged with all countries in the region. He said that after the latest EU-India summit, they can reengage and strengthen cooperation with India on security measures. EU is ready to engage more and keen to learn from partners. He said EU and India share values and conviction that if they want to advance, a rules-based international order was a prerequisite.

PANEL 2: THE FUTURE OF EU-INDIA RELATIONS: WHERE DO WE WANT TO BE 10 YEARS FROM NOW CONCERNING FOREIGN & SECURITY POLICY COOPERATION

Speaker	Designation
Ms. Shada Islam	Director of Policy, Friends of Europe; and session Chair
Mr. Patryk Kugiel	Senior Analyst, Asia Pacific programme, Polish Institute for International Affairs (PISM) Warsaw
Dr. Nicola Casarini	Senior Fellow and Head of Research Asia, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome
Dr. Garima Mohan	Project Manager, Global Public Policy Institute, Germany
Mr. Philipp Rotmann	Associate Director, Global Public Policy Institute, Berlin; and rapporteur



SPEAKERS AT PANEL 2

L-R: DR. NICOLA CASARINI, MR. PATRYK KUGIEL, MS. SHADA ISLAM, MR. PHILIPP ROTMANN AND DR. GARIMA MOHAN

Commencing the session, Ms. Islam said that geopolitical turmoil is fundamentally changing the EU-India relations. Highlighting Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to Brussels in March 2016 and the last EU-India summit, she said that this relationship has gained more oomph and moving ahead faster. She said that EU and India are rediscovering each other. This is a defining moment for the EU. People are bereft that US is receding from its traditional role. Europe is making footprint on the global stage and India is also emerging in international politics with more self-confidence and assertiveness than before.

She said that the narrative on India as seen from the EU is changing. However, it still does not get as much press as China. However, whatever coverage India gets is constructive and re-energising. She said that think tanks, in the last few years, were frustrated while endeavoring to bring EU-India relationship to a mature place. Finally, they have started getting results. She said that the times were unpredictable and volatile. The US President Donald Trump may or may not complete his four years' tenure. The US is entering a new era where its influence will be reduced. She added that the world will depend on EU-India relationship.

She said that the FTA between the regions has to work for the wider relationship to work. The areas that hold hope for EU-India include—the future of SAARC where India has a crucial role to play in developing SAARC; peacemaking and mediation. There is no dearth of new ideas, she said. If there is an agreement on international rules of connectivity, it would be an important development. Adding that EU-India need to keep up this dialogue, she said that they have to manage expectations and differences.

Mr. Patryk Kugiel said that there was untapped potential for cooperation between EU and India. He said that the future looks bright. His optimism was based on the consolidation of the European union. It has left behind the crisis it faced in the last couple of years, he said. There will be probably no exits or enlargement in the next ten years. The EU will integrate, he projected. He said that India's fast rate of development shows that by 2028 it will be among the largest powers in the world. EU is looking for partners beyond China and the US and India seems to be the natural choice. There is a growing strategical convergence of geopolitics between EU and India with regards to terrorism, piracy, climate change, sustainable development goals, he said. He said that in the next ten years, EU and India will have strong economic, political and regional cooperation.

- *The US is entering an era where its influence on global issues will be reduced*
- *There is an untapped potential for cooperation between India and the EU*
- *There needs to be a change of perception on the Indian side to see EU as an important defence and security partner*

Dr. Nicola Casarini said that substantial development in space cooperation between EU and India was missing. He expressed hope that space technology and maritime security become areas of collaboration going forward. He said that in the last few years, the focus has been on cooperation. It was time to enlarge this cooperation not just geographically but also on relevant issues. He said that the EU has collaborated a lot with China and it can also do the same with India. The regions should not be afraid of a possibility of a Chinese dominance. Rather collaboration with China can prove to be productive, he said.

Dr Garima Mohan said that EU and India have been working in extended overlapping neighborhoods. They have different understanding on issues, but they approach them in a similar manner. EU and India operate in parallel bubbles and she expressed hope that they move beyond dialogues and working groups to better institutionalised coordination and cooperation. She said that increasing inter-operability on the ground was needed.

There should be a better dialogue between the regions, she said. When it comes to conflict resolution, the EU is not mentioned anywhere. There needs to be a change of perception on the Indian side to see EU as an important defense and security partner, she added.

WRAP-UP SESSION



SPEAKERS AT THE WRAP-UP SESSION

L-R: DR MAAIKE OKANO- HEIJMANS, FRIEDERIKE TSCHAMPA, PHILIPP ROTMANN, DR GARIMA MOHAN AND DR CONSTANTINO XAVIER

The concluding session included a panel discussion on the further course of action under the Think Tanks Twinning Initiative. Chaired and moderated by Ms. Friederike Tschampa, the session included rapporteurs from the previous sessions as panelists. Ms. Tschampa allotted four to five minutes to each panelist to sum up their respective sessions.

John Joseph Wilkins who was the rapporteur for the first session highlighted the overlapping topics covered by various panelists. These broadly included maritime security, cyber security, defense industry, radicalisation, Afghanistan, space policy and connectivity. He said that the initiative marks an acknowledgment that India-EU relationship is ready to move beyond trade. It is also important to acknowledge the different layers and levels for potential in each of the fields and finding the right entry point for each one of them. He said that while EU and India are not necessarily natural security partners, they look

at issues in a similar way and communication between the two could enhance further relations. There is a need to multiply the knowledge of the EU. The idea of removing generalists think tanks and including specific experts was highlighted. He concluded by saying that despite the challenges, there is a lot of optimism as far as India-EU relationship goes.

The second speaker was Dr Maaïke Okano- Heijmans who was the rapporteur for the panel discussion on the 'Current Context Of EU-India Relations: Emerging Regional Order In Asia (One Belt One Road Initiative, Connectivity, Indian Ocean)'. She highlighted the schemes of connectivity which were discussed in the session. She also spoke about the connectivity strategy which is currently being devised in Brussels. She highlighted that there are converging interests between India and EU in terms of shared destinations but there is a lack of shared priority, approach, and timing. There is a need to address this deficit while devising responses towards China's proposed BRI. The growing importance of Asian countries -- politically, economically and security wise—was discussed.

She added that under its global strategy the EU wants to do more in and with Asia. The importance of economic growth in Asia for the EU and the instability in the region particularly in North Korea, and south China sea are the issues facing the EU. Engagement between EU and India would be pragmatic to develop responses to these issues. Exchange of information is a way of mutual learning, she said. Financing mechanisms are important to ensure private sector is also contributing to EU-India relations. Raising awareness, security, connectivity and cooperation in third countries was crucial. She concluded by saying that besides trade it was important to keep security and political affairs in mind when it comes to EU-India relations.

Dr Garima Mohan summarised the subsequent panel discussion on 'India's foreign policy towards Asia and EU's growing interest in the region'. She highlighted the key four issues that were discussed. Insuring a multipolar Asia with China's increasing assertiveness; India's multi-alignment seeking partnerships with traditional partners as well as middle powers based in and outside the region, therefore, opening opportunities to work with the EU. The EU, on the other hand, is strengthening its profile in Asia going beyond strategic partnerships but also developing agreements with countries, participating in security dialogues, and increasing its presence in the region in general. It opens opportunities for the two regions to work together. Concrete areas like maritime security where the idea is to join the already existing initiatives that EU and member states are undertaking across the Indo-Pacific to India's increasing maritime ambitions. Connectivity was another issue that was discussed. The idea of developing shared concepts of rules-based international order as well as using instruments together and in third countries where India and EU can work together. Also, cooperation in third countries in strengthening democracies and building capacities was discussed.

Philipp Rotmann summarised the last panel of the workshop. The session was titled the 'Future of EU-India relations: Where do we want to be 10 years from now concerning foreign and security policy cooperation.' The panel had highlighted that EU is getting more consolidated and becoming an easier partner. India is going to be more attractive because of its economic growth. He expressed hope that the reverse is also true.

Rotmann highlighted the overlapping priorities between the two regions. He noted that human rights did not come up as a topic in the discussion. He said it was interesting to note that the two parties were on a level playing field. He summarised the discussion into six main topics – investment, connectivity, development, crisis management, peace interventions, redefining interventions. India and EU have a lot to learn from each other on resilience vis-à-vis terrorism and maritime security. The last area was democracy, which is changing in digital technology, and both India and EU have similar opportunities to learn and develop together.

Annexure 1: Programme Schedule

0830 – 0900	Registration and Tea/Coffee
0900 – 0915	OPENING SESSION <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Welcome remarks by the Ambassador of the European Union to India, H. E. Mr. Tomasz Kozłowski ○ Welcome remarks by Mr. Samir Saran, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation (ORF)
0915 – 1000	STOCKTAKING SESSION <p>Discussion on the work conducted under the previous TT initiative</p> <p>Chaired and moderated by Prof Ummu Salma Bava, Chairperson and Jean Monnet Chair, Centre for European Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mr. Sameer Patil, Director, Centre for International Security, Gateway House – Indian Council on Global Relations, Mumbai • Dr Gareth Price, Senior Research Fellow, Asia Programme, Chatham House – The Royal Institute of International Affairs, UK • Dr Constantino Xavier, Fellow, Carnegie India, New Delhi • Ms. Friederike Tschampa, Head of Political Section, Delegation of the European Union • Rapporteur: John Joseph Wilkins, Public Information Officer, EU Institute for Security Studies, Brussels
1000 – 1015	Coffee break
1015 – 1145	PANEL 1: Current context of EU-India relations: Emerging Regional Order in Asia (One Belt One Road initiative, connectivity, Indian Ocean) <p>Chaired and moderated by Dr Christian Wagner, Senior Fellow, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) Berlin</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dr Manoj Joshi, Distinguished Fellow, ORF, New Delhi • Dr Andris Spruds, Director, Latvian Institute of International Affairs, Riga • Rapporteur: Dr Maaïke Okano- Heijmans, Senior Research Fellow, Clingendael Institute Netherlands <p>India's foreign policy towards Asia/EU's growing interest in the region?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dr May-Britt Stumbaum, Team Leader, Asia Pacific Research and Advice Network (APRAN), Brussels • Dr Constantino Xavier, Fellow, Carnegie India, New Delhi • Rapporteur: Dr Garima Mohan, Project Manager, Global Public Policy Institute, Germany
11:45 – 12:45	KEYNOTE ADDRESS: EEAS Deputy Secretary-General Pedro Serrano on development of EU Foreign and Security Policy after the adoption of the Global Strategy <p>Moderator: Dr Manoj Joshi, Distinguished Fellow, ORF, New Delhi</p>

Q&A

12:45 – 13:30

PANEL 2: The future of EU-India relations: *Where do we want to be 10 years from now concerning foreign & security policy cooperation*

Chaired and moderated by Ms. Shada Islam, Director of Policy, Friends of Europe

- Mr. Patryk Kugiel, Senior Analyst, Asia Pacific programme, Polish Institute for International Affairs (PISM), Warsaw
- Dr Nicola Casarini, Senior Fellow and Head of Research Asia, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome
- Dr Garima Mohan, Project Manager, Global Public Policy Institute, Germany
- **Rapporteur:** Philipp Rotmann, Associate Director, Global Public Policy Institute, Berlin

13:30– 14:00

Wrap up session (next steps, future TT twinning events)

Chaired and moderated by Ms. Friederike Tschampa, Head of Political Section, Delegation of the European Union

Rapporteurs of previous sessions:

- John Joseph Wilkins, Public Information Officer, EU Institute for Security Studies, Brussels
- Dr Maaïke Okano- Heijmans, Senior Research Fellow, Clingendael Institute Netherlands
- Dr Garima Mohan, Project Manager, Global Public Policy Institute, Germany
- Philipp Rotmann, Associate Director, Global Public Policy Institute, Berlin

Annexure 2: Profiles of Speakers

Constantino Xavier



Constantino Xavier is a fellow at Carnegie India, based in New Delhi. His research focus is on India's foreign policy, with emphasis on relations with its neighboring countries in South Asia, and areas of strategic convergence with Europe. Previously, he worked at the Brookings Institution, in Washington DC, as a media correspondent in South Asia, and as an adviser to the Embassy of Portugal in New Delhi during the presidency of the European Union. He recently co-edited "Global Governance, Security, and Strategy in the EU-India Partnership" (2017). He holds a Ph.D. in South Asian studies from the Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies.

Edmund Christian Wagner



Christian Wagner is Senior Fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin. He was a visiting fellow at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) in 2015 and at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) in 2016. His main areas of interest are India and South Asia with a special focus on foreign policy and security issues.

Gareth Price



Gareth Price is a Senior Research Fellow at Chatham House leading research on South Asia. He previously worked at the Economist Intelligence Unit focusing on South Asia and, before that, at a political risk consultancy. His research interests include the politics, economics and foreign policies of the countries of South Asia. Current research focuses on the potential for regional integration in South Asia and the politics of water.

Garima Mohan



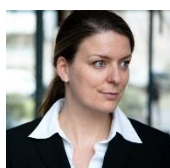
Garima Mohan is a Project Manager at the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi) in Berlin. She is also a Scientific Coordinator for APRAN (Asia-Pacific Research and Advice Network), which supports EU policymakers on Asia-Pacific issues. Garima focuses on the foreign and security policy of rising powers, particularly India and China. Her current research is concentrated on Europe-Asia relations, including the EU-India policy dialogues, a project jointly conducted by GPPi and Carnegie India and funded by the EU Delegation to India. She has published widely on a number of issues, including geopolitics in the Indian Ocean, Indian foreign and security policy in Africa, connectivity projects in Asia, EU-India relations, and Germany-India ties. From 2013 to 2015, Garima was a Fellow with the NFG Research Group "Asian Perceptions of the EU" at the Freie Universität Berlin. In 2017, Garima participated in the Asian Forum on Global Governance organised by ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, and is a 2017 Raisina Young Fellow.

John-Joseph Wilkins



John-Joseph Wilkins is the Public Information Officer at the EU Institute for Security Studies (EUISS). At the EUISS, he works primarily on outreach activities and publications, and also contributes to the work of the Institute on EU-India relations. Prior to his roles at the EUISS, John-Joseph worked in the political section of the EU Delegation to India and Bhutan. He holds an MSc in European Studies from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE).

May-Britt U. Stumbaum



Dr. May-Britt U. Stumbaum is Director of the NFG Research Group “Asian Perceptions of the EU” at the Free University of Berlin, and Team Leader of the EU’s Asia Pacific and Research Network (#APRAN) by Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Chatham House and Clingendael. #APRAN provides tailor-made briefings by Asian experts for EU policy-makers. Previously, she served among others in senior positions at SIPRI, WCFIA Harvard, and the German Council on Foreign Relations. Dr. Stumbaum is a Major (R) of the German Air Force and serves on regular duty.

Nicola Casarini



Nicola Casarini is Senior Fellow and Head of Asia Research at the Institute of International Affairs in Rome. Prior to this, he was Senior Analyst at the EU Institute for Security Studies in Paris. Nicola has published widely on EU-Asia relations, Asia's security and transatlantic relations. He is co-editor of the volume: Moving Forward the EU-India Security Dialogue: Traditional and Emerging Issues (2017). He is currently working on a book comparing America's and Europe's foreign policies in the Indo-Pacific.

Patryk Kugiel



Patryk Kugiel - Senior Analyst in the Asia-Pacific Programme at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM) in Warsaw. Specialist on South Asia and international development co-operation. Graduated from the Jagiellonian University in International Relations and Cultural Studies and from the Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi in South Asia Programme. His research in PISM focuses on India's and Pakistan's foreign policies, security situation in South Asia, U.S. and EU policies towards the region; implications of India's rise on global order as well as development co-operation policy of Poland and the EU. Author of the India's Soft Power: A New Foreign Policy Strategy, Routledge: 2017.

Philipp Rotmann



Philipp Rotmann is associate director at the Global Public Policy Institute in Berlin, where he leads the work on peace & security. Among his main interests are conflict and atrocity prevention, stabilization, early warning, foresight and scenario development, peace operations and security sector reform. He published, among other things, Stabilisation: Doctrine, Organisation, Practice (GPPI), The New World of UN Peace Operations: Learning to Build Peace (Oxford UP) and A Fresh Look at Crisis Prevention (GPPI).

Shada Islam



Shada Islam is Director for Europe and Geopolitics at Friends of Europe, a leading Brussels-based think tank. She is currently visiting Professor on Europe-Asia relations at the College of Europe in Natolin and has been identified by Politico as one of 20 most influential women in Brussels. Shada is a former correspondent of the Far Eastern Economic Review and continues to write for multiple international academic journals and media.

Sameer Patil



@sameerpatilIND.

Sameer Patil is Director, Centre for International Security and Fellow, National Security Studies at Gateway House: Indian Council on Global Relations, a Mumbai-based foreign policy think tank. Prior to this, he was at the National Security Council Secretariat in Prime Minister's Office, New Delhi, where he handled counter-terrorism and regional security desks. He has been part of the India-U.S. and India-U.K. track 1 and 1.5 dialogues. Sameer has written extensively on various dimensions of national and international security including counter-terrorism, defence, cyber and maritime security. He is also a dissertation advisor at the Indian Naval War College and an alumnus of the Asian Forum on Global Governance. He tweets at

Manoj Joshi



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