



Delivering on the Promise:
Advancing US Relations with India

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Contents

Foreword.....	1
Acknowledgments.....	2
Executive Summary.....	4
A Relationship Transformed.....	7
Why India.....	9
Vision 2012.....	11
Track 1. Strengthening Governmental Ties.....	13
Track 2. Joint Public-Private Partnerships for Complex Global Challenges.....	19
Task Force Co-Chairs and Members.....	27
Biographies of Chairmen and Members.....	28

Foreword

Bilateral relations between India and the US have undergone an unprecedented transformation over the last decade, but the two countries are still learning how to work together in order to create stronger and more meaningful US-India collaborations on multiple fronts. As both countries welcome new leaderships to their executive branches within the first half of 2009, the time is right to take a look at how we can help expand and deepen what we believe will be among the most important international relations. It is with this basic premise that the Asia Society's Task Force on US Policy towards India is making a case for how the world's oldest democracy can best engage with the world's largest democracy. Remarkably, within the span of a decade the political dynamics of the Indo-US relationship have changed dramatically and today are more cordial than ever. The historic signing of the 123 Agreement on civil nuclear energy in October 2008 demonstrates both countries' commitment to working together on matters concerning their common vital national interests, even in the wake of vociferous objections.

This Task Force Report outlines concise and practical policy recommendations and encourages the Obama Administration to keep India as one of its top foreign policy priorities. The US-India partnership will be central to solutions to Asia's and the world's most challenging problems. The Task Force recommends that inter-governmental initiatives need to be complemented by vibrant private sector partnerships, which can help solidify the relationship on a far broader level.

This project owes an enormous debt of gratitude to Ambassador Frank G. Wisner and Charles R. Kaye as co-chairs, who helped guide the process with their unique understanding of India. The eclectic group of experts that comprised the Task Force is no less impressive. Each one of them is an authority in his or her own right—ranging from the field of education to foreign policy, corporate world to academia, private sector to non-governmental organizations. We are most grateful to all the members for taking the time to share their thoughts, pour over several revisions of the draft, and help us produce a fine report in a timely fashion, as well as to those experts who were not part of the task force, but were nonetheless forthcoming with their suggestions to sharpen the report. Special thanks also goes to our Asia Society colleagues, Project Manager Sanjeev M. Sherchan and Su Yin Tan, for shepherding the process through.

We would also like to recognize Dr. Alyssa Ayres, director for India and South Asia at McLarty Associates, Project Director of the Task Force Report. Alyssa was tasked with the most difficult responsibility of not only drafting the report, but also diligently incorporating comments from the members to reflect the common vision of a group of diverse experts. This was no easy task, but we are not surprised that Alyssa managed to do so with such aplomb. We could not have chosen a more suitable Project Director for this project.

Finally, this project could not have been undertaken without the generous financial support of the Asia Society India Country Fund, Victor J. Menezes, Senior Advisor, New Silk Route Partners, LLC and Sreedhar Menon, Chairman, Viteos Fund Services LLC, and without the sponsorship of McLarty Associates, who graciously allocated Alyssa's highly valuable time to this project without charge.

Richard C. Holbrooke
Chairman, Asia Society

Vishakha N. Desai
President, Asia Society

Acknowledgments

We began our deliberations as a Task Force during a time of civil nuclear impasse with India; we concluded five months later in a wholly different landscape. The civil nuclear agreement had been signed, but it was as if in another lifetime. Global attention to India had already shifted toward the urgency of dealing with the financial crisis and then the shock of the Mumbai terror attacks. These events reshaped our deliberations and led us to recommend steps to vastly enhance our official (government-to-government) and public-private relationships with India. As we state in our report, never before in our history with India have our interests been so closely aligned.

That we have at last reached a place where Indians and Americans can see our shared future together is due in no small part to the convening and bridging capacity of organizations like Asia Society. No institution could be better suited for the challenges ahead. Its unique mission (“preparing Asians and Americans for a shared future”), global network, and multidisciplinary emphases give it incomparable leadership strengths. I am grateful to Vishakha N. Desai and Jamie Metzler for their foresight in convening this Task Force, and for the Society’s marvelous support throughout, especially that of Sanjeev Sherchan, who managed this project from start to finish. Asia Society’s Mike Kulma, Elizabeth Lancaster, and Su Yin Tan all played a role at different stages of the deliberations as well.

This Task Force has tapped the talents of an utterly remarkable group of Americans, beginning with the co-chairmen, Ambassador Frank G. Wisner and Charles R. Kaye. Their deep knowledge of India (indeed, that rare quality Germans call “fingertip feeling”) across a range of sectors has given our report a richness of texture and a grounding in reality. It was a privilege to work with and learn from them as we reworked and honed the report. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Frank Wisner, whose capacity to review, rethink and revise stretched across time zones, weekends and vacations. No time was ever a bad time. Farina Mohamed of AIG deserves special mention for her help as well.

The membership, moreover, of the group brought together leaders from the business, higher education, nonprofit, and policy communities. All of our Task Force members share a special connection with India, and all share the view that the US relationship with India will be among our most important in the future. That the members of our Task Force all have long histories with India provided a baseline to think about how far we and India have come together, and how momentous recent events have transformed the way our two countries can cooperate. The recommendations our Task Force developed and endorsed by consensus truly would have been unimaginable as recently as 2000. This was an extraordinary group to be part of, and their involvement and engagement with this project is greatly appreciated.

McLarty Associates provided unhesitating support of this Task Force, even when the time commitment extended much beyond original plans due to rapidly changing events. The firm's commitment to understanding politics and policy as it impacts business made this undertaking directly relevant to our work. I am deeply grateful to chairman Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty and managing partner Nelson W. Cunningham for seeing the value of this engagement from the very beginning. Andrew Noh of McLarty Associates provided valuable support throughout.

Many people in New Delhi, Mumbai, Bangalore, and Hyderabad spent time with me in September and October 2008, sharing their opinions about the US-India relationship and its future. While protecting the anonymity of those who spoke so freely, I want to offer a special note of thanks to all. Intellectual interlocutors are the most important part of any project like this, and it was a privilege to be able to hear from thoughtful people in government, politics, business, media, academia, and nongovernmental circles in India. As my own path has taken me through several of these sectors, I have become more convinced than ever of the potential for what India and the United States can achieve by combining our countries' remarkable strengths. We just need to find the right way to do so—but once we do, we will shape the future of our world together.

Alyssa Ayres
Project Director

Executive Summary

As the Obama Administration transitions to power already burdened with global economic crises and two wars, two events underscore India's importance for US interests: the brutal Mumbai attacks and the financial sector meltdown. The Mumbai attacks reminded Americans of India's vulnerability to global terrorism, our shared struggle against violent Islamic extremism, and the potential for crisis to rapidly escalate in the region. The financial sector meltdown and the emerging global response showed how India can be a key part of the solution through leadership in global bodies such as the G20.

India matters to virtually every major foreign policy issue that will confront the United States in the years ahead. A broad-based, close relationship with India will thus be necessary to solve complex global challenges, achieve security in the critical South Asian region, reestablish stability in the global economy, and overcome the threat of violent Islamic radicalism which has taken root across the region and in India. The members of this Task Force believe that the US relationship with India will be among our most important in the future, and will at long last reach its potential for global impact—provided that strong leadership on both sides steers the way.

The new relationship rests on a convergence of US and Indian national interests, and never in our history have they been so closely aligned. With India, we can harness our principles and power together to focus on the urgent interconnected challenges of our shared future: economic stability, expanded trade, the environment and climate change, innovation, nonproliferation, public health, sustainability, and terrorism. Together our two countries will be able to take on some of the most vexing problems facing the world today, and improve the lives and security of our citizens in doing so. But to get there, we must set broad yet realistic goals to be shared by both countries.

This report offers goals toward that ambitious agenda for our shared future. Our Task Force recommends dramatically enhancing cooperation with India not only between our governments, but also between our governments *and both our private sectors*. We must tap the private sector momentum in the relationship to address the kinds of big problems governments cannot solve alone.

Over the next four years, we recommend the following priorities for action across two parallel tracks:

Track 1: Strengthening Governmental Ties

- Secure India's **leadership in multilateral institutions** to provide the US with a constructive partner in global decision making;
- Expand cooperation toward **economic growth**, particularly focusing on financial recovery, trade and investment—managing our current crisis, concluding the Doha Round or its successor, and completing a bilateral investment treaty;
- Expand **security cooperation**, including a vastly enhanced counterterrorism partnership, expanded consultation on South Asia, stronger maritime cooperation, and new consultation on other key regions of the world;
- Bring India into greater **dialogue on the future of nonproliferation**, including the NPT review conference, and new efforts to achieve global nuclear disarmament.

Track 2: Joint Public-Private Partnerships for Complex Global Challenges

- Collaborate on **climate change**, where our dynamic scientific and high-tech communities could work with our policy experts to craft solutions;
- Work toward a **Second Green Revolution in India**, which will have global impact by profoundly transforming the lives of a quarter of the world's poor;
- Partner on **secondary and higher education**, where the training requirements for India's large population exceeds its current capacity, a challenge uniquely suited for linkages with US institutions;
- Cooperate in awareness and support of **HIV/AIDS**, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, but also in India, the US, and around the world.

This Task Force believes deeply in the vast potential of our relationship with India. The compatibility of our values, our strengths, and our global visions offers a unique context for us both to craft an ambitious agenda for the years ahead—for, unusually among two powers, we have no intrinsic conflicts of interest. With a new administration in Washington, and national elections in India during the first half of 2009, we have an opportunity to deliver on the promise that the world's two largest democracies have to offer each other, and the world.

A Relationship Transformed

As the Obama Administration transitions to power already burdened with global economic crises and two wars, two events underscore India's importance for US interests: the brutal Mumbai attacks and the financial sector meltdown. The Mumbai attacks reminded Americans of India's vulnerability to global terrorism, our shared struggle against Islamic extremism, and the potential for crisis to rapidly escalate in the region. The financial sector meltdown and the emerging global response showed how India can be a key part of the solution through leadership in global bodies such as the G20.

India matters to virtually every major foreign policy issue that will confront the United States in the years ahead. A broad-based, close relationship with India will thus be necessary to solve complex global challenges, achieve security in the critical South Asian region, reestablish stability in the global economy, and overcome the threat of violent Islamic radicalism which has taken root across the region and in India. The members of this Task Force believe that the US relationship with India will be among our most important in the future, and will at long last reach its potential for global impact—provided that strong leadership on both sides steers the way.

We have reached a moment with India in which we can pursue an agenda for cooperation, not wallow in past contention. We now better understand each other's global foreign policy and security goals as we both strive for peace and prosperity for our citizens. With India, we can harness our principles and power together to focus on the urgent interconnected challenges of our shared future: economic stability, expanded trade, the environment and climate change, innovation, nonproliferation, public health, sustainability, and terrorism. Cooperation in each of these areas would have been unimaginable a decade ago, but today mark a baseline for what the US and India can, and should, undertake together.

We have traveled far in a few short years with India, and the signposts on either end of this past decade best mark the path. In May 1998, we placed sanctions on India for its nuclear tests; a decade later, following difficult bilateral and complex multilateral negotiations, we completed an historic cooperation agreement with India on civil nuclear energy. As the center of economic gravity has shifted east, India is emerging as a key player in global business, binding India and the US together in a way that did not exist before. More soberly, after differing for decades over counterterrorism priorities, the United States has vocally supported India's concerns over the use of Pakistani territory by jihadist groups. At heart, the new relationship rests on a convergence of US and Indian national interests, and never in our history have they been so closely aligned.

Precisely because the United States and India share a core set of values—democracy, unity in diversity, and strong but civilian-controlled militaries—and because they will only grow more important in the coming years, a closer relationship with India will have strategic impact. As we confront the complex global security challenges before us, we will have to rely upon the strength of these values to find durable solutions on a global scale. A special,

strong, and broad-based relationship with this country of great strategic significance is now in our “vital national interest,” to quote former Under Secretary of Political Affairs R. Nicholas Burns.

On the eve of a new US administration in Washington, and mere months away from national elections in India, the prospect of this new window of opportunity forces us to ask: what comes next? Where can the US-India relationship go, and what can be done together? Can the United States and India together take on some of the most vexing challenges facing the world today, and improve the lives and security of their citizens in doing so? Our answer is yes. But to get there, we must set broad yet realistic goals to be shared by both countries.

This report offers goals toward that ambitious agenda for our shared future. The members of this Task Force believe that a preliminary roadmap for how to get there must encompass a dramatically enhanced relationship of cooperation not just between our governments, but between our governments and both our private sectors—tapping the private sector momentum to address the kinds of big problems neither can solve alone. We recommend the following priorities for action over the next four years across two parallel tracks:

TRACK 1: Strengthening Governmental Ties

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Why India?

Though India featured little during the US Presidential election, it would be a mistake to conclude that this critically important country deserves no special attention. India's emergence stands as a major change from decades past. It is a rising economic power, a stable country in a troubled region, and a crucial partner for the global challenges that we must all find a way to resolve. On US shores, Indian Americans now number some 2.5 million, with the highest household income of any ethnic group in the United States. They are heavily represented in US knowledge and technology industries, and are increasingly active in US politics, exemplified by the election of Louisiana Governor Bobby Jindal. India and the United States now inhabit a different world together, one that links us more closely together across every aspect of both societies than ever before.

India today differs greatly from the India of the decade past. Liberalization has unshackled the ingenuity of India's private sector, and it now boasts one of the world's most dynamic and fastest-growing economies. Despite this year's financial crisis and the resulting slowdown, the Indian economy is still expected to grow between 6-7%. US-India trade, so recently described by former Ambassador Robert Blackwill as "flat as a chapatti," grew from \$13.4 billion in 2000 to \$41.5 billion in 2007, and both countries anticipate a rise to \$60 billion by the end of 2008.

American and multinational companies—particularly those in the Fortune 100—now see their futures linked to India's large skilled labor pool and rapidly growing domestic market. General Electric anticipates revenues of \$8 billion from India by 2010; IBM is investing \$6 billion in its India operations over 2006-09. Indian companies have also gone multinational, acquiring big stakes throughout the world. Deals in the hundreds of millions of dollars and even billions, like Tata's purchases of Corus and Jaguar Land Rover, now emblazon the global business pages. This new globalization of Indian industry has reshaped India's engagement with the world, adding great private sector strength where it was once more remarkable for its absence.

Despite the current deeply troubled global economic situation, India remains on a path to become a serious global economic player in the years ahead, and one of increasing importance to the United States. Because the Indian economy is not heavily export-oriented like some emerging markets, it has not been buffeted as heavily by the global financial crisis and is weathering this storm. In the longer term, India looks poised to maintain growth even after Western Europe, Japan, and China have grayed. More than half of India's billion-plus population remains under the age of twenty-five, and will continue to form an able workforce for a world that needs one. In a word, India is becoming a key trading partner of the United States and a major force in the international economic system.

Of course, India faces daunting developmental challenges. Its single greatest imperative for future growth lies in bringing those living at subsistence levels to more productive livelihoods, and investing in infrastructural development to fuel rather than constrain

economic growth. But even against these challenges, India has maintained an open, democratic system in which power transfers peacefully. It has upheld the commitment to unity in diversity on a grand scale—no easy feat with its dozens of cultures and multitude of religions. Across the sensitive, volatile region stretching from the Middle East to Southeast Asia, India stands apart not only as the largest country, but as a model pluralist, secular, and multi-religious democracy, giving it a unique stability and offering a living rebuke of the claim that democracy must wait for economic development.

This said, India’s commitment to democracy is a pragmatic approach to the way it manages the tensions and contradictions in its large and disputatious polity. Democracy is not, in Indian eyes, an export product or instrument. We would be wrong to assume India is interested in promoting foreign policy objectives on the back of democratic principles. Nor should we speak of India as a “hedge” against China, contrary to some interpretations, but a strong India will give the greater South and East Asian region ballast, offering a growth model for emerging markets that does not sacrifice democratic rights and pluralistic values.

With the world’s fourth largest military, one under civilian control, India has highly skilled forces capable of protecting its borders as well as sea lanes in the region. This opens up opportunities for operational collaboration with India in the Gulf, Indian Ocean, and Southeast Asian regions. The Indian military is also modernizing, and is in the front ranks of those acquiring defense matériel and technology—including, for the first time in its history, from the United States. Once-nonexistent security ties between the US and India have grown substantially over the past eight years, including regular large joint exercises between our respective armies, air forces, and navies. Some of these have expanded multilaterally, such as the Malabar naval exercises with Japan, Australia, and Singapore. In 2008, India sent some 200 airmen to the US “Red Flag” multinational combat exercise, which more typically includes NATO or other treaty allies.

This growing defense familiarity has had real-world impact. Indian Ocean cooperation on the 2004 Asian tsunami relief mission proved what we could accomplish together, and set the benchmark for US-India humanitarian engagement. American and Indian navies connected with one another in the immediate aftermath of the tsunami, and remained coordinated throughout—an impossible task without open communication and familiarity. In these areas, US and Indian strategic objectives are congruent, opening the door to a range of cooperative initiatives from humanitarian response to protecting the sea lanes, preserving freedom of navigation, and impeding transit of weapons of mass destruction. (Of course, to fully realize the promise of this defense cooperation, we are reminded that the framework agreements between India and the US remain incomplete, and must be a priority for the next Administration).

Vision 2012

President Obama will be preoccupied with many pressing priorities, and will have to pick and choose what he wants to accomplish with India. At the same time, he will need to consider the Indian climate of opinion as it impacts our bilateral cooperation. For decades, India has been suspicious of the United States. Though greatly reduced, those suspicions linger, and require policy makers on both sides to proceed carefully. That said, we know India is open to collaboration with the US in an unprecedented manner. Though we do not know who will be in power in New Delhi following national elections, we do know that the most pressing issues around which we can build common approaches will endure: agriculture, education, energy security, the environment, economic growth, nonproliferation, and peace throughout South and East Asia.

Globally, we face a world where our governments face eroded authority and problems of collective action, with multilateral institutions that no longer reflect current realities, and globalization's challenges of rapid contagion—whether financial, biological, or digital—that require governmental coordination of the closest kind. Many of these twenty-first century challenges must be addressed through government initiatives, but many others will require deep engagement with the private sector.¹ With the great strengths, the ingenuity, and the complementary perspectives that the US and Indian public and private sectors can mobilize, the two countries together have the potential to make a difference to the most pressing challenges of our lifetime.

As we look across the horizon to what the United States and India can accomplish together over the next four years, we must be mindful that our ability to take the US-India relationship further will necessitate approaching India as an equal partner. India is an ancient, proud land and a great civilization; it is an emerging global power and it seeks respect. India is also intensely political—as are we. Just like in the United States, Indian democracy thrives on heated debate, but our two democracies' very unpredictability makes consultation and consensus building all the more important. This will be something we will have to understand and learn to accommodate. The political tensions in both countries that arose around the civil nuclear agreement underscore that sensitivities remain on both sides, even in an atmosphere of convergence on the desirability of closer ties, and even on some very specific goals.

We should pursue reciprocity in our relationship, where both sides understand the strengths and constraints that the other faces. We will face inevitable disagreements, as we do with other close relationships (such as France), but should not see our differences as insurmountable. Indeed, we have a strategic interest in seeing India evolve as a democratic, independent power center, but that said, India also bears the responsibility to act in areas where both nations' interests are at stake, and to take the lead as well.

¹ We use the term "private sector" in its most literal sense: that which is outside government, inclusive of business (for-profit organizations) as well as nonprofit organizations (often interchangeably called NGOs).

We must institutionalize much more frequent and in-depth communication with Indian officials, across agencies/ministries, and at the highest levels—a recommendation we reiterate throughout this report. The US government must also find ways to secure necessary funding to support the programs and promises it commits to undertake, which has not always occurred, and to look to India to make its own contributions to our joint initiatives, financial included. With these reorientations in mind, we can look to a future of more ambitious cooperation across both governments—the “official” relationship—as well as through public-private partnerships to engage the private sectors of both countries.

Track 1. Strengthening Governmental Ties

Having removed a long-standing barrier to closer US-India ties through the conclusion of the civil nuclear agreement, the United States and India can now pursue other ambitions for the government-to-government relationship. While the latter half of our report will advocate greater engagement of the private sector in innovative PPPs with India, this Task Force urges President Obama to prioritize an expanded official relationship with India that recognizes its emergence as a major power, through (1) global governance cooperation, and (2) expanded security cooperation. We elaborate on each of these in turn below.

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE COOPERATION

Leadership in Multilateral Institutions Agenda:

- Secure India's leadership in multilateral institutions, both security and economic, to provide the United States a constructive partner in global decision making

Four years from now, we should—in the interests of both the United States and India—make progress in *securing India's leadership in multilateral institutions*. As many have noted, the regimes which seek to order global engagement no longer reflect the realities of today's world. We cannot solve global security and economic problems if our institutions still reflect a mid-twentieth century dynamic. Finding a way to accommodate participation of rising powers like India will entail tough adjustments (including for the United States), but we believe firmly that our work with India in international institutions—those focused on security, as well as those dealing with economic matters—will be transformed by India's membership within them.

To ensure that we work together better, we must gain India's membership in security and nonproliferation regimes such as the Nuclear Suppliers Group, the Missile Technology Control Regime, the Australia Group and the Zangger Committee. More complex, given the politics of the international community, will be India's membership on a reformed and expanded UN Security Council, and here we underscore our sense that India must have a permanent seat at the table.

Although the global economy has been battered by the current crisis, it may well have sown the seeds of some new institutional relationships that will help build a stronger framework for global economic governance in the years ahead. The G20 gathering in Washington was a summit noteworthy for its relative harmony, particularly in comparison with the Doha ministerial difficulties. We should look to the G20 as an increasingly important forum for global economic concerns, and certainly push for the inclusion of India (and China) in an expanded G8/10. The steps underway to rebalance votes and quota levels in the Bretton Woods institutions should continue. As important will be securing Indian leadership in Asian economic regimes (such as APEC), and in key organizations such as the OECD and the International Energy Agency.

Economic Growth Agenda:

- Expand cooperation toward economic growth, focusing on financial recovery, trade, and investment:
- Include India in global efforts to stabilize and revive the financial system
- Work to conclude a global trading regime
- Complete a bilateral investment treaty
- Work toward a future free trade agreement
- Expand private sector consultation with governments on trade and investment

Economics will power the US-India relationship, and must be attended to in these particularly difficult economic times. As the global community continues to work towards stabilizing the financial system, we must be certain to *include India in those efforts*. Looking ahead toward trade and investment, we must work closely with India to *conclude a global trading regime*. The collapse of the Doha Round caused many to blame India for its unwillingness to compromise. However much we may regret India's decision in Geneva, Indians see things very differently; India's Commerce Minister, Kamal Nath, received a hero's welcome for what people viewed as protecting Indian farmers' interests. We have now been on opposite sides of the Doha Round for more than half a decade—but we must pursue its completion, or that of a successor arrangement, through close consultation with India. Our economies will suffer if we succumb to protectionist pressures, and we will fail to address other complex, urgent matters like climate change if we cannot reach solutions together. We must imagine ourselves as members of the same team, and continue dialogue and patient diplomacy. To that end, we note that it will be very difficult to envision a deal on Doha without addressing US agricultural subsidies.

While we work together on the more difficult matter of the global regime, we should be able to conclude a *bilateral investment treaty* with India, to ensure and protect the growth in US-India investment over the past decade. At heart, we want to set the stage for much greater trade cooperation, including *in the future a free trade agreement* between India and the US. In addition, we must give a very high priority to continuing public-private consultation on economic matters. We should *expand the consultation between the private sector and government* in order to best identify and remove obstacles to trade and investment.

EXPANDED SECURITY COOPERATION

Agenda for a Counterterrorism Relationship:

- Develop a world-class counterterrorism relationship with India

The region and India are major battlegrounds in the struggle with violent Islamic extremism. We will look back on the carnage in Mumbai as a watershed event in the history of US-India relations. The brutality of 26/11's gunmen brought home to all Americans—connected to the three-day siege by television, by loved ones at the other end of BlackBerries, and by a visceral understanding of the victims' fear—the shared vulnerability of our open societies. Now more than ever, we face a common enemy in violent extremism, and neither of us will capitulate to that totalitarian vision. Preserving our freedoms and our pluralistic strengths, however, will require us to share knowledge, strategies, and best practices much more closely than we have. Our US-India Counterterrorism Joint Working Group meets relatively infrequently, and is not particularly operational. But the challenges terrorism creates for India and the United States will meet many of the same hurdles, and will benefit greatly from much deeper operational cooperation.

We must *build a vastly expanded counterterrorism relationship* with India along the lines of our CT cooperation with the UK, Germany, or Australia. A world-class CT relationship with India would require regular close and trusting engagement, plus information, intelligence, and law enforcement sharing on an unprecedented and reciprocal scale. In the mid to long term, we could think of expanding the “Five Eyes” (Canada, US, UK, Australia, and NZ) intelligence-sharing network to an even six with India. At minimum we should begin exchanges of officers across agencies and police forces (such as rotational stints to and from the US National Counterterrorism Center and the Office of the Counterterrorism Coordinator at State with Indian counterparts); the development of network architectures to allow secure exchange (“interoperability”) of classified information; and the institution of new joint paramilitary and law enforcement exercises focused on urban response and rescue missions, building on the experiences of New York (9/11) and Mumbai (26/11).

South Asian Security Cooperation Agenda:

- Establish the closest possible consultation on all security issues in the entire region
- Reiterate commitment to “dehyphenation”
- Discuss Afghanistan and Pakistan strategies frankly and in deep detail
- Listen closely on Kashmir, encourage the India-Pakistan composite dialogue, but do not try to mediate

Nothing is more challenging to American interests than security in South Asia. The region faces great difficulties, and no aspect—including Afghanistan and Pakistan—can be

addressed without India's involvement in our strategies. Over the next four years, we must work towards a future *of the closest possible consultation with India on South Asian security*. Our consultation on Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh has greatly improved over the past decade and should stay on its current steady track. Our relations with India and Pakistan now run on very different tracks, and the days of "hyphenation" have long since passed. The policy of *dehyphenation*—pursuing our important and different interests with India and Pakistan without attempting to "balance" each move with one against the other—attained in recent years has been successful. Maintaining it will be critical to advancing our regional and global goals with India. Even so, it will be hard to achieve closer and brutally honest consultation on the increasing instability in Pakistan and Afghanistan—but never has it been more necessary.

As the Obama Administration proceeds to define its strategy for Afghanistan, taking a broader regional approach to the very difficult issues that still present themselves seven years after 9/11, it will find deep linkages with Pakistan, India, and Iran. Appreciating this web of connectedness, however, does not mean re-hyphenation; rather, it is the way to perceive the dense background against which our military and reconstruction efforts unfold. Deep and long-standing India-Pakistan sensitivities will require finding a way to manage the complex situation presented in Pakistan, as Mumbai so vividly underscored, and understanding how to approach Indo-Pakistan frictions. Throughout this process, we have to be in the closest touch with the Indian government—not in an instrumental way, focused narrowly on the current Afghanistan-Pakistan conundrum, but as a real partnership indispensable not just to that effort but to long-term security in the region as a whole.

In light of our continued interests in Afghanistan, we should exchange views with India much more frequently, and certainly more frankly. India and the United States both want to see a peaceful, stable Afghanistan, and have been working together to that end. While it does not participate in military operations, India is one of the top six donors to Afghanistan's reconstruction, providing infrastructure assistance and technical training for Afghans. Yet old "Great Game" suspicions remain, and Pakistan sees India's engagement in Afghanistan as a threat even as the on-the-ground situation, not to mention the longevity and breadth of NATO's presence, grows more fragile. The United States may well have to play a role in making certain India clarifies its objectives in Afghanistan and transmits those to Pakistan, while ensuring that our own dialogue with India addresses India's role in Afghanistan and how it can be most constructive. By the same token, the US will need to be forthright with Pakistan about its consultations with India and India's importance in stabilizing Afghanistan.

In addition, no consideration of South Asia's regional stability can be contemplated without understanding the deep complexities of Kashmir. It remains a major issue between India and Pakistan, and a point of extraordinary tension; no American approach to the region can be whole without a careful eye and appreciation of developments in Kashmir and their impact. The United States has been wise *not to try to mediate*. The bilateral "composite dialogue" that India and Pakistan pursued for more than four years, supported by back

channel talks, built trust and offered a way forward on a number of issues. The United States can best support renewal of the composite dialogue by listening carefully, continuing to absorb, and encouraging dialogue on a range of questions concerning stability in the entire region, including matters of state weakness and governance across Afghanistan, Pakistan, and indeed in parts of the Indian interior.

Realism need be our guide. India and Pakistan are deeply divided. It will not be possible to overcome suspicion and long-standing habits of competition and confrontation. We can only aspire to mitigate their negative effects.

Global Security and Economic Strategy Agenda:

- Institutionalize regular dialogue about other regions, through departments of State and Defense
- Dialogue on global peacekeeping
- Institutionalize prenotification of military movements
- Expand bilateral economic consultation

No major global issue can be addressed or resolved without Indian participation and consultation. If we are to develop the US-India relationship into a true global partnership, we must consult closely on the most sensitive geostrategic and geoeconomic matters rapidly changing our world. In addition to consulting on South Asia, we must both talk openly and honestly about the entire Middle East, Southeast and East Asia, as well as Africa and Latin America, and certainly on maritime security in key regions (Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia foremost), much as the United States does with some European states, or increasingly does with China. We should not hesitate to discuss with India countries where our approaches differ greatly, such as Iran and Burma. We may at times meet with criticism, and we will undoubtedly disagree with Indian assessments (as they will disagree with ours), but the expansion of our scope of consultation will open a true global engagement, with perhaps the potential for new cooperation.

We should *institutionalize regular diplomatic dialogue* with India *across the regional bureaus* responsible for managing foreign policy—for example, talks between the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs and the Indian Joint Secretaries for East/Southern and West Africa; similarly with East Asia and Latin America, as well as our policy planning staffs and functional bureaus. We should build upon the excellent progress made by our departments of defense over the past decade to extend our defense cooperation consultations to cover other parts of the world as well, taking our superb complementarity of navies and growing maritime security needs as a key focus. We should institute prenotification of military movements, as we do with other countries. Thinking globally, India's important experiences as one of the world's largest contributors of troops to UN peacekeeping operations should not be overlooked. In our world where the conflicts are many but the equipment and troops too few, we must consult more deeply with India about peace and security cooperation and peacekeeping strategy around the

world.

Additionally, we should expand our bilateral economic consultation across the array of agencies responsible for economic policymaking in both countries, building on the excellent base of the US-India Economic Dialogues launched in 2005. The emphasis should be on increasing the frequency of communication at high levels, moving from the formal, more programmed exchanges at present to the unscheduled, more frequent, and less formal conversations that United States officials enjoy with counterparts elsewhere.

Nonproliferation Agenda:

- Implement remaining components of US-India civil nuclear cooperation agreement, and ensure the promise of civil nuclear trade between us
- Engage India in dialogue about managing the dangers of our nuclear age
- Include India in the 2010 NPT Review Conference
- Be in exceedingly close touch with India as the US reviews its stance on CTBT; encourage India to indefinitely maintain its moratorium on testing

With the achievement of the civil nuclear agreement with India, the responsibility grows even more salient to intensify our consultation with India on nonproliferation. We must first *implement the present agreement*, seeing that pending components which will allow the US private sector nuclear energy companies to participate in India move ahead. Second, we should continue working closely together to *ensure the promise of civil nuclear trade*.

India has officially committed to Rajiv Gandhi's idea of eliminating nuclear weapons. Practically, it knows this can only take place in stages. We should start from that premise and *engage India in a dialogue*, not most immediately about elimination, but *about managing the dangers of our nuclear age*. India remains concerned about the threat of unmitigated proliferation, the threat of nuclear weapons' use, and the use of nuclear weapons for coercion. As part of India's contribution, it has brought export controls in line with international standards, has indicated willingness to work toward a multilateral Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty, and was a strong supporter of the International Convention on the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism. We should develop our dialogue around (1) the safety and security of systems; (2) reducing alert; (3) identifying a careful approach to ending the nuclear age through reduction of weapons; and (4) treaties that will help end it.

India is a state with advanced nuclear technology which it has stewarded responsibly, and thus has a stake in the nonproliferation system. Elsewhere in this report, we recommend India's inclusion in important nonproliferation organizations as part of a deeper security engagement with India. Here, we recommend the *inclusion of India in the 2010 NPT Review Conference*. Of special note: The Obama Administration, with a Democratically-controlled Congress, will likely review its stance on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. As the US review progresses, we must *remain in the closest of touch with India*, continuing honest dialogue, and *continuing to encourage India to indefinitely maintain its current moratorium on testing*.

Track 2. Joint Public-Private Partnerships for Complex Global Challenges

In addition to expanding US-India cooperation in the official sphere along the lines outlined above, this Task Force urges our new president to leverage the creativity and resourcefulness that exist outside both governments. In fact, the dividing line between the public and private sectors is increasingly artificial, illustrated by the current financial crisis. We must communicate in real time and in great detail on the management of this crisis and the threat of recession to ensure that our policies are in sync and that our economies can function.

President Bush and Prime Minister Singh saw the potential of involving private voices in official deliberations, and their efforts over the past three years have initiated private-public collaboration. The July 2005 US-India Summit resulted in the creation of numerous governmental dialogues, along with four additional discussion fora that bring private industry and government officials to the same table: the CEO Forum, the Agricultural Knowledge Initiative, the High Technology Cooperation Group, and the Private Sector Advisory Group to the US-India Trade Policy Forum. These discussion venues have been an excellent beginning, but have not begun to tap what we could do together.

This Task Force recommends that we should aim for the next phase in our relationship to better channel the excitement and capacity of the private sector to address the kinds of slow-moving, global public goods problems that face us all. Doing so means carving space for the private sector beyond simply an advisory role, and will also require that both governments think very carefully about how best to steer business and NGOs toward outcomes that neither has been able to address adequately. We should expand the range of topics, include a broader roster of participants, and enhance the reach of impact by incentivizing action over talk, through action-oriented summits and the use of government incentives—such as targeted ExIm Bank or Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) guarantees, to channel private sector participation.

We emphasize a much stronger role for public-private partnerships precisely because this is an arena of such great and continually growing strength in the relationship. India's businesses have gone global, and its NGOs are fully part of (and in some cases, leading) global social movements. India has rapidly growing high-quality health care and educational institutions in the private as well as public sector, and is home to some of the world's leading thinkers in delivering services as well as goods to the "bottom of the pyramid." Given this rich knowledge base and expertise, we should be able to put our people together to think about tough issues. In this process, our governments should serve to catalyze innovation, through dialogues and seed funding for collaborative ventures.

Whether focused on energy, trade, climate change, or global health and human security, expanding the range of discussions will help Americans and Indians to identify

where our cooperation can change the world. And we should dream big, establishing visionary goals, like assisting with a second green revolution in agriculture in India. Such goals would help focus our relationship with India on subjects we both care about deeply, and would offer ways to demonstrate the transformative power resulting from our combined forces. We provide four ambitious examples here to illustrate how a public-private approach to cooperation with India could address some of the toughest issues facing the world today.

1. Climate Change Agenda:

- Immediately begin joint work toward a path to Copenhagen 2009
- Simultaneously tap cross-sectoral knowledge in our societies to move toward increased use of renewables, reduced waste, and more efficient resource consumption
- Bring together regional leadership of both countries to share best practices and policy initiatives on water resource use

As the international community grapples with how to address global climate change, we have an opportunity to work collaboratively with India to manage change. Both the United States and India are facing urgent environmental challenges resulting from a warming world—most notably changes in water resources that force reconsideration of our agricultural, industrial, and transportation practices, and our urban ways of life. Climate change has grave security implications for the entire Himalayan and South Asian region. Yet when it comes to brokering a global deal to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, both countries have concerns. India, with significantly lower emissions on a per capita basis, expects developed countries to act first and demonstrate that reducing emissions is possible while maintaining economic growth. The United States fears that emissions caps imposed by developed countries alone might instead raise the economic cost.

The rapid approach of the UN Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen (December 2009) sets a target date for bridging these differences and reaching a binding global climate agreement. Given the magnitude of the issues, and the interconnected nature of the global economy, this will not be easy. As we recommended for global trade, *Copenhagen 2009* offers a chance for India and the United States *to work jointly toward an agreement*. Given each country's concerns, the treatment of carbon credits, both domestic and international, and the ability to deliver affordable clean energy technology in both countries, will be critical elements of future agreement.

And an agreement in Copenhagen will be just the beginning. Successfully reducing emissions while maintaining economic growth will require a combination of science and technology innovation, creative business sense, and thoughtful public policy management to shape rapid behavioral change in our societies.

Reducing emissions will entail shifting away from fossil fuels, using resources more sparingly, learning to produce less waste, and sequestering and storing carbon. The scientific R&D capabilities of India and America, along with our venture capitalists, will lead on

innovation. The US and India have an interest in a vibrant and reciprocal partnership that addresses energy innovation, the expansion of solar, wind, and other renewable power industries, and a means to reduce emissions affordably. As the United States seeks solutions for its auto-centric transportation system, the example set by some Indian cities—such as Delhi, which has mandated that public transportation vehicles use clean compressed natural gas—offers lessons on how to quickly replace gasoline.

Promising biogas best practices—increasingly used in India—offer a waste disposal model for American agriculture and industry and would have energy benefits as well. We can collaborate on development of advanced energy systems such as hydrogen or mitigation technologies like carbon capture and storage. Creative Indian and American companies with sustainability initiatives can share best practices on taking environmental and corporate social responsibility activities from the sidelines to a major profit center. Our environmental NGOs must be part of the engagement, too. We might also want to look at how the US and India can join together with China on technology development and rapid adoption, perhaps through an open source initiative spearheaded by our private sector research labs.

One of the most critical effects of climate change is on water resources. Here, India and the US have a great deal in common. We have a unique opportunity to combine US policy, knowledge, and capacity at the regional level (for example, the Western Governors' Association, increasingly focused on water conservation) with that of Indian states (for example, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, and Punjab/Haryana with their declining water tables) to develop best practices in water management and urban/regional resource security policy. We could scale our combined efforts for global impact by, for example, establishing an exchange market for water credits (analogous to carbon trade) based at the Bombay Stock Exchange rather than Europe or Chicago. This would leverage India's cutting-edge capital markets capabilities and give India global leadership on a major climate change concern. Deliberations upon such a mechanism are already underway. If India and the United States were to spearhead its development, the global impact would be enormous.

2. Agriculture Agenda: A Second Green Revolution in India

- Work toward a *Second Green Revolution* in India, which will have global impact by profoundly transforming the lives of a quarter of the world's poor

India and the US worked together on the Green Revolution in the 1960s, starting with the public-private engagement of the Rockefeller Foundation agronomist Norman Borlaug's hybrid wheat seed work, and furthered by the many US-to-Indian university partnerships that trained thousands. India went from conditions of famine to food self-sufficiency as its crop yields quadrupled. Today, challenges include building markets and the necessary infrastructure to link producers with consumers, and pulling subsistence farmers into a world of scale, efficiency, and productive livelihood. India needs roads, cold chain storage, better airports, and people trained to make things move. Building this infrastructure will

require immense investment, but it will open up the world as a market opportunity for goods and produce from India.

In the spirit of the 1960s, India and the United States should catalyze cross-sector cooperation to tackle all aspects necessary to assist with the transformation of rural agriculture in India—scientific innovation, sustainability, economy of inputs, efficiency, safety, and public acceptance. A US-India Second Green Revolution initiative could bring together the world’s foremost Indian and American agricultural scientists, venture capitalists, economists, foundations, environmental organizations, and agribusinesses, in addition to wholesalers/retailers and logistics companies which have honed supply chain management. The initiative should address all aspects of the food and agriculture path from farm to market, from tractor to tiffin.

Infrastructure investment will have to form an important core of any such initiative; some 40% of Indian farmers’ produce spoils on the way to market due to time in transit and lack of a cold chain. The US private sector can play an important role here, by bringing much-needed capital, technical knowledge, and global experience to the effort. The US government can encourage investment in India’s “tractor to tiffin” infrastructure needs by augmenting its India Infrastructure initiative managed by the ExIm bank. ExIm’s India Infrastructure initiative has already raised its portfolio target to \$5 billion, but through focused outreach and targeting of rural infrastructure projects, could better shift funds to this transformative use. The US Department of Education and USAID could renew and scale up their important work supporting training exchanges among US and Indian land-grant universities.

Our foundations and governments can support the agricultural as well as policy research necessary; our venture capitalists and banks can together explore investment mechanisms that allow farmers better access to capital while mitigating risk, perhaps in cooperation with India’s cutting edge information or communications technology companies. Indian IT/communications initiatives are already seeking to redress the market information deficit for rural farmers by offering kiosks and mobile phones to help farmers receive the best prices for their goods based on greater market knowledge. Crop risk micropolicies should be another avenue to develop, with technical assistance from the US Department of Agriculture (highly experienced with crop risk management) working closely with Indian and American insurance companies.

3. Education Agenda:

- Partner on secondary and higher education, where the training requirements for India's large population exceed current capacity, a challenge uniquely suited for linkages with US institutions

As India looks toward its future, it must find a way to properly educate and skill its young population, lest its demographics—550 million under age 25—become a deficiency. This is a long-term structural problem, a “quiet crisis which runs deep,” preoccupying India's leadership. Prime Minister Singh created the National Knowledge Commission to recommend solutions to the problem, and its recent report contains many recommendations well suited for US-India cooperation.

India must create institutions that will educate its young and growing workforce for the opportunities that will be available to it in the coming decades—including knowledge-intensive jobs in medical fields like nursing and laboratory work; the skilled trades needed for rapid infrastructure growth; and the high-tech competence required to support increasingly complex manufacturing industries such as the auto sector. In addition to expanding access to quality primary and secondary education nationally, India must create another 1500 universities by 2015, and expand skills-training opportunities for its youth through community colleges, vocational institutes, and other kinds of training centers.

Over the next few years, India is planning a massive expansion of secondary education. Though the World Bank and the UK's Department for International Development are deeply involved as funders and knowledge disseminators, the US has not been. But there is much US experience that would be useful to this ambitious national project, including new ways to recruit talent into teaching, train school leaders who can manage schools for achievement, modernize curriculum and instruction, and manage public/private partnerships in the education sector. And cooperation with schools in India could also benefit the US in mathematics and science. New technology-enabled delivery systems (a major recommendation of India's National Knowledge Commission) also hold promise that American and Indian students and teachers might indeed learn in “global classrooms,” thereby ensuring that the next generation of leaders from the two countries will be natural partners.

US institutions of higher and vocational education, public and private alike, would be excellent partners in India's tertiary level expansion, with experience crafting unique public-private partnerships between industry and local communities, as well as distance learning models. India's regulations do not permit foreign investment in higher education at the moment, and a fuller cooperation would be possible were this changed, but the highly successful Indian School of Business—a partnership with many US investors and US business schools—offers a model that illustrates the quality that can be achieved. Even beyond university tie-ups, knowledge exports to India represent a huge and promising market for the United States, and development of educational technologies in India will be important in the United States.

On the heels of the renewal of our Fulbright program with India, now doubled and relaunched as the Fulbright-Nehru fellowship, the US government should *pursue expanded linkages between US and Indian higher education across the full range of institutions*, public and private, vocational and specialized training institutions, and community colleges. We should create *incentives for more Americans to study abroad in India* (India already sends more students to the US than any other country, a great success of US education's soft power, but India is number twenty on the list of destinations for Americans studying abroad), giving them cultural familiarity that will impact the rest of their lives—and developing stronger people-to-people ties at the same time. Given the highly decentralized nature of education in the US, and the comparatively more centralized and overwhelmingly public organization in India, the early hurdles will be finding ways to bridge the public-private gap. Through *coordinated efforts and appropriate seed funding by the US government*, collaboration on higher education will benefit both countries and ensure that the India of 2025 will realize its potential to be a major part of the world's workforce.

4. HIV/AIDS Agenda:

- Cooperate in awareness and support of HIV/AIDS, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, but also in India, the US, and around the world.

If there is a humanitarian issue on which the world seems in general agreement, it might be the scale of devastation from HIV/AIDS, and the urgent need for a solution. It has reached its most severe form in sub-Saharan Africa, where the average life expectancy has plummeted to 47 years. The US and Indian governments are both engaged with the issue but via separate mechanisms; similarly the US and Indian private sectors are contributing to bring treatment to Africa and elsewhere through foundation initiatives and tiered pricing structures. But we have no identifiable US-India initiative that focuses our great strengths in the many areas relevant to this problem, such as scientific innovation, public health, and prevention programs. What if we were to work together in a concerted effort to channel and apply such initiatives in Africa where the impact has become catastrophic, as well as in India and the US?

By working together on a humanitarian crisis important to us both, and on an issue where we have little disagreement, we could realize the great potential of our cooperation. We could apply our countries' minds to the HIV/AIDS crises on multiple fronts in Africa—seeking to assist with treatment, public health policy, care for orphans, and other humanitarian concerns—as well as the pressing matters in our own countries which could benefit from our work together.

An *annual action summit*, supported by seed funding from the US and Indian government, could bring together and catalyze cutting-edge thinking from the US and India in life science research, public health, insurance, pharmaceuticals, media, and government to continually assess and hone intervention opportunities. For example, what if we were to take the best practices of HIV/AIDS prevention in India—prevention successes like the

Gates Foundation's Avahan, or the Government of Tamil Nadu's public messaging—and marry that with scaled-up treatment provided through the combined efforts of Indian and American pharmaceutical companies? Tiered-pricing innovations and successful licensing arrangements spearheaded by American pharmaceutical companies in close collaboration with Indian pharmaceutical firms are already demonstrating how creative approaches to global health issues can be good for the world and good business practice at the same time.

Training exchanges between India and Africa could be of great benefit, with special attention to public health care capacity building; this could be incentivized and underwritten by innovative micro-insurance programs, and backed by OPIC guarantees to make them financially attractive. A model for a scalable health insurance program could be gleaned from the new HIV/AIDS insurance policy launched by the Government of Karnataka, Star Health and Allied Insurance, and Population Services International this year.

Conclusion

This Task Force believes deeply in the vast potential of our relationship with India. The compatibility of our values, our strengths, and our global visions offers a unique context for us both to craft an ambitious agenda for the years ahead—for, unusually among two powers, we have no intrinsic conflicts of interest. India is important in its own right, as we believe our report demonstrates, and we must focus on an agenda for our joint cooperation that enhances our ties in the short as well as long term.

With a new administration in Washington, and national elections in India during the first half of 2009, we have an opportunity to deliver on the promise that the world's two largest democracies have to offer each other, and the world.

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Biographies of Chairmen and Members

Alyssa Ayres joined McLarty Associates, the Washington-based international strategic advisory firm, as director for India and South Asia in 2008 after serving in the US Department of State as special assistant to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs. Previously, she was deputy director of the Center for the Advanced Study of India at the University of Pennsylvania, and before that assistant director for South and Central Asia policy programs at the Asia Society in New York. A cultural historian of modern South Asia, Dr. Ayres has carried out research in India, Pakistan, and Indonesia. Her book on nationalism in Pakistan, *Speaking Like a State*, is forthcoming from Cambridge University Press. In addition, she has co-edited three books: one forthcoming on power realignments between China, India, and the United States, and two volumes in the *India Briefing* series published by Asia Society. Dr. Ayres speaks fluent Hindi and Urdu, and in the mid-1990s worked for the International Committee of the Red Cross in Jammu and Kashmir. She received an AB *magna cum laude* from Harvard, and an MA and PhD from the University of Chicago.

Scott R. Bayman retired as a corporate officer of the General Electric Company and President and Chief Executive Officer of GE - India. Mr. Bayman is a Senior Director of Stonebridge International, LLC and Chairman of the firm's India practice. He sits on the corporate boards of Crompton Greaves Ltd, Mumbai; Punj Lloyd Ltd, New Delhi; Jubilant Energy, Amsterdam; KSK Power Ventur plc, Isle of Man; KSK Emerging India Energy Fund Ltd, Guernsey. He currently advises Chrysler LLC and is a former advisor to The Boeing Company. He served on the International Advisory Boards of the Indian School of Business and the University of Pennsylvania's Center for the Advanced Study of India. He is a member of The University of Florida Warrington School of Business Administration Business Advisory Council. Mr. Bayman is an advisor to both the Board and the Executive Committee of the US India Business Council and is past Chairman of the American Chamber of Commerce India. He holds a Masters degree in Management from the Alfred P. Sloan School of Management, MIT, Massachusetts where he was a Sloan Fellow. He graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree in Business Administration from the University of Florida.

Marshall M. Bouton is president of The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, formerly known as The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, a position he has held since August 2001. Prior to that, he served twenty years at the Asia Society in New York, most recently as executive vice president and chief operating officer. Previous positions include director for policy analysis in the office of the deputy assistant secretary of defense for Near East, Africa and South Asia, special assistant to the US ambassador to India, executive secretary for the Indo-US Subcommittee on Education and Culture, and program director for India

affairs at the Asia Society in New York. Mr. Bouton earned a BA (*cum laude*) in History at Harvard, an MA in South Asian Studies from the University of Pennsylvania, and a PhD in Political Science at the University of Chicago in 1980.

Stephen P. Cohen joined the Brookings Institution as Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies in 1998 after a career as a professor of Political Science and History at the University of Illinois-Urbana. Dr. Cohen is the author, co-author or editor of more than a dozen books, mostly on South Asian security issues, the most recent being *Four Crises and a Peace Process: American Engagement in South Asia* (2007), *The Idea of Pakistan* (2004), and an edited volume that explores the use of technology in preventing terrorism. A book on the future of the Indian military is now in progress. In 2008 Dr. Cohen was a visiting professor at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy in Singapore, teaching a course on the politics of manmade and natural disaster. He has also taught in Japan (Keio University) and India (Andhra University). He has consulted for numerous foundations and government agencies and was a member of the Policy Planning Staff (Department of State) from 1985-87. Dr. Cohen is currently a member of the National Academy of Science's Committee on International Security and Arms Control. He received undergraduate and graduate education at the University of Chicago, and the PhD in Political Science and Indian Studies from the University of Wisconsin.

Vishakha N. Desai is president of Asia Society, a global organization dedicated to preparing Asians and Americans for a shared future, where she leads the institution's activities in the areas of policy, business, arts, culture and education. She is a frequent lecturer at international gatherings and a commentator in the media addressing cultural, social, and political trends and their implications for the US-Asia relationship and Asian regional ties. Appointed president in 2004, Dr. Desai is leading an institutional expansion that includes a new India Centre in Mumbai which opened in 2006, and planned multi-million dollar facilities in Hong Kong and Houston. A scholar of classical Indian art, she is widely recognized for conceiving innovative exhibitions of contemporary and traditional Asian art, and cutting-edge Asian American programming. Dr. Desai serves on the boards of The Brookings Institution, Citizens Committee for New York City, Asian University for Women, and the New York City Advisory Commission for Cultural Affairs.

Amy Gutmann became the eighth president of the University of Pennsylvania on July 1, 2004. She has become a prominent national advocate for equity in higher education, and advises the U.N. Secretary General on a range of global issues, including academic freedom, mass migration, international development, and the social responsibilities of universities. An eminent political scientist and philosopher on ethics, justice theory, deliberative democracy, and democratic education, Dr. Gutmann currently is the Christopher H. Browne Professor of Political Science at Penn, with secondary faculty appointments in Philosophy, Communication, and Graduate Education. Her books include *Why Deliberative Democracy?*

(2004 with Dennis Thompson), *Identity in Democracy* (2003), *Democratic Education* (revised edition, 1999), *Democracy and Disagreement* (1996, with Dennis Thompson), and *Color Conscious* (1996, with K. Anthony Appiah). She has served as president of the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy and is a founding member of the executive committee of the Association of Practical and Professional Ethics. She is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the National Academy of Education, and a W.E.B. DuBois Fellow of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Dr. Gutmann graduated *magna cum laude* from Harvard-Radcliffe College in 1971. She earned her master's degree in Political Science from the London School of Economics in 1972, and her doctorate in Political Science from Harvard University in 1976.

Charles R. Kaye is Co-President of Warburg Pincus LLC, which he joined in 1986. During his 22 years at the firm, Mr. Kaye has worked across a variety of industry sector groups and lived in Hong Kong from 1994 to 1999. During that time he established Warburg Pincus' operations in Asia, where the firm today is recognized as one of the leading private equity investors in the region. He was named Co-President in 2001. Mr. Kaye is a graduate of the University of Texas, a member of the Trilateral Commission and the Council on Foreign Relations; former Chairman of the US-India Business Council and Vice Chairman of the Asia Society. Mr. Kaye also sits on the International Advisory Board of the Center for the Advanced Study of India (CASI) at the University of Pennsylvania and serves on the Board of Directors for the Partnership for New York City.

Victor J. Menezes is a Senior Advisor with New Silk Route Partners LLC, an international private equity firm. He was formerly Senior Vice Chairman of Citigroup Inc., and after a 32-year global career in the company, retired in January 2005. Previously, Mr. Menezes served as Chairman and CEO of Citibank and was head of Citigroup's Emerging Markets business with responsibility for the corporate and consumer businesses and global product responsibility for e-Business and Global Securities Services. In 1995 he was named Chief Financial Officer of Citicorp and Citibank, and, in 1998 when Citigroup Inc. was formed by the merger of Citicorp and Travelers Group Inc., he became President of Citibank and co-CEO of the Global Corporate & Investment Bank. Previously, he headed Citibank's businesses and lived in India, Hong Kong/China, and Europe. Mr. Menezes chairs the American India Foundation, is a Vice Chairman of Catholic Charities, Chairs the Executive Committee of the Eisenhower Fellowships and Co-Chairs the Trustees Emeriti of the Asia Society. He is a board member of Educational Testing Service and the MIT Corporation and is on the advisory boards of IIT, MIT Sloan and INSEAD. Mr. Menezes received his degree in electrical engineering from the Indian Institute of Technology Bombay in 1970 and a Master of Science degree in finance and economics from the Sloan School of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1972.

Jamie F. Metz is Executive Vice President of Asia Society. He is responsible for overseeing the institution's strategic directions and overall program activities globally. An expert on Southeast Asian history and politics, Dr. Metz has extensive government experience. His appointments have included Deputy Staff Director and Senior Counselor of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senior Coordinator for International Public Information and Senior Advisor to the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs at the Department of State, and Director for Multilateral and Humanitarian Affairs on the National Security Council. At the White House, he coordinated US government international public information campaigns for Iraq, Kosovo, and other crises. He was a Human Rights Officer for the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) from 1991 to 1993, where he helped establish a nation-wide human rights investigation and monitoring unit. In 2004 he ran unsuccessfully for US Congress from the Fifth District of Missouri in Kansas City. Dr. Metz is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a Founder and Co-Chair of the Board of the Partnership for a Secure America, a former White House Fellow, and a former Aspen Institute Crown Fellow. He holds a PhD in Southeast Asian History from Oxford University, a juris doctorate from Harvard Law School, and is a *magna cum laude*, Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Brown University.

George Rupp has been president and CEO of the International Rescue Committee since July 2002. Dr. Rupp oversees the agency's relief and development operations in 42 countries, its refugee resettlement programs throughout the United States, and its advocacy efforts in Washington, Geneva, Brussels and other capitals. Before joining the IRC, he served as president of Columbia University. During his nine-year tenure, he focused on enhancing undergraduate education, on strengthening campus ties to surrounding communities and New York City as a whole, and on increasing the university's international orientation. Earlier, Dr. Rupp served as president of Rice University and before that was the John Lord O'Brian Professor of Divinity and dean of the Harvard Divinity School. Educated in Europe and Asia as well as the United States, he is the author of numerous articles and five books, including *Globalization Challenged: Commitment, Conflict, and Community* (2006).

Teresita Schaffer, Director of the South Asia program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington D.C., is just completing an appointment as Henry A. Kissinger Chair in Foreign Policy and International Relations at the Library of Congress. She served for thirty years as a US diplomat, including service as US Ambassador to Sri Lanka and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Near East and South Asia. Her other diplomatic assignments included Islamabad, New Delhi, Tel Aviv, and Dhaka. Her published works include *Rising India and U.S. Policy Options in Asia*, *Pakistan's Future and U.S. Policy Options*, *The Economics of Peace-building in Kashmir*, and several reports on the HIV-AIDS epidemic in India. Her book on the future of US-India relations, *Reinventing Partnership*, will be published in 2009.

Ashley J. Tellis is Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, specializing in international security, defense, and Asian strategic issues. While on assignment to the US Department of State as Senior Adviser to the Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, he was intimately involved in negotiating the civil nuclear agreement with India. Previously he was commissioned into the Foreign Service and served as Senior Adviser to the Ambassador at the US Embassy in New Delhi. He also served on the National Security Council staff as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Strategic Planning and Southwest Asia. Prior to his government service, Dr. Tellis was Senior Policy Analyst at the RAND Corporation and Professor of Policy Analysis at the RAND Graduate School. He is the author of *India's Emerging Nuclear Posture* (2001) and co-author of *Interpreting China's Grand Strategy: Past, Present, and Future* (2000). He is the Research Director of the Strategic Asia program at NBR and co-editor of the five most recent annual volumes, including this year's *Strategic Asia 2008–09: Challenges and Choices*. In addition to numerous Carnegie and RAND reports, his academic publications have appeared in many edited volumes and journals. He is frequently called to testify before Congress. He earned his PhD in Political Science from the University of Chicago. He also holds an MA in Political Science from the University of Chicago and both BA and MA degrees in Economics from the University of Bombay. Dr. Tellis is a member of several professional organizations related to defense and international studies including the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Institute of Strategic Studies, the United States Naval Institute and the Navy League of the United States.

Frank G. Wisner is Vice Chairman, External Affairs, at American International Group. A career diplomat with the personal rank of Career Ambassador, he previously served as Ambassador to India from 1994-1997. Additionally, he held the positions of Ambassador to Zambia (1979-82), Egypt (1986-91), and the Philippines (1991-92). Ambassador Wisner has served in a number of positions in the US government, including Undersecretary of Defense for Policy (1993-94), Undersecretary of State for International Security Affairs (1992-93), Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs (1982-86), and Deputy Executive Secretary of the Department of State (1977). During the course of his career, he served in the Middle East and South and East Asia. Today, Ambassador Wisner is a member of the Boards of Directors of American Life Insurance Company (ALICO), AIG Global Trade and Political Risk Insurance Company, EOG Resources and Ethan Allen, as well as the boards of numerous non-profit organizations. He is an advisor to Kissinger Associates. A native of New York, Ambassador Wisner was educated at Princeton University.

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