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THE INDIA-US FORUM

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A GLIMPSE

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THE INDIA-US FORUM

INTRODUCTION



S Jaishankar, Minister of External Affairs,
Government of India

The third edition of The India US Forum, co-convened by Ananta Centre and the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India was held on 16 - 17 August, 2019 in New Delhi. It was co-chaired by Mr. Jamshyd N. Godrej, Chairman, Ananta Centre and Chairman of the Board, Godrej & Boyce Manufacturing Company Limited and Ambassador Navtej Sarna, Former Ambassador of India to The United States.

The India-US relationship has become indispensable in today's rapidly evolving geopolitical environment. In this unique,

first of its kind, platform launched in 2017 delegates from both countries meet to exchange ideas, build mutual trust and develop a joint agenda for future cooperation.

This third edition of the Forum brought together 100 high quality speakers/participants with the largest delegation yet from the US administration. The participants included Indian cabinet ministers and senior government officials, members of US congress, representatives from US administration, business leaders, CEOs, heads of think tanks, academics,

thought leaders, senior journalists and authors.

The closed-door deliberations, held under the Chatham House Rule, discussed a variety of topics of mutual interest for both countries including defence, security, energy, trade, combating terrorism, disruptive technologies, soft power, multilateralism and cooperation in regions like

the Indo-Pacific & West Asia.

The deliberations went beyond political, geographical and economic boundaries and discussed initiatives and ways to take the Indo-US bilateral relationship to a new level.

The fourth edition of the Forum will be convened in 2020. □



Jamshyd N. Godrej, Chairman, Ananta Centre and Chairman of the Board, Godrej & Boyce Manufacturing Company Limited (left) and **Navtej Sarna**, Former Ambassador of India to The United States (right), co-chairs of the Forum with **John J. Sullivan**, Deputy Secretary of State, The United States (middle)

A WORLD OF POSSIBILITIES



(From L-R) **B J Panda**, National Vice President and National Spokesperson, Bharatiya Janata Party and Former Member of Parliament, Rajya Sabha & Lok Sabha and **George Holding**, Member of the US House of Representatives (R-North Carolina)

transformation is very strong in India at present, unlike ever before. While there may be some barriers to trade, the Indian government is eager to enhance the ease of doing business in the country and there is scope for the US to invest in various domains like finance, civil aviation, defence, security, energy and infrastructure.

- There needs to be an institutional mechanism to connect companies between the two countries, highlight the business opportunities for both, and encourage entrepreneurship & innovation, especially in India. □

The shared spirit and values of democracy are interwoven in the cultural and strategic relationship between the two countries.

- Development of domestic manufacturing, consumerism and consumption is essential for India. The strengthened India US relations leveraging the full might of both countries' entrepreneurial resources will make for a great future partnership.

- A stock of Indian products sold in the US and American products sold in India is necessary

to understand the trajectories of those markets.

- The aspiration of

USD 5 trillion economy is an entry point for India to achieve certain goals and the vision for



(From L-R) **Richard Boocock**, Senior Vice President, Chief Information Officer and Special Advisor to the Chairman, Air Products; **Tarun Das**, Founding Trustee, Ananta Centre and Chairman, Institute of Economic Growth & **T V Narendran**, Chief Executive Officer & Managing Director, Tata Steel Ltd. And Vice President, Confederation of Indian Industry

INDIA, US AND THE INDO-PACIFIC ORDER:

The Rise and Potential of the Indo-Pacific as a Rules-based Conduit of Connectivity, Maritime Diplomacy & Economic Prosperity

Instances in the Indo-Pacific region will affect the rest of the world and form the groundwork for international politics in the near future. The larger question deals with developing state capacities to maintain an open system in the region.

- The Indo-Pacific is not about the oceans alone; it is also about the rimlands and hinterlands in the region. India and the US need to find a way of shaping the geopolitical environment and the new economic arrangement which tie the right forces across national borders.
- In order to realize the vision of becoming a USD 5 trillion economy, India will have to lever-



(From L-R) **Shivshankar Menon**, Former National Security Advisor, Government of India & **Raja Mohan**, Director, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore

age the economic potential of the Indo-Pacific and enhance trade that is routed through the South China Sea. The balance of power in the Indo-Pacific is shifting every day and the strands of security and

geopolitics are entangled with the region's economic potential.

- The US is a natural partner for India in the pursuit of India's economic vision but, achieving it will require an all-

encompassing issue-based coalition in the Indo-Pacific.

- The interest expressed by China in becoming a maritime power has had a significant impact in the na-

scent geopolitical architectures that have sprouted in the Indo-Pacific. Effective military balance has been maintained in bits and pieces, but China has already shifted the balance in its favour in the South China Sea. Under this backdrop, it becomes all the more important for India and the US to be partners in the region and prepare for an effective strategy. □



(From L-R) **Ashley Tellis**, Tata Chair for Strategic Affairs & Senior Fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; **Daniel Twining**, President, International Republican Institute & **Elbridge Colby**, Co-founder & Principal, The Marathon Initiative and Senior Advisor, WestExec Advisors

CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION ON COMBATING TERRORISM & VIOLENT EXTREMISM:

From the Persian Gulf to the Gulf of Tonkin

The lack of consensus on the definition of "terrorism" or of what is a "terrorist group", sometimes hinders convergence of views at the political level for necessary military cooperation.

- Counter-terrorism involves two areas where India and US could in-

crease cooperation: intelligence sharing and mitigation of terror financing systems. India recently took an important step to go after nefarious groups as bulk cash smuggling has become a huge problem. Bitcoins are now being used to this end as well. While the Financial Action Task

Force (FATF) is a good multilateral framework for countering terrorism finance, we could develop bilateral mechanisms to aid the same.

- The Chinese commitment to become a two-ocean navy, coupled with other issues emanating from non-

state actors on the waters, has created a need for India to re-assess the security matrix of the Indian Ocean. The alignment of India and US in the Indo-Pacific would be a necessary facet of this matrix. Currently, military exercises have worked to build trust, which flows



(From L-R) **Rajiv Jain**, Former Director, Intelligence Bureau; **Robert Kaplan**, Managing Director, Eurasia Group & **Robert Kennedy**, President & Chief Executive Officer, Atlanta Council on International Relations

up to the diplomatic level and strengthens the overall relationship.

- Prosecution of terrorists is still an under-developed process which is being built with real trials. For example, much of the evidence in the process of defeating ISIS was not ready to be used as evidence in civilian court and it has been a combined military-civilian effort to come up with protocols of what is now called “battlefield evidence”.

- The ISIS threat has been effectively mitigated as it has lost its geographical power in Iraq and Syria. The fighters have gone back but there hasn't been enough analysis on what brought them together. ISIS still has considerable resources and remains a lethal organization that

has demonstrated the entrepreneurial ability to cash on misfortune and instability.

- Analyzing where the next terrorist threat comes from is important and involves an analysis of two issues- the environment that generates terrorists and the tools

which are used for terror. Regarding the former, environmental degradation and effects of climate change may aggravate existing frustrations. Regarding the latter, the use of super pathogens i.e. bioweapons can have catastrophic events. Global powers need to analyze the role of state actors in

providing non-state actors super pathogens.

- The cyber age is still in its infancy and the world is yet to completely comprehend the damage cyber tools can do and thus not many rules and guidelines have been created at this point. As the cyber wave spreads farther, counter terrorism will become a growing business in South Asia, in turn creating an opportunity for the US to help India in developing counter cyber terror capabilities.

- Lack of governance to project security enhances the environment in which terrorist groups may gain momentum - like in Niger and Burkina Faso. Governance issues eventually give way to identity issues and cause lone wolves to come up. □



(From L-R) **John Godfrey**, Deputy Coordinator for Regional and Multilateral Affairs, Bureau of Counterterrorism and Countering Violent Extremism, US Department of State & **Alok Joshi**, Member, National Security Advisory Board

ENERGY & TRADE TIES:

Growing Convergences for Shared Prosperity

The recognition of the role of energy in trade is both apt and timely as India transitions to cleaner sources of energy to meet its increasing energy needs, allowing for greater opportunity for engagement between India and US. India and US could band other nations together to formalize policies for energy connectivity across borders in South Asia.

- The Indian government has been consistently working to increase foreign investment in energy, which grew by 12% in 2018. Concomitantly, India-US engagement under this umbrella have also enhanced substantially. Hydrocarbon imports from US have increased to USD 6 billion, making it the largest crude oil exporter to India, while India is the third largest importer of crude oil from US.
- The US may look at making a vesting house



(From L-R) **Dharmendra Pradhan**, Minister of Petroleum & Natural Gas and Minister of Steel, Government of India & **Naushad Forbes**, Co-Chairman, Forbes Marshall and Chairman, Ananta Aspen Centre

agreement on nuclear energy for India with the hope to have a signed agreement within the year.

- It is imperative that both sides are perceptive towards each other's energy interests. India is currently focusing on a gas-based economy. By 2030, India plans to increase its gas share by 6% with India-US gas transport already in place.

- The trade deficit has reduced to USD 24 billion, the lowest since 2011 making it the right time to look at a bilateral trade agreement.

- In 2018, certain trade regulations imposed by the Indian government in various industries like medical devices, automobile, IT and dairy had an impact on the US and there is a sincere desire to resolve these trade issues.

- It is key for India to continue opening its markets and get integrated into the global supply chain, especially now that countries around the world are looking for alternative spaces to invest in other than China.
- India and the US have a clear example of shared prosperity as the US employs around 50,00,000 Indians while India employs 1,00,000 Americans.

- India and the US need to deepen the integration of Indian firms in US and US firms in India. In both countries, firms below a threshold have a mindset of protecting the domestic market and this mindset needs to be changed.

• The greatest merit of the US federal service sector is the simplistic manner in which foreign firms can enter its markets. Indian firms should be encouraged to take advantage of the ease of entering federal markets and simultaneously, the process of entering the Indian market should be made easier for US firms.

- There is an additional opportunity that exists in terms of building technology relations between India and the US via universities. Some Indian pharmaceutical firms are already engaged with Amer-



(From L-R) **Amos Hochstein**, Senior Vice President, Tellurian Inc. and former U.S. International Energy envoy to President Obama & **Kenneth I. Juster**, United States Ambassador to the Republic of India

ican universities, but software and technology firms could still leverage this avenue.

- The execution of moving towards a cleaner energy mix will require a vision that encompasses multiple aspects: stability and good governance; infrastructural neces-

ties; strategy to overcome price constraints; fitting imports in the budget; and innovation.

- The American and Indian private sectors should collaborate and innovate to aid this transition to clean energy. For the Indian needs, this innovation could fa-

cilitate the utilization of the yet unutilized gas infrastructure in India, developing cleaner and efficient models of fishing boats in marine areas and research on how to move towards a consumer base of gas.

- In the oil market, a typical refinery is an 80-20 business where 80% is fuel and 20% is chemicals. A new age transformation is underway which has reversed the ratio to 20-80. Chinese refineries are working on 75 (chemicals) and 25 (fuel). This ratio reversal is going to accelerate as we move forward providing a great opportunity for Indian research labs and Indian companies to collaborate and explore opportunities for efficient energy grid expansion in India. □



(From L-R) **Chandrajit Banerjee**, Director General, Confederation of Indian Industry; **Kamal Nanavaty**, President, Strategy Development, Reliance Industries Limited & **Arun Kumar**, Chairman & Chief Executive Officer, KPMG India

DISRUPTIVE TECHNOLOGIES:

Building Synergy in New & Emerging Sectors



(From L-R) **K Vijay Raghavan**, Principal Scientific Advisor, Government of India & **Richard Ashoooh**, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Export Administration, Bureau of Industry & Security, US Department of Commerce

The volume of research and development (R&D) occurring in the American private space is quite high and the US wants to promote the trend of robust private sector R&D. Countries, via R&D promotion, should keep an eye out for potential future technologies.

- It would be beneficial for India to promote interaction of talent within the verticals of an

industry. The infrastructure of the pharmaceutical and agriculture industries in India is extraordinary and symmetrical ownership of knowledge could broaden the scope of innovation in both. This innovation would automatically be more accessible causing inclusive growth.

- Technology by itself is an enabler of business disruption but business

models have to evolve to take advantage of what technology can offer. All recent business trends have led to exponential growth models while the need is to have dynamic and fluid ecosystems that would accelerate technological growth. India and US should work together to create such ecosystems.

- There are ways by which consumer experience can be altered by

technology. Over the past few years, the retail business has shifted online, manufacturing has become automated and automation in healthcare is being explored. Market places have emerged over the years with technologists who understand business models.

- There is scope for large scale collaboration between India and US across various institutions and sectors. Com-

**K Ananth Krishnan**

Executive Vice President &
Chief Technology Officer,
TATA Consultancy Services

mercial space could be considered in this context as the US is currently looking for a partner in this area.

- There are national security concerns in emerging technologies that have not been contemplated yet - whether they are for policy, proliferation or security. This contemplation becomes harder for policy makers as R&D is concentrated in the private sector.
- Governments need to develop a proper framework to be on top of emerging technology; FDI coming in for emerg-

ing technologies; and regulate technology as it is developed. If the introduction of a technology causes disruption, it points to the failure of adequate regulation by lawmakers.

- The Indian science and development spaces are abundant with talent and skill, but they need risk capital to invest in ambitious projects. The start-up ecosystem in India has significantly improved but with influx of risk capital, Indian start-ups would reach global competitive standards.
- Intellectual partner-

ship between a country's thought leaders and decision makers is very important. The security concerns associated with data cannot be fully comprehended without such partnerships on a daily basis. This means cohesion between universities, think tanks, government and industry.

- There will be a tectonic shift with the advent of 5G - it will connect man to machine and machine to machine. It will connect every single industry. With a technology this vast comes the responsibility of security. □



(From L-R) **Rajan Navani**, Vice Chairman & Managing Director, JetSynthesys (Jetline Group) & **Rajen Vagadia**, Vice President & President, Qualcomm India & SAARC

IN CONVERSATION



(From L-R) **S Jaishankar**, Minister of External Affairs, Government of India & **John Hamre**, President & Chief Executive Officer, Centre for Strategic and International Studies



(From L-R) **John J. Sullivan**, Deputy Secretary of State, The United States & **Navtej Sarna**, Former Ambassador of India to The United States



(From L-R) **Piyush Goyal**, Minister of Railways and Minister of Commerce and Industry & **Richard Verma**, Vice Chairman & Partner, The Asia Group



(From L-R) **Hardeep Singh Puri**, Union Minister for Housing and Urban Affairs (IC), Civil Aviation (IC), and Minister of State for Commerce and Industry, Government of India & **Thomas R. Hardy**, Acting Director, United States Trade & Development Agency

FROM KYOTO TO KATOWICE:

New Approaches for Combating Environmental Challenges



(From L-R) **John Podesta**, Founder & Director, Centre for American Progress and Former White House Chief of Staff & **Ajay Mathur**, Director General, The Energy & Resources Institute

It is important to talk about the history of what has happened over the last 25 years and acknowledge that no real efforts towards the reduction of carbon emissions were made in that period.

- Climate Change diplomacy has not progressed in a linear pattern. Prior to the Paris Agreement there was “collective inaction”. Paris offered a dream of

“collective action”. Post Paris there has been “collective realism”.

- In the current phase of “collective realism” three new pillars of climate change diplomacy have emerged: finance, technology and transparency. Climate / Sustainable Finance needs to be restructured with private and institutional capital. In terms of technology, big bets should be made in green steel;

finding substitutes for cement; and start investing in different kinds of technology like small modular nuclear reactors. Lastly, we need to have transparency in the processes i.e. to trust but verify.

- It has become a growing need to compound all the challenges caused by climate change/global warming to enable the process of finding solutions. The

challenges include impact on health, the need to have super-efficient buildings and markets, ocean plastic pollution, debilitation of the marine system and waste management.

- The way to solve the emissions problem is with technology. The world knows of no paradigm in which people can afford a better living without using energy. Green development,



(From L-R) **Jamshyd N. Godrej**, Chairman, Ananta Centre and Chairman of the Board, Godrej & Boyce Manufacturing Company Limited & **F. James Sensenbrenner Jr.**, Member of the US House of Representatives (R - Wisconsin)

with IPR protection, is the best development for India.

- Twenty-Five states have formed the US Climate lines and agreed to take the responsibility to work on climate change in their states, thereby

rejecting the President's decision to walk away from taking responsibility of climate change. These states now need global cooperation in technology development to move forward.

- India is on track to

meet its target of producing 175GW of energy from renewables by 2022 and has deployed more solar irrigation pumps than any other country in the world. India produces more than 21% of its energy from renewables compared to the US producing around 18% from renewables.

- It is important for countries around the world to work towards their Nationally Determined Contributions or internal climate change goals. However, the manner in which goals are achieved is more important. The world needs to develop bespoke financial solutions rather than just ask for money for investment. It might be a good idea to explore impact bonds in terms of climate change. □



(From L-R) **Arunabha Ghosh**, Founder & Chief Executive Officer, Council on Energy, Environment and Water & **Ann Marie Yastishock**, Deputy Assistant Administrator for Asia, USAID

SOFT POWER:

Leveraging all its Aspects to Strengthen Bilateral Relations



(From L-R) **Pramit Pal Chaudhuri**, Foreign Editor, Hindustan Times and Distinguished Fellow & Head, Strategic Affairs, Ananta Aspen Centre & **Prasoon Joshi**, Chairperson, Central Board of Film Certification

Human race needs to make efforts to protect things that are intrinsic to local values and cultures. The initial image of India as a poverty struck nation has changed to a great extent. Efforts need to be made at all levels. Bollywood and the diverse variety of Indian food are small factors that have been used to promote Indian image

outside the country but it is now defined by some particular parameters which are far more complex than they look.

- Soft power is a narrative one dictates about themselves to the world. It is important for India to bank on democracy and success of agricultural revolution to promote its image outside. Cultural and student exchange pro-



(From L-R) **Kaush Arha**, Senior Advisor to the Administrator of USAID & **Smita Prakash**, Editor, Asian News International

grams undertaken by universities could also aid in growing one's influence in the world.

- Being a function of narratives, soft power can only be leveraged with a free media. Media includes multiple formats which would harness economic and cultural benefit. An India-US collaboration in Hollywood and Bollywood, for example, can be seen as profitable to both nations.

- Women empowerment is the best soft power promotion. When women have equal opportunities, the GDP of the world will increase by manifolds. Discussions between nations



(From L-R) **Walter Russell Mead**, Ravenel B. Curry III Distinguished Fellow in Strategy and Statesmanship, Hudson Institute Global View Columnist, The Wall Street Journal & **Lois Frankel**, Member of the US House of Representatives (D - Florida)

need to be held on how to include women in different fields and aspects and create a more inclusive society.

- India needs to pay attention to its human development index. Southern India can be seen as an exception to this as they

have done exceptionally well in the past few years. Authenticity by definition is what India should capitalize on. □

REFORMS IN MULTILATERALISM:

How are India and US Placed to Deal with a New Multilateral Era

We need multilateral platforms because of interdependence, but the realities of power cannot be pushed away simply by

joining a multilateral system. The UN might be the most well-known multilateral platform but its dependence on the US for logistical support

creates an imbalance.

- The trend over the past few decades has been away from multilateralism, mostly toward

bilateralism. Forty-Five per cent of India's GDP comes from international sources, which makes international cooperation quite important for India.



(From L-R) **Daniel Twining**, President, The International Republican Institute; **Nitin Desai**, Former Under Secretary General for Economic & Social Affairs to the United Nations & **Ethan Epstein**, Deputy Opinion Editor, The Washington Times

India & US would be perfect to assume the leadership role to reform and expand the idea of multilateralism, especially in South Asia.

- India and US would be natural allies to de-

velop multilateral issue-based coalitions as both countries are supporters of multilateralism and are the highest contributors to the UN fund. One such coalition could be formed for maritime co-operation between India

and US in the Indo Pacific region. India's leadership in the formation of the International Solar Alliance is a great example.

- India and US could take the initiative to: cre-

ate an institution akin to the WTO for the South Asian sphere; conceptualize digital projects to integrate the digital dimension on the Indo-Pacific; and consider spearheading an international convention of cyber space.

- The current multilateral architectures were created post Second World War and need to be updated for the 21st century with concepts like the digital economy woven in. We need to consider democratizing the inherited institutions to stop fragmentation and consider adopting notions of shared responsibility and shared power to ensure effectiveness going forward. Multilateralism would only work if nobody is left out. □



(From L-R) **Julia Brownley**, Member of the US House of Representatives (D - California) & **Asoke Mukerji**, Former Indian Ambassador and Permanent Representative to The United Nations In New York

FOCUS WEST ASIA:

Shaping a Collaborative Strategy

With 8 million Indians currently residing in West Asia, India has a special interest in the region.

- While India and US have different views towards West Asia, energy is the main area of interest for both in the region. A common assessment over the region would highlight opportunities for India-US collaboration.
- There is a lot of unpredictability in West Asia but as US' dependence over the region decreases, the geopolitical architectures of the East and West with respect to West Asia will be stirred.



(From L-R) **S K Lambah**, Former Special Envoy to the Prime Minister of India & **Jayant Patil**, Director & Senior Executive Vice President - Defence, Member of the Board and Director, L&T Limited

- India could play a role in the upcoming negotiations between US and Iran under the backdrop of the withdrawal of the US army from the country.
- The last decade has seen more protectionism in the region, which has caused countries around the world to reassess their outlook towards their west Asian economic partners.

- Both India and US enjoy good relations with Israel and the possibility of trilateral collaboration could be considered.

- West Asia enjoyed a period of peace in which there was a balance of power, which is interrupted today. India-US should focus on intelligence sharing and consider the formation of a combined task force aimed at maintaining the geopolitical equilibrium. □



(From L-R) **Kenneth Weinstein**, President & Chief Executive Officer, Hudson Institute; **Josh Rogin**, Columnist, The Washington Post & **Mohan Kumar**, Chairman, Research and Information System for Developing Countries

DEFENCE AND SECURITY PARTNERSHIP:

The Next Steps



(From L-R) **Vivek Lall**, Vice President, Strategy & Business Development, Lockheed Martin Aeronautics & **David Shedd**, Distinguished Fellow, Heritage Foundation Adjunct Professor, Patrick Henry College and Former Acting Director, Defense Intelligence Agency

The defence and security cooperation between India and the US has steadily progressed over the years, spurred by the growing trade relationship and private sector cooperation.

- Both countries have a deal for a fighter aircraft and have also recently conducted joint defence exercises in Africa.
- US is a major defence partner for India but there is scope to en-



(From L-R) **Alice Wells**, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for South & Central Asia, US Department of State & **Ajay Kumar**, Secretary (DP), Ministry of Defence, Government of India

**Indrani Bagchi**

Senior Diplomatic Editor,
Times of India

hance this relationship by enabling the sharing of intelligence, defence technology and advance defence equipment.

- Collaboration between India and US in the fields of cyber security, space and counter terrorism would be beneficial to the geopolitical environments of both regions.

- The beginning of the 2+2 dialogue between the two countries and the strength of the relationship between President Trump and Prime Minister Modi have buoyed the strategic ties.
- In order to ensure longevity in the strategic, security and defence ties of this rela-

tionship, more joint ventures between the two countries' industries are imperative. In the immediate future, ventures between American tech firms and India's start-up ecosystem should be encouraged to facilitate India's transition to sustainable infrastructure & energy.

- Maintaining the balance of power in the Indo-Pacific is a shared interest of both countries. The widening Chinese influence in the Indian Ocean has highlighted the need for India and US to align their maritime security approach in the region. India needs to acquire technology to safeguard the region and US would be an ideal collaborator to that end. An increase in the quantity of US defence manufacturing factories in India would also benefit the Indian position. □



(From L-R) **Banmali Agrawala**, President, Infrastructure and Defence & Aerospace, Tata Sons Private Limited & **Joe Wilson**, Member of the US House of Representatives (R-South Carolina)

THE FORUM THROUGH THE YEARS...



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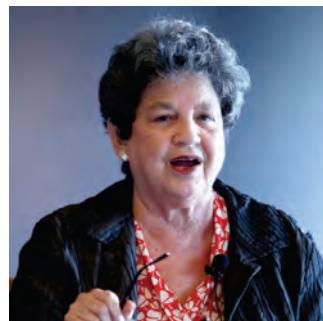
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Julia Brownley



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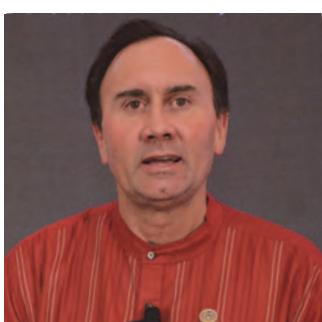
George Holding



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